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THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

SUBMITTED BY THE REVEREND B. H. MATHER, B.A.

MAY 1967

THE GOSSNER MISSION TO CHOTA NAGPUR 1845-1875

A CRISIS IN LUTHERAN- ANGLICAN MISSIONARY POLICY

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MAPS

1. Augsburg and Surrounding Area
2. Bengal
3. Chota Nagpur

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B. & F. B. S.
or B.F.B.S.

British and Foreign Bible Society

C.M.S.

Church Missionary Society

Biene

Die Biene auf dem Missionsfelde -
The Bees in the Missionfield, the
magazine of the Gossner Missionary
Society, Berlin

J.A.S.B.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

J.A.S.G.B.I.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of
Great Britain and Ireland

S.P.G.

Society for the Propagation of the
Gospel

M.F.

Metropolitan's File

Synopsis

In 1826 Johannes Evangelista Gossner, a Roman Catholic priest from Bavaria, became a Protestant and in 1836 founded in Berlin his own Missionary Association for training artisan mission workers. In 1845 at the invitation of Colonel J.R. Ouseley and Major J.C. Hannington, the Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, four of Gossner's Missionaries founded a mission at Ranchi in Bihar, North East India to evangelise the aboriginal Kols. In the years prior to 1857 the mission made its first converts. During the Indian Mutiny the missionaries fled to Calcutta and the small Christian congregation was submitted to fierce persecution. On the restoration of peace a mass-movement towards Christianity commenced and in 1868 the converts numbered 10,000.

In December 1857 Gossner offered the mission to the Church Missionary Society who declined it but gave £1,000 to help re-establish it. After Gossner's death in 1858 a Curatorium or Board of Trustees in Berlin inherited the Missionary Association. In response to appeals for more educated missionaries the Curatorium sent out three Pastors who had received university education. By preferring complaints

against the older missionaries the new missionaries prompted a reform of the mission by a new constitution drawn up in Berlin on June 12th 1868. The Curatorium entrusted the introduction of the constitution to their Mission-Inspector, Pastor Hermann Ansorge, who visited Ranchi in September 1868. When, as a result of Pastor Ansorge's methods of enforcing the constitution six of the senior missionaries resigned, the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, Colonel E.T. Dalton, requested Bishop Milman of Calcutta to act as arbitrator in the dispute. Bishop Milman failed to reconcile the two parties and, acceding to the request of the senior missionaries, on April 19th 1869 he received them and representatives of approximately 7,000 converts into the Church of England

8.

1.

THE LIFE OF JOHANNES EVANGELISTA GOSSNER, 1773 - 1858

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. | The Young Priest. | 1773 - 1810 |
| 2. | The Years in Munich. | 1811 - 1819 |
| 3. | The Years in St. Petersburg. | 1820 - 1824 |
| 4. | The Interim Years. | 1824 - 1829 |
| 5. | The Years in Berlin | 1829 - 1858 |

In 1836, the Reverend Charles Bridges, (1794-1856), an ardent Evangelical Churchman and Vicar of Old Newton in Suffolk, commended a new biography - "The Life and Persecutions of Martin Boos, an Evangelical Preacher of the Roman Church", to English readers with these words :-

"The following work, in its original form is from the pen of Gossner, the estimable minister of the Bohemian Church at Berlin. It brings before us one of the most interesting records of modern Church History - the existence of a body of Christians in the bosom of the Roman Church, fully confessing in their faith and practice the grand fundamental principles of the Reformation. In reviewing this constructive history it will be seen that for nearly the last fifty years a bold and unflinching testimony has been born by Protestant confessors in the Church of Rome, even in the heart of Catholic Germany"⁽¹⁾

Johannes Evangelista Gossner, the author of this biography, was born of Catholic parents in Hausen bei Ober-Walstatt, a village in the valley of the river Mindel, one of the tributaries of the Danube, lying in Swabia, equidistant between Ulm and Augsburg, on December 14th 1773. Gossner attended the village school at Waldstatten until he was twelve, following which he graduated to the Gymnasium of St. Salvadore at Augsburg, a school which was still in the hands of the Jesuits.⁽²⁾ After completing the five year course in the lower classes he studied logic for two years at the Lyceum, then entered the University at Dillingen to prepare for ordination to the priesthood.

1. J. Gossner. The Life and Persecutions of Martin Boos. An Evangelical Preacher of the Roman Church. Translated from the German. Seely and Burnside. 1836. Preface p.iii.
2. The Jesuits in Germany retained their schools and colleges after the Suppression of the Society in 1773.

The University of St. Jerome at Dillingen was held in grave suspicion by the Jesuits at Augsburg on account of the teaching of Johann Michael Sailer (1751-1832) and his circle. Since 1784 Sailer had been Professor of Ethics and Director of Pastoral Theology, previously having been a novice in the Jesuit College at Landsberg before the suppression of the Society in 1773; later by appointment of the Elector Maximilliam III (1745-1777) he became a lecturer in the College at Ingolstadt and subsequently Professor of Dogmatics. When in 1784 the Elector Charles Theodore (1777-1794) closed down the College, Sailer moved to Dillingen where he quickly made his mark.

The liberal atmosphere of the University of St. Jerome where Sailer and his colleague, Patriz Benedict Zimmer (1752-1820), the Professor of Dogmatics, welcomed the works of Protestant men of letters such as Matthias Claudius (1740-1815), Gerhardt Tersteegen (1693-1769), Jung Stilling (1740-1817), and the Swiss, Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1901) was sufficient to cause Sailer's orthodoxy to be impugned. The Jesuits at Augsburg succeeded in appointing a commission of investigation into the teaching methods at Dillingen and in 1794 Sailer was suspended by the Court of Enquiry on grounds of being tainted by the Enlightenment and of intriguing with the Illuminati, a masonic sect which flourished in Bavaria. Sailer went into retirement to the Castle of Ebersberg outside Munich, the Grand Priory belonging to the Knights of Malta, where he devoted his time to writing books which had a wide circulation. In 1799 under the liberal Elector Max Joseph I (1799-1825) he was re-appointed Professor of Pastoral Theology in the newly constituted University at Landshut, a position he held until his consecration as coadjutor Bishop of Regensburg in 1822.

Deeply religious and strongly contemplative in character, friendly towards Protestants and the mystical movements which arose at the turn of the century, Sailer as a teacher of theology attempted to get back to the Early Church and stressed not so much dogma as the inner life and care of souls. He had a marked influence on the rising generation of young clergy and was known by his contemporaries as the German Fénelon.

Martin Boos, the subject of the biography, who had preceded Gossner both at Augsburg and Dillingen, described Sailer and his influence in the following terms :-

"I have carried on a correspondence with him (Sailer) for upwards of thirty years for I studied under him in the University of Dillingen between the years 1780 to 1790. Even during that period he won my whole heart and confidence as he did that of the majority of his pupils. On being separated from him and being devoted to the Pastoral Office I invariably applied to him as a young ecclesiastic, in every difficult case which occurred to me in the discharge of my pastoral functions, and requested his advice and instructions on how to act, as did almost all who had studied under him, and he never refused them to any."⁽¹⁾

Gossner commenced his two years' course of Philosophy and Physics at Dillingen in 1791. Of all the influences which were at work in the University he found the writings of the Swiss Divine and poet Lavater⁽²⁾ most congenial to his own. Shortly before his

1. J. Gossner. op.cit. p.374.
2. Johann Caspar Lavater 1741-1801. Swiss Protestant Divine, Poet and Philosopher. A friend of Goethe. Known as the Prophet of Zurich. A Pietist and hymn writer he was a persuasive preacher who opposed confessionism - 'the true church is the aggregate of all people possessed of Christ: there are many paths into the presence of Christ'. A great Swiss patriot, he was shot without provocation by a French Grenadier but died refusing to identify his murderer.

death Gossner spoke of Lavater and the abiding influence which he had exerted on him as follows :-

"Lavater and I were meant for each other. No other person exerted such an influence upon me as Lavater. I was so united with him in spirit that after his death I still had him near me as though he were still alive and, as it were, lived with him and he with me."⁽¹⁾

In 1794 Gossner moved to the Clerical Seminary at Ingolstadt for his three year course of Theology during which time he received the four Minor Orders, followed by those of Sub-Deacon and Deacon; having passed his examinations with first-class honours he was ordained priest on October 9th 1796 at the age of twenty-three.

Following his Ordination Gossner spent one term in Pfaffenhausen at the General Seminary belonging to the Diocese of Augsburg, after which in January 1797 he was appointed Chaplain to Stoffenreid, a village near his home, where he stayed only nine months; he then moved to a neighbouring village, Neuberg, where he remained from September 1797 until November 21st 1798.

Outwardly Gossner presented the appearance of the clever young priest whose beliefs were tinged with the rationalism of the day. In a discussion with one of his friends concerning Lavater's teaching that mankind is in need of the influence of higher powers and help, Gossner retorted that he in no way felt the need for such help - 'I am satisfied with my rational religion'. His inner search after peace of soul is reflected more truly in this prayer which he entered in his diary at Stoffenreid on September 19th, 1797.

1. H. Lokies. Johannes Gossner. Ein Bekenner und Diener Jesu Christi. 1956. p.7.

"I have gained a lot of experience; for fourteen years have had many teachers and have always learned from them. I have used up my money, my strength and my time and everything else possible, and yet it has not helped me. I have spent all in vain, used all for nothing! My teachers have taught me much, but the one necessary thing no-one has taught me. Now I turn to you, Lord Jesus Christ. Be you now my only teacher, have mercy upon me, destroy the works of human learning and wisdom, et emitte Spiritum tuum, docentem omnem veritatem, ut fides mea non sit in sapientia hominum sed in virtute Dei. Jesus, Son of David, be my teacher and accept me as your pupil. Amen."⁽¹⁾

The answer to Gossner's prayers and the fulfilment of his spiritual quest came in discussion with two young fellow priests after he had moved to Neuburg. On November 11th 1797 Johan Evangelista Langermayr, Chaplain of the Cathedral in Augsburg, and Sommer, two friends who had been influenced by the movement of revival in South Bavaria known as the Awakening, met Gossner in his house. In the lengthy discussion which followed, Gossner was prompted to exclaim, confessing his own failure - 'It is man who is so unfaithful'. To this his friend, Sommer, replied, paraphrasing the text 'If we are faithless yet he remaineth faithful' (2 Tim. 2 v.13)

"Yes, the Lord must be faithful, the Lord himself".

The spiritual revolution which had taken place in both St. Paul and Martin Luther's attitude to God worked the same course in Gossner as he pondered on this text. Instead of attempting to earn God's favour by works of piety he began to understand God's faithfulness towards men; he perceived that instead of works, he must humbly believe and accept God's grace; for the first time Gossner saw himself as one on whom God works in mercy and forgiveness - his own efforts now seemed worthless.

The Awakening in South Bavaria 1789.

Gossner experienced a deep spiritual conversion as a result of this discussion and he was thus brought into contact with the revival known as the Awakening which was spreading in South Bavaria at this time. Amongst the young priests who had studied under Sailer at Dillingen, Martin Boos (1762-1825) was the gifted preacher who was responsible for the spiritual revival which commenced in 1789 amongst the Catholic congregations in Grönenbach, Wiggensbach and Seeg in the provinces of Kempton and Allgäu.

In early life, Boos, like Luther before him, had wearied himself with penances, spiritual mortifications and ascetic exercises. As a student under the Jesuits, Boos described his experiences :-

"I gave myself an immense amount of trouble to lead a truly pious life. I lay for years together even in the winter upon the cold ground, though my bed stood by me. I scourged myself unto blood and mortified my body with a shirt of hair. I suffered hunger and gave my bread to the poor. I spent every leisure hour in the church and cemetery. I confessed and communicated every week".⁽¹⁾

In 1789 at the age of 27, as a result of a visit to a dying woman who reproved him for his glib assurances of the efficacy of works of piety, Boos experienced a profound conversion. Following this spiritual crisis his gifts as a preacher began to draw such large congregations to the church at Grönenbach where he was the Junior Canon that his fellow clergy out of envy procured his dismissal. He moved to the parish of Seeg in the district of Allgäu, close

1. J. Gossner. op.cit. p.31

to the Austrian border where the Vicar, Michael Finsberg⁽¹⁾ was his relative. Finsberg had suffered the amputation of his right leg owing to a fall from his horse, and for two years Boos served him as his Curate. Both Finsberg and Boos were able to share their common experience of spiritual New Birth and in time their influence spread to others in the neighbouring parishes. In 1795 Boos was given the parish of Wiggensbach outside Kempten where during 1795 and 1796 he came into contact with groups of devout people in the villages of Iller and Wartach who were fulfilling their religious obligations according to accepted Roman Catholic practice -

"These people were quiet, devout, regarded by the world as over-scrupulous, righteous over much, as people who could never confess enough nor pray enough, who carried their piety to extremes. They undertook pilgrimages, inscribed themselves in every order and fraternity, imposed upon themselves every kind of burden and penance, and whenever they heard of a confessor that was more strict and zealous than others, they hastened to him, however far they might have to go. By these means they incessantly sought, with ardent desire, the rest of their burdened souls but nowhere could find either rest or peace".⁽²⁾

1. Johann Michael Nathaniel Finsberg (1751-1812). A novice in the Society of Jesus before the suppression of the Order in 1773. Professor in the Gymnasium of St. Paul in Ratisbon 1775. Professor of Rhetoric and Poetry at Dillingen, suspended together with Sailer in 1793. Parish priest of Seeg 1793-1805. Parish priest of Vöhringen 1805-1812. He made a translation of the New Testament into German in conjunction with Wittman, the Rector of the Seminary at Ratisbon, and was regarded as a model parish priest by his Superiors.
2. J. Gossner. op.cit. p.16.

By means of Boos' ministry and especially owing to his preaching, these pious groups of individuals experienced conversion followed by speaking with tongues or Baptism with the Holy Spirit. Both clergy and laity were moved by this Awakening and they took the name of 'Erweckten Brüder - The Awakened Brethren'. In September 1876 a meeting was held in Fineberg's vicarage at Seeg at which Boos, Fineberg and his curates Bayr and Siller were present; all of them had experienced conversion and the New Birth. They made plans for a public preaching of the Awakening by means of courses of sermons to be delivered in each Church; the people were to be roused to a state of their own sins and urged to accept the all sufficient grace of Christ and justification by His death. The message of the Awakening was to be presented in the two-fold form 'Christus pro Nobis - Christ for Us' - Christ suffering and dying on the Cross is that Righteousness and Redemption from Sin which avails before God; 'Christus in Nobis - Christ in Us' - Christ fulfilling with us the Will of the Father is our Sanctification'.⁽¹⁾

Boos' first sermon was preached in the Church at Wiggensbach on New Year's Day 1797, where it was followed by scenes of extraordinary spiritual excitement followed by a deep conviction of sin.

1. The topics agreed upon as subjects for sermons show the character of the preaching which brought about the Awakenings in South Bavaria:-
 1. All Men are sinners..
 2. No-one can make himself righteous.
 3. We are justified and saved by our faith in the Son of God.
 4. Good works although they do not save yet must not be omitted.
 5. Faith is a cordial and vital confidence in God.
 6. The forgiveness of sins is gratuitous from grace alone.
 7. By Christ justification comes to all since Christ died for all.
 8. Every sacrament received by adults without faith is of little or no use.
 9. The Law does not justify us, but it continues as a sacred rule. It is a bright mirror which reveals to us our sin.

"After such an awakening as this they all went to the priest, confessed their sins and received both ministerial and ecclesiastical absolution and had a great delight in the frequent reception of the sacraments as well as converse for God and good and pious men. Those who had formally been given to drunkenness, gaming, lust, covetousness, anger, hatred, malice or any other vice practised it no longer, and exhibited at once, a completely new mind and conduct both inwardly and outwardly so that everyone saw and observed that a change of the whole man had taken place within.⁽¹⁾

The Awakening spread like a spiritual fire as person after person in the small groups was influenced; it seemed as though one live coal kindled another, resulting in religious ecstasy, changed lives and an atmosphere of intense spiritual exultation and joy.

At this time Boos was still living in the vicarage at Seeg. In February 1797 without any prior warning the Jesuits in Augsburg, alarmed at reports of what was happening in Kempten, sent an ecclesiastical commissary to Seeg to arrest Boos. Without producing any authority for his action, the commissary broke open Boos' writing desk and confiscated his letters, private papers and books and escorted him to Augsburg where he appeared before the Court of the Inquisition on February 10th 1797.

After an enquiry into his activities he was suspended from his charge and expelled from his parish at Wiggensbach. In the meantime the report of the court proceedings was sent to the Bishop Elector of Augsburg. Boos, awaiting sentence was permitted to return to Seeg where he lived with Fineberg throughout the summer. On August 14th 1797 Fineberg and his curates, Bayer and Siller, with Boos were summoned by the

1. J. Gossner op.cit. p.23.

Inquisition and sentenced in Augsburg; Fineberg and his curates after recanting ten erroneous propositions were given solitary confinement in a convent for seven days on grounds of having sheltered Boos and shared in his sentiments; Boos himself was condemned to imprisonment for a year and a day in the House of Correction in Göggingen, outside Augsburg, where only clerical fools, mad men and criminals were lodged.

After completing eight months of the sentence, during which time he succeeded in converting the prison goaler, Fr. Hoffman, Boos was permitted at his own request to return to Augsburg where he was confined within the city walls, but permitted to live in a house of his own. He was placed under the direction of the Senior of the Capuchins who was ordered to prepare a course of theological studies for him to undergo. In 1789, frustrated beyond endurance, he absconded and fled from Augsburg moving (as a fugitive) from place to place, meanwhile carrying on correspondence with his friends. The Police were ordered to find and arrest him. Boos spent some time with Winckelhoffer, a priest who lived in Munich, and who also belonged to the Awakened Brethren; in Ratisbon he was sheltered by the Receveurs, a strict pious Protestant community who had been expelled from France. In December 1798, worn out by his life as a fugitive, Boos reappeared voluntarily before his judges at Augsburg and submitted to being sentenced again to confinement within the city walls. In April 1799 he was finally banished from Bavaria and took refuge in Upper Austria under the jurisdiction of the liberal Bishop of Linz who appointed him to the large and important parish of Gall New Kirchen. Here Boos was able to work with the support and protection of his diocesan Bishop for the next fifteen years.

The Awakening in Bavaria preached by Boos, Fineberg and other

converted priests numbered at least 7,000 souls by the time of Boos' banishment, and in Augsburg alone there were 50 individuals who had experienced the New Birth. It was to this movement of the Spirit that Gossner now deliberately joined himself. In November 1798, the year of Boos' secret wanderings and a year after his own conversion, Gossner left his parish at Neuburg to take Boos' place as one of Finsberg's assistants at Seeg. He remained there until April 1801 when he was appointed Chaplain to the Cathedral in Augsburg.

Augsburg was an Imperial Free City and although nominally the Jesuits had been suppressed they still continued to powerfully uphold the clerical government of the Elector Bishop, Clement Wenceslaus, Prince of Saxony and Poland (1768-1812). Referred to by the Awakened Brethren as 'Jerusalem', which in the days of Christ was the seat of the Supreme Court, Augsburg on account of the Court of the Inquisition was similarly regarded as the stronghold of the same persecuting power. Gossner had spent much time at Seeg reading and studying the works of St. Augustine and his preaching at Augsburg quickly brought him to the notice of the Jesuits. The Motto of the Awakening 'Christus in Nobis' was contrary to accepted Roman Catholic teaching of 'Christus extra Nos' and Gossner's insistence on living faith and justification without works was similarly at variance with much popular teaching on the necessity for Confession and Penance. Throughout Bavaria it was the custom for Absolution Festivals to be regularly held and Jubilee Years of Absolution celebrated when both laity and clergy alike went on pilgrimage to gain remission of their sins. As it had been said of Boos, so it was said of Gossner -

"He brought many souls to Christ while others only brought them to the Confessional. He honoured his Saviour while

others adored the Wafer"⁽¹⁾

Within twelve months of his arrival in Augsburg the Jesuits succeeded in summoning Gossner before the Inquisition, and on March 13th 1802 an enquiry was commenced into his teachings and writings. The Inquisition sat in the same hall in which the Protestant Reichst nde had proclaimed their Faith in 1530.⁽²⁾ The Jesuits had intercepted Gossner's correspondence and the enquiry took the form of investigation and cross examination on 95 propositions relating to the theological interpretation of 'Christus in Nobis' and Justification by Faith. It was Gossner's contention throughout the trial which closed on June 21st 1802 that he was being loyal to the teaching of the Catholic Church. After recanting certain propositions, Gossner was suspended and sentenced to imprisonment in the House of Correction at G ggingen where Fr. Hoffman, the Warder, received him kindly as a friend and disciple of Boos. His imprisonment lasted only a matter of weeks and following his release Gossner travelled to Linz to visit Boos in his parish at Gall. On his return to Bavaria the sentence of suspension from all ecclesiastical duties was still in force and Gossner found himself unable to gain employment.

Political events in Bavaria were now to change Gossner's whole ministry for the better. In 1799 the Elector Maximilian IV Joseph, a Liberal who was fully in sympathy with France and French ideals, had succeeded to the throne after the repressive reactionary rule of the Elector Charles Theodore. Bavaria, impoverished and in no position to resist the demands of Austria, took the field when in 1800 the French armies commenced hostilities. On December 2nd 1800 at the Battle of Hohenlinden the French General

1. J. Gossner op.cit. Preface p.xiii
2. The Diet of Augsburg. June 20th 1530. The Lutheran Confession of Augsburg was presented to the Emperor Charles V by the Protestant Princes.

Moreau defeated the combined armies of Austria and Bavaria. Bavaria subsequently lost the Palatinate and was fined. In 1803 by Napoleon's drastic remodelling of the German states Bavaria in compensation for the loss of the Palatinate was awarded bishoprics and cities which included that of Augsburg.

The Elector and his Chief Minister, Count Maximilian Joseph Montgelas (1759-1838) commenced reforms which were avowedly anti-clerical in spirit; Abbeys, Monasteries and Convents had their lands secularised, the clergy were stripped of their privileges and the Jesuits ceased to hold influence at Court. In the reforms of the Church promoted by the Government, Gossner as a victim of the Jesuits was awarded the Parish of Dirlwang, one of the largest and best in Bavaria.

The Years at Dirlwang 1803-1811.

Secure under the Government's protection Gossner spent the years of the Napoleonic Wars from 1803 to 1811 as vicar of Dirlwang. He was able to continue the work begun by Boos and Fineberg in Kempten and Allgäu amongst his own parishioners, and now for the first time he came into contact with Protestants who were members of the 'Deutsch Christentums-gesellschaft - The German Christian Fellowship' ⁽¹⁾ which had its headquarters at Basel in Switzerland.

1. The German Christian Fellowship had been founded at Basel in 1780 by Johann August Urlsperger (1728-1806) who from 1756 to 1776 had been the Lutheran Dean of Augsburg. Urlsperger's original intention in gathering together active promoters of pure doctrine and true godliness had been to combat the rationalistic theology of the day by developing a new biblical basis for the doctrine of the Trinity. Through his father ~~had~~ ^{he} had close links with Halle and the Pietists, notably Hermann Francke* (1663-1727), and the Fellowship soon exhibited the same practical philanthropic character as that of the Halle Pietists. Monthly meetings were held at which careful minutes were kept when, after prayer and

The contact between Gossner at Dirlwang and Spittler, the Secretary of the Fellowship, in Basel was typical of the richness and diversity of background to be found in the Fellowship. Gossner and Spittler became more than friends - they were like brothers - an attraction of opposites: Gossner was quick tempered, brusque, often rude, but very genial, hearty and sincere with a quick and infectious sense of humour so that no-one could be angry with him for long. Spittler who was from Wimsheim in Württemberg was serene, quiet, a mystic.

reading of the scriptures, letters from friends in the same cause were read and plans for joint activities for the glory of God were made. At an early stage a religious magazine was published in German with the title 'Gatherings for Lovers of Christian Truth' in which edifying anecdotes, answers to prayer, manifestations of the righteous judgment of God and Christian biographies were printed. The German congregation of the Savoy in London were the earliest of the international members of the Christian Fellowship who were soon to be found in many of the different states of Germany, notably Nuremberg, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Tübingen, Flensburg, Halberstadt and Dresden as well as in Amsterdam in Holland. The Fellowship survived the Napoleonic Wars unimpaired by the hostilities and gave the impulse to the founding of the Basel Mission in 1815. Thoroughly ecumenical in outlook it embraced amongst its members Moravians, Mennonites, Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Reformed. From 1795 to 1801 Karl Friederich Adolph Steinkopff (1773-1859) was appointed as Secretary; after he moved to London to take charge of the Lutheran Chapel of the Savoy his place was taken by Christian Friederich Spittler (1782-1867).

* August Hermann Francke (1663-1727). Lecturer at Leipzig 1685. Appointed Professor at Halle 1692. He founded a school, orphanage, printing press and dispensary, making Halle a centre of Pietism, practical philanthropy and Christian Social Service.

Through Fellowship contacts in Basel Gossner was introduced to the Moravians at Herrnhut and he made use of their Hymn-book and Lösungs-buch - (Daily Text Book) in his own parish. In 1803 Ida Bauberger came to Dirlawang as Gossner's housekeeper and remained with him as his life-long companion and complimentary partner for fifty years: after his death at Berlin in 1858 Gossner was later buried with Ida in the same grave. Although he was often in doubt as to whether or not he should marry, Gossner remained celibate all his life, and Ida undertook the women's work in each place where he lived.

In 1806 the plague broke out in Dirlawang and Gossner visited assiduously throughout his parish feeding forty to fifty people daily in his vicarage kitchen. These years were memorable owing to the small company of priests who came to visit him and who together formed a common rule of life - Sailer, now Professor at Landshut, Fineberg, Langenmayr and Bayr; they were years of deepening spiritual insight and of growing ability as a preacher. During the winter of 1808/1809 Gossner fell ill, and although hardly recovered by Holy Week, he conducted the services for Good Friday and Easter; shortly afterwards he collapsed. His illness was diagnosed as consumption and he made plans to resign his parish. At this very time circumstances in Basel affecting the future of the Fellowship and of Spittler as its Secretary opened the way for Gossner to fulfil a unique role. Towards the end of 1809 Spittler as a citizen of Württemberg became eligible for conscription in Napoleon's army which was preparing to invade Russia; he made plans for Gossner to move to Basel to take over the work as Secretary of the Fellowship during his absence. Gossner obtained leave of absence for six months and left the Parish in the hands of his friend Xavier Bayr; he had received a passport for four months stay in Switzerland, and on February

15th 1810 he left Dirlwang to take over the position as Secretary. A vacancy in the Editor's office which could be filled by a Roman Catholic without any difficulty was the official reason for his journey. Spittler had intended that Gossner should travel through Württemberg to Zürich and Basel, meeting and staying with Fellowship Members en route, but Gossner decided to go direct by the shortest road.

On May 12th 1810 Spittler left for the army and Gossner commenced his duties; he led Bible studies on the Epistle to the Romans, edited tracts and wrote articles for the Fellowship magazine while at the same time conducting all the official correspondence. The visit to Basel, however, was accompanied by a deep spiritual crisis concerning loyalty to his own Church. Gossner stayed on in Basel after Spittler's unexpected return, since a horror of returning to Bavaria where his sworn enemies the Jesuits, though no longer powerful, were still working for his downfall, oppressed his spirits. He had reached the stage of formally applying in writing to become a Protestant when in conversation with a Moravian Brother the issue was suddenly clarified -

"In Basel I wanted to become a convert to the Evangelical Church when a Moravian Brother said to me -

'Reverend Sir, I don't know what it is you are wanting here. Don't renounce the blessing from the Catholic church'.

As I walked in the city the paving stones seemed to say to me

'What are you doing here?'

I returned to Bavaria and indeed there came a blessing."⁽¹⁾

1. H. Dalton Johannes Gossner. Friedeman 1898. p.138.

The Years in Munich 1811-1819.

Gossner's fears, though real, failed to deter him from returning to Bavaria and he accepted a small benefice in Munich, the capital, where at the end of August 1811 at the age of 38 he commenced his ministry in the Church of Our Lady. It was here that Gossner began to establish his great reputation as a preacher. Since there were virtually no parish duties to perform he gathered an eclectic congregation from all over the city, taught Latin in one of the schools and began the work which came closest to his heart, a new translation of the New Testament into German. On Sundays people came in crowds to hear him preach. Gossner described his congregation as follows :-

"Barons, Officials, Secretaries of State, Officers, Soldiers, Ladies, Artists, Students, Doctors, Actors, Ballet Dancers, Theatrical Workers, Court Musicians, Burghers, Merchants, Domestic Servants, Butchers, Hospital Assistants and Invalids - in short, men of all classes hear with pleasure and gratitude the Gospel of Him who was crucified for their sins and they strike up with me the hymn - 'To the Lamb All, yea All, is due'. They are certainly not equally aflame and equally alive in the faith, but as everywhere - some more, some less; but our hope is for all in Him who is the one Saviour and Friend of sinners. And some are truly firm and strong in Him and are also influencing others. (1)

Gossner commenced holding meetings on week-days in the large Elizabeth Church where he introduced his congregation to the Hymn-book and The Losungsbuch of the Moravians and to the magazine of the Christian Fellowship; Bible readings and excerpts from the magazine were read, expositions of scriptural passages took place

and ex tempore prayers were interspersed with hymns and songs accompanied by musical instruments. Gossner meanwhile continued to write tracts and with the prospect of publishing his version of the New Testament he was able to correspond with Steinkopff, the Foreign Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society⁽¹⁾, who from June to December 1812 made a tour of the Continent which included Sweden, Denmark and Germany. Steinkopff had been commissioned to assist the work of the Society on the Continent; he was able to present Gossner with a private donation of £25 to further the circulation of New Testaments among poor Catholics and from this time onwards Gossner and he became regular correspondents.⁽²⁾

In 1815 Gossner was able to publish ten thousand copies of his New Testament. Prior to publication he requested and received the formal approval of the Vicariate-General of the Bishopric of Freising near Munich which he printed on the inside cover of his Testaments. In the Bible Society Report for 1816 Steinkopff noted -

"I was truly sorry to find in this edition some notes annexed, which few as they were, rendered it impracticable for me to aid the circulation of this edition, but as a second will soon become necessary I promised £100 on condition that all notes should be left out."⁽³⁾

In a letter to Steinkopff Gossner acknowledged the grant of £100 promising that in future he would conform to the Society's ruling and omit all notes from the text; he included his own reactions to the publication and sale of his New Testament in Munich -

1. Karl Steinkopff was elected Foreign Secretary at the inaugural meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, March 7th 1804.
2. B. & F.B.S. Annual Report 1813 p.451
3. B. & F.B.S. Annual Report 1816 p.152

"The new edition of the Testament has been received with general approbation and has met with so rapid a sale that 3,000 copies were disposed of within six weeks. I observe in this city a great and heart-felt joy at the publication of this work even in persons among whom I scarcely should have expected it. Some citizens fetched whole dozens for distribution; some have purchased hundreds. The Vicar-General of Constance, Baron de Wessenberg, ordered 2,000 copies at once. The edition pleases on account of the legible types, great accuracy and agreement with the original. I have determined immediately to print a second edition on standing types in which all notes shall be entirely left out."⁽¹⁾

The Italian Court Chaplain, Anton Joseph Sambuga who was an inveterate enemy of Gossner, now began organising opposition ⁱⁿ to Munich to the 'Sect of the Pietists'.

In February 1816 the Society voted Gossner £200 to finance the printing of his second edition and in his letter to Steinkopff, dated March 8th, Gossner voiced the fears which he had been hiding ever since his arrival in Munich -

"I must further repeat what I informed you of last month that I was in dread of a furious persecution which might have been very detrimental to the Word of God. It was, as I know to a certainty, determined upon by our government to apprehend me and Mr. Lindle ⁽²⁾, the clergyman, and to render us incapable any longer of acting any further and to destroy entirely the Sect of the Pietists, as they call it, but God who directs

1. B. & F.B.S. Foreign Correspondence Book No. 3. 1815. p.127
2. Ignatius Lindle 1774-1845. Parish priest of Grundremmingen near Dillingen. He joined in preaching the Awakening in Allgäu having strong millenarian beliefs.

every heart and governs the hearts of Kings like rivers of waters said - 'It is my desire that it shall not succeed'. I now hear that the Minister has not ratified the Decree of the Government but rejected it, giving them to understand at the same time that they should not meddle in such matters."⁽¹⁾

Montgelas in upholding the principle of religious toleration was to powerfully support Gossner during the remaining years of his influence as Minister in Munich. That the fear of persecution and disapproval from his superiors was no empty threat became clear when on June 29th 1816 Pople Pius VII addressed a Papal Rescript to the Metropolitan of Poland advising him on methods for combating both the spread of Bible Societies and the distribution of the Scriptures. This was followed on September 3rd, 1816, by a Monitory Brief addressed to the Catholic Metropolitan of Russia, Stanislaus, Archbishop of Mohileff, in St. Petersburg, reproving him for his action in supporting the work of the Russian Bible Society which had been constituted in St. Petersburg in January 1813. The governments in Austria and Hungary in obedience to the Papal directions prohibited the formation of Bible Societies within their provinces. From this time onwards opposition to the free circulation of the Scriptures in Bavaria became a political issue as the government yielded to or opposed pressure from Rome.

a/ Pope Pius VII on his return from captivity in France, by the Bull 'Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum' promulgated on August 7th 1814 had restored the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits were held responsible for promoting Ultramontaine policies in all Catholic countries and direction from Rome henceforth became a factor in the politics of all German states. In order to silence the growing opposition to his activities in Munich, Gossner decided to appeal direct to the Minister and to the Crown Prince. In a

letter to Steinkopff dated October 20th 1816 he described his reception by Montgelas as follows :-

"The Minister's answer was that protection would be granted me as much as the laws would allow but he had still a suspicion that I was connected with a Secret Society or with Protestants, particularly in England. He was pleased that I had made application to him and furnished him with an open and undisguised statement of my object for he dreaded nothing more than secret societies who stood in connection with foreign countries".

Gossner had requested permission to dedicate the Second Edition of his New Testament to Ludwig, the Crown Prince⁽¹⁾; he received the following reply by return of post :-

"I have had the pleasure to receive your obliging letter, together with the last edition of your New Testament. If every friend of Christianity feels it his duty to promote by all the means in his power the general dissemination of the Word of God, and consequently the knowledge of true Christianity, how sacred ought such an undertaking to appear in the eyes of Princes! How welcome to them every measure that may tend to promote in the speediest and most effectual manner the attainment of so exalted an object!

Considered in this point of view, your endeavours to promote the knowledge of the Christian religion by means of your New Testament meet with MY UNQUALIFIED APPROBATION and as an acknowledgment of my gratitude for the transmission of a copy of it to me, I beg your acceptance of a gold medal as a pledge of the sincerity of the sentiments with which,

I remain yours

October 5th 1816. LEWIS Crown Prince⁽²⁾

1. Ludwig I. He succeeded to the throne in 1825 and abdicated in favour of his son Maximilian II in 1848.
2. B. & F.B.S. Correspondence Book No. 5 1816. October 20th.

By the same letter Gossner informed Steinkopff of the new opportunities presented to him for the circulation of his New Testament in the wards of the Elizabeth Hospital in Munich -

"By the wonderful intervention of Providence this blessed book is now in this Metropolis in the hands of some of the nobility and gentry who never thought of it before. The Lord has also been pleased to make a way for my entrance into the General Hospital. There are seven or eight nurses belonging to it who have been converted to the true faith; they came to me, I recommended them the persual of the New Testament and presented them with it. They read it, were rejoiced and astonished and requested some for the use of the sick. I felt the greatest pleasure in being able to supply them. By means of these pious nurses, each ward is now supplied with several copies which the sick peruse with thanks and gladness."⁽¹⁾

(1) B. & F.B.S. Foreign Correspondence Book No. 5 October 20th 1816.

The year 1817 opened with the news that the Government in support of the Papal policy had forbidden the formation of a Bible Society in Bavaria. Gossner comforted himself with the thought that as his Testament had received the 'imprimatur' of the Vicariate-General of Freising he could not be accused of acting against authority. Under the new regulations only Protestants through their Deans were to be allowed to collect money for and distribute Bibles under police supervision. Gossner issued a word of caution in his letter of January 15th 1817 -

"I earnestly intreat you by all means to prevent it being publicly told or published in print what you bestow upon me and other Catholics. Very lately a paragraph appeared in the Public Papers that the English Society had contributed towards my edition as well as that of Mr. Wittman and Leander van Ess ⁽¹⁾ several hundred pounds, and that through us more than 100,000 Bibles and Testaments had been disposed of among Catholics. Such things should not be publicly stated for here our government infers secret connections with England and fears danger because the very term of 'society' is suspect". ⁽²⁾

1. George Michael Wittman 1760-1833. Professor and Rector of the Diocesan Seminary at Ratisbon. In conjunction with Pineberg he prepared a translation of the New Testament which was published at Ratisbon in 1808. He founded the Ratisbon Bible Society for the distribution of Catholic Scriptures. (The Bible Society has no record of helping to finance Wittman's edition of the New Testament).

Leander van Ess 1772-1847. A Benedictine monk. Professor of Theology at Marburg. In 1807 he published his edition of the New Testament which was later subsidised by the Bible Society. From 1812-1827 van Ess acted as an Agent of the Bible Society in Germany.

2. B. & F.B.S. Foreign Correspondence Book No. 6 1817. January 15th.

Following the Concordat agreed upon between the Bavarian Government and the Holy See, on December 16th 1817 Gossner informed Steinkopff that he had been deprived of his office :-

"The enemy has not yet succeeded here in procuring an official prohibition of this holy work, but I am much in fear lest he should now gain his point since a Papal Nuncio is now expected to organise the Bishoprics and to instal Bishops. The adversary has so far prevailed as to deprive me of my office. I dare no longer preach the Gospel or instruct the youth. Still I am permitted to stay here - how long I know not. I work while it is day. Twice I was tried on account of Scripture dissemination. Lindle has been imprisoned in Augsburg since more than twelve weeks and sighs for his deliverance. Very likely he will be stripped of his gown. We have many adversaries but One is our friend who is within us."⁽¹⁾

At the instigation of Serra Di Casano, the Papal Nuncio who had been responsible for negotiating the Concordat of 1817, an official enquiry was undertaken into the activities of Martin Boos, Lindle and Gossner, a report of which was forwarded to Rome; Sailer wrote in support of Gossner's case but to no avail. On August 22nd 18~~18~~¹⁹ Gossner was compelled to tender his resignation to his Superiors and, as an undesirable citizen, was ordered to leave Bavarian territory; his New Testament was later placed on the Index and its circulation prohibited. News of these events reached London in a letter read before the Committee on August 15th 1819.

"The Bishops and the Vicars-General have through the Pope's Nuncio applied to the Royal Government to order Mr. Gossner

to remove from Munich in which case he means to accept an invitation from the Royal Prussian Government to become a teacher of religion in one of the seminaries and an officiating minister in the City of Düsseldorf. The dissemination of the Scriptures, however, will still be continued at Munich by several friends who will exert themselves with zeal and integrity and as far as possible Mr. Gossner will co-operate with them."⁽¹⁾

Banished from Bavaria Gossner moved to Düsseldorf which since 1815 had been annexed to Prussia. He obtained employment as a teacher and preached in the church of St. Maximilian; he was able to combine Biblical teaching with his general duties and wrote on October 23rd 1819 -

"I have been in this city near on two months and by the grace of God find myself placed in an extensive sphere of usefulness enjoying the privilege of preaching the Gospel of Christ. In addition to this, I am authorised to instruct the scholars in one of our public seminaries, in religion, and the great point at which I aim is to make them acquainted with the Bible; hitherto they have proved very attentive. I presented each with my copy of the New Testament which they received with the utmost joy and bring with them to lectures, that while I am

1. B. & F.B.S. Correspondence Book 1819 August 15th.

Note:- During his years at Munich Gossner had been able to print five editions of his New Testament for which he had received in grants from the British and Foreign Bible Society over £1800 towards expenses. Up to the year 1832 his New Testament continued to be reprinted regularly in Germany where in spite of the official prohibition from Rome it had a wide circulation. In 1837 Gossner presented the types to the Prussian Bible Society who in 1841 presented them as a mark of their gratitude and esteem to the Bible Society in London.

B. & F.B.S. Annual Reports 1837, 1841.

pointing out the fundamental doctrines of religion they may see with their own eyes what is contained in the Scriptures."⁽¹⁾

Gossner continued to correspond with the Bible Society in London and further news of the violent measures adopted by opponents of the Bible in Düsseldorf were reported in a letter dated April 20th 1820.

"A very strong opposition to the dissemination of the Scriptures has been manifested by the monks and Jesuits who have publicly denounced the Bible as an improper book to be read by the common people, many of whom have given up their copies to the Jesuits who have burnt them. The students however and some of the people of education remain unmoved by the violent attacks and would not surrender their Testaments."⁽²⁾

In the same letter Gossner informed the committee that he had received an invitation from the Czar Alexander I to take charge of a congregation in St. Petersburg and that, as his own activities in Düsseldorf had been drastically curtailed, he intended accepting the invitation.

1. B. & F.B.S. Report 1820 p.158
2. B. & F.B.S. Minute Book 1820 May 15th.

The Years in St. Petersburg 1820-1824.

In the early summer of 1820 at the age of 47 Gossner made the journey to St. Petersburg, the Russian capital, to take up his duties as Chaplain to the Priory Church of the Knights of Malta. The Czar Alexander I (1777-1825) had issued this invitation and it was under the patronage of the Czar that Gossner spent the years 1820 to 1824.

The Russian aristocracy since before the reign of the Empress Catherine the Great (1767-1796) had long been influenced by French culture from which they had borrowed their speech, dress, and manners, but as an élite they had remained strangers to Europe, to European thought and to Western forms of Christianity. At the close of the 18th century a change had taken place which was powerfully supported by the position in European politics accorded to the Czar Alexander I, following the retreat of the French armies from Moscow and the defeat of Napoleon. In the revulsion of feeling towards the French and French atheism and materialism which followed the War many members of the aristocracy came under the influence of Pietism. The Czar himself gave a lead in replacing the traditional Russian suspicion of Western Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, by a desire to discover a common language with Christians of all Confessions and traditions.

Alexander had been brought up in the French atmosphere of religious scepticism^{et} which pervaded in the Russian court. Egotistic and well-meaning, the events of the invasion of Russia by Napoleon, notably the burning of Moscow in September 1812, produced in him a remarkable change of heart. He became a mystic and searched for signs and portents which would reveal to him the workings of Divine Providence. In the years 1815-1820 he came under the influence of the Baroness Barbara Juliana von Krüdener, ⁽¹⁾ a

1. Barbara Juliana von Krüdener. Born at Riga 1764. Married

member of the Baltic nobility who at the age of 40 had herself been converted to Pietism by a Moravian shoe-maker in her home at Riga. Madame von Krüdener, after visits in 1806 to Herrnhut and Berthelsdorf where she stayed with the Moravians, met Frederic Fontaine, a Prussian Huguenot pastor who had formed a liaison with Mary Kummer, an ecstatic peasant girl who had the gifts of prophecy. Under the influence of Fontaine, Madame von Krüdener travelled widely in Europe addressing revivalist meetings and in the Spring of 1815 she suddenly presented herself before the Czar Alexander I at his headquarters at Heilbronn in Württemberg. She is credited with inspiring in Alexander the belief that he was the 'man from the North' who was to destroy Anti-Christ whom she designated as Napoleon. Under her influence in Paris during September 1815 the Czar with the Kings of Prussia and Austria formed the Holy Alliance when each pledged to take as his sole guide 'the precepts of justice, Christian charity and peace'.

Under the influence of the Czar many of his entourage were brought into touch with Pietism and the writings of European mystics, notably the 'True Christianity' of the German Lutheran Johann Arndt (1555-1621) were widely read. Amongst the Czar's intimate friends Prince Alexander Galitzyn had been converted to Christianity through his contact with Pietist circles; he was made Procurator of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Baron Burchard Alexis Constantine von Krüdener, Russian Minister in Curland, 1782. Converted to Pietism at Riga in 1804. She was dismissed from St. Petersburg in 1820 having failed to win over the Czar to support the Greek War of Independence. She joined a Pietist community founded under the protection of the Princess Galitzyn at Sarata in Bessarabia where she died in 1825. For Madame von Krüdener see W. Bauer. Religious life in Germany during the Wars of Independence. Vol. 2 Chapter 3.

and Head of the dual Ministry of Education and Religion, being entrusted with reforming and building up an educational system for the Empire on religious principles which would be acceptable to all Confessions.

The first meeting of the Russian Bible Society had been held in Prince Galitzyn's house when by an Imperial Ukase of January 14th 1813 Alexander had sanctioned the forming of a Society 'for the dissemination of the Old and New Testaments among the professors of foreign churches resident in Russia, by enabling the less wealthy to purchase copies at a cheap rate and by supplying the poor gratuitously.⁽¹⁾ Galitzyn had been chosen and appointed the Society's first President at a meeting remarkable for its irenic spirit, when representatives of widely differing Christian traditions had been brought together for the first time. Two Scots missionaries, John Paterson and Robert Pinkerton, members of the Edinburgh Missionary Society who had played a large part in promoting the foundation of the Society described the inaugural meeting as follows :-

"It was truly delightful to see the unanimity which actuated this assembly, composed of Christians of the Russian Greek Church, of Armenians, of Catholics, of Lutherans, of Calvinists, all met for the express purpose of making the Gospel of the grace of God sound out from the shores of the Baltic to the Eastern Ocean and from the Frozen Ocean to the Black Sea and the Borders of China.

From the list of members present at this meeting you will see that the foundations of this Society is laid by persons of the first rank in the Empire; by persons who count it an honour to be able to reckon themselves among the friends of the Bible, and who notwithstanding their holding the first offices in the

State do not consider it unworthy of them to promote its circulation among their fellow men, being convinced of the great good which must arise therefrom. From the character of the persons who compose the Society much may be reasonably expected."⁽¹⁾

In the cosmopolitan Society of the Russian capital the small Protestant congregations were drawn chiefly from the business and trading communities of Northern Europe; The Moravians had their own congregations under their pastor Mortimer, and the Germans, Finns and Scandinavians each had their own national churches. Following the Second Partition of Poland in 1793 and the arrival in St. Petersburg of large numbers of exiles from the French Revolution, in 1798 the Roman Catholic Arch-diocese of Mohileff under its Metropolitan Stanislaus Siestrencewitz (1730-1826) was created. In 1800 the Jesuits, many of whom under the protection of Catherine the Great had found refuge in Russia, were entrusted with the parish church of St. Catherine; following their expulsion from St. Petersburg in 1815 the care of Roman Catholics in the capital was entrusted to the Dominicans.

The Knights Hospitallars of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem who since their eviction from Rhodes by the Turks in 1522 had made Malta their home granted to the Czar Paul I in 1797 the title 'Protector of the Order of Malta'. The Czar who was an enthusiastic admirer of the Order granted to the Knights extensive estates in Russia, and a Grand Priory of Russia was constituted for Orthodox Christians. On June 12th 1798 the Grand Master, Ferdinand von Hompesch ignominiously surrendered the island of Malta to Napoleon and the Order was disbanded. Many of the Knights found refuge in Russia under the protection of the Czar, and although von Hompesch was still living in retirement at

Trieste, the refugees irregularly elected the Czar their Grand Master, an action which brought them a strong rebuke from Pope Pius VI. After the death of Paul, Alexander I assumed the title 'Protector of the Order' but left the Grand-Mastership to the decision of the Pope. It was to the extra-parochial Priory Church of the Knights of Malta that in October 1819 the Czar through Prince Galitzyn invited Lindle, the Bavarian priest who for his preaching and dissemination of the Scriptures had been imprisoned by the Inquisition at Augsburg. Lindle was an impressive preacher but he proved averse to city life, and after less than a year in St. Petersburg he was granted permission to move to Odessa where he was appointed Provost to the Catholic congregation, amongst whom were many Italian immigrants.

It was under these circumstances that in July 1820 Gossner journeyed to St. Petersburg to succeed Lindle as Chaplain to the Priory Church of the Knights of Malta.

Soon after his arrival, on August 31st 1820 Gossner was able to attend the General Committee of the Russian Bible Society where he was welcomed by the President, Prince Galitzyn and met for the first time the Civil Governor of St. Petersburg, the Catholic Metropolitan and other distinguished Members.⁽¹⁾ Since there were no parochial duties attached to the Maltese Priory the congregation was perforce an eclectic one drawn from all quarters of the city and attracted to Gossner by his gifts as a preacher. As a Catholic priest his only obligatory duty was the celebrating of Mass each Sunday; he very quickly established the custom of congregational worship which he had already pioneered in Munich. In order to meet the needs of his multi-lingual and inter-confessional congregation he published a hymn book to which he gave the name 'Selected Hymns about the Redeeming Love' and in

co-operation with the musician, Tscherlitzky, he also produced a book of four-part songs for accompaniment on the organ. Gossner preached each Sunday for an hour or more and in an early letter dated August 22nd 1820 he described the scope and opportunity of his new appointment -

"People of all classes - Catholics and Protestants, Greeks and Jews, Tartars and Samojids, Kirghis and Kamtschadals, Swedes and Finns, Germans and French, Poles and Italians, in short men of all languages and tongues are gathered here and more or less all of them hear of this rumour which the preaching of the Gospel causes. Now I have found my nest where I stay until the diabolic hunter or the Heavenly 'Omnia Disponens' chases me away or leaves me, as he pleases. 'It is good to be here'. There is fertile soil, a large wide field, an open door, yes, a wide open portal to a whole quarter of the globe".⁽¹⁾

Secure under the patronage of the Czar during the years 1820 to 1824 Gossner was able to create at the Maltese Priory the classic type of Pietist community which received the name of the 'Gossner-Gemeinde - The Gossner Community'. Gossner preached each Sunday and distributed the Holy Communion in both kinds to his congregation. Mortimer, the pastor of the Moravians, regularly brought his own congregation to the Priory to hear Gossner's sermons. Gossner commenced bi-weekly meetings on Sunday and Thursday evenings which at first were held in his own house; later the Thursday meetings were transferred to the church of St. Catherine, the parish church for the Catholics in the city. The devout communal reading of the Bible, extempore praying and the singing of hymns were combined with philanthropic and social

1. W. Holsten. Johannes Evangelista Gossner. Glaube und Gemeinde Gottingen 1949 p.34.

schemes which drove members of the Gossner-Community to engage in practical Christian service. The popularity of these gatherings which followed the same pattern as the ones in Munich soon brought Gossner into collision with the Dominicans who locked their church doors against him. In 1822 the Czar was able to provide Gossner and his congregation with the use of the ballroom in the Moskaya Palace where the Thursday meetings were henceforth regularly held with attendances averaging a thousand people. Johan Philip Simon, the author of a book 'Russian Life' described the Gossner-Community about this time -

"When I first saw them they came together twice a week on Thursdays and Sundays in a private house where they had a harmonium. The Edification Hour comprised hymns sung by the people and accompanied on the Harmonium. The organist for many years was an artist called Rochstuhl. There were readings from the Bible and other religious writings. They prayed like all other churches, synagogues and mosques in Russia for the Czar and for his family. This Edification Hour was continued (after Gossner's departure) into the reign of the Czar Nicholas and still to-day. At the end of the 1820's I used to visit them quite often and sometimes saw even Generals kneeling faithfully in prayer. Everything was said in the name of Jesus with humility."⁽¹⁾

The regular weekday activities of the Gossner-Community were developed along philanthropic and educational lines. Each Monday Gossner went out to Smolna, one of the suburbs of St. Petersburg, where he preached his Sunday sermons a second time in the poor-house. Sunday schools were started for the children, and the poor, sick, blind and non-Christian inhabitants of the city were cared for through a wide variety of benevolent schemes.

1. H. Lokies. op.cit. p.47

Gossner had already introduced his congregation to 'Gatherings for Lovers of Christian Truth', the magazine of the German Christian Fellowship in Basle; following the foundation of the Basle Missionary Institution in 1815, the Basle Mission magazine 'Mission Hours' containing the reports of first-hand experiences of missionary work in foreign lands was widely read and the Gossner Community made regular collections for the support of the Basle Mission.

In 1823 opposition to Gossner and his methods began to appear led by the Archimandrite Photius, Abbot of the Monastery of St. George, and Friederich Rheinbott, the Lutheran minister of the Church of St. Ann in St. Petersburg; both the Lutheran and Reformed pastors in the city who were rationalists were jealous of Gossner's success and opposed to his Pietism. The immediate cause of faction between Gossner and his opponents was brought about by Lindle who had returned to St. Petersburg from Odessa where his ministry to the Catholic congregation had finally provoked riots in which his church windows were smashed. Lindle was now determined to break his vows as a Catholic priest, and he requested Gossner to perform his marriage. Gossner finally acceded to this request, and after a secret marriage Lindle returned to Sarata in Besserabia where he joined a Pietist community founded under the patronage of the Princess Galitzyn. With the birth of his first child Lindle could no longer conceal his clandestine marriage and the scandal which this caused in St. Petersburg prompted the Czar to banish him from Russia. Excommunicated by his own church, he returned to Germany where at Leipzig he became a Protestant. He subsequently taught in the Rhenish Mission House in Barmen, but later joined the Nazarenes, an anti clerical, Puritanical sect with millenarian beliefs.

Gossner had also been implicated in Lindle's disgrace and soon a further cause of scandal was brought to light with the publication in Russian of Gossner's own Commentary on the New Testament, first written by him in Munich. A General belonging to the Gossner-Community bore the expense of translating 'The Spirit of Life and the Teaching of Jesus' into Russian which was published in St. Petersburg in November 1823.

a) Gossner's opponents [mongst the Russian clergy led by Photius, and the enemies of Prince Galitzyn led by Count Arakcheyev⁽¹⁾] now prepared a charge of blasphemy against Gossner based on his teaching in St. Matthew's Gospel relating to The Blessed Virgin Mary and the Family of our Lord. Gossner had commented as follows :-

"St. Matthew 1. verses 25.26. 'And Joseph arose from his sleep and did as the angel of the Lord commanded him and took unto him his wife; and knew her not till she had brought forth a son.'

After the birth of Jesus, Mary also became the mother of Joseph's children as our verse says. Compare Chapter 12 v.46. 'While he was yet speaking to the multitudes behold his mother and his brethren stood without, seeking to speak with him.' "

If we compare Mark 6 v.7 we read Mary later had children by Joseph. There is no proof of this - but even if it were true it is no matter, since Jesus is to be born in our hearts. Matrimony is a holy ordinance of God and we ought not to make common what God has purified.⁽²⁾

1. Count Aleksei Arakcheyev 1769-1834. Inspector General and Minister of War.
2. J. Gossner. Die Heiligen Schriften des Neuen Testaments mit Erklärungen und Betrachtungen. Hamburg 1888

Gossner's opponents declared that these comments constituted a blasphemous attack upon the Perpetual Virginity of the Mother of God. Coupled with his liberal views on celibacy and clerical marriage this proved sufficient to cause his Commentary to be officially condemned and the whole edition together with Gossner's portrait was publicly burnt in the courtyard of St. George's Monastery.

Gossner merely commented -

"Let them heat the furnace and remember the Three Holy Children in Babylon - on that occasion also they burnt a lot of wood for nothing!"⁽¹⁾

It was owing to the request of the Austrian Minister Prince Metternich that Gossner's ministry in St. Petersburg was finally terminated by the Czar. Alexander had come under Metternich's influence in 1822 at the Congress of Verona when the Ministers had decided that interference to quell revolutionary movements in any one of the member states was a legitimate act.⁽²⁾

Metternich had urged Alexander to banish Gossner from St. Petersburg as being an undesirable citizen; Yielding to the forces who opposed Prince Galitzyn and his circle, the Czar in April 1824 at one and the same time demanded the resignation of the Prince from office, suspended the Russian Bible Society and banished Gossner from St. Petersburg. News of these events were reported under the heading 'Anti-Biblical Revolution in Russia' in the Scottish Missionary Society Report for 1824.

"In consequence of the powerful opposition which was raised to the Bible Society, Prince Galitzyn its noble Præsident,

1. H. Lokies. op.cit.
2. Congress of Verona. October 20th 1822. Attended by Alexander I, Prince Metternich and representative Ministers of Prussia, France and Great Britain.

retired from that office and a Russian Admiral was appointed in his place. Its no less excellent Secretary, Mr. Papoff, who visited this country about two years ago, and who was connected with the censorship of the press, was afterwards put on trial by the Criminal Court respecting a book which had been published by Pastor Gossner in which there were some reflections which were considered as unfavourable to the doctrines of the Greek Church relative to the Virgin Mary.

Pastor Gossner himself, who though a Catholic is said to be a most eloquent, evangelical and useful preacher, had previous to this been ordered away from St. Petersburg on a few days notice."⁽¹⁾

1. Missionary Register. 1825. p.392.

The Interim Years 1824-1829.

The Awakening first preached by Martin Boos and Fineberg in 1876 had continued to spread during Gossner's absence from Bavaria and the Awakened Brethren had increased in such numbers in the districts of Kempten and Allgäu that the Bishop of Augsburg had found it impossible on his own authority to repress them. On September 22nd 1823 one of the Zelanti⁽¹⁾, Cardinal Girolamo Della Genga (1760-1829) a former Papal Nuncio in Germany was elected Pope. He took the title Leo XII and by repressing all forms of liberalism in the Catholic Church quickly established his policy of strengthening the loyalty of the Bishops to the See of Peter; he pronounced against Bible Societies and the freedom of the Press, tightened the regulations governing the Index and strongly opposed the national movements in the Catholic Church in France, Germany and Austria. In keeping with the new policy at Rome, the Bishop of Augsburg in October 1823 issued a Pastoral Letter in which he denounced Boos and his followers as "Pseudomystics" and instigated active persecution against them; 37 priests were involved in this suppression which took place in 1824 and in an account published in the French Protestant periodical "Archives du Christianisme" Fineberg, Wincklelhofer, Lindle, Gossner and Boos were mentioned by name as leaders of the movement.⁽²⁾

Boos had been banished from Austria in 1815 and had taken refuge in Prussia; in 1819 he was appointed vicar of Sayn-on-the-Rhine and although still harrassed by his enemies he was secure under the protection of the Protestant government. When news reached

1. The Zelanti - A Party in Rome who supported the Jesuits and advocated strengthening the Papal government. They were opposed to Liberalism in both church and state.
2. The Christian Observer. September 1827.

him that the Awakening which he had preached in Bavaria had been officially condemned by the hierarchy he shrewdly interpreted the motives of the authorities as follows :-

"By a spurious mysticism they understand a dangerous and secret association which menaces at once both church and state".⁽¹⁾

Since 1819 the Carlsbad Decrees⁽²⁾ had been in force throughout Germany and Police informers were everywhere active in detecting and bringing to trial those suspected of anti-government sympathies; meetings and associations were banned and government licence was required for all public and social gatherings. Anti-liberal parties were in the ascendant both in the Catholic Church and the German states when in 1824 Gossner returned to Germany after four years spent in St. Petersburg. On April 9th 1824 Gossner preached his last sermon in the Maltese Priory, and two days later left St. Petersburg accompanied by an escort of Cossacks who conducted him to the frontier. He continued his journey to Berlin where he arrived on May 29th hoping to find protection under the Protestant Government of Prussia. Karl von Altenstein (1770-1840) Prussian Minister of Public Worship dared not employ Gossner in any public capacity since he was prohibited from preaching and could obtain no post in the Catholic Seminaries as a teacher. After a month's stay in Berlin Gossner

1. J. Gossner op.cit. Appendix. Letter of October 23rd 1823.
2. The Carlsbad Decrees. In August-September 1819 at Carlsbad under Metternich's direction the Ministers of Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, Baden and Württemberg agreed to the following repressive measures:-
 1. A censorship of the Press for 5 years.
 2. Control of the Universities through Overseers.
 3. All persons suspected of revolutionary activities to be refused public employment.
 4. A Commission with headquarters at Maintz to investigate revolutionary activities throughout Germany.

moved to Altona, a suburb of Hamburg, where he stayed as the guest of a Mennonite merchant, Van der Smisson. Unable to perform any type of public ministry Gossner was free only to lead family worship and to address meetings in the homes of his friends. In Altona at the house of Van der Smisson Gossner met Amalie Sieveking⁽¹⁾, a pioneer in female education and nursing of the sick, who, with her friends Louise Reichardt and Christine Böhner, formed a circle of social reformers concerned with the education of girls and the care of the sick and poor. Gossner's own work in Dirlewang during the plague, his duties as Chaplain to the Elizabeth Hospital in Munich and his recent experience at the Smolna Poor-House in St. Petersburg provided him with the necessary background to welcome and encourage those women in their plans for a higher standard of nursing. He could only act, however, in a private capacity, and after only three months stay in Altona, in September 1824 he was compelled by the Police to leave Hamburg. Gossner moved to Leipsig in Saxony where he stayed with his friend Tauchnitz. Still banned from any public preaching, he devoted his time to literary work; he wrote a devotional manual of daily readings and prayers suitable for family worship to which he gave the name "Schatzkästlein - The Spiritual Casket" and commenced translating the "Imitation of Christ" of Thomas a Kempis. During this period in Leipsig he renewed contact with the Gossner-Community in St. Petersburg which had survived his banishment and was continuing to meet regularly; he wrote a series of meditations on the "Medulla Animae" of the German Dominican Johannes Tauler (1290-1361) a mystical writer who was a contemporary of Meister Eckhart at Strassburg. These meditations and the letters which Gossner

1. Amalie Sieveking. ¹⁷⁹⁴~~1879~~-1859. Social Reformer and Philanthropist. She nursed the sick in the Cholera outbreak in Hamburg 1831. Founded the Female Society for the Care of the Sick and Poor, an Order for Nursing Deaconesses in the Lutheran Church 1832.

wrote on his birthday each year to the Community in St. Petersburg were eventually collected and published in 1857 with the title "Goldkürner - Golden Grains".

In 1825 Gossner visited the settlement of the Moravians on the estate of their founder, Count Ludvig von Zinzendorf, at Herrnhut. During his stay the question of joining the Moravian Brotherhood or remaining loyal to his own Church presented itself in an acute form and finally on June 16th 1825 Gossner requested that the decision might be made in accordance with the traditional Moravian custom of casting the lot; he joined the Brethren and Sisters in a celebration of the Lord's Supper and afterwards the lot was cast but the answer proved negative. Gossner stayed on at Herrnhut for the remainder of the year editing a biography of his friend and fellow-exile from Bavaria, Martin Boos, who had died in his vicarage at Sayn on August 29th 1825. On his return to Leipsig in 1826 he published the biography with the title "Martin Boos - a Preacher of Righteousness".

During August 1825 Dr. Pinkerton, the British and Foreign Bible Society's Agent, visited Leipsig in the course of one of his European tours and consulted with the committee of the Leipsig Bible Society at the home of the President, Dr. Tittman. Gossner's needs were represented to him and he was able to arrange for a grant of 1,000 copies of the Gossner New Testament to be given to him. ⁽¹⁾ Gossner returned to Leipsig in 1826 where he commenced Bible classes in a small conventicle to which both Protestants and Catholics came; he was soon reported to the Police, however, and an investigation into his activities was demanded. To the question whether or not he was a Catholic Gossner replied - "I am a Christian". The Protestant authorities in Leipsig, however, were unwilling to shelter him and he was

ordered to leave the city. On July 11th 1826 Gossner arrived on the estate of Count Henry von Reuss, a Silesian nobleman and a grand-nephew of Zinzendorf, who had met him at Herrnhut the previous year. The Count was one of the Committee of the Buchwald Bible Society⁽¹⁾ which comprised a number of Pietists among the nobility in the Giants Mountains on the borders of Silesia and Austria. Count von Reuss welcomed Gossner to Jänkendorf as his guest where he very soon became acquainted with the Countess Frederika von Reden, the President of the Society, who invited him to address her family and friends at her castle in Buchwald. In this way Gossner gained the entrée to a circle of Pietist land-owners among the Silesian nobility who invited him to their homes to lead their family worship and to address meetings and gatherings of their friends and estate workers. Gossner met Prince William and Princess Marianna von Preussen in Finsbach, Prince Radzivill and Princess Louise von Preussen in Ruhberg, Field Marshall von Gneisenau in Erdmannsdorf, Count Konstantine Stolberg-Wernigerode in Jannowitz, Count Anton Stolberg in Kreppelhof, Burgrave Henry Ludwig Dohna in Hermsdorf and Karl von Heynitz in Königshain.⁽²⁾ Frederika von Reden (1774-1854)⁽³⁾ was a close and respected friend of the Prussian Royal House of Hohenzollern and her friendship with Gossner, which began through his frequent visits to her home to address

1. The Buchwald Bible Society, an Auxiliary of the Prussian Bible Society, had been founded by Count von Reden, the Adjutant-General to the Duke of Brunswick and a Prussian Minister of State on his estate at Buchwald on June 19th 1815. B. & F.B.S. Annual Reports 1817 p.163; 1819 p.161.
2. H. Lokies op.cit. p.49.
3. For the Countess von Reden see G. Browne. History of the British and Foreign Bible Society. London 1859. Vol. 1. p.429-431.

meetings and conduct family worship, continued for the rest of their lives. She, more than any other person, was responsible for persuading Gossner to accept employment in the Prussian Church as a Protestant Minister and on July 21st 1826 in the church of the King's Chamberlain Karl von Heynitz on his estate at Königsheim in Silesia Gossner received the Holy Communion according to the Lutheran rite.

Gossner placed on record his own feelings and reasons for his conversion to Protestantism as follows :-

"In my youth I was disgusted when I heard somebody saying - 'That man is a Convert'. Once I myself came near to changing my religion but at the decisive moment it proved impossible. I did not want to be a Convert. It appeared to me to be contrary to God's commandment. In all sorts of ways I have tried to serve my Church by proclaiming the truth of the Bible. All in vain! She has no room for me. And now I am falling between two stools. I still need a sure repose - neither comfort nor luxury. What I needs is a real pulpit. If I can stand in front of a congregation and talk about our Lord Jesus and Life and Joy in Him, I would not change it even for a King's throne. It is grace - grace abounding!, but who am I to ask so insistently for this grace? The Lord has both granted and withdrawn it; however, if He so wishes He can return it to me again."⁽¹⁾

What ultimately caused Gossner to finally reject the Roman Catholic Church and become a Protestant was not a question of dogma but the prospect held out to him by Frederika von Reden and his other Pietist friends that he would be granted employment

1. Charlotte Sauer. Fremdling und Bürger, Lebensbild des Johannes Evangelista Gossner. Berlin 1965. p. 235.

as a Minister in the Church of Prussia. Doctrinal differences played no part in his change of allegiance. Gossner had never at any time studied the writings of Luther and he roundly stated his views on the Established Churches both Catholic and Protestant as follows :-

"The establishment of the State Church is a poison introduced into the Church by Constantine. The Church "en masse" is like Sodom and Gomorrah standing under the protection of the devil who is everywhere trying to hinder Communion with Christ. All Confessional Churches are not agencies of the true Church but tools of the devil. The Lutheran devil is just as black as the Catholic one!"⁽¹⁾

In the course of the next three months following his decision to become a Protestant Gossner became acquainted with Baron Hans Ernest von Kottwitz⁽²⁾ a Silesian nobleman who was one of the leading personalities in Pietist circles in Berlin. Like the Countess von Reden, Baron von Kottwitz was closely connected with the House of Hohenzollern and it was in company with the Baron that Gossner returned to Berlin in October 1826 to make his formal application to the Consistorium of the Church of Brandenburg for employment as a Pastor in the Prussian Church.

1. W. Holsten op.cit. p.25
2. Hans Ernest von Kottwitz 1757-1843. Social Reformer and Philanthropist. The leading personality in the Berlin Awakening. A page to Frederick the Great, he was the intimate friend of King Frederick William III and of the Crown Prince, later King Frederick William IV.

The Years in Berlin 1826-1858.

On October 10th 1826 Gossner and Baron von Kottwitz arrived in Berlin where for the remainder of the year the necessary formalities were completed for submitting Gossner's request for appointment as a Minister of the Prussian State Church to the Consistorium of the Church of Brandenburg. The question of granting employment to Gossner proved to be without precedent since by a law of the Prussian Constitution no former Catholic priest could hold office as a Protestant pastor or teacher, and on January 27th 1827 Gossner received notification from the Consistorium -

"Much as we sympathise with your present lot we are not authorised according to the present Royal Decrees to grant you a position as a Minister".

Undeterred by this refusal, von Kottwitz decided to place Gossner's case directly before the King, and owing to his influence with Frederick William III on February 17th 1827 by a direction of the Royal Cabinet, the law in Gossner's particular case was annulled and the Consistorium were recommended to accept Gossner as a candidate for the Ministry according to normal constitutional and legal procedures. The Consistorium required Gossner to submit to an examination for his qualifications as a pastor, and he was requested to present papers in Latin, a dissertation on the Epistle to the Romans and to preach a trial sermon on the text Romans 3. v.25-27. ⁽¹⁾

Gossner's attitude to formalism and ecclesiastical authority as a Protestant was no different from his attitude when a Catholic and he reacted violently to submitting to the discipline and regulations of the Consistorium. He wrote to Frederika von Reden expressing his conscientious scruples -

1. C. Sauer op.cit. p.240.

"I must trust confidently in the Lord what He will have me do and how He will direct. All my friends from without strongly urge me (to submit the papers) but inwardly I feel I must not and I cannot. They do not understand this!"⁽¹⁾

After a long delay Gossner eventually ^{submitted} his papers and late in 1827 left Berlin to stay with von Bellow, a Pietist nobleman on his estate at Seehof near Stolp in Pomerania. During the summer of 1827 Gossner stayed with members of the country gentry in the districts west of Danzig meeting a circle of Pomeranian Pietists who had experienced an Awakening; as in Silesia he visited their estates and conducted their family worship, addressing meetings of guests and friends in their private homes. At Trieglaff he renewed acquaintance with Adolph von Thadden (1796-1882) who in 1816 as a young man of 20 had visited him as a student in Munich to share in the Awakening in Bavaria and to attend Sailer's lectures at Landshut. At Schönhausen he met the family of Ferdinand von Bismarck, a retired captain in the Prussian army, whose son Otto (then a boy of twelve) was later to become the German Reich-Chancellor. Gossner also became the family friend of von Puttkammer whose daughter, Johanna (1824-1894), in 1847 became Bismarck's wife. In 1849 Gossner was asked to baptize their first son, Herbert. At the end of August 1827 Gossner returned to Berlin and in the first week of September he met Dr. Pinkerton and the Rev. Richard Sibthorp, the Bible Society's Agents who were able to supply him with 300 Bibles for distribution amongst the poor estate workers in Pomerania where he had recently been.⁽²⁾ On January 24th 1828 Gossner was granted permission to preach by the Brandenburg Consistorium but he was still treated with unmitigated suspicion by his fellow clergy. Meanwhile in Berlin he renewed his friendship

1. H. Lokies op.cit. p.27.

2. B. & F.B.S. Report 1828 p.64.

with Baron von Kottwitz and met an increasing number of Pietists from amongst the aristocracy and professional classes. He became friends with Friederich Karl von Savigny (1779-1861) Professor of Law in the University of Berlin and Tutor to the Crown Prince, and Friederich Daniel Schleiermacher (1768-1834) one of the leading figures in German theology, who from 1802-1804 had been the pastor in Stolp and was now Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin and Secretary of the Academy.

Gossner commented on his reception by the Berlin aristocracy as follows :-

"The people of Berlin are easy-going. They stay at home and expect Christ to be brought to them in their homes and in their rooms. I should be grateful if they are not too lazy to let Him come into their hearts completely while they have Him so near. They listen with pleasure like the Athenians did - but whether the message penetrates and bears fruit - this will be seen at the harvest. There is much blue blood in Berlin, and it will not be very easy to make it heavenly blue!"⁽¹⁾

In 1829 following the death of Jaenicke, the Minister of the Bohemian-Lutheran Congregation attached to the Bethlehem Church in Berlin, the Consistorium appointed Gossner to the charge of the parish and congregation, and on Palm Sunday, April 12th 1829 in the presence of Schleiermacher, von Kottwitz and other friends his Dedication Service was held. Gossner at the age of 56 commenced his ministry at the Bethlehem Church under the patronage of the Prussian Royal House. The King, Frederick William III, had already shown him special favour by abrogating the legal statute which had debarred him as a former Catholic

priest from active ministry in the Prussian Church: Frederick William the Crown Prince was to become Gossner's life-long friend. Free to preach once more and in charge of his own parish and congregation Gossner instituted the activities which in Dilewang, Munich and St. Petersburg had constituted "Ecclesiolae in ecclesia" - the Pietist community with its multifarious religious, social and philanthropic meetings. Now, in addition, his Bethlehem Congregation through the ministry of their late pastor helped to direct Gossner's interest and energies more directly to the work of Foreign Missions.

Gossner's predecessor at the Bethlehem Church had been Johannes Jaenicke (1748-1827) a weaver by trade, who after a period as teacher in the Moravian Paedagogium at Miesky in Silesia was ordained in 1779 as an assistant minister in the Bohemian (Moravian) congregation in Berlin. The Moravians in Berlin were organised in two separate congregations - one in the city itself and one in the village of Rixdorf where they had founded a farming and agricultural colony. Historically the Bethlehem congregation in the city took its origin from the visit of Zinzendorf and his family to Berlin in 1738 when from January to April the Count had delivered a course of sixty sermons on the second chapter of Luther's Catechism. In 1764 the congregation, by now a mixed one, had held an ordination service in the Bohemian language and in 1787 the 50th jubilee of the founding of the congregation was celebrated, to which Moravians who had attached themselves to the Reformed and Lutheran congregations in the city were invited. In 1792 Jaenicke succeeded to the sole charge of the parish where he remained until his death in 1827. The Moravian congregations in Berlin in 1824 had 357 members and were a prosperous community in the city. ⁽¹⁾

1. For the history of the Berlin congregations see J. Holmes. History of the Church of the United Brethren. Vol. 1 p.268 Vol. 2 p.27, 29, 197, 206.

The Moravians had since 1732 been actively engaged in Foreign Missions but their fundamental principle that all Brethren and Sisters were called to be missionaries led them to disparage any form of specialised missionary training or the founding of mission schools and societies. During the 18th century no other Protestant Church in Germany had as yet any concern for missions and the Halle-Danish Mission founded in 1714 with its Missionary College in Copenhagen had virtually ceased to send out missionaries altogether. ⁽¹⁾

In England the founding of the London Missionary Society on September 21st 1795 as a joint society of Independents, Presbyterians, Methodists and Anglicans was followed by the organisation in the Netherlands under Theodore van der Kempe (1748-1811) of the Netherlands Missionary Society which was founded in Rotterdam on December 19th 1797. A copy of the Plan of the London Missionary Society was published in a Hamburg newspaper where Baron von Schirnding, a Pietist Forest-Ranger from Dolbrilugk in Saxony happened to read it. von Schirnding wrote to the Directors requesting further information, and in 1798 was appointed a co-director of the Society for Germany. In 1799 the Baron offered at his own expense to purchase converted negroes in the West Indian Islands and convey them to Africa to found a mission and to finance a mission from Germany with men and money to be commenced at Nootka Sound, on Vancouver Island, British Columbia. ⁽²⁾ The Directors of the London Society however were unable to sponsor either of these schemes. On February 2nd 1800 von Schirnding in co-operation with Jaenicke and a small group of Pietist laymen opened a

1. G. Warneck. Outline of a History of Protestant Missions. London and Edinburgh 1901. p.52, 116.
2. London Missionary Society Annual Report 1799 p.xv.

mission school in the Bethlehem parish in Berlin for the training of young men for the mission field. This new development undertaken by Jaenicke was partly financed by von Schirnding but was quickly sponsored also by Pietists in Basle and by the Missionary Societies in Rotterdam and London who availed themselves of the school's candidates.⁽¹⁾ Jaenicke's own brother was a missionary in the Halle-Danish Mission in the East Indies and he himself had long wished to engage more actively in work for foreign missions; he had, however, no intention of forming a Missionary Society on the English or Dutch pattern. In the school which was run on most frugal lines Jaenicke was the only teacher; each student was allowed 2 rix-dollars a week for his board and lodging and on completing their studies the men were ordained for the mission field and entered the service of the Missionary Societies in the Netherlands and England as Lutheran pastors.

In 1807 a suggestion was made by Spittler, the Secretary of the Germany Christian Fellowship that the School should be moved to Basle but Jaenicke declined the offer. He continued as Principal until 1823 when his son-in-law Rückert succeeded him. Up to Jaenicke's death in 1827 over 80 candidates had been sent out to the Dutch and English missions in Africa and India. Under Rückert's management the School fell into a decline but it pioneered the way for missionary interest in the Prussian Church and prompted the founding in 1824 of the first of the German Missionary Societies.

During 1823 eight notable Berlin laymen and two pastors, Johannes August Neander (1789-1850) Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Berlin and Friedrich August Tholuck (1799-1877)

1. In 1801 3 missionaries were engaged by the London Missionary Society. L.M.S. Annual Report 1801 p.17.
In 1802 2 students were engaged by the Church Missionary Society. E. Stock. History of the C.M.S. Vol. 1 p.82.

Professor of Theology in the University of Halle, were inspired with the idea of forming a Missionary Society and issued jointly 'An Appeal for Contributions in Aid of Evangelical Missions'. The success of the appeal and the wide interest taken in the objects of the proposed society led directly in 1824 to the founding of a 'Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Missions amongst the Heathen' which received the Royal Licence from the Government. An attempt to amalgamate Jaenicke's Mission School in the Bethlehem parish with the new Society proved unsuccessful and in 1830 a separate Mission House and Seminary for students was built. In 1831 Gossner was invited to join the Committee of the Society which henceforth came to be generally known as the Berlin Missionary Society.

Ever since his short stay in Basle during 1810, when he had acted as Secretary for the German Christian Fellowship, Gossner had been in intimate touch with the missions of the Moravians as well as receiving regular news about the activities of the Missionary Societies in England. In 1815 with other members of the Fellowship he had contributed towards building the Basle Mission House which under its Inspector, Christian Blumhardt (1779-1838) trained men from Württemberg and Switzerland, many of whom were engaged by the Church Missionary Society in London. During his years in St. Petersburg Gossner had made regular collections for the Basle Mission, and the Basle missionary magazine had been widely read by members of the Gossner-Community. On May 29th 1833 at the Dedication and Dismissal service for the Berlin Missionary Society's first missionaries to South Africa Gossner took Schleiermacher's place as guest preacher in the Church of the Holy Trinity. His sermon which comprised thirty-three pages of manuscript gave practical illustrations of the scope and difficulties of missionary work and challenged his hearers with the message that the whole church should be

actively engaged in missions.

In 1834 Gossner was able to commence publishing two monthly periodicals which he edited himself. In 'Die Biene auf dem Missionsfelde - The Bees in the Missionfield' - he printed current news and events from the Missionary Societies together with stimulating articles and rules of conduct for the successful preaching of the Gospel; 'Der Christliche Hausfreund - the Christian Family-friend' was a Christian family newspaper containing articles on pious topics and helps to family worship.

The Nursing Service and Elizabeth Hospital.

During 1833 Gossner was led to begin a nursing service in his parish, prompted by a visit to a sick servant of one of the families he had known in St. Petersburg. The man who had fallen ill in Berlin sent for Gossner who requested some of his friends to care for him. Out of this incident 'The Christian Mens' Guild for Sick Nursing' was formed; on November 16th 1833 a parallel organisation 'The Christian Womens' Guild for Sick Nursing' was established. Gossner divided his parish into six districts each under an Administrator; the Guilds met for weekly prayers and Bible study, after which the visiting and care of the sick was discussed. The medical service of the Guilds was organised by Doctor Achilles who in gratitude for Gossner's ministry to him in a time of illness offered his services free of charge.

The Guilds increased their activities until in 1836 there were several hundred members; the many rich friends of Gossner gave generously to finance the service which was the first attempt undertaken in Berlin by any of the Christian churches at social

welfare. A residence had been rented as Headquarters for the Guilds in the Hirschelstrasse but plans for building a separate Hospital were made and a site near the Potsdamer Tor became available at a price of 22,000 thaler. The King donated 6,000 thaler towards the proposed Hospital and during 1836-37 Gossner organised the Centenary Celebrations of the Bethlehem Congregation for a Hospital foundation. On October 15th 1837 the Hospital was opened with accommodation for 50 patients; in the following year in honour of the Crown Princess it received the name of the Elizabeth Hospital being jointly associated with St, Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-1231) the German Princess who had nursed the sick in the Wartburg and at Marburg in the 13th century. The Hospitals of Amalie Sieveking founded in Hamburg in 1832 and Theodore Fliedner (1800-1864) founded in Kaiserswerth in 1836 were staffed by the new orders of Protestant Deaconesses, some of whom took life vows like Roman Catholic nuns. Gossner declined to organise his nurses on these lines, but insisted that they should have the name of 'Servants' and that the personal link between themselves and the patients must at all costs be preserved; he wrote his own tract on the training of a nurse with the title 'The Christian Nurse - How can she be truly sympathetic?'. As the Hospital became more institutionalised Gossner was compelled to forego his original plan that all the nurses should be drawn from the Bethlehem congregation. He, like Amalie Sieveking and Fliedner, instituted a Deaconess Order for whom he wrote a Rule and Constitution.

The Gossner Mission 1836.

During 1836 Gossner felt compelled to resign from the Committee of the Berlin Missionary Society. The cause of his disagreement with the Committee was over the question of the necessary qualifications required by the Society for candidates for the mission field. The Society which from its foundation had numbered two University Professors amongst its founder-members insisted that the normal classical and theological studies required by the Consistorium for pastors in the Prussian Church should also be required for candidates for the mission field. Gossner through his long and informed association with the Moravians considered the Bible and Hymn-Book more effective means for the evangelization of the heathen than Homer and Ovid. He left the Committee but continued to edit the Society's news-sheet for the missions in South Africa. The fundamental principle of artisan missionaries and their training shared by both Gossner and the Moravians had been carefully explained by Christian Ignatius Latrobe, the English Secretary for 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 love to God."⁽¹⁾

1. Quoted in J.E. Hutton. A History of Moravian Missions. Moravian Publishing House 1922. p.190.

In the closing weeks of 1836 Gossner was led to give practical expression to these principles. On December 2nd he received a letter from Godfried. William Lehmann, a Sadler and Harness-maker requesting an interview with him, and on Monday, December 12th 1836 at 8 o'clock in the morning Lehmann accompanied by six young working men met Gossner in his home. Lehmann's parents' home was a centre for the families of the Bethlehem congregation and a missionary group attached to the Berlin Missionary Society met regularly in Lehmann's own home. He explained that the six young men had felt a call to work in the mission field but had been refused by the Berlin Society because of their lack of academic qualifications. During a prolonged period of prayer in which they all shared Gossner sought for guidance and at last received the assurance that he should accept responsibility for the group, although not all of them appeared to be either suitable or truly spiritually awakened. In this way, without any pre-meditated plan, but with the firm conviction that the Lord would provide and equip him to undertake work for the mission field, Gossner's Missionary Association came to be founded.

The old Mission School founded by Jaenicke in the Bethlehem parish had since 1823 been supervised by Rückert, who, during his father-in-law's lifetime, had also acted as an Assistant Minister. On Jaenicke's death, Rückert had expected to be appointed to the charge of the parish, but when Gossner had obtained the appointment, Rückert, while remaining as Principal of the School, ministered to the colony of Moravians at Rixdorf. Although Gossner was responsible for superintending the School and checking the accounts, Rückert refused to permit this and in the ensuing quarrel between them the School ceased to function. Gossner now had the opportunity of recommencing training for the

mission field in the Bethlehem parish, but his principles were now more in keeping with those of the Moravians at Herrnhut.

In a letter to the Consistorium Gossner described the way in which he had been led to accept the responsibility for the youths and explained the principles on which he proposed to train them. The men during the day were to earn their own living at the particular trade they practised, since after the example of St. Paul, it was intended that in the mission field they would be similarly engaged in manual labour; they were to receive no salary during and after their training, and after they had been trained and sent forth, they were to accept the decision in faith that the Lord would provide for all their physical needs; in order to save expense, no mission house or school was to be built, but students were to live in lodgings in the parish and attend evening classes for the deepening of their spiritual life.

These were the controversial principles of missionary training which had led Gossner to resign from the Committee of the Berlin Missionary Society. On April 3rd 1837 he received word that the Consistorium approved both his Apostolic ideals and his Moravian methods of training.

In January 1837 Gossner had 12 men in training; he had no intention of preparing students for the Ministry but on von Kottwitz's advice theological students and Candidates for the Ministry were also permitted to join. Carl William Schmidt, a Candidate from Stargard in Pomerania, was the first to be accepted; while Gossner gave the instruction-classes on the Bible, Schmidt with other students and teachers voluntarily took classes in Geography, the History of Missions and Language study. On July 9th 1837 the first group of Gossner-Brethren were dismissed from the Bethlehem Church to accompany Dr. John

Lang of the Scottish Presbyterian Church in Australia to found a mission at Moreton Bay in Queensland. Prior to their departure each received the laying on of hands from Gossner himself as a kind of ordination. The success of the training scheme seemed assured and Gossner accepted further pupils who were all artisans or manual workers. The Consistorium now insisted that Gossner should submit a constitution of his training establishment to the Government so that he could obtain the Royal Licence and be a recognised Corporation with privileges of buying land, collecting money, investing in property and exemption from stamp duty.

In October 1838 Gossner submitted a set of 5 rules for his Missionary Association which perfectly illustrate his wish for informality.⁽¹⁾ Following Jaenicke's example he intended that his pupils would normally be employed by other more wealthy Missionary Societies who would take responsibility for their maintenance and employment. The Government, however, refused to grant him a licence, and the Consistorium requested Gossner to draw up a more precise and formal Constitution. Gossner's experience of the bureaucracy of the Prussian State Department for Religion led him to exclaim -

"Under this Church rule of the Consistorium no truly evangelical parish can grow!"⁽²⁾

and he wrote direct to King William III requesting that his Missionary Association might be kept simple and informal. In 1842 he renewed his request to King Frederick William IV who had succeeded to the throne in 1840 -

"I cannot go in Saul's armour but I can fight easier like David with my sling and stone. If this is not allowed I must leave to be free from the Consistorium which is

1. Rules of the Bethlehem Missionary Association 1838. Appendix I. p.ii
2. H. Lokies op.cit. p.28.

full of work-men pulling down the walls of Zion instead of building them up. Had I done the same for the Roman Church as for the Evangelical church they would have given me the Cardinal's Hat. Not that I desire the Red Hat and Socks - I only wish to be left to work as long as it is day".⁽¹⁾

In 1842 Gossner presented a revised Constitution for his Missionary Association and on June 28th 1842 the Prussian Government granted him an official licence. 'The Evangelical Missionary Association for the Propagation of Christianity amongst the Nations in Heathen Lands' had aims which were clearly stated as follows :-

1. To train artisans, craftsmen, and working men as economically as possible to be assistants, catechists and co-workers in missionary work and, if occasion offers, to found their own mission stations. Instruction was to be given voluntarily by members of the Association; in order to save expenses the students were to continue working at their trades while under instruction. Other professional men such as pastors and teachers would also be accepted for training.
2. In the selection of students an awakened faith and the possession of talents capable of further development were the only necessary pre-requisites.
3. The faith principle based on the text "When I sent you out without purse or bag or sandals did you lack anything?" was to govern the monetary policy of the Association. No collections, appeals for money or financial Auxiliaries for raising funds would be allowed. Prayer groups for the support of the Association would be welcomed.
4. The Association members included all who prayed and all who gave practical financial assistance

1. H. Lokies op.cit. p.74.

5. A Committee including Gossner and a Treasurer and Secretary would direct the work. Receipts for money donated would be published in the magazine 'Die Biene auf dem Missionsfelde' ⁽¹⁾

In 1846 Gossner, aged 73, retired from his ministry to the Bethlehem Church and devoted the remaining years of his life to his missionaries and to the writing of tracts, many of which were printed and distributed by the Religious Tract Society in London which made him regular grants in the years 1848-1857. ⁽²⁾ Gossner's Missionary Association sent out men and women to Australia, America, Poland, and Brazil where they ministered exclusively to the needs of German immigrants; in India, Dutch New Guinea, Malaya, Java and the Celebes, Sanghi and Pelau islands off Indonesia they pioneered the evangelisation of primitive tribes. ⁽³⁾ The principle which Gossner had accepted from the Moravians of training artisans and workmen to be missionaries received additional support when for a time he co-operative with Otto Gerhardt Heldring (1804-1876) the Dutch founder of the Inner Mission who in 1847 instituted in the Netherlands a new association which he called 'The Christian Workman'. This Missionary Association aimed at sending out artisans as colporteurs, catechists and evangelists and also as teachers of trades and agriculture who were to care for their own maintenance by employing these skills in the countries to which they were sent.

1. Constitution of 28th June 1842. Appendix I p.iv.
2. Missionary Register. Annual Reports of the Religious Tract Society 1848, 1850, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1857.
3. In the years 1837-1936 the following numbers of missionaries went out :-

| | | | |
|-------------|----|--------------------------|-----|
| Australia | 23 | Dutch East Indies | 21 |
| New Zealand | 5 | South Africa | 2 |
| New Guinea | 5 | Cameroon | 8 |
| Samoa | 1 | Mauritius | 1 |
| Guatemala | 2 | North America and Canada | 43 |
| | | India | 176 |

This Association only lasted for ten years when, owing to the high rate of mortality amongst the members working in tropical climates, the experiment was deemed a failure.

Towards the end of his life Gossner's streak of individualism turned into eccentricity but his faith remained as vital and staunch as ever. He consistently refused to advertise the needs of his Association or to appeal publicly for financial support, relying entirely on the contributions voluntarily given him by friends to supply the needs of his missionaries in the local situations where they were employed. He similarly declined to organise his Association on the model of the conventional Missionary Societies with a Mission House, Seminary, Auxiliary Committees and Executive. Gossner stated his faith and his reasons for informality as follows :-

"Here I sit in my little room. I cannot go here and there to arrange everything; and if I could who knows if it would be done well? But the Lord is there, who knows and can do everything; and I give it all over to Him and beg Him to direct it all and order it after His holy will, and then my heart is light and joyful and I believe and trust that He will carry it all nobly out."⁽¹⁾

During his lifetime, in the 21 years 1836-1857, Gossner sent out 141 missionaries of whom 16 were theologically trained. After his death many of his missionaries were taken over by other Societies and only the Mission in the Ganges Valley formed in 1838 and the Mission to the Kols of Chota Nagpur founded in 1845 retained connections with Berlin.

1. Quoted in M. Geraldine Guinness. The Story of the China Inland Mission. 2 Volumes. Morgan and Scott. London 1893. Vol. 1. p.188.

Gossner died in his lodgings in Berlin on the Tuesday in Holy Week, March 26th 1858; he lay in state in the Bethlehem Church on Good Friday and was buried in the Jerusalem Cemetery adjoining the Cemetery of the Moravians on Easter Saturday, March 30th 1858. Following his death the management of his Missionary Association was put in the hands of a Board of Administration or Curatorium, a Mission-Inspector was appointed, and, one after another, his peculiar ideas were abandoned so that to-day the Gossner Mission is entirely without the characteristic features which distinguished it at its origin. During the 1939-1945 War the Gossner Mission House in Friedenau Berlin was a centre for the German Confessing Church, and to-day the Gossner Mission has work in both East and West Germany with centres in Berlin and Mainz-Kastell. The Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church in Chota Nagpur and Assam is the only one of Gossner's original missions which has kept its identity and retains links with the Society in Berlin.

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2.

THE MISSION TO THE GANGES VALLEY 1838.

THE MISSION TO THE GONDS IN CENTRAL INDIA 1841.

The Mission to the Ganges Valley 1838.

On June 10th 1832 the East Indiaman 'James Sibbald' left Gravesend on what proved to be her last voyage between England and India; ⁽¹⁾ among the passengers were four deacons, ordained by the Bishop of London in St. James' Church, Westminster on Sunday, December 18th 1831, and engaged by the Church Missionary Society for work in Bengal; they were all Germans - John Gottlieb Linke, John Charles Knorpe, Charles Benjamin Leopold and John Haerberlin; two men destined for Bishops' College, Calcutta, T.E. Jones and J.E. Jeremiah, were engaged as catechists by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; the band of missionaries was further augmented by the Reverend William Start and his wife. The 'James Sibbald' reached Portsmouth late in the evening of June 18th and the following afternoon 'precisely at five o'clock' Bishop Daniel Wilson, fifth Bishop of Calcutta, was received on board. The same evening the four month voyage to India commenced.

Bishop Wilson was accompanied by his daughter and his nephew, the Reverend Josiah Bateman, who acted as his domestic chaplain. The company on board the 'James Sibbald' included all types of Anglo-Indian society - civilians, military officers, barristers, East India Company chaplains and missionaries; English ladies were now also able to make the journey to India and the social intercourse on the voyage was most agreeable; daily prayers as well as Divine Service on Sundays for the whole ship's company were regularly conducted and the Holy Communion was celebrated each month, at which there were twenty devout communicants. In describing the voyage, Bateman commented on the German missionaries' contribution to the pleasure of their fellow-passengers as follows:-

1. She was wrecked off the coast of Madras near Masulipatam on her return voyage. Missionary Register 1833 p.203.

"The singing was excellent. Four German missionaries with grand voices not only habitually delighted all with their hymns and ancient chants, ere the evening sun had set and the moon risen on the waters, but led the singing also on the Sunday with great effect."⁽¹⁾

During the voyage the Bishop, in addition to his other duties, voluntarily conducted a course of lectures for the missionaries on the First Epistle to Timothy - "Thus seasoning their minds with missionary views before they entered on their field of labour."⁽²⁾

Two members of this missionary party accompanying Bishop Wilson to India later became the agents whereby Gossner's missionaries began their pioneer work in the Indian sub-continent; in 1838 William Start brought out the first group of Gossner Brethren from Berlin to Patna to found his Mission to the Ganges Valley, and in 1844-45 John Haerberlin entertained the four pioneers who, on his advice, were to found Gossner's Mission to the Kols of Chota Nagpur.

William Start was an Anglican clergyman and is described in contemporary records as 'a gentleman of fortune' and 'rich in this world's goods';⁽³⁾ Dalton states that Start's family were originally Quakers and were very rich; they joined the Church of England when William was eight years old;⁽⁴⁾ his father, John Start of Halstead, Essex, was a manufacturer of Bays and Says (Woollens and silks).⁽⁵⁾

1. J. Bateman. The Life of the Right Reverend Daniel Wilson D.D. 2 Vols. John Murray. London 1860. Vol. 1 p.296.
2. C.M.S. Annual Report 1933 p.41.
3. J.J. Weitbrecht. Protestant Missions in Bengal. John F. Shaw. London 1844. p.325.
4. H. Dalton. Johannes Gossner. Friedeman 1898. p.451.
5. For the Start Family see Universal British Directory 1792 p.232. Pigot & Co. Essex Directory 1835 p.116.

William Start matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, taking his B.A. in 1824; he was 20th Wrangler and took his M.A. in 1827 at the age of 28.⁽¹⁾ As an undergraduate he had been influenced by Charles Simeon,⁽²⁾ the evangelical Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, and later by Thomas Tregenna Biddulph⁽³⁾ the Vicar of St. James', Bristol, both of whom he counted as his personal friends. Simeon in particular had close connections with India through his former curates, notably Henry Martyn and Thomas Thomason who together with his intimate friends David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, and Daniel Corrie formed the five outstanding evangelical chaplains to the East India Company in Calcutta in the first quarter of the 19th century; all five men received their appointments owing to Simeon's influence with Charles Grant, one of the Directors of the East India Company and an earnest supporter of Christian Missions.⁽⁴⁾ Start, after being presented to a living, had been attacked by scruples from subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles; he resigned from the Cure of Souls and following in the path of Simeon's more famous friends, accompanied Daniel Wilson, the former evangelical Vicar of Islington, to India;⁽⁵⁾ he had no intention, however, of being either a John Company Chaplain or of working for any of the established missionary societies since he planned to begin his evangelistic work as a completely free and independent agent, relying on his own private income for a means of support.

1. J. Venn. Alumni Cantabrigienses. Part 2 Vol. 6 p.17.
2. Charles Simeon 1759-1836. Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge 1783-1836.
3. Thomas Tregenna Biddulph 1763-1838. Vicar of St. James', Bristol 1799-1838. Elected Country Member of C.M.S. 1799. Honorary Life Governor 1812. See reference C. Hole. Early History of the Church Missionary Society. E. Stock. History of the Church Missionary Society. Vol. 1.
4. For Simeon's influence on Indian Missions see M. Hennell. John Venn and the Clapham Sect. p.216-219. W. Kaye. Christianity in India. p.134.
5. M. Wylie. Bengal as a Field of Missions. London 1854. p.236.

The voyage to Calcutta was completed on November 2nd, 1832 and Start with his wife proceeded up river to Patna where he intended commencing his labours. The Ganges valley, the site of Allahabad and Benares, the Hindu holy cities of pilgrimage, was at this time being opened to commercial and military interests; nitre and indigo were the chief natural resources and successful traders, safeguarded by the East India Company monopoly, made fortunes; British regiments were stationed in the cantonments at Bhagalpur and Dinapur on the south bank of the river in Bihar; Patna was the centre for this mercantile and military community composed of British, Dutch and Eurasians living amongst a mixed population of Moslems and Hindus. No Christian missionaries, with the exception of the English Baptists, had penetrated into this area; mission stations had been founded at Digah in 1809, Patna in 1812 and at Monghyr in 1816.⁽¹⁾ Start joined forces with these missionaries whose freedom from liturgical and ecclesiastical forms were evidently after his own heart; in 1836 he purchased his own house in Patna which henceforth was to be his headquarters and which was to give him the familiar name by which he came to be universally known - 'Mr. Start of Patna'.

The cool weather saw him in company with the Baptist missionaries from Digah - John Lawrence and Henry Beddy making a three-week tour of nearly two hundred miles preaching the Gospel in the towns and villages on their way.⁽²⁾ In the same year, 1836, Start had shown a typical instance of his liberality and philanthropy -

1. Brief View of the Baptist Missions. London 1815.
F.A. Cox. History of the Baptist Missionary Society,
Vol. 1 p.341.
2. John Lawrence 1831-1874. Henry Beddy 1832-1854.
Missionary Register 1837 p.129.
B.H. Badley. Indian Missionary Directory 1876. p.26.

"Mr. Smith⁽¹⁾ of Benares having supported for several years a number of blind and lame people, finding himself straightened, was apprehensive that he must withdraw his aid when he was relieved by a benefaction of Rs.1,000 for distressed objects from the Rev. William Start of Patna."⁽²⁾

During 1834/35 news had reached Bengal of the crisis in the C.M.S. Mission at Tinnevely in South India caused by the differences of opinion between the English Society and the German Lutheran missionaries who had worked for them there since 1820. Charles Rhenius, a Prussian missionary who had received Lutheran ordination in Berlin in 1812 and who, in 1814, together with John Christian Schnarre, was the first of the German Missionaries sent out to India by the C.M.S., became involved in a dispute which resulted in the Home Committee of the Society dissolving their connection with him on February 15th, 1835. The original causes of the dispute had been the principle of conformity to the Prayer Book and the English Ordinal, which the Society now required of all its missionaries, and the refusal to permit the Lutherans in Tinnevely to ordain native clergy as 'country priests' according to the Lutheran rite.⁽³⁾ Start's own tender conscience had prompted him at an early stage to send Rhenius financial support for the Mission, and in 1835 Rhenius noted in his journal -

Feb. 14th. Brother Start of Patna has sent me for our work Rs.2,000.

Thus the Lord provides. Oh that we were thankful and would never more doubt His care for us!

and again, on March 31st -

"Rejoice, my soul, and trust in the Lord evermore! Again

2,000 rupees for our work from Brother Start of Patna

1. The Rev. William Smith. C.M.S. Missionary at Benares. 1830-1872.
2. Missionary Register 1837. p.127.
3. For the C.M.S. version of the dispute see E. Stock. History of the C.M.S. Vol. 1 p.318-321.

accompanied by a most Christian letter."⁽¹⁾

In 1837 Start followed up these generous contributions by going himself to visit Rhenius when on his way home to England, and by spending some time assisting him.⁽²⁾ In England Start commenced seeking for workers to join him in the Mission at Patna; he had been joined by two Englishmen and a Swabian when he heard quite by chance about Gossner and the embryo missionary society in Berlin.⁽³⁾ In the Spring of 1838 Start crossed over to Berlin and met Gossner, spending a month with him, during which time, their mutual regard and concern for each other's principles quickly formed the basis for a deep and close friendship. In the June number of his missionary magazine 'Die Biene auf dem Missionsfelde' Gossner printed Start's memoirs of his recent visit to Rhenius in Tinnevely;⁽⁴⁾ he followed this in July with Start's own letter advertising the prospects of a mission in India centred on Patna:-

"I am seeking co-workers for the propagation of the Kingdom of God in India who are living witnesses of the truth, not only able to speak of 'Christ for us' but also of 'Christ in us'."

The letter included a list of advantages and disadvantages facing the Christian missionary in India:- there were no impediments to preaching the Gospel; the influence of the Brahmins was decreasing; idolatry and the caste system were crumbling; amongst Hindus there was a conscience which could be touched; finally - the language was easy to learn. On the other hand there was the universal poor impression of Christians and Christianity amongst the natives - 'I have not yet seen one

1. Memoir of the Rev. C.E.T. Rhenius by his son. London 1841. p.474, 476.
2. M. Wylie op.cit. p.236.
3. H. Dalton op.cit. p.452.
4. Rhenius had died at Palamcotta on June 5th 1838.

Christian' he quoted a Brahmin as saying; the temptations of missionary life - despondency and fatigue; the climate; the different objections raised by cultivated and cultured natives and the barriers presented by caste. Start closed his letter with the words -

"May the Lord restrain those who have not been conquered by the Spirit of Christ but in foolish self-confidence expect to convert the heathen!"⁽¹⁾

In Berlin, Start met and examined the pupils in Gossner's school and he chose twelve, of whom three were accompanied by their wives.⁽²⁾ On July 1st 1838 the missionaries' dismissal service was held in the Bethlehem church and they left from Hamburg by the steamer 'Lee' for Hull, calling at London and Bristol on their way round to Liverpool. Under the heading 'Missionaries to the East' a Liverpool newspaper wrote as follows about Start and his apostolic band, after their departure for India on July 23rd, 1838 -

"The Reverend Mr. Start who sailed from England, in company with the Bishop of Calcutta some years ago for the East Indies, having spent four years in missionary labours in Patna, was so deeply impressed with the importance of the work that he determined not only to consecrate himself but his property also, to the service of his Redeemer. For this purpose he came over to England to seek for suitable persons to be employed as Missionaries among the Heathen: not succeeding as he had hoped, he went to Germany and at Berlin found several pious devoted persons ready to go with their lives in their hands,

1. Biene 1838. p.66.
2. The leader of Start's missionaries was G. Stolzenberg who, prior to meeting Gossner and experiencing conversion, had been a student of philosophy in the University of Berlin; the other members of the party were all artisans.
W. Holsten. Johannes Evangelista Gossner p.158.

to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. There he engaged twelve missionaries, three of whom were accompanied by their wives. They arrived this week in Liverpool and Mr. Start having paid out of his own private resources the expense of their outfitting and of the passage, which alone exceeded £900, embarked with them on board the 'Blouenge' and sailed on Thursday last for Calcutta."⁽¹⁾

On February 28th, 1839 Start and his party reached Patna safely and Gossner duly printed their first impressions in the 'Biene'; "the Baptists do not keep feasts" (the reference was to the non-observance of Christmas and the New Year) "the Indians do not sing". They moved to their new home at Hajipur across the river from Patna and at once all joined in singing as an act of thanksgiving "Now thank we all our God".⁽²⁾ The missionary principles on which Start and Gossner saw eye to eye were immediately put into practice; the missionaries all lived together in the old derelict Racing Club built by the English residents at the turn of the century and bought by Start after floods had destroyed the race course; the ballroom was converted into a Chapel and the remaining rooms turned into lodgings; only two servants were employed as sweepers, while all the domestic work was undertaken by the three women; Baumann and Stolke learned from a Moslem baker how to bake bread; Wernicke looked after a herd of sheep and goats, shearing them and when necessary slaughtering them for meat; Dannenburg, who was a carpenter, made the furniture; Maas and Rebsch, who were tailors, made clothes, and Brandin took up watch repairing; the other men helped to bring in firewood from the jungle and joined in constructing a blacksmith's shop with a forge; Stolzenberg acted as general

1. Missionary Register 1838. p.429.

2. Biene 1839. p.22.

supervisor, pharmacist and doctor while at the same time conducting the Bible and language classes for all.⁽¹⁾ In their letter to Gossner dated March 15th, 1839 they wrote -

"The Natives are astonished at seeing us with a broom in our hand, cleaning our shoes, making butter, slaughtering animals, etc. It seems incomprehensible to them that Sahibs are also able to work. They are beginning to lose their respect."⁽²⁾

In January 1840 the C.M.S. missionary John James Weitbrecht on his way from Burdwan to Benares passed through Patna and noted in his journal :-

"January 6th. We reached Patna and walked through the town to Mr. Start's house but did not find him at home. One of his missionaries was however very kind to us and supplied all our wants"

Weitbrecht with his wife and infant son were making the trip up the river to Benares to recoup their health; their boat crossed over to Hajipur and they met the missionaries. Weitbrecht duly noted -

"We paid a visit to a party of German missionaries at Hadjepore who had been brought out to India by a very devoted Christian, Mr. Start. Twenty were residing together under one roof, engaged in learning the language. The three female missionaries prepared the food and waited on all. These brethren were afterwards stationed in different localities."⁽³⁾

On January 29th 1840 a party of five more missionaries including

1. W. Holsten op.cit. p.138
2. Biene 1839. p.24.
3. Memoir of the Rev. J.J. Weitbrecht by Mrs. Weitbrecht. John Nisbet & Co. London 1884. p.215, 218. Weitbrecht was missionary at Burdwan from 1831-1852.

three pastors and a teacher arrived from Berlin, followed in May of the same year by two more unmarried pastors and four young women, the prospective brides for the missionaries, chaperoned by Pastor and Mrs. J.D. Prochnow.⁽¹⁾

Start, having settled his missionaries in Hajipur for their time of language study, now proceeded to find stations to which they could be sent; he approached the Baptists and made an offer to buy their nearest station ten miles away at Digah; the arrangement was approved and reported:-

"An offer having been made by the Rev. W. Start to purchase the Society's premises at Digah, Mr. Lawrence deemed it advisable to accept the offer, and transfer the property to that gentleman, who intends to place at Digah one or more of the German missionaries who are labouring under his direction."⁽²⁾

In the same year, 1840, a station was founded to the north of the river at Muzaffarpur.

The arrival of six pastors amongst the first reinforcements for the Mission could not but have its effect on the hitherto overwhelmingly lay and artisan missionary body, amongst whom Stolzenberg had technically only the status of a theological student-cum-student pastor, since he had not actually received formal ordination. A division soon became apparent between a small group led by Pastor Kluge, who wished for a more definite Lutheran and Church basis for the Mission, and the rest of the Brethren who were compelled by their pietistic principles to be averse to anything which smacked of formalism or church order. On April 17th, 1841, Kluge presented to the missionary conference

1. W. Holsten op.cit. p.138.
2. Baptist Missionary Society Report. Missionary Register 1841. p.179.

at Hajipur the viewpoint of Stolzenberg, Prochnow, Rudolph and himself in a set of eighteen theses which stressed the following items as of importance for the new Mission :-

1. The Confessions of Faith of the German Lutheran Church and the Word of God as explained in the Confessional Statements of the Lutheran Church should be the doctrinal basis for the Mission, since neither a new Church nor a new sect were desirable.
2. All teaching opposed to the Confessional Statements of our Church and the Word of God are heretical, but we recognise everywhere those Brethren in Christ, who ground their own salvation on the Blood of Christ and accept His justification and Second Coming.
3. The ordination given to all the Brethren by Gossner by means of Prayer and the Laying on of Hands is valid, but in a missionary community divided into smaller departments, only a few brethren are needed for carrying out spiritual functions; the lay brethren renounce voluntarily their spiritual functions until such time as a greater need arises, and, meanwhile, they confine themselves to preaching the Gospel.
4. The acts of corporate worship should be in accordance with one of the old Lutheran Service Books omitting what is inapplicable to modern times, this country and present necessities.
5. An Inspector for the mission should be chosen who should supervise its general life, its economy, the diaries and reports, as well as the spiritual welfare of all the Brethren; other officers should be responsible for the domestic life and for finance; a report should be sent to Gossner in Berlin twice a year; a conference of missionaries should be summoned regularly by the Inspector as and when he thinks fit. ⁽¹⁾

The conference of missionaries firmly rejected Kluge's theses; in particular, the Brethren were averse to adopting the Lutheran confessions and to the appointment of an Inspector, seeing these as means whereby the direct leadership of the Holy Spirit was liable to be attacked. For the present there was no schism but, later, after Kluge's death by drowning on August 28th 1841, Stolzenberg, Prochnow, Rudolph, Heinig, Rebsch, and Ullmann felt free to leave the mission, since they had no deep obligation either to Start or to their fellow missionaries.

The first attempt to form Gossner's missionaries into a conventional Missionary Society had been frustrated; meanwhile the work of the Brethren spread out from Patna, and stations were founded at Chaprah in 1842 and to the south of the river at Arrah in 1843; after ten years this station was moved to Buxar, when a house, and later, the government school and the cantonment church were made available to the missionaries. ⁽¹⁾

1. Mission stations in the Ganges valley.

- | | | |
|------|--------------|---|
| 1839 | Hajipur. | Pastor A. Sternberg, F. Paproth (died of cholera 13/10/40) G. Treuthler and wife, J. Stolk. |
| 1840 | Muzaffarpur. | Pastor Schorisch (died of cholera 22/6/46) C. Baumann, M. Rebsch, L. Brandin and wife. |
| 1842 | Chaprah. | Pastor Stolzenberg, J.F. Ullman, M. Stulpnagel (died of cholera 19/9/42) U. Wernike and wife. |
| | Ribbelganj. | Pastor Kluge (drowned 25/8/41) C. Maas (died of pneumonia 3/10/42) A. Rudolph. |
| 1843 | Arrah/Buxar. | Pastor A. Sternberg. |

The stations at Digah, Ribbelganj and Hajipur were quickly abandoned. Of the original missionaries, only three remained permanently at work:- Louis Brandin in Muzaffarpur, died 1862; Charles Baumann in Chaprah, died 1878; and A. Sternberg in Buxar, died 1864.

W. Holsten op.cit. p.139 f.

Regarding the policy of the mission and its finances, Start was willing to let the missionaries have a completely free hand; doctrinally there was never again any subscription demanded to ecclesiastical or sectarian forms; financially the missionaries were at liberty to draw on Start's banking account, but it was generally assumed that they would earn their own living and pay their own way by their own efforts. Start himself soon left Patna to open up a new field in Darjeeling, returning periodically to his house for visits in the cold weather; that his missionary activity was more than superficial his fellow passenger on the 'James Sibbald', John Haeberlin, noticed when, as Agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society in Calcutta, he passed through Patna in 1843. ⁽¹⁾

"The Rev. W. Start of Patna, has not only acquired the dialect and speaks and preaches in it to the people, but has actually translated some of the Gospels; he is of the opinion that through the medium of this dialect alone, can access be found to, and the knowledge of Christianity be spread amongst at least one million of Hindus who now live in the birth place of Buddhism and the seat of the first Bengali power." ⁽²⁾

The question of the local dialect was one which the Bible Society studied with keen interest since distribution of the scriptures was one of the main methods of evangelism. Haeberlin left 3,440 volumes of scriptures in the Bengali, Hindu, Urdu and Persian languages for the districts of Patna and Behar. ⁽³⁾ Bazaar preaching and distribution of the Scriptures - these were the standard, proved methods of contact between themselves and

1. From 1838 to 1844 Haeberlin was seconded by C.M.S. to work as the Agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society in India. See B&F.B.S. Annual Report 1838 p.lxxvi.
2. B&F.B.S. Annual Report 1844 p.xcii.
3. *ibid.*

the Hindu and Moslem societies which surrounded them; in this way the missionaries entered into the rough and tumble of preaching the Gospel following the same New Testament pattern as that mapped out by St. Paul; public preaching was followed by exposition of the scriptures for those who stayed to enquire further.

A third more peaceful though not less controversial way of penetrating Indian society was by founding schools in which children were taught not only to read and write, but to read for themselves the Christian Scriptures and to hear them expounded by one of the Brethren. To begin with, in almost every case, scholars were orphans who were cared for by the missionaries. After a decade of experience the Brethren at Chaprah wrote in their report for 1852 :-

"The school masters get Rs.4 per month salary on condition that they have an average attendance of 30 to 40 boys. 300 boys are taught in this way in the 8 schools. In the cold season the attendance is greater than in the time of harvest and festivals. They learn such things as they are likely to require afterwards in their business, that is besides writing and reading, shop account keeping; for this simple purpose their own native method is sufficient, therefore, we leave this part of instruction quite to their own care, confining our attention to the religious instruction of the children. As they are known generally to have good memories we get a great number of them to learn a catechism, with the 10 Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, several hymns and verses of Scripture; some who attend regularly may be brought also as far as to read the Scriptures with interest. If we consider the great difficulties which even adults have in breaking caste we cannot expect soon to get converts from among them, nevertheless we hope that in this way much will be done to dissipate the

prejudices against our religion and to undermine the authority of the idolatrous."⁽¹⁾

The missionaries at Arrah were able to acquire a lithographic press and with grants of paper from the Religious Tract Society in London the senior orphan boys helped in producing tracts and pamphlets for distribution.⁽²⁾

This three pronged method of evangelism through preaching in the bazaars, distribution of scriptures and tracts, and by founding schools, was common to all Protestant missions in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Gossner Brethren merely put into practice what other missionaries before them and beside them had done and were doing.

It is over the domestic policy of their mission that a completely new principle was introduced - not new in itself since the Moravians had been practising it from the beginning - but new to North India; by means of their own skills and hard work the Brethren were to become economically integrated into their locality, so that subsidies from abroad or from Start were required only in emergencies. Since they received no salary they were compelled to maintain themselves by their own manual labour.

Jesus, the carpenter, and Paul, the tent-maker, were the ideal missionaries whom Gossner expected his own missionaries to imitate, by themselves working and at the same time preaching and teaching.

The difficulties inherent in such a course in an eastern city were apparent from the beginning; they were explained by the C.M.S.

1. M. Wylie. Bengal as a Field of Missions. p.368.
2. J. Mullens. Christian Missions in North India. London 1848. p.9.

Missionary, Weitbrecht, when he returned to Europe in 1842/43 in his lectures to the Basel Mission and to audiences in England; subsequently published as 'Missions in Bengal', Weitbrecht wrote off the scheme as a complete failure :-

"Mr. Start entertained the hope that his missions would in time support themselves; and some of the missionaries being artisans and farmers began cultivating the ground, while others who were blacksmiths set up a smith's shop; but this was an entire failure. Manual labour in the field and at the forge is to the European in a tropical climate an impossibility, and after a short attempt the artisans became ill and were obliged to lay the hammer and the hoe aside. Moreover, every kind of handy work is done at a much cheaper rate by the Hindu who lives upon rice and vegetables, so that no European can compete with him in price on this account."⁽¹⁾

Daily bread must be considered a 'conditio sine qua non' of successful missionary enterprise. The extent to which Start was able to maintain a mission staff over the years depended in exact proportion to the number of Europeans any one mission station could afford economically.

Between the years 1839 and 1846 Gossner supplied Start with 24 missionaries; of these, five died in service and seven left to enter other societies; two who became Anglicans and joined the C.M.S. were ordained by the Bishop of Calcutta - Stolzenberg⁽²⁾ worked in Benares and J. D. Prochnow⁽³⁾ for the Himalayan

1. J. J. Weitbrecht. 'Protestant Missions in Bengal' p.325.
2. G. Stolzenberg accompanied Start to India in 1838. He was ordained by Bishop Wilson on August 21st 1842, and died at Benares from typhus in 1845. Calcutta Corresponding Committee of C.M.S. Report 1843 p.3.
3. J.D. Prochnow. Missionary at Kotgarh 1843-1858. Retired owing to his wife's ill-health to Germany. A member of the Curatorium of the Gossner Mission, he wrote Gossner's biography. Died 1888.

Missionary Union. (1)

In his report for the newly formed Additional Clergy Society, the secretary, Josiah Pratt, Bishop Wison's domestic chaplain, commented on Prochnow's Ordination which had taken place on Ascension Day, 1843 stated -

"Mr. Start intended opening from his own resources a mission in this country on his own plan. The missionaries were to labour with their own hands and do what they could to support themselves; the rest he would supply trusting to their conscientious economy. The design failed. The simple minded and excellent missionaries felt deeply the need of the order connected with a visible and external Church."

In the same report Pratt also remarked that Start had seceded from the Church of England "some time ago". (2)

In all fairness, it must be said, that only some of Gossner's missionaries felt deeply 'the need of the order connected with a visible and external Church', but this particular deficiency and the method of remedying it were to haunt the Gossner-Brethren over the years. Stability, not only in spiritual matters, but in the equally important matters of finance, status, and domestic security which English society gave to its missionaries, coupled with the presence of their fellow countrymen in India who worked happily for the Anglican Church as members of the Church Missionary Society - these conditions were to provide Gossner's Germans over the years with alternative means of evangelism which not a few were to seize. John James Weitbrecht, the C.M.S. missionary at

1. For the Himalayan Mission which was taken over by the C.M.S. in 1852 see -
E. Stock. 'History of the C.M.S.' Vol. 2 p.202
J. Richter. History of Missions in India. p.194.
2. Report of Additional Clergy Society. Missionary Register 1843 p.364.

Burdwan and a native of Württemberg, was able to illustrate this contrast in missionary methods by the following touching incident recounted by his wife :-

"It was during 1847 that Mr. Weitbrecht in the true spirit of a missionary brother, received into his house a German school master with his wife and child. These good people had been sent out by those who had certainly more zeal than discretion to fill a sphere not properly defined and found themselves on arrival in India without resources and without a home. They were brought to his notice and thankfully accepted his invitation to reside in his family till they could be united with a society. They resided in the mission house for many months. They were excellent and devoted people who are now filling a sphere of usefulness in Bengal and connected with the Church Missionary Society."⁽¹⁾

In Darjeeling, Start pursued the same policy of a self-supporting mission to the Lepchas, one of the hill tribes of Nepal. The announcement of the new mission was reported in the February number of the Calcutta Christian Observer for 1842 as follows :-

"We understand that three artisan missionaries of the German Mission at Patna, connected with Mr. Start, are about to be located at Darjeeling. Mr. Start has purchased the land there, for that purpose, and has also erected, or is now erecting a Mission House at the station for himself and friends, as also Mission Houses for the permanent Missionary

1. Memoir of J.J. Weitbrecht. p.379.

The missionary in question was Hermann Ansonge, who after staying in Ranchi for only four months from July to October 1846 left the Gossner-Brethren. He worked as a C.M.S. missionary in Bengal from 1847-55.

Calcutta Corresponding Committee of C.M.S. Report 1848 p.4.

residents at 'The Bright Spot'. The German mission is conducted on principles very similar to those of the Moravians; they are designed to be self-supporting Missions, and hence the Brethren about to be located at Darjeeling will not only instruct the heathen in the truth of Christianity, but also in those different branches of labour, which may be brought to bear on their present happiness, in the increased enjoyment of the comforts of life".

Start's work of translation brought him to the notice of the Bible Society in Calcutta, and in 1847 they printed the Gospel of St. Matthew in Lepcha from a manuscript prepared and financed by him; this was followed in 1851 by the Gospel of St. Luke, and in 1853 by the Acts of the Apostles.⁽¹⁾ In 1852 Start was compelled to leave India owing to ill-health and he returned to England to recuperate; his faithful colleague over the years was Charles Niebel, one of the pastors who had come out to the Ganges Mission in 1840 and who remained in Darjeeling until his death in 1865.⁽²⁾

In summing up what William Start had attempted to do on his own initiative and with his own resources, we find the situation critically reviewed by Bishop Cotton of Calcutta who visited Darjeeling in 1862. The Bishop's remarks are worth quoting 'in extenso' :-

Darjeeling August 1862.

"We have made acquaintance with a missionary who has been here twenty years and belongs to the mission established by Mr. Start, a Christian attached to no particular denomination, who still goes about preaching and devoting his substance to missionary work, and is ready to send out any evangelical man, as he expresses it, of whatsoever persuasion, who is

1. B.F.B.S. Reports 1847 p.90. 1851 p.77. 1853 p.80.
2. B.H. Badley. Indian Missionary Directory 1881 p.234.

willing to preach the gospel. So he sent here some four or five German Lutherans, of whom Niebel is the only one who has adhered to his original missionary calling, though he has deserted his original form of belief by turning Baptist.

But Mr. Start did not supply his staff with adequate means of support, and so all the rest have been driven to secular work for a maintenance, one having become a butcher, another a house agent. So all the funds are concentrated on Niebel who has besides a grant of 60 rupees a month from the London Missionary Society. He seems a good honest Christian man and has made some progress in the Lepcha language into which he has translated Genesis, Exodus 1-20 and St. John. He has, however, made no converts, but two Lepchas come to him to read the Bible.

He has no school; he seems to know very little of the people or their religion; being surprised even to find that we had bought some prayer wheels and asking where we had got them. Of the Buddhist system he clearly was wholly ignorant.

But in truth I do not blame him; he has probably been trained in the belief that his only work is to preach a certain set of doctrines in exactly the same terms to everybody without any consideration of particular wants and circumstances. I only blame those who fancy that missionary operations can succeed if conducted on such principles as these.

A man with no definite creed - except, I suppose a belief in the inspiration of Scripture and justification by faith, openly rejecting all branches of the Christian Church, and therefore all the advantages of organisation - sends out a number of uneducated Germans to undertake the work of converting a mixed population of Hindus, Buddhists, Mohometans and semi-barbarious mountaineers.

He does not provide them with funds, expecting, I suppose, that they will be maintained miraculously. What wonder if the majority subside into their natural occupation as tradesmen, and the only one who retains much enthusiasm for the work which he has undertaken, after adopting the opinions of the narrowest and most anti-Catholic of all sects find that after twenty years he has effected absolutely nothing?"⁽¹⁾

Implicit in the Bishop's criticism of Start and his methods is the rejection also of those principles which Gossner had advocated and for which he had been willing to break with the Berlin Missionary Society in 1836. Start's contemporaries had been critical of his methods, but at the same time had applauded his genuine Christian philanthropy. Bishop Cotton's more acid criticism closes the chapter on a failure in missionary experiment: he writes as it were the epitaph on Start's missionary methods when reviewed over a span of twenty years.

The Gossner Mission to the Ganges Valley for which William Start had acted as sponsor maintained its somewhat precarious existence for the next eighty years; the converts in 1871 numbered 399, but ten years later were reduced to 338; four stations :- Muzaffarpur, Chaprah, Buxar and Durbhangah maintained five small schools.⁽²⁾ After the 1914/18 War this whole field was relinquished, the Christians joined other congregations and the property was sold. This missionary enterprise directed towards Hindus which the Gossner-Brethren had mounted and maintained for nearly a century never achieved the breakthrough which was to characterise the Mission to the aboriginals of Chota Nagpur. The proceeds of the sale of the Mission properties in the Ganges

1. Mrs. Cotton. Memoir of Bishop G.E.L. Cotton. Longman, Green & Co. London 1871. p.254.
2. M.A. Sherring. Protestant Missions in India. Religious Tract Society 1884. p.140.

valley were given to the sister Mission by the Mission Board in Berlin. (1)

Such is the brief summary of the first attempt to apply Gossner's missionary principles in India. This was to be followed by the Mission to the Gonds in Central India in 1841, and the Mission to the Kols of Chota Nagpur in 1844.

- 2/ 1. C.H. Swavely. The Lutheran Enterprise in India 1706-1952. Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India 1952. p.49.

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The Mission to Central India 1841.

The disaster which swiftly overtook this second attempt by Gossner's missionaries to apply his principles in India has resulted in there being extant few, if any, sources to which reference can be made. The account given below is interesting for the light it throws on the subsequent history of the Gossner Mission to Chota Nagpur. The patron or sponsor for the mission, Donald McLeod, was an Indian Government officer and the people amongst whom he wished the Gossner-Brethren to work were Gonds, one of the aboriginal tribes of Central India.

A critical observer, Dr. William Brown, Secretary of the Scottish Missionary Society, in his 'History of Christian Missions' published in 1854, writes as follows :-

"In September 1841 the Reverend H. Loesch and four unordained brethren arrived in Bombay and were joined by another brother who had come by the overland route. The five unordained brethren were artisans and agriculturists; one of them also appears to have had some knowledge of medicine.

They were sent out by Pastor Gossner in compliance with the wishes of a pious civilian (Donald McLeod)⁽¹⁾ who felt deeply interested in the Gonds, one of the aboriginal tribes of India, from having dwelt long in their neighbourhood, and who had offered to support missionaries if sent to them.

On arrival in the country of the Gonds along the south bank of the Nerbudda near its sources, the missionaries took up their residence at the village of Karangia. They found the people at first very shy as they usually are to strangers, and they could hardly obtain the necessities of life from them, though they at length gained their confidence so much that they gave them a great part of their fields to cultivate.

1. Sir Donald Friell McLeod 1810-1872. Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab 1865-1870.

The missionaries now commenced cutting down timber and removing the stones of a ruined temple wherewith to build houses. The Gonds wondered to see Europeans thus work with their own hands and assisted them in carrying the timber to the place where the houses were to be built. During the hot weather the lay brethren were toiling in the sun from morning to night cutting the timber.

By the commencement of the rains their houses were not quite ready. During the day they worked in the damp fields with a hot sun overhead. Then their houses began to leak and there was not a dry spot in the whole house; even the places they lay on were wet. The consequence was they were all attacked with diarrhoea.

In this state, however, without appetite or strength they continued to toil at the completion of their houses and the cultivation of their fields. One day we find it stated that they were many hours in the pouring rain, sowing their seeds and repairing their roofs. They were, in fact, recovering when the wind, loaded with moisture, blowing in on their debilitated bodies through windows without glass "they fell like dead men on the floor".

One died, 23rd July 1842, only five months after arrival at Karangia; their doctor on the 26th, and on the 31st, Loesch and Catzke, the carpenter. The two who survived, Bartels and Aplewere, were now left by their servants and by everybody; many of the people of the village also took ill and died, and those who remained fled in terror to the mountain.

At last the two survivors fell ill, and wrote to their friends at Jabbalpur praying for means to convey them to that station. They accordingly removed thither from Karangia and there they both recovered. They afterwards removed to Kampti and ultimately became connected with the Free Church mission

in Nagpur."(1)

In his preface Dr. Brown had warned his readers that he would not spare them the painful details of "the errors and defects of particular missions". In fact, he considered these to be "highly instructive and useful in checking similar evils in time to come". And so, in passing judgment on Gossner and his methods, which the disaster of the Central Indian Mission had merely illustrated, Brown notes four points :-

1. It is not always safe to rely upon the promises of individuals for support. Missionaries were soon left unprovided for, being compelled to rely entirely upon their own labour or to look to Gossner for help.
2. The self-supporting plan for missions - especially in India - had resulted in a very high casualty rate in regard to sickness and death amongst the missionaries.
3. The secession of workers from the Gossner missions to other societies had been a general practice.
4. The economy which Gossner had stressed in both the training and maintenance of his missionaries was more apparent than real.

In reviewing these criticisms let us take the third one first :- True to his principles, embodied in the Constitution he had drafted for the Missionary Association of his Bethlehem parish in 1838, Gossner had stated explicitly:-

"Unlike the large missionary societies, the little Association does not propose to support its candidates in the world of the heathen from its own resources, but to hand them over to other

1. Based on 'On the Claims of the Gonds to Christian Sympathy' T. Philips. Calcutta Christian Observer. October 1850. quoted by W. Brown. The History of Christian Missions in the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries. 3 Vols. Thomas Baker. London 1859. Vol. 3 p.468f.

missionary societies which undertake their further instruction and finally their maintenance from their missionary income".⁽¹⁾

Thus Gossner shed no tears when his missionaries joined other missions or churches; it was his intention that his workers should be employed in and by other associations and societies whenever possible and he consistently refused to develop the elaborate organisation which a conventional Missionary Society required. The factor for which Gossner had not allowed in sending out his workers and which the missions in India were to expose as terribly precarious was the role of the rich, private patron.

Unlike Dr. Lang⁽²⁾ who had been willing to recruit Gossner's missionaries for work amongst the aboriginals of Australia, but who fully intended that they should come under the discipline of the Scots Presbyterian Church in Australia, William Start and Donald McLeod were simply wealthy individuals with a desire to promote Christian missions in India - this neither more nor less. Since neither of them were permanently resident with their missionaries, as private individuals, however willing, they were unable to cope single-handed with the series of crises which overtook their missionary workers during the early days of the enterprise.

1. Appendix 1. Constitution of 1838, section 2.
2. Dr. John Dunmore Lang of the Scots Presbyterian Church of Australia was the first agent to apply to Gossner for missionaries. On 10th July 1837 the first eleven Brethren left for work amongst the aboriginals of Moreton Bay, near Brisbane in Queensland. Gossner was able to outfit these men (seven of whom were married) and pay their passage to Scotland. The Irish Presbyterian Church paid the passage to Australia and the Scots Presbyterian Church in Australia undertook to maintain the mission on the understanding that Gossner's missionaries would form connection with that Church. In October 1850 there were sixteen laymen and sixteen laywomen at work in the Australian mission. Brown states that the mission had accomplished - "something for the colonists but nothing for the heathen". W. Brown op.cit. Vol.3 p.468. Missionary Register 1839 p.196; 1840 p.230.

When the missionary base itself was so weak and financially so precarious, owing to crises which stemmed frequently from economic causes, loyalty to an absentee employer was the only loyalty which could be evoked by the Brethren during periods of stress. Not unnaturally for reasons both economical and spiritual, the Gossner-Brethren felt free to come and go as they pleased.

Intimately connected with the role of private patron was the further controversial principle adopted by the Gossner-Brethren in a tropical climate, namely that of 'self-help'!

The 'self-help' principle which Gossner advocated was identically the same as that adopted by Zinzendorf and the Moravians. In the 'Circular' advertising the proposed settlement of Gossner's missionaries at Moreton Bay in Queensland it is clearly stated that the whole enterprise was intended to

"be formed and conducted like the one already established in the vicinity on the Moravian plan. The lay missionaries are all either handicraftsmen or agriculturists and they can thus do much for their own support and comfort.....the labours of the lay brethren will tend greatly to lessen the expenses of the Mission."⁽¹⁾

Since the year 1732 when Leonard Dober, a potter, and David Nitschmann, a carpenter, had set out on foot from Herrnhutt for Copenhagen, "bundles on their backs, thirty shillings in their pockets, and the invincible all-embracing love of Christ in their hearts"⁽²⁾ the Moravians had maintained the principle of a "tent-making ministry" as fundamental to their Christian apostolate. Such being the case it is all the more pertinent to note that the

1. Missionary Register 1840 p.230.

2. Dober and Nitschmann were the first two Moravian missionaries. They sailed from Copenhagen to work amongst the slaves in St. Thomas in the Danish West-Indies on October 8th 1732. A.J. Lewis. 'Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer' S.C.M. Press 1862. p.79.

two Moravian missions which were established in India, after little more than a quarter of a century, were withdrawn and closed down; the mission to Tranquebar from 1768 to 1803 was abandoned due mainly to the hostility of the local clergy who successfully prevented the Moravians from preaching publicly; here over a period of twenty-five years 40 missionaries died in service; the mission in Bengal from 1777 to 1803 also ended in failure, the reasons given being that the time spent on earning a living was so great that there was little or no time for preaching; and secondly, that the caste system effectively prevented the missionaries in those years from coming into close touch with the natives. ⁽¹⁾

Neither Zinzendorf nor Gossner were men likely to be deterred by apparent failure or by the alarmingly high fatality rate amongst their missionaries. The understanding between Gossner and his missionaries was clear from the day he accepted them -

"I promise you nothing; you must go in faith. And if you cannot go in faith you had better not go at all". ⁽²⁾

Loyal to this principle Gossner's missionaries were sent out along the highways and bye-ways of the world. Whatever their destination, whatever their destiny - Gossner's faith remained unshaken to the end, that the word first entrusted to the Apostles - "When I sent you out without purse, and wallet and shoes - lacked ye anything?" (Luke 22. v.35) was equally sure in his own day. By contrast the attitude and experience of Bishop Cotton expressed in his criticism of Start - "He does not provide them with funds, expecting, I suppose, that they will be maintained miraculously" amply demonstrates the polarity of Christian

1. J.E. Hutton. History of the Moravian Missions. Moravian Publishing Office 1922. p.165.

2. W. Brown op.cit. p.472.

interpretation and experience in methods of preaching the Gospel.

Gossner's third mission in India, the mission to the Kols of Chota Nagpur, was to feel the tension of these conflicting principles and was to witness the dire results attending upon the crisis which ensued when these principles came finally into collision.

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3.

THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF CHOTA NAGPUR

1. Political History.
2. Social History.
3. Some Aboriginal Characteristics, Habits and Customs.
4. Tribal Religion.

The Aboriginal Tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau.

In reviewing the success of Christian missions in India during the nineteenth century, the German scholar, Julius Richter, wrote as follows :-

"In the fourth missionary period, 1857 to 1880 a new factor pressed into the foreground^{reared} of the missionary situation, and for a quarter of a century attracted universal attention, namely the hill and forest tribes, the Aborigines of India. Simple agricultural and hunting tribes knocked at the door of the Christian Church and besought admission; congregations, churches, schools, a staff of teachers and preachers, all could be inaugurated in the greatest simplicity from the bottom rung of the ladder to the top; the powers and abilities already existent in the newly received converts could be at once brought into play. All the clumsy apparatus of Indian missionary organisation - educational, medical, zenana, industrial missions etc., could be dispensed with. And it was precisely ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ this limitation to forces that lay ready to their hand that the highest genius was manifested."⁽¹⁾

It was Gossner's mission to the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur, commenced in 1845, and the success of his missionaries there which first focused attention on this virtually virgin field. The name by which the mission came to be known was Gossner's Mission to the Kols (or Coles) of Chutia (or Chota) Nagpur. The word 'Kol' is now obsolescent but it was generally used in India during the nineteenth century to denote the aboriginal tribes living in Bengal and Bihar.

As a generic term for the aboriginal tribes of North India the

1. Julius Richter 1862-1940. Missionary scholar, Professor of Missions in the University of Berlin.
A History of Missions in India. Translated by S.H. Moore. 1908. p.415.

word 'Kol' was first given official sanction in a monograph entitled 'The Ethnology of India' published in 1866 and written by Mr. Justice Campbell. In explaining the word, Campbell commented -

"Altogether I have very little doubt that the ordinary word COOLEE (Coolie, Cooly*) as applied to a bearer of burdens or labourer is the same word, and it is the word generally applied by the Northern Indians to designate the Aboriginal tribes, most of whom they reduced to the condition of Helots."⁽¹⁾

Colonel E.T. Dalton in an article published in the same journal, similarly associated the word 'Kol' with the depressed status the aboriginals were accorded in Hindu society :-

"The word Kol is one of the epithets of abuse applied by the Brahminical races to the aborigines of the country who opposed their early settlement and it has adhered to the primitive tribes of Chota Nagpur."⁽²⁾

In the article already referred to Campbell divided the aboriginal tribes into two family groups for classification on linguistic grounds: the North India group he terms 'Kolarian' and the South

1. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1866, Vol.35 part 2 p.27. see also:- 'Kol' in Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

*. Coolie, Cooly, No. 1 A variant of 'KULI' or 'KOLI' an aboriginal tribe of Gujerat. No. 2 A Native hired labourer or burden carrier in India and China. 1638. Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.

2. Colonel Dalton was Commissioner of Chota Nagpur from 1857 to 1875. E.T. Dalton. J.A.S.B. Vol. 35. part 2, p.145.

For an earlier piece of research into the Aborigines and their relations with Hindu society see - 'Two lectures on the Aboriginal Race of India, as distinguished from the Sanscritic of Hindu Race' by Lt.Gen. Briggs F.R.S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol.13 1852 pp.275-309

Indian 'Dravidian'. This classification won general acceptance until comparatively recent times.

Verrier Elwin states that the method of classifying the races of India by linguistic terms has now been superseded; the current terminology used by the Census of India for classification of the aboriginals is "Weddid" and 'Proto-Australoid'.⁽¹⁾ For an understanding of the progress of the mission however Campbell's linguistic classification is the more helpful since of the tribes who inhabited Chota Nagpur, one group was Kolarian and the other Dravidian. The Kolarian tribes were the Lurka Coles.⁽²⁾ Hos, Bhoomiz, Mundas and Santals; the sole representative of the Dravidian aboriginals were the Oraons (also spelt Oraons).

The Kolarian^{Mundas} and Dravidian Oraons were the tribes with which Gossner's missionaries came into contact, each with its own language and culture, though Campbell conceded -

"Europeans apply the term (Kol) to the Dravidian Oraons as well as to the others (the Hos and Mundas) but perhaps erroneously."⁽³⁾

In North India and especially in Bengal during the nineteenth century the term 'Kol' was applied indifferently to signify any one of the aboriginal tribes who inhabited the highlands of the Chota Nagpur plateau. To-day the word is no longer in current

1. V. Elwin. The Aborigines. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs No. 14. 1943 p.4.

Weddid - taken from the Veddas of Ceylon, one of the most primitive types of aboriginal.

Proto-Australoid - a genetic term linking the Aborigines of Australia with those of Ceylon and India.

2. For an early article on the Lurka Coles written by Dr. William Dunbar, see Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. 18 1861 pp.370-377.
3. J. Campbell. op.cit. p.27

use and has become a term of disparagement denoting a person with a dark or black skin. Tribal people in referring to themselves use the word 'Adibasi' - 'Original Inhabitant', and this term has now won general acceptance.

Political History.

Chota Nagpur, ⁽¹⁾ the land of the Munda and Oraon tribes where Gossner's missionaries settled, is a plateau in the state of Bihar seven thousand square miles in extent rising to a height of two thousand feet above sea level. From 1780 onwards it formed part of an administrative territory comprising districts governed by British officials and a series of Native states under the control and partial management of the British Government, though ruled by petty rajahs and chiefs. Since British Government officers were to play an important part in the history of the Mission, a short review of the political history of the territory will be of value.

Bihar together with Bengal and Orissa formed the 'Diwani of Bengal' which the Emperor, Shah Alam II gave to Lord Clive in return for the fortress and surrounding districts of Allahabad, restored to him by Clive in 1765.

'Diwani' was the right to collect the revenue of a province and under the Mogul Emperors was granted to favourites and courtiers as a reward for service or as a mark of esteem. The revenue system worked as follows :-

1. Alternative spellings given by S.C. Roy are as follows:-
The earliest name given by the British administration was simply NAGPUR. Very soon this was changed to CHUTA (small) NAGPOUR to distinguish it from the important city of Nagpur in Central India. In 1812 the spelling was CHUTEA NAGPOOR, then CHUTIYA NAGPORE, later still CHUTIA NAGPORE and finally CHOTA NAGPUR which is the accepted form of the name to-day.
S.C. Roy. The Mundas and their Country. Thacker Spink & Co. Calcutta 1912. p.360.

The revenue for each province was assessed by the authorities in Delhi and this sum was paid annually into the Imperial Exchequer; all surplus revenue over and above this fixed amount was regarded as the emoluments of the 'diwani', being retained by the holder for his own private use; in this way the holder of 'diwani' was free to milk as much as he could from his province without let or hindrance. 'Diwani' carried no magisterial or sovereign powers since these were retained nominally, at least, by the native ruler. Clive in accepting the 'Diwani of Bengal' (the division of the former Presidency into the modern states of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa dates from the twentieth century) was laying the foundation of the British revenue administration in India. On behalf of the East India Company, who earlier in 1758 had refused to accept responsibility for the administration of Bengal, Clive undertook to pay into the Imperial Exchequer 26 lakhs of rupees (RS.2,600,000) - approximately £260,000 - as an annual sum. In 1772 the Company determined to 'Stand forth as Diwan' and the reform of the Revenue system was taken in hand.⁽¹⁾

In consequence of this new responsibility for fiscal law and order the first recorded incident of the East India Company's connection with Chota Nagpur concerns one of the Company's officers, Captain Jacob Camac.⁽²⁾

In 1772 Camac, appointed Military Collector of Ramgarh by the Governor at Fort William, Calcutta, reinstated one of the petty

1. G. Dunbar. A.History of India. Ivor Nicholson and Watson 1936. p.354.
2. Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob Camac. 1744-1785. Commissioned in H.M's 84th Regiment 1763. Commanded the 24th Battalion Bengal N.I. (Ramgarh Battalion) from 1766. Retired 1785 and died of fever in Ireland. Military Calendar Vol.2 p.101. V.C.P. Hodson. List of the Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834 p.277.

rajahs of Palamau, rajah Gopal Rai, who, in return, acknowledged himself as a vassal of the Company, paid an annual tribute of rupees 3,000 and undertook to assist the Company against the Marhattas.⁽¹⁾

The first meeting between the East India Company Officer and the rajah of Palamau furnishes an anecdote which illustrates admirably the character of much of the European administration in India during the course of the eighteenth century when 'to shake the pagoda tree'⁽²⁾ was recognised to be a natural consequence of Company employment.

"In the rajah's turban were some very fine diamonds which it is suggested had excited the cupidity of Captain Camac. The proposal for an exchange of headgear emanated from him; he declared that it was the English custom of swearing eternal friendship. But the Captain had no such diamonds in his headdress and the rajah evidently concluded that he had been 'done' by the Company's officer."⁽³⁾

1. S.C. Roy. Mundas and their Country. p.183.
2. 'To shake the pagoda tree' - to make a fortune rapidly in India. The East India Company Chaplains were not immune to this practice. As early as 1691 the Rev. Jethro Brideoak about to sail as Chaplain to Fort St. George at Madras wrote - "I am told of those Chaplains who have got very great estates there, whither I am going, and particularly of one Evans who having been there but a short time is now coming home worth about £30,000." The Rev. T. Evans, a Welshman, was Chaplain at Madras from 1689 to 1692, previously having been in Bengal with Job Charnock, one of the founders of Calcutta. C.B. Lewis. Life of John Thomas. Macmillan. London 1873. p.25. F. Penny. Fort St. George Madras. Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 1900. p.125.
3. E.T. Dalton. Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal. Calcutta 1872 p.170.

From 1779 to 1833 Chota Nagpur was included in the Ramgarh Hill Tract, a regulation district with a British Judge acting as magistrate and collector of revenue.⁽¹⁾ The Bengal regulations were in force for this area; Indian troops, the 24th Native Infantry, were stationed at Ramgarh itself which henceforth gave the Battalion its name - the Ramgarh Battalion.

From 1834 to 1854 the South-West Frontier Agency was created with a British Agent and his Assistants having their civil headquarters at Kishenpur (later known as Ranchi) and with a military cantonment at Doranda for Indian troops under British officers - the Ramgarh Battalion.

From 1854 to 1912 the Agency was formed into a Non-Regulation Division under a British Commissioner and his Assistants.⁽²⁾

1. Mr. S. T. Cuthbert, Judge-Magistrate of Ramgarh, submitted in 1826 a report on Chota Nagpur, extracts from which are given in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1846. Vol. 8 pp.407-416.
2. S. C. Roy. Mundas. Appendix 4. Section 2.

Social History.

In the year 1772, the rajah of Chota Nagpur, Durpnath Sahi, with Captain Carmac's assistance obtained a settlement of his feud with the rajah of Ramgarh and acknowledged himself a vassal of the Company. ⁽¹⁾

The rise of a rajah amongst the tribesmen of Chota Nagpur is significant for the history of the nineteenth century.

According to Roy the Mundas' original home was near Azinghar ⁽²⁾ and they migrated from there under pressure from Aryan invaders about the year 1,000 B.C. After many wanderings they at length penetrated the Vindhya-Kaimur range of mountains where they split into two groups - the Santals taking the route along the river Damodar into what is now known as the Santal Parganas and the Mundas proper occupying the table land of what is now Chota Nagpur. After defeating the tribe of iron-smelting Asurs the Mundas were left the undisputed masters of the forest covered plateau. Colonel Dalton concurs in placing the river Damodar as the historic site of the division between the Santals and the Mundas in the pargana (district) called Satyomba on the northern edge of the plateau. ⁽³⁾

The Oraons migrating from the south entered Bihar from the west, crossing the river Sone, to the north of which they had lived for some time. The fortress of Rotasgarh perched on the cliffs above the river Sone is claimed by them as the former residence of their kings. ⁽⁴⁾ Again under pressure from invaders, the

1. S.C. Roy op.cit. p.183 f.
2. Azinghar, a city and district in Uttar Pradesh on the river Tons, lying north of the Ganges and west of the river Gogra.
3. S.C. Roy op.cit. p.65 ff.
E.T. Dalton 'A Tour in the Tributary Mahals'. J.A.S.B. 1865 p.155.
4. S.C. Roy The Oraons of Chota Nagpur. Their History, Economic Life and Social Organisation. Ranchi 1915. p.35.

Oraons split into two groups; the one moving east along the south bank of the river Ganges found refuge in the Rajmahal hills where the Ganges turns towards the sea; the other group moving south into Palamau entered the Chota Nagpur plateau proper, pushing the Mundas further to the south and east. ⁽¹⁾

There is no tradition of there ever having been any war or dispute between the Oraons and the Mundas over the occupation of the land. Each was endogamous - that is, marriage was permitted only within the tribe, so there was no intermarriage between the two races. In other respects, however, the Oraons conformed more to Munda customs, in many cases adopting the language and losing their own. The Mundas and Oraons claimed to be original colonists of the plateau and to have cleared the forest lands. Dalton confesses to have found -

"no ancient temples or other antiquities on the plateau of Chota Nagpore to indicate that the early Brahminical races or Buddhists ever obtained a footing." ⁽²⁾

The village community having cleared the land, it was held in common for the whole village. Originally each village was a separate and independent unit, but in course of time groups of villages from the same clan formed themselves into larger groups of 12 or more (Parha) under a chieftain (Manki) for purposes of mutual support. Again at a later stage, from amongst these chieftains a rajah or king was elected who succeeded in reducing all the land and the villages to his titular suzerainty.

The king was originally almost certainly of the same race as the aboriginal settlers but in course of time through intermarriage, in Hindu society he came to be accorded the status of a Rajput.

1. *ibid* p.36. See also Calcutta Review 1869. p.117.
2. E.T. Dalton. The Kols of Chota Nagpur J.A.S.B. 1866. p.160.

The myth that the rajah's family was in origin sprung from the 'Nag' - the King Cobra', led to the dynasty being known historically by the name of the Nagbansi rajahs of Chota Nagpur. (1)

Following the accession of rajah Jaganath Sahi Deo in 1822 the tradition of Hinduising the court received a fresh impulse. At the same time the rajah initiated a policy of bestowing grants of land upon court favourites as well as upon others to whom he was heavily indebted for financial help. (2) These men moved into Chota Nagpur as landlords, intent only on extracting every possible gain from their new estates at the expense of the aboriginal farmers and tenants who heretofore had been virtually free-holders.

The feuds between this new race of Hindu, Sikh and Moslem landlords and the aboriginal settlers, form the disturbed social background to Chota Nagpur for the rest of the century. Furthermore, as Chota Nagpur and the neighbouring areas came increasingly under closer government control and supervision, the aboriginals began to be oppressed by a growing class of Hindu and Moslem officers. Landlords and government officials joined cause in oppressing and exploiting the ignorant and illiterate tribesmen whose only recourse was to retaliate by periodical outbursts of plundering and dacoity.

Immemorial tribal rights and customs were totally disregarded by this new class of landlords and officials so that exploitation and oppression of the aboriginals went hand in hand. Landlords reduced the original cultivators and owners of the land to the status of serfs; government officials, in creating new

1. S.C. Roy. 'Mundas' p.136-140.
S.C. Roy. 'Oraons' p.39-43.
E.T. Dalton 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal' p.163 f.
2. S.T. Cuthbert. J.A.S.G.B. and I. Vol. 8 p.408.

legislation and levying new taxes, acted arbitrarily and in concert with the landlord interests. ⁽¹⁾

Disturbances and outbreaks became endemic culminating in the rising of the Mundas and Oraons in 1831/32 in which British troops were called out to restore order. ⁽²⁾ There began the wholesale emigration from the land of dispossessed tribals who took up work as coolies on Government projects, particularly on the construction of the railways, and in the newly established tea garden of Assam where they became the staple labour force.

The enquiry into the reforms needed in Chota Nagpur, which resulted in 1855 in the creation of the Commissionership, was conducted by Sir Henry Ricketts, a member of the Board of Revenue, and embodied in what came to be called the "Ricketts Report." ⁽³⁾

1. An instance of typical repressive legislation may be quoted - the tax on rice beer, the staple beverage of the aboriginals, brewed for domestic use at home and consumed at all times of religious festivals and social gatherings. In 1824, a tax was imposed on rice beer levied at 4 annas per household. In 1826, owing to the intense resentment caused by this tax the Vice-President in Council passed a resolution prohibiting the collection of tax on rice beer "prepared for private consumption". In 1833, the tax on rice beer was entirely abolished following the up-rising of the Mundas and Oraons in 1831/1832.
S.C. Roy. 'Mundas' Appendix 4 p.lxxiv.
2. The 3rd Light Cavalry. For an account of the campaign see E.T. Dalton Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal. p.171 ff.
3. Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government No. XX date 1855.

Having found only one aboriginal, a 'Munsif' or native civil judge, in government service, Ricketts made the following observation regarding government employees in Chota Nagpur:-

"It has come to my knowledge that nearly all in the employment of the government of all classes and grades are foreigners. This state of things appears to be pregnant with mischief and I regard it as exceeding unjust. So long as the inhabitants of Nagpore shall see all the advantages to be desired from Government in the hands of others there must be a feeling of estrangement on their part; alienated and ignorant they will remain quiet only until someone shall again preach to them that they may better themselves by burning and pillaging their neighbours' houses. All classes in the country would gladly accept service. So long as all the higher offices are in the hands of foreigners there is little if any chance of the Coles obtaining employment, though equal in intelligence and superior in honesty and diligence to the Mohamedans and Hindus of Bihar. The Coles hold the land of a beautiful province; they are notorious for industry, honesty, enterprise and a most fortunate freedom from the many prejudices which enslave the people of the Plains, and though the lower classes are inferior to the Bengalees in shrewdness and intelligence there are doubtless many hundreds of youths of the middle classes not less gifted by nature than the 'Moonsif' (civil judge) of Lohardagga who require only the opportunity to become useful servants."⁽¹⁾

Ricketts quoted with approval the report of Dr. Davidson who had led the enquiry into the causes of the uprising in 1832-33

1. Ricketts Report, Sections 113, 142.

"The Kols are an intelligent people, as much so, if not more so, than the labouring class of any part of India which I have visited. They have been with very few exceptions regarded by the authorities as unfit to run with a message or carry a spear."⁽¹⁾

The Police force in Chota Nagpur was maintained by the land-owners and was both inefficient and in practice used as a further form of oppression. Ricketts reported on the Police as follows :-

"Captain Oakes, the Principal Assistant, represents that the Zemindary Police (police employed and paid by the Zemindars or Land-owners) is inefficient; that the Zemindars are generally ignorant, and either unwilling or unable to perform their duties and the establishments employed under them are so under-paid that it is hopeless to expect good service from them. The Assistant represents that the only remedy is the abolition of the Zemindary system and the establishment of a regular-paid Police force in its stead."⁽²⁾

The deep social and religious divisions between the aboriginals and the class of Hindu and Moslem Government servants was complicated further by the barrier of language; Government officials and the courts of justice employed Hindi, the 'lingua franca' of North India. Mr. Cuthbert in his report had stated -

"Their language, especially on the frontier bordering on Singhboom, is not generally understood and when the Coles are brought into the Suddar station for criminal offences, they are invariably accompanied by an interpreter."⁽³⁾

1. *ibid* Section 43.
2. *ibid* Section 95.
3. S.T. Cuthbert. *op.cit.* p.414.

In a minute dated August 29th 1839, ⁽¹⁾ the Principal Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent stated - "The tenure system in Chota Nagpore is rather complicated." He noted six different kinds of land-tenure, instances of which might appear together in any one village.

1. Land held rent-free by the original clearers of the jungle or their descendants. (Bhuinari land).
2. Land which pays rent to the owner or his representative. This was land which had been surrendered to the rajah or to his representatives. (Rajhas)
3. Land which paid rent to the owner or his representative but by arrangement is given to each villager who does not already qualify for the land cleared by the first settlers. This land is cultivated free of rent for which in return the villagers perform services for the land-lord or his representative, such as - thatching his houses, three days ploughing, three days rice planting, bringing grass, bamboos and thatch, carrying the litter and accompanying the land-lord on a journey. (Beth-Kheta).
4. Land owned by the land-lord or his rent-collector which is cultivated by the villagers in return for the grants of land which the land-lord gives to them. (Majhas).
5. Lands given to the head-man, priest and bailiff in return for their services to the village. This land is rent free. (Mahto, Pahan and Bhundari lands).
6. Land which is rent free, the produce of which is set aside for the performance of religious ceremonies, and religious feasts. (Bhutketa).

The following graphic account, published in 1869, describes the deterioration in land-lord and tenant relationships as witnessed

1. Calcutta Review 1869 p.136

by a contemporary observer. The parallel with the worst abuses associated with the feudal system is unmistakable.

"When the oppressor wants a horse, the Kols must pay; when he desires a 'Palki' (a litter) the Kols have to pay and afterwards to bear him therein. They must pay for his musicians, for his milch cows, for his 'pan' - (Betel-Nut). Does someone die in his house? He taxes them; is a child born? He taxes them; is there a marriage or a pooja? A tax. Is the Thikader (rent collector) found guilty at court and sentenced to be punished? The Kols must pay the fine. Or does a death occur in the house of the Kol? The poor man must pay a fine. Is a child born? Is a son or daughter married? The poor Kol is still taxed. And this plundering, punishing, robbing system goes on till the Kols run away. These unjust people not only take away everything in the house but even force the Kols to borrow money that they may obtain what they want, reminding one of Sydney Smith's account of the poor man taxed from his birth to his coffin. Again, whenever the rent-collector has to go to court or to the King, to a marriage, on a pilgrimage, however distant the place, the Kols must accompany him and render service without payment."⁽¹⁾

"Begari" was the name given to this kind of forced labour which was intensely resented by the tenants of the estates. In his report on the exploitation which this system encouraged the Senior Assistant Commissioner reported as follows :-

"Another source of irritation to the peasants of these districts is the forced labour they are bound to give to their land-owners. If the owners of villages would content themselves with what they are entitled to, there would be no

1. 'Calcutta Review.' July 1869. The Kols. p.119.

discontent, but the instances are rare in which they do so. The peasants are generally so much in the power of the land-owners that they dare not complain against them."⁽¹⁾

In summing up the land tenure question which vexed the administration of Chota Nagpur during the whole of the nineteenth century Dalton went to the root of the matter:-

"The Bhuinars (the free-holders of the Bhuinhari land) cling most tenaciously to their lands. Insurrections have followed attempts to disturb these tenures, and even now such attempts are sure to lead to serious affrays. The Kol insurrection of 1833 was, without doubt, mainly caused by the encroachments of alien farmers and sub-proprietors on the rights of the old settlers. The Kols of Chota Nagpur, generally a good tempered, mild, inoffensive race, become wildly excited on this question and nothing can reconcile them to a decree which in any way infringes on what they consider to be their proprietary rights."⁽²⁾

On January 23rd 1869 the Legislative Council of Bengal passed an act to regulate the system of land-tenure in Chota Nagpur. This was thirty-seven years after the uprising of the Mundas and Oraons in 1832 and the process of encroachment had meanwhile continued. Powers to appoint Special Commissioners to investigate, record and register the tenures of Bhuinhari land in each village before the heads of the village and to restore persons wrongfully dispossessed were conferred; the 'Begari' or forced labour was commuted to a money payment and litigation was controlled through the Special Commissioners having power to veto cases prepared by a lawyer.

1. *ibid.* p.29.

2. E.T. Dalton. J.A.S.B. 1866. Vol. 35, part 2, p.174.

Further legislation was enacted in 1903 seeking to remedy the defects of the earlier act and a further Bill was passed into law in 1909. ⁽¹⁾

Ignorance in the courts, apathy of local officers and the stupidity of the aboriginals continue to make this question of land tenure an endemic problem in Chota Nagpur to the present day.

1. Bengal Acts:-

The Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act. Act 2 : 1869
Act 5 : 1903
Act 3 : 1909

S.C. Roy. Mundas. Appendix 3 p.269-348.

Some Aboriginal Characteristics, Habits and Customs.

In the article previously referred to, Mr. Justice Campbell described the aboriginals as follows :-

"The general physical types of the purest aboriginal tribes is that which is commonly known as Negrito. They are small and slight, very black face broad and flat, the thick lips very prominent, noses broad and nostrils wide, beard scanty, hair very abundant, and tangled, of a shock-headed appearance sometimes curly or even woolly. The peculiar Mongolian or Chinese form of the eye is not conspicuous and altogether the features and the face are rather what is best known as African than Mongolian. This description crops up everywhere in all the various descriptions of aboriginal tribes."⁽¹⁾

Regarding the aboriginal character he drew a further comparison and distinction with Africa.

"The description of the aboriginals as a good natured people, ever dancing and singing (in a way that reminds one of the pleasanter descriptions of the Negroes) I find to be applied to the Kolarian more than to the Dravidian tribes."⁽²⁾

Regarding language, he grouped them in a family which embraced both Mongolian and Polynesian races -

"Aboriginal languages are of the structure described as

1. J. Campbell J.A.S.B. Vol. 35 1866. p.22.

2. ibid p.29.

Turanian. (1) They are neither like the monosyllabic Chinese on the one hand nor on the other like those Arabian and African languages which seem to form their changes by variations in the body of the words. The Indian aboriginal languages, in common with Hindustanee, Turkish and some Asian tongues, seem to form declensions, conjugations and derivations, and to supply the place of what we call prepositions by post-positions and post-inflections. The verb or governing word comes at the end of the sentence."

Campbell concurred in grouping the Indian aboriginals with those of Australasia as of the same family of peoples.

"In physique they are analogous to the Negritoes of the South Seas, Papuans, Tasmanians and others, as well as to the nearer Negritoes of the Malacca and Andamans." (2)

Campbell noted another peculiarity -

"It may be stated as a physical peculiarity of the aboriginal tribe that most of them seem to have a remarkable power of resisting malaria and thrive in the malarial jungle where no other human being can live. This may be the result of long habit." (3)

1. Turanian - 'Asian languages which are neither Semitic or Indo-European'. This is now an obsolete term. Under modern classification Mon-Khmer embraces those languages grouped geographically on the South-East^{Asia} mainland including outliers in Assam, the Nicobar Islands and the Malay Peninsular. Mundari as a language belongs to the Kherwari or North-East Indian group of languages as a sub-family of Mon-Khmer.

'Austroasiatic' is the modern comprehensive term used for all these languages.

The language of the Oraons is Kurukh, a Dravidian language allied to Tamil.

'Linguistic Comparison in South-East Asia and the Pacific' 1963. Edited H. Shorto p.152.

2. J. Campbell op.cit p.23, p.24.
3. J. Campbell op.cit p.23.

Though hesitant to be dogmatic in the matter of aboriginal beliefs and religious practice he again made a distinction which is useful, since it illustrates the different character of the two tribes inhabiting Chota Nagpur.

"The accounts of the Kolarian creed seem pleasanter than those of Dravidian beliefs and rites. The latter seem to deal in demonology, fetishism, frantic dances, bloody and even human sacrifices which remind us of the worst African types. The Northern aboriginals reverence in an inoffensive way, the sun, moon, and Lord of the Tigers, and mild and innocent 'Bhoots' or household spirits. Another practice in hilly tracts is the heaping up of cairns of stones at particular points and tying bits of rag to a particular tree as votive offering."⁽¹⁾

Colonel E.T. Dalton⁽²⁾, the Commissioner for Chota Nagpur from 1857 to 1875, in a series of articles contributed over the years and printed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal helps further to fill in the picture of the aboriginals and their distinctive character as they were observed during the course of the nineteenth century.

"The Nagpore Kols, whether of the Munda or Oraon tribe, are passionately fond of dancing, and with them dancing is as much an accomplishment as it is with the civilised nations of Europe. They have musical voices and a great variety of simple melodies. It is a fact that when we raised a corps of Kol levies, their early practice in keeping step and time greatly facilitated the operation of drill."⁽³⁾

Tribal dancing is quite distinctive; the girls and women link arms and move together in line, or more often dance in a semi-

1. J. Campbell ibid. p.29.

2. For Colonel Dalton see Appendix 2. pxliv.

3. E.T. Dalton J.A.S.B. 1866 Vol. 35 'The Kols' p.183

circle; the men and boys with drums, cymbals and bells revolve in a group in the centre while the girls move on the periphery. All religious feasts and social occasions are marked by dancing which can be kept up all day and all night.

Regarding recreation and sport, Dalton commented -

"The Moodah-Oraon races are passionately fond of field sports and are so successful that large and small game soon disappear from the vicinity of considerable settlements, and they fear not to make new settlements consisting only of a few huts in the jungles most infested by wild beasts. They are also greatly addicted to cock fighting. They have periodical meets at assigned places where hundreds of fighting cocks are collected; cruel steel spurs are used and the combat is always 'a l'outrance', the victims always becoming the property of the owners of the victorious birds. They are fond of fishing also and some of them are expert in spearing large fish. The arms of the Kols are to this day what they were in the day of the "Rama"⁽¹⁾ - the bow and arrow and battle-axe. The bow is simply a piece of bamboo and the string is of the same material. The war arrows have large, broad blades, doubly and trebly barbed but they make them of all shapes; poison they do not use."⁽²⁾

Hawking was a further method of hunting practised by the Hos as noticed by Lieutenant Tickell, Assistant to the Agent:-

"In the quail season when the rice is cut, every herdsman tending his cattle has his hawk on his wrist. I have frequently, returning with an empty bag, met parties of them with provoking bunches of dead quail in their hands.

1. The Ramayana, one of the Sanskrit epics describing the 'Career of Rama' in 24,000 stanzas, date approx. 400-200B.C.
2. E.T. Dalton J.S.A.B. 1866 'The Kols' p.195

On these occasions they would laugh heartily over the success of their system over mine, but generally end by offering me half their spoils. My retaliation used to be with snipe. These birds they confessed their hawks could not overtake."⁽¹⁾

In describing the Oraons Dalton noted both their physical and temperamental traits as follows :-

"The Oraons must be regarded as a very small race, not short and squat, like some of the Indo-Chinese stock, but a well-proportioned small race. The young men and women have light graceful figures and are as active as monkeys. Their complexions are as a rule of the darkest; but if we take as our type those who dwell in mixed communities we find great variety in feature and colour. The young Oraons of both sexes are intensely fond of decorating their persons with beads and brass ornaments. The Oraon, I think, is less truthful, he is more given to vagabondising and wandering over the face of the earth in search of employment; he soon loses all the freshness of his character. He returns after an absence of years, unimproved in appearance, more given to drink and self-indulgence, less genial and truthful than before, with a bag of money that is soon improvidently spent. Those who have never left their country have far more pleasing manners and dispositions than those who return to it after years spent in other parts of India or beyond the seas. The fact is they are not an improvable people. They are best seen in their wild state."⁽²⁾

In trying to portray the character of the Mundas he turned to the Red Indians of North America for a comparison.

1. S.R. Tickell J.A.S.B. 1840 Part 2, p.785
2. E.T. Dalton J.A.S.B. 1866. Vol. 35 p.197.

"The Ho or Mundah has more of the dignity and reserve of the North American Indian, at least when he is sober. He appears to less advantage when he is drunk and he is not infrequently in that state. At all festivals and ceremonies, deep potations of rice beer are freely indulged in by both sexes. Inspired by this beverage the young men and girls dance together all day and half the night. But the dances are perfectly correct. As a rule the men are reserved and highly decorous in their treatment of the women: and the girls, though totally free from that prudery which secludes altogether or averts the head of a Hindu or Mohammedan maiden when seen by a man, have a frank, open manner, modest demeanour and womanly grace."⁽¹⁾

One of the earliest of the Government officers to write about the tribes who lived on the southern edge of the Chota Nagpur plateau, Lieutenant Samuel Richard Tickell,⁽²⁾ acted as Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent from 1837 to 1840. He described at length the physical charms of the Ho women with whom he came in contact :-

"The women of the lowest order go about in a disgusting state of nudity, wearing nothing but a miserable, insufficient rag round the loins, at the same time their breasts and necks are loaded with immense bundles of bead necklaces of which they are extremely fond. They perform the hardest duties in the fields, digging, shovelling, weeding, drawing water and getting in wood from the jungles. Constant exposure and work renders them prematurely shrivelled and ugly; but the young women and girls of the better class are however a striking exception. They are well and at times handsomely dressed, with a tasteful proportion of ornaments, without

1. E. T. Dalton. J.A.S.B. 1866 'The Kols' pl96

2. For Lieutenant Tickell - See Appendix 2 p.xxxi.

the stupid shyness and false modesty thought proper among Hindu women; they are becoming and decorous in their manners, most pleasing in their looks, and doubly engaging from the frank and confiding simplicity which true innocence alone gives; some few of them are very pretty although more roughly cast than Hindu girls. Their open, happy countenances, snowy white teeth, and robust upright figures remind one of Swiss peasant girls. Prostitution is quite unknown among them and no more restraint is placed on females than in our own society."⁽¹⁾

The women apart, in a general assessment of the aboriginals vis-a-vis other races Dalton sympathetically regarded their defects -

"It is I think true that the race generally are duller of comprehension and more difficult to teach than Hindus or Mohammedans, their anxiety to learn and wonderful diligence making up for sluggishness of intellect."⁽²⁾

The consistent testimony of all types of observers shows that the attractive side of the aboriginal character is especially seen in the female sex. During the last war General Slim, the British Commander of the 14th Army in Burma, came to Ranchi to establish training camps for the troops, and wrote as follows:-

"The aboriginal tribes of the Ranchi plateau were a friendly race of excellent physique. Their men made our roads and the women provided most of the labour for our camps. On my first visit to a camp under construction I was startled to find, working amongst the troops, gangs of these cheerful girls most of whom wore nothing at all above the waist. I was more than a little apprehensive of the

1. Lieutenant Tickell J.A.S.B. 1840 Part 2, "The Hodesum (improperly called Colehan)" p.784.
2. E.T. Dalton 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal' p.207.

results of such a display of dusky but by no means unattractive femininity. It says much for both parties, the girls and the soldiers, that there was practically no trouble of any kind. Later a Bihar regiment was raised and when I inspected it in Burma where it did well and complimented the men on their appearance, one of them laughingly replied "Ah but Sahib, you should see our women!" I told him I had and admired them. A friendly cheerful, free people who deserve to remain so."⁽¹⁾

Dalton noted some further characteristics and customs -

"There is no more pleasing trait amongst all these tribes than their kindly affectionate manner one toward another. I never saw girls quarrelling and never heard them abuse each other. They are the most unspiteful of their sex and the men never coarsely abuse and seldom speak harshly of a woman. A Kol girl's vocabulary is as free from bad language and indecent abuse as a Bengalee's is full of it. It is said by some that at the seasons of the great festivals amongst themselves breaches of chastity are of frequent occurrence. It is, at all events, a fact that illegitimate births are rare. Out of her own tribe a Ho girl is hardly ever known to go astray, though from the freedom allowed her, and for a tropical climate, the ripe age at which she is likely to be sought in marriage, she must have to pass through many temptations."⁽²⁾

He remarked on the practice of tattooing in vogue with the Kol women -

"Girls when three or four years old receive three lines

1. W. Slim. Defeat into Victory. Abridged Edition Cassell. 1962. p.117.
2. E.T. Dalton J.A.S.B. 1866 p.196f.

tattooed on the forehead and two on each temple, four dots on the chin and one on the nose. It does not appear to be connected with any religious custom, nor is it applied with any ceremony, nor has it any particular name or term in their own language. Some Mundah girls of Chota Nagpore have different marks; those of Singhbhum have adopted the arrow."

With regard to this practice amongst boys he merely observed that -

"Oraon boys are marked on the arm when children by rather a severe process which they consider manly to endure."⁽¹⁾

A unique institution in aboriginal social life was the dormitory system for boys and girls who slept in their own separate buildings in the village and who formed themselves into clubs into which adolescents were initiated. Roy admits to being prejudiced and confesses that the customs and practices of the Bachelors' dormitories (Dhumkuria) amongst the Oraons is "an abomination which is of interest only as a survival of savagery". He states that the institution is still a living one and "appears to be a genuine and unadulterated product of primitive Oraon culture."⁽²⁾

Dalton had also observed this institution and regarded it more tolerantly.

"It is well known that the girls often find their way to the bachelors' hall and in some villages actually sleep there. I not long ago saw a 'dhumkuria' in a Sirguja village in which the boys and girls all slept every night. They themselves admitted the fact, the elders of the

1. *ibid* p.177.

2. S.C. Roy 'Oraons' p.211
S.C. Roy 'Mundas' p.385

village confirmed the fact and appeared to think that there was no impropriety in the arrangement. That it leads to promiscuous intercourse is most indignantly denied, and it may be that there is safety in numbers; but it must sadly blunt all innate feelings of delicacy. Yet the young Oraon girls are modest in demeanour, their manners gentle, language entirely free from obscenity, and while hardly ever failing to present their husbands with a pledge of love after marriage, instances of illegitimate births are rare, though they often remain unmarried for some years after reaching maturity. Long and strong attachments between young couples are common, but liaisons between boys and girls in the same village seldom end in marriage."⁽¹⁾

In origin the dormitory system for both sexes was a useful seminary for training the young in their social duties towards the village community as well as providing an institution for magico-religious observances connected with the village festivals and feasts. The dormitory was the home for the boys and girls until the time of their marriage."⁽²⁾

Regarding the actual marriage arrangements Dalton noted -

"As a rule marriages are not contracted until both the bride and bridegroom are of a mature age. It is sometimes left to the parents to find wives for their sons, but the young people have ample opportunity for studying each other's characters, love-making and following the bent of their own

1. E.T. Dalton 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal' p.248.
2. Verrier Elwin in 1940 made a tour of the Oraon and Munda villages near Ranchi to inspect the buildings of the bachelors' and maidens' dormitories; he gives a very balanced view of this institution which shows many parallels with those of the aboriginal tribes in Central India. See V. Elwin. The Muria and their Ghotul. Oxford University Press. 1947. p.293-300.

inclinations, and it very often happens that plans contracted by the parents are frustrated by the children.

In Chota Nagpur some years ago the daughter of a Manki was valued at about Rs.36 but they are gradually adopting the custom of the Hindus and giving up the practice of putting a price on them. The price paid by the common people ranges from Rs.10-12.

In Singhbhoom a Manki will not take less than forty head of cattle for his daughter. The price is so high that frequently marriage for ladies of good family is put off until late in life. Singhbhoom is perhaps the only place in India where old maids are found. There are plenty of them there!"⁽¹⁾

Regarding the disposition of the aboriginals and especially regarding their truthfulness both Campbell and Dalton were in agreement. Dalton remarked :-

"The Hos are acutely sensitive under abusive language that at all reflects upon them, and may be and often are driven to commit suicide by an angry word. If a woman appears mortified by anything that has been said, it is unsafe to let her go away again until she has been soothed. The men are almost as sensitive as the women and you cannot offend them more than by doubting their word."⁽²⁾

Campbell amplified this characteristic further -

"The Kolabian tribes are a simple industrious race and are reputed to be remarkably honest and truthful. Their country is healthy, and unlike most aboriginal tribes in most parts of the world they seem to be by no means dying out but multiply and supply the labour market. Partly

1. E.T. Dalton. J.A.S.B. 1866. p.178.

2. E.T. Dalton J.A.S.B. 1860 p.197.

on account of the cheapness of labour in their country, partly on account of their tractable disposition and freedom from caste and food prejudices they are much sought after and highly prized as labourers. Many of them are settled in the service of Bengal indigo planters, they are very well known as labourers on the railways, roads and other works of Western Bengal and they are now the favourite material for immigration to Assam."⁽¹⁾

1. J. Campbell op.cit. p.34.

Tribal Religion

S.C. Roy in his authoritative works on the Mundas and the Oraons devotes sections to the religions of the tribes which deal largely with the externals of religious practices such as festivals, dances and the observance of rites connected with agriculture. (1) Regarding the Mundas and their beliefs, Roy merely claims that the designation of Animism⁽²⁾ as applied to their religion seems to be inaccurate, if not actually a misnomer (though he declines to specify what Animism entails)

1. S.C. Roy. Mundas p.467-490 Oraons p.141-153.
2. The term 'Animism' was first used by Sir E.B. Tyler, (1832-1917) Professor of Anthropology in the University of Oxford, 'as a minimum definition of Religion, the belief in Spiritual Beings'. Tyler further elaborated the meaning of Animism as follows:-
 "It is habitually found that the theory of Animism divides into two great dogmas, forming part of one consistent doctrine; first, concerning souls of individual creatures, capable of continued existence after the death or destruction of the body; second, concerning other spirits, upward to the rank of powerful deities. Spiritual beings are held to affect and control the events of the material world and man's life here and hereafter, and it being considered that they hold intercourse with men, and receive pleasure or displeasure from human actions, the belief in their existence leads naturally, and it might almost be said inevitably, sooner or later to active reverence and propitiation. Thus Animism, in its full development includes the belief in souls and in a future state, in controlling deities and subordinate spirits, these doctrines practically resulting in some kind of worship. One great element of religion, that moral element which among the higher nations forms its most vital part, is indeed little represented in the religion of the lower races. It is not that these races have no moral sense or no moral standard, for both are strongly marked among them, if not in formal precept, at least in that traditional consensus of society which we call public opinion, according to which certain actions are held to be good or bad, right or wrong. It is that the conjunction of ethics and Animistic philosophy, so intimate and powerful in the higher culture seems scarcely yet to have begun in the lower."
 E.B. Taylor. Primitive Culture. 2 Vols. Fourth Edition. John Murray. 1903. Vol. 1. p.424.

He gives an account of the Supreme Deity⁽¹⁾ of the Mundas and includes lesser deities whom he classes under the following heads:-

1. HATU BONGAKO. The presiding deities of the village who render aid in agriculture and hunting.
2. ORA BONGAKO. Household gods who are the deceased spirits of ancestors of each Munda family and who are believed to reside in the house in a sacred tabernacle called 'Ading'.

Worship is addressed to these types of deity by the head of each family or by the priest of the village; they are known as MANITA-BONGAKO and are benevolent in intent.

3. BANITA BONGAKO. Spirits malevolent to man who are the earthbound spirits of persons who have died a violent or unnatural death; they must be propitiated by a special class of minister, the ghost-finder or witch-doctor, who is frequently not a Munda by race.
4. BURU BONGA.
IKIR BONGA.
NAGE IRA. Nature spirits who reside in hills, streams, trees, groves and who are considered generally to be well disposed to man but also mischievous in intent when offended.
5. ACHRAEL BONGA. Protecting spirits of peculiar clans, families, or classes of people, e.g. married women.⁽²⁾

1. It was Andrew Lang (1844-1912) who first drew attention to the Supreme Being or tribal All-Father amongst aboriginal tribes.

"We shall show that certain low savages are as monotheistic as some Christians. They have a Supreme Being, and the 'Distinctive attributes of Deity' are not by them assigned to other beings, further than as Christianity assigns them to Angels, Saints, the Devil; and, strange as it appears among savages, to mediating Sons."

A. Lang. The Making of Religion. Longmans Green & Co. 1898. p.181.

2. S.C. Roy. Mundas p.467f

The chapter on Tribal Religion in the symposium 'Tribal Awakening'⁽¹⁾ written by Nirmal Minz, a Christian Oraon, is one of the first articulate pieces of writing about the religion of the tribes of Chota Nagpur by an aboriginal author. Minz first deals with the Supreme Being known to the Oraons as Dharmes and to the Mundas as Sing Bonga. Minz claims that anthropologists have sometimes argued that in tribal religion the 'High God' is remote, high in the sky, detached from the world and man's struggle to exist.⁽²⁾ This Minz says is an error. Dharmes, the Supreme Being of the Oraons, is an all-loving and all-merciful Father who created the earth and the heaven. All spirits, men and demons live under

1. Tribal Awakening. Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society. Bangalore. 1965. p.122-137.
2. Compare E.D. James. Prehistoric Religion. Thames and Hudson 1957. p.206f.

"Andrew Lang called attention to the fact that so far from monotheism being the final product of an evolutionary process, among such very primitive people as the Australian aborigines tribal High Gods, or Supreme Beings, are neither spirits, ghosts of the dead, nor departmental gods carried to the highest power. While often they may stand aloof from everyday affairs, they are the personification and guardians of the tribal ethic. Having given the tribe its laws and instituted the initiation rites for the purpose of inculcating right conduct in society, the rules of which are handed on from generation to generation in these solemn assemblies over which they preside, they retired to dignified seclusion in the skies. So transcendent are these remote deities, in fact, representing the highest expression of supernatural power and will, primeval and beneficent, the guardians and givers of the social, ritual and moral orders that Tylor and his followers dismissed them as importations of Christian missionaries.

It has now been established, however, largely through the indefatigable researches of Pater Wilhelm Schmidt* and his collaborators, that they constitute a genuine feature of uncontaminated primitive religion recurrent among such aboriginal people as the native tribes of Australia, the Feugians in South America, the Californian tribes in North America, and certain negritos and other negroids in Africa and elsewhere."

*Father Wilhelm Schmidt. Roman Catholic Anthropologist. (1869-1954). Professor in the University of Vienna.

his control and he holds the ultimate power of life and death. "Fire and rain - both are in the hand of Dharmes" is an Oraon proverb which illustrates this belief. Regarding worship of the Supreme Being in times of accident, sickness or difficulty it is not customary, Minz says, to invoke Dharmes direct but at all important social and family occasions he is worshipped by appropriate sacrifices of eggs and white fowls, particularly at great events in the life of the individual - birth, name-giving, marriage, as also during seed-time, harvest, and the feast of the first fruit.

In severe crises whether personal, natural or physical Dharmes may be approached direct but sacrifice is not made to him with a view to appease him, since it is not his nature to be displeased even by wrongs committed by his children. The Oraons believe that Dharmes is the source of all goodness, law and power and he has a vital interest and concern for those events in tribal life - both family and communal - which ensure the well-being, health and prosperity of his children. He is not identified with natural forces or powers; he does not belong to the class of natural or human spirits; he is apart, separate, and can kill and give life to anyone he wants.

Sing Bonga the Supreme Being revered by the Mundas has identical attributes. ⁽¹⁾

1. Tribal Awakening. p.123.

The Village Community.

A village community was comprised of those families living together whose ancestors had cleared the forests and made the fields for the sowing of crops. These were all free-holders of the land (Bhuinhars). Village officials were the head-man (Mundah), who was the president of the village council, settled all disputes about social customs, and the priest (Pahan) who propitiated the village gods and spirits. Following the advent of alien landlords in Chota Nagpur, a third official who acted as bailiff (Mahto) was elected, to assess and collect rent from the villagers and to represent the land-lord's interests. The custom of the head-man and priest being hereditary officers was widely though never universally observed. In many villages there were sub-clan families who were craftsmen - blacksmiths, potter, basket-weaver and weaver. Though free from the caste rules and prejudices of the Hindus, the villagers observed amongst themselves their clan custom, one of which was, that to eat or inter-marry with members of a sub-clan was to invite excommunication from the tribe.⁽¹⁾

Rice was the staple agricultural crop, with mustard, millet, surguja, and pulses. Cattle, buffaloes and goats were the domestic animals taken out daily to graze except when the former were needed for ploughing or threshing. At night the animals were brought into the houses, being kept in a reserved part of the built-in verandah. Houses were constructed of baked mud bricks, roofed with thatch or tiles. There was a primitive communal oil press in each village.

In each village was the burial ground (Sasan) where the dead were buried under huge stone slabs after due rites had been performed by the priest. This burial ground was reserved for the

descendants of the original families who had first founded the village. Besides the grave stones, monumental stones were set up outside the village to the memory of the men of note. They were fixed on an earthen plinth on which, shaded by the pillar, the ghosts of the deceased were supposed to sit. Close by was the sacred grove of trees (Sarna) which represented the trees remaining after the first clearing of the jungle had been completed. In the middle of the village was the large open space (Akhra) where public meetings were held and where the young people danced.

The Village and its Guardian Spirits

The life of the tribe, subdivided into clans and families has the village as its physical base. The village community settled on the land cleared by the first ancestors is regarded as one single unit whose health and prosperity must be preserved and safeguarded. Guardian spirits of the village as well as evil spirits who might well disrupt the life of the village are the ever present supernatural forces with which the aboriginal tribesman lives from day to day.

The Sacred Grove of trees - Sarna - left by the original clearers of the land is the abode of the most important of these tutelary spirits - Chala Paccho or Jaher Buri - The Lady of the Grove. Ordinarily this spirit referred to familiarly as the 'Old Lady' is believed to live in the winnowing basket kept by the priest in his house. Sacrifices offered to her by the village priest in the springtime include fowls and goats at the festival called 'Sarhul'. Her presence in the sacred grove is represented by a stone at the foot of a Sal tree. The status of this benign spirit is that of Queen of the village and she is respected accordingly; she has responsibility for the welfare of the

village and love and reverence are her due; the motive of fear plays no part in the sacrifices or worship offered to the Lady of the Sacred Grove.

The spirit who guards the village boundaries and who is the minister of the Lady of the Grove, acting as her assistant and attendant is known as Darha.⁽¹⁾ This spirit must be carefully propitiated since the physical and spiritual safety of the village depends upon this highly temperamental agent and her correct treatment. Darha, if annoyed, will not keep proper watch on the village and consequently disease, epidemics and crop failure from outside will invade the village community. Guardian spirits from outside will invade the village community. Guardian spirits of the clan, the family and women are, like Darha, regarded as being easily offended but are not considered to be the actual agents of disease or disaster. The motive for propitiating these spirits, according to the reasonings of the villagers, is that if not given their dues, they will neglect their office as guardians, and disaster as a matter of course will ensue to the village and its inhabitants.

Village welfare is thus grounded in the land which is protected by the spirits who guard the village boundaries against harmful forces - physical and spiritual. The whole of the natural world is of a part with this belief; hills and rivers, valleys and streams are the dwelling places of spirits or demons all of whom are either well-disposed or ill-disposed to man and who must therefore be approached with respect.

1. Dalton claims that a carved post in the centre of the dancing floor represents this tutelary deity. J.A.S.B. 1866. Vol. 35 p.188.

The Cult of the Ancestors

All members of the tribe, clan or family whether alive or dead are still regarded as being one community and the ancestors therefore are an integral part of village life. The village burial ground is reserved for those descendants of the original settlers who first cleared the land, wherever they may happen to die. Dalton noted :-

"I do not know of any people who are more careful in regard to the disposal of their dead than are the tribes of whom I am treating."⁽¹⁾

The spirits of the ancestors are offered a few grains of rice at each meal and at all feasts and festivals a portion of food is reserved for them. In times of crisis the spirits of the ancestors are invoked to come to the help of the community.

The living and the dead are separated only in form; for all other practical purposes they are still held to be in relationship with each other. The ability to do good, to help, and to protect the community is the special duty of the ancestors, in return for which the living maintain them by daily offerings. There is thus a strong contract basis to the belief in ancestor worship which forms part of the corporate solidarity of tribal life.

Totemism and Taboos

The tribe is subdivided into clans (Kili) and septs many of whom have a totem which may be either an animal, fowl, fish, tree or plant.⁽²⁾ It is taboo for the totem to be eaten. Roy instances

1. E.T. Dalton J.A.S.B. 1866. p.192.
2. For a list of Oraon Totems see S.C. Roy 'Oraons' p.325-327 where he enumerated 51 of them. Amongst the Mundas he classifies 36 tribes and sub-tribes. S.C. Roy 'Mundas' p.402-412.

a group of Mundas who refused to allow a Mohammedan even to grow the plant which was their totem.⁽¹⁾ Minz however states that the clan totem may be eaten as a type of sacrificial meal, in which the spirit of the totem is believed to renew to fellowship of the clan. The members of the clan may not kill their own totem, consequently members of a different clan do this for them. Totemism is a link between the human and the natural world and a further link with the spiritual world since in this way the clan spirit is believed to protect his children while at the same time conserving the vital force of the clan.⁽²⁾

The clans are exogamous, that is - marriage is forbidden between members of the same clan or family. It is the custom for a man to seek a bride from another clan and bring her to his home. The taboo on names is observed between a husband and his wife and regarding women in general. Man and wife never mention their own names to each other; in referring to each other the form - "the father - mother of so-and-so" is used, and in ordinary social intercourse a woman is known and referred to by the name of the village from which she came before her marriage.

Sickness and Its Cure

Reference has already been made to the prevalence of disease as one of the baneful factors in tribal life. Dalton made the following observation regarding sickness and its causes and treatment -

"Next to dancing, that which most engrosses the mind of the Kol is the belief in and fear of witchcraft. All disease

1. S.C. Roy 'Mundas' p.406
2. 'Tribal Awakening' p.128

in men and women is attributed to one of two causes:- the wrath of some evil spirit who has to be appeased, or the spell of some witch or sorcerer who should be destroyed."⁽¹⁾

The office of medicine-man or doctor (Baidh) is essential for the combating of disease. The more powerful type of practitioner is believed to have a spirit or supernatural power as well as a knowledge of sicknesses and how to treat them. Ordinary doctors are people without this special power but who have a knowledge of herbs or use practical common-sense; these often obtain the necessary expertise for treating their patients from data they assimilate in dreams. Herbal remedies are usually smeared on the affected part, inhaled, drunk or attached to the body in the form of amulets. The necessary spell to be given with the medicine is the esoteric part of the doctor's art, so that even in ordinary matters the doctor is regarded as having power over some spiritual force. Herbal remedies fail more often than not due to the dosage being entirely arbitrary. Since sickness to both man and beast is normally regarded as being due to evil spirits sent by witches and wizards the doctor's art is in many ways allied to that of the witch-doctor. The evil spirit causing the disease must first be appeased before there is any hope of the disease itself being cured.

Magic and Witchcraft

The taking of omens forms a basic part of all tribal activity so that tribal religion is characterised by the fundamental importance which it attributes to witchcraft, sorcery and the practice of black and white magic.

1. E.T. Dalton J.A.S.B. Vol.35 p.183.

Witchcraft is the secret knowledge related to some spirit power acquired by special training. It is usual for women to be professional witches; they are credited with bringing about disease and death to individuals or to whole families; they make use of the 'spirit bundle' - a heterogeneous collection of oddments which when buried near a village are believed to bring disaster; they also use the magic arrow to inflict harm on an intended victim; they concoct spells and by metamorphosis can change into a black cat or a pigmie; they also hold a type of 'witches sabbath' once a year. Wizards are the male counterpart of witches; they possess the power of the evil eye and the evil mouth which can harm children, crops and animals; they are held to have a similar spirit.

Witch-doctors or exorcists have the secret knowledge and power to drive away from either place or persons evil spirits by the use of incantations.

Dalton noted :-

"The Oraons in addition to the priest whose business it is to offer sacrifices for the benefit of the community have recourse to a person called an 'Ojha' whom they consult regarding the proper spirit to be invoked and the nature of the sacrifice that is required of them, and whose functions appear to bear a strong resemblance to the 'medicine men' of the African tribes."⁽¹⁾

The usual practice is for bribes in the form of material goods to be given to the witch-doctor who in turn (while keeping the offerings for his own use) makes them the bait to lure the spirit out of the person or place possessed. His influence is not perhaps so harmful as that of the witches and wizards since

he aims to benefit others by his ministry. In practice however the witch-doctor can make terrible demands on those who turn to him for help. These practitioners of black magic - witch, wizard and witch-doctor are deeply entrenched in tribal society which has deeply rooted beliefs in all kinds of spirits, many of whom are baneful to man. These people are greatly feared by all, and they not infrequently meet a violent death at the hands of their 'patients'.⁽¹⁾

The Priest and His Function

By contrast the priest of the village is responsible for performing appropriate sacrifices at the village festivals. He also performs the rites connected with birth, marriage and death. His ministry is vital to the welfare of the village since by his offices the village gods and spirits are kept happy and the life of the community is ordered aright. The priest is usually descended from one of the original inhabitants of the village and the knowledge of his office is often hereditary being passed down from father to son or kept within the close blood-kin of cousin or cousin's son. There are neither temples nor idols associated with tribal religion. The sacred grove might contain a stone but never anything shaped by human hand. Women rarely have a place in any part of tribal religious rites or ceremonies nor do they enter the Sacred Grove.⁽²⁾

1. Dalton states that during the disturbances following upon the Mutiny 1857-58, witch hunting and wizard hunting was widely practised in Chota Nagpur. All co-operated in murdering those whom they believed to be the agents of evil spirits. J.A.S.B. 1866 p.186,187.
2. Dalton however instances a rain-making ritual performed by Oraon women and girls. J.A.S.B. 1866 p.190.

The natural world in part predictable, in part utterly unpredictable, is the world in which aboriginal man finds a place and he enters into relationship with his environment by seeking to control it. Common-sense based on experience equip him for those aspects of life which need not be feared. The mysterious, which is very often the catastrophic element in nature is the point where common-sense fails him and he must then have recourse to magic, the essence of which is secrecy if it is to be effective. Spells, incantations, charms, omens and sacrifice are the means whereby the aboriginal seeks to influence the supernatural forces which affect and control daily life. White magic is safe and beneficial - black magic is the bane of tribal life where evil powers are known to be associated with certain people who can and do bring harm to their fellows.

Bishop Stephen Neill in reviewing the pre-literate religion of tribal societies makes this constructive observation :-

"It has to be admitted that primitive man has had considerable success in creating a world in which he can live, in finding that unity, the quest for which seems to be one of the basic factors in the human approach to life. He has brought together in what is to him an intelligible^{s!} scheme, man and his environment, the living and the dead, human and animal neighbours. His world may be a very small one but here at least a man may be at home."

But at the same time Neill remarks :-

"Primitive man is never free from fear. His life is hedged about at every point by rules and taboos. If any rule is infringed retribution will be terrible. He knows quite well the distinction between good and placable spirits and the

evil power that goes about seeking what it may destroy and into contact with which certain men may enter for their own evil purposes."⁽¹⁾

In presenting this outline of tribal culture and religion reference has been made to the work of the British anthropologists of the nineteenth century, notably Justice Campbell and Edward Tuite Dalton who were pioneers in the study of the aboriginal tribes of India. They were followed in the early part of this century by the Bengali anthropologist Sarat Chandra Roy, and more recently by the modern studies of Verrier Elwin.

In submitting the evidence of their research due allowance must be made for the variety of terminology used when applied to pre-literate cultures and religion since as yet no universally acceptable norm exists. The advent of aboriginal workers into this field will be of enormous value from a subjective point of view in helping to give a more balanced and comprehensive picture, while at the same time research continues in depth based on the foundation laid by the nineteenth century pioneers.

1. S.C. Neill 'Christian Faith and Other Faiths' Oxford University Press 1961. p.137.

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4.

THE PRELIMINARIES TO THE MISSION TO CHOTA NAGPUR, 1845

1. Bishop Heber and the S.P.G. Mission to the Paharees, 1824.
2. Major Ouseley and Bishop Wilson, 1840.
3. Doctor John Haerberlin, Agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society and Captain Hannington, 1845.

Bishop Heber and the Mission to the Paharees, 1824.

The Bhils are one of the aboriginal tribes of Central India and in the story of John Chinn⁽¹⁾ Rudyard Kipling has written the legend of an Englishman who succeeded in winning their love and confidence. The Bhils "were and are at heart wild men, furtive, shy, and full of untold superstitions" - but it was John Chinn "who made the Bhils a man" and his methods for so doing are described by Kipling as follows :-

"Centuries of oppression and massacre made the Bhil a cruel and half-crazy thief and cattle stealer, and when the English came he seemed to be almost as open to civilisation as the tigers of his own jungles. But John Chinn went into his country, lived with him, learned his language, shot the deer that stole his poor crops and won his confidence, so that some Bhils learned to plough and sow, while others were coaxed into the Company's service to police their friends."

Kipling must have drawn upon many sources for his mythical "Jan Chinn" but there seems little doubt that one source at least was the historical character Judge Augustus Cleveland⁽²⁾ who in 1784 died at the age of 29 and whose public monument, raised by the local chiefs and land-lords at Bhagalpur, became a place of pilgrimage for the surrounding neighbourhood.

1. See R. Kipling 'The Tomb of his Ancestors' in 'The Day's Work' Macmillan & Co. 1951. p.105.
2. Judge Augustus Cleveland (also Cleveland) 1755-1784. Collector and Magistrate of Boglipoor (Bhaglapur). A cousin of Sir John Shore, first Lord Teignmouth and Governor-General of India 1793-1798. Judge Cleveland died at sea on board the East-Indiaman 'Atlas' on January 12th 1784 shortly after leaving Calcutta on a voyage to the Cape to recoup his health. His remains, preserved in spirits, were brought to Calcutta by the Pilot Sloop and he was interred on January 30th 1784 in South Park Street Burial Ground. Warren Hastings erected the monument to him in Calcutta.
The Bengal Obituary, Calcutta 1848 p.72.

In 1824, forty years after Cleveland's death; Reginald Heber, the second Bishop of Calcutta made his famous journey through the Upper Provinces of India. Heber kept a journal of his travels which was subsequently published as "Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay" and the description of his first contact with the aboriginal tribes living in the Rajmahal hills and his appreciation of what Cleveland had done for them is set down in considerable detail.

As always, Heber was quick to recognise and assess the situation of a place or area with a view to establishing Christian missions and his words are therefore doubly interesting. He comments on the aboriginals, the English Officer, and the possibility of opening a Christian mission in his usual felicitous style :-

"The people of these mountains, and of all the hilly country between this place (Bhagalpur) and Burdwan, are a race distinct from those of the plains in features, language, civilisation and religion. They have no castes, care nothing for the Hindu deities, and are even said to have no idols. They are still more naked than the Hindu peasants and live chiefly by the chase, for which they are provided with bows and arrows, few of them having fire-arms. Their villages are very small and wretched, but they pay no taxes and live under their own chiefs under British protection. Their being free from the yoke of caste seems to make them less unlikely to receive the Gospel than the bigoted inhabitants of the plains."⁽¹⁾

Feuds between the aboriginals and the Mohammedan land-lords had been bitter in the extreme, the latter "killing them (the

1. R. Heber. Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay. 1824/25. 3 vols. John Murray 1828 Vol. 1 p.258.

aboriginals) like mad-dogs or tygers, whenever they got them within gun-shot". It was due to Cleveland that peace had been established, persecution and exploitation ended and social stability secured through agricultural experiments which Cleveland had subsidised, and by the holding of bazaars or markets where the produce of the aboriginals could be sold. Heber inspected the school which Cleveland had originally founded for the sons of the regiment which he had raised. The Scots Adjutant, Captain Graham, had recently revived Cleveland's ^owork and the local judge, Mr. Chalmers, as well as Colonel Francklin, the Inspecting Field-Officer of the district, had the welfare of the tribesmen at heart. Heber caught sight of two or three aboriginal women, and thought them "really pretty, with a sort of sturdy smartness about them which I have not seen in their low-land neighbours." He too remarked that the aboriginals were "trusted more than half a dozen Hindus and there is hardly an instance on record of a chief violating his word. They hate and despise a lie more than most nations in the world."

In planning a mission to these aboriginal tribesmen Heber expressed the following opinion :-

"No attempt has yet been made to introduce them to the knowledge of Christianity. The school (for the regiment) at Boglipoor has scarcely been in activity for more than eighteen months, and being supported by Government, it cannot, in conformity with the policy which they pursue, be made a means of conversion. Mr. Corrie (the Arch-deacon of Calcutta) is strongly disposed to recommend the establishment of a Missionary at Boglipoor; but I am myself inclined to prefer sending him immediately (or as soon as he may have gained some knowledge of the language) into one of the mountain villages. I also would wish some person to accompany the

missionary or schoolmaster, who may instruct the natives in weaving or pottery; and to choose in either of these capacities, someone who had himself a little knowledge of gardening. Civilisation and instruction will thus go hand in hand - or rather, the one will lead the way to the other, and they will think the better of a religion whose professors are seriously active in promoting their temporal interests."⁽¹⁾

Bishop Heber's plans for a mission were briefly actualised in 1824 by the transfer from Calcutta of the Rev. Thomas Christian, a missionary belonging to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Christian was a school-master and on his arrival in Bhagalpur he founded a mission school for the education of the children of the hill tribes. In 1825 two children were baptized.

From December to March each year Christian moved up into the hills and lived in a hut spending his time in reducing the local dialect, Paharee, to writing, compiling a vocabulary and translating the Gospel of St. Luke. Heber thought highly of Christian and his ministry :-

"I am thankful to God that I have been enabled to place a young man in that situation who conciliates esteem wherever he goes; and who in zeal, patience, temper, orthodoxy and discretion, no less than in unaffected piety is so admirably adapted for the service to which he has devoted himself."

1. R. Heber op.cit. Vol. 1 p.282.

On December 16th, 1827 Christian, and later his wife both died of fever and the mission was forthwith abandoned by the Society. (1)

Judge Augustus Cleveland was the fore-runner of the best type of English political officer who served India with such distinction during the nineteenth century. This is the tribute paid to him by Philip Woodruff in his book - "The Men who ruled India". (2)

From a contemporary source Woodruff illustrates the meagre facilities for religious observance available to this class of officer who lived out in the district. Mr. Robert Roberdeau, who wrote an account of life in Bengal circa 1805, was a young officer in the judicial service; he states :-

"In the outward forms of religion Englishmen are rather lax, indeed except in Calcutta all devotion must be in private which is surely as acceptable." (3)

Woodruff comments further :-

"Eighteenth century paganism lingered on in India and only slowly gave way to the absorption in religion of the Victorians. Opinion would follow the English model and an earnest evangelical religion would take the place of mild rationalism." (4)

1. Missionary Register 1826 page 411, 1828 page 300, Digest of S.P.G., Records page 490.

Note:- In 1850 the C.M.S. sent Ernest Droese, one of their German missionaries to begin work again at Bhagalpur. From 1842 to 1848 Droese had previously worked at Ghazipur for the Berlin Missionary Society. When the Society closed down this station Droese sought ordination from Bishop Wilson and joined C.M.S. in 1849. He remained at Bhagalpur virtually single-handed until his retirement in 1885.

E. Stock 'History of the C.M.S. Vol. 2 p.166.

B.H. Badley, 'Indian Missionary Directory' 1876, p.81.

2. P. Woodruff. The Men who Ruled India Vol. 1 'The Founders' Jonathan Cape 1953. p.148.
3. ibid. p.169.
4. ibid p.170.

Judge Cleveland was a man of his generation, and English society in India during the eighteenth century was hardly remarkable for zeal on behalf of institutional Christianity or for support in promoting the cause of Christian missions. In this connection Heber's three Company Officers at Bhagalpur - Graham, Chalmers, and Francklin may be considered as typical of many in their generation since they evinced no interest in missions during the Bishop's visit to their station in 1824. Government officers and Churchmen had not as yet learned co-operation in seeking to promote the welfare of the aboriginals.

* * * * *

Major Ouseley and Bishop Wilson, 1840.

Under the heading "Entry Into India", Captain Thomas Williamson in his "East India Vade-mecum" gives advice to intending travellers on the formalities they will be required to comply with before being allowed into the East India Company's territories :-

"No British subject, not born in India can claim the right of residing within the Company's jurisdiction. Necessity has imposed very arbitrary rules on the conduct of the government abroad; none but persons whose political conduct and opinions are decidedly unexceptional being permitted to reside within the Company's territories. Every European inhabitant is registered and furnished with a licence, renewable at times, or subject to be cancelled by the Supreme Council. No passenger can be received on board a chartered ship without an express order directed to the Captain and signed by the Secretary. Should an imposter succeed, of which, I believe, no instance has ever come to light, in obtaining a passage to India, by means of fictitious documents, he would undisputably be detected on arrival there, and be subjugated to all the rigors of the law.

The first thing to be done on arrival should be to report at the Secretary's office, depositing the Certificate of the Court of Directors' licence to proceed to India; without which the party is treated as an alien and is scarcely considered entitled to British protection. This does not rise from any ill-will on the part of government, or of the inhabitants, but from that strict attention which the politics of the country imperiously demand to be paid to the several characters and descriptions of persons residing within our territory."⁽¹⁾

1. T. Williamson. East India Vade-mecum. 2 Vols. London 1810 Vol. 1 p.170.

This was the monopoly - "the abominable East-India monopoly"⁽¹⁾ which William Carey had failed to obtain and as a consequence had found himself and his baggage put ashore at Portsmouth from the East-Indiaman 'Oxford' when the voyage to India had all but commenced.

It was similarly the lot of the American missionary Adoniram Judson who was deported from Calcutta since he had failed to obtain a licence to reside there. Judson managed to escape when threatened with being forcibly returned to England and from Madras sailed to Burma; he remained there for the rest of his working life, founding the American Baptist Mission in Rangoon and later in Moulmein.⁽²⁾

It was this monopoly which the Charter of the Company, renewed in 1833, had dispensed with so that travellers to India from Europe had no longer any restrictions on their journey or their residence.⁽³⁾ The easing of these restrictive practices for all, naturally benefited Christian missionaries and it was for this reason that Gossner had been able in the late thirties and early forties to send his missionaries to India without any objections being raised either to their journey or their motives. India could now be regarded as a "free country" for the missionary work of both English and Continental societies and there was a consequent increase in the number of societies and missionaries who began work after 1833.

Soon a consequent change in the climate of society could be detected. The Bishop of Calcutta who earlier in the century

1. E. Carey. Memoir of William Carey. London 1836. p.103.
2. F. Wayland. A Memoir of the life and labours of the Rev. Adoniram Judson. 2 Vols. Hisbet and Co. 1853. Vol. 1 p.87f.
3. Charter of 1833, Clause 81.

had been regarded by Company officials, the military and mercantile community, as somewhat of a parvenu, had by 1840 established his position to be regarded by society in general as a leader in Christian missionary enterprise for the whole of North India. Accordingly, it seems quite natural to find the Agent to the Governor-General in the South-west Frontier Agency, Major John Ralph Ouseley,⁽¹⁾ writing to Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta requesting him to send missionaries to the Kols. The year is 1840 and the Major's letter may be given in full:-⁽²⁾

1. For Major Ouseley see Appendix 2 p.xxxvi.
2. S.P.G. Archives C. India 1.35.

1840, March 13th. Camp Coorba,
West of Sirgooja.

My Lord,

Under any other than the present circumstances I should hesitate to address you - as it is, you are the only person to look to for assistance.

I today received a letter from Mr. Tickell, my Principal Assistant in the Colehan, in which he states his disappointment, in finding that whilst he was endeavouring to teach the young Kols to read and write, and had gone to very considerable expense in procuring a master, the man all along had been inculcating Hinduism - and that the Kol boys had adopted the absurd rites and ceremonies with the belief in the truth of the fabulous tales in their 'Vedhas'. This is, as he states, a most unfortunate circumstance, for if missionaries were sent they would succeed; for in no other part of India are the people so open to conversion to the true religion as the inhabitants of Singhbhoom and the Colehan. I perfectly agree with Mr. Tickell in his view and in sending extracts from his letter I express my own sentiments.

I trust, my Lord, that you will forgive this intrusion but even if I should give offence the subject is one of too high interest to allow delay. I have procured the services of a Protestant school-master for the government school there - and indulge in hope of your all powerful assistance to check that which if allowed to proceed will be the subject of unceasing regret.

The Kols having in fact no religion have but to receive as the first impressions a little teaching in the works of truth to become Christians.

I remain, my Lord with much respect, Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

J. R. Ouseley

Agent to the Governor-General and Commissioner.

Major Ouseley included with his letter excerpts from Lieutenant Tickell's original letter. Tickell had urged the appointment of a missionary above all to combat the spread of Hinduism amongst the aboriginal Kols. He wrote :-

"I hope you will never lose an opportunity of applying for a missionary to come into the Colehan. The time is fast passing away when his efforts could be crowned with success, as the best disposed of the Kols in forsaking their former habits, and adopting the more civilised usages of the Oorias they are now obliged to mingle with - such as cleanliness, good diet and temperance, are also falling greedily into their superstitions and will end in becoming nothing more or less than a low caste marginal kind of Hindu".⁽¹⁾

Bishop Heber had attempted to establish a missionary from the S.P.G. amongst the northern group of aboriginals, the Santals and the Paharees of the Rajmahal Hills. Major Ouseley was requesting Bishop Wilson to found a mission to the Kols on the South-western Borders of Chota Nagpur where the tribes came into contact with the Hindus of Orissa. Bishop Wilson duly forwarded the request for a missionary to the S.P.G. in London and it was noted accordingly at the General Meeting on December 18th. 1840.

"The Society are willing to grant such aid as his Lordship may recommend towards the education and religious instruction of the Kols as brought under his Lordship's notice by Major Ouseley".⁽²⁾

In fact, no missionary from an English society was able to be appointed by Bishop Wilson to begin work amongst the Kols. To what extent the interplay of character contributed to this

1. For Lieutenant Tickell's letter see Appendix 3. p.xiL.
2. S.P.G. Minute Book Journal No. 44. p.358.

failure is uncertain. The closing entry in Major Ouseley's personal file shows the defects of his administration in Chota Nagpur to have been serious -

"The irregularity of his judicial proceedings and unsatisfactory manner in which he conducts them noticed. The entire duties of Civil and Sessional Judge in the several Districts of the South-West Frontier were in consequence transferred to Captain Hannington. 20th March 1844."⁽¹⁾

Major Ouseley and his Assistants were representatives of that 'earnest Evangelical religion of the Victorians' who expressed their concern for the welfare of the aboriginals by promoting the foundation of Christian Missions. Temporarily frustrated by the inability of the English Missionary Societies to provide assistance, in 1845 they renewed their request. Gossner's Missionaries were the ones who answered and who founded the first Mission to the Kols.

1. Appendix 2. p.xli.

Compare the Ricketts' Report:-

"The spirit of Colonel Ouseley's administration was indulgence to all connected with the land."

Ricketts Report p.23.

Doctor John Haerberlin and Captain Hannynngton, 1845.

The beginning of the mission to Chota Nagpur is best told in the official version printed in the 'Biene':-

"In the year 1844 the widow of a German doctor arrived in Berlin to sell the extensive antiquarian and natural-history collection of her late husband, who had been employed by the English Administration in Burma to investigate the resources of Tenerassim province, and who had been murdered.

On learning that a Missionary Society in Berlin was training and sending out missionaries to India, she addressed herself to its leader, Pastor Gossner, and suggested that he should buy up her property in Burma, in the neighbourhood of the town of Mergui, in order to base his mission station there.

Gossner already had with him four young men who were ready to go out, and so having let himself be persuaded by the advantageous proposals and glowing accounts which had been put to him, he directed the four Brothers to this mission field, adding however that they should first of all make inquiries in Calcutta about all the circumstances, and obtain advice from reliable missionaries and people interested in mission work. "Should it turn out that this is not a suitable sphere of mission work for you, let me know, for I have long been urgently asked to send missionaries to the Himalayas for Tibet and Chinese-Tartary."⁽¹⁾

Since the failure of the mission to the Gonds in 1841 Gossner was less ready to trust his missionaries to the hazards of making another pioneering attempt in the tropics based on insufficient or faulty data. In commencing his new band of apostles to India he gave them explicit instructions to go as far as Calcutta and to make enquiry there from people who could give sound advice and

1. 'Biene' 1865 p.104.

who were themselves engaged in missionary work. Amongst these he confidently expected would be the Agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society, Doctor John Hæberlin. The fact of there being in Calcutta a fellow German to whom Gossner could commend his missionaries was to be a happy omen for the success of the new venture.

At this point a brief resume of the work of German missionaries in service with English Societies will be of use, more particularly of those employed by the Church Missionary Society in Bengal.

Article 34 of the Church Missionary Society's laws and regulations reads as follows :-

"A friendly intercourse shall be maintained with other Protestant Societies engaged in the same benevolent design of propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

The "Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East" founded during the Napoleonic Wars, had from its beginnings in 1899 been associated with Church circles on the Continent through Dr. Steinkopff, ⁽¹⁾ the Minister of the Lutheran Chapel of the Savoy in London. It was from Steinkopff that the Committee first learned about Pastor Jaenicke's mission school in Berlin, ⁽²⁾

1. Karl Freiderick Adolf Steinkopff, 1773-1859. First Secretary of 'Christentumsgesellschaft' - The German Christian Fellowship in Basel. Minister of the Lutheran Chapel of the Savoy 1801. Foreign Corresponding Secretary for the Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society. E. Rouse designates him "the John R. Mott of his day on account of his ecumenical work and statesmanlike qualities." See E. Rouse and S.C. Neil ⁽¹⁾ 'History of the Ecumenical Movement. S.P.C.K. 1954. p.312.
2. Johannes Jaenicke 1784-1827. Gossner's predecessor as Pastor of the Bethlehem Church in Berlin. The Mission school founded by him in 1800 sent out 80 missionaries up to the time of his death, after which it ceased to function. G. Warneck 'History of Protestant Missions'. Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier. 7th German edition 1901. p.116. E. Stock. 'History of the C.M.S. Vol. 1 p. 32.

and it was from this source that the first C.M.S. missionaries were selected and sent out to Sierra Leone in 1804, 1806 and 1809.

During the war years and up to 1817, Jaenicke supplied C.M.S. with no less than fourteen out of a total number of twenty German missionaries engaged by the Society. This number represented slightly less than half the complete personnel in the mission field during these years - the remaining twenty-four missionaries on the Society's register being British. ⁽¹⁾

The arrangement while it lasted suited both parties. Jaenicke had no thought of founding a missionary society and was quite content for his missionaries to work for the English and Dutch missions. A dearth of suitable candidates in England caused the C.M.S. to welcome these apostles from Germany, the only proviso being that prior to arrival in London they should have received Lutheran ordination in their own country. In employing German Lutherans the Committee of the C.M.S. were merely following the precedent set out by the S.P.C.K. which since 1728 had been supplying its missions in Madras and Tranquebar with personnel from Germany, all of them Lutherans and a high proportion of them ordained. ⁽²⁾

In 1815, following the Peace, the C.M.S. immediately renewed contact with Churches on the Continent. The Committee in the Report for 1816 stated that they "had availed themselves of the opportunity, to diffuse information on the subject of Missions; and to offer to Foreign Protestants every practicable degree of co-operation"; they also reported that they had "opened an Intercourse with a Missionary Institution established at Basel"

1. Centenary Volume of the C.M.S. p.618.
2. B.H. Badley. Indian Missionary Directory. Lucknow 1876 p.1-9
H. Cnattingius. 'Bishops and Societies' S.P.C.K. London 1952 p.38f.

and promised "every aid in their power to any other Societies which may arise amongst the Foreign Churches."⁽¹⁾

A grant of £100 was given to the new Basel Missionary Seminary which had been founded the previous year. The Seminary had been established as a thank-offering for the seemingly miraculous deliverance of the city when under bombardment and investment by the Russians in the closing stages of the War; a strong wind had extinguished the incendiary bombs in the air leaving the city undamaged.⁽²⁾

In 1817 the connection between C.M.S. and Jaenicke's mission school was terminated in favour of the new Missionary Seminary at Basel. In 1818 the first two students, John Andrew Jetter and W. James Deery arrived in London en route for Bengal; like Jaenicke's men they had both received Lutheran orders before being engaged by the Society.⁽³⁾

1. C.M.S. Annual Report 1816. p.115.

2. Missionary Register 1822. p.221.

3. Theophilus Reichardt, one of the Basel men engaged by the Society, described as follows the procedure in the Seminary for those students who wished to work for the C.M.S.:-

"Before I left Germany for England, the Liturgy and Articles of the Anglican Church were put into my hands by the Principal of the Mission College at Basel, with a request that I should peruse them carefully and state whether I could conscientiously join the Church of England, as otherwise I should not be sent to that country. This happened in July 1821. After an attentive perusal of the Prayer Book I gave it as my opinion that I found the Articles of the English Church perfectly agreeing with Holy Writ, and therefore I had no objection whatsoever to join that Church, either by Ordination or in labouring under her auspices. The consequence was that I was sent to England as a Minister of the Gospel in connection with the Church Missionary Society."

Reichardt worked for five years as a Lutheran in Bengal, sought ordination from Bishop Heber in 1826 and resigned from the Society in 1828.

Missionary Register 1826 p.334.

C.M.S. Annual Report 1828 p.39.

After a safe voyage on the "Thomas Grenville" during which they were shown "the most marked friendship" by the captain, Jetter and Deerr were appointed by the Calcutta Corresponding Committee to Burdwan, the Society's only out-station in Bengal, on the 20th September 1819. ⁽¹⁾

In this same year legislation was passed in England which resolved the difficulty of how ordination could be given to aspirants who intended to work for the Society abroad. To secure ordination a title was deemed absolutely essential to comply with the requirements of English Canon Law, ⁽²⁾ and the favour of a Bishop who would ordain men for the Society's missions was a "conditio sine qua non" for obtaining such a title. The Society's first two English priests, W. Greenwood and Thomas Norton had obtained their orders only after some difficulty by holding curacies for a short time in the dioceses of Chester and York. ⁽³⁾

In 1819 the Colonial Service Act ⁽⁴⁾ was passed which gave the Archbishops and the Bishop of London authority to ordain men for the colonies. The custom was soon established whereby the Bishop of London accepted candidates presented by the Society and ^{ordained} them as a matter of course to a title with the Society.

In 1825 the C.M.S. established its own Training College at Islington and in the same year the close connection with Basel was further strengthened, since those men who wished to receive Anglican Ordination were able to spend part of their training at the college; after being examined by the Bishop of London they received their titles with the Society and were dismissed from London to the Mission Field.

1. C.M.S. Annual Report 1819 p.61
2. Canon 33. 1603.
3. E. Stock. History of the C.M.S. Vol. 1 p.90
4. 59 G.3 c60 clause 1. J. Raithby. The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland. Vol. 7 London 1819. p.889.

Three of the four deacons who accompanied Bishop Daniel Wilson to Calcutta in 1832 were Basel men who had trained at Islington, and the fourth, John Haerberlin, was also an Islington student. On arrival in India prior to their Ordination to the Priesthood all four proceeded to Burdwan where another Basel and Islington man, John James Weitbrecht, was waiting to welcome them.⁽¹⁾

By the time Gossner's missionaries were ready to sail for India there were in Bengal working for the C.M.S. no less than fourteen German missionaries out of a total number of twenty five. Of these, Haerberlin was to prove the most influential, since in his capacity as an official of the British and Foreign Bible Society he was already known by name to Gossner. Weitbrecht had been in touch with those missionaries in the Ganges valley brought out by Start in 1839, and in due course he was to play host at Burdwan to the new missionaries. Two of Gossner's missionaries, Stolzenberg and Prochnow, as previously noticed, had joined the C.M.S. since their arrival in India and had received Anglican orders from the Bishop of Calcutta.⁽²⁾

John Haerberlin since his ordination in 1833 had spent his time first at Krishnagar and later in Calcutta where he acted as superintendent of the Society's schools and chapels in the villages on the outskirts of the city.⁽³⁾ After a period of sickness he had recuperated with the Weitbrechts at Burdwan, and in January 1835 he joined with two of the London Missionary Society's men, Francois La Croix and George Gogerly in accompanying Weitbrecht on a missionary tour. Haerberlin rode on horse-back, "his pockets filled with tracts which he distributed to those whom he met" - the other three rode a large elephant. The tour was not

1. Missionary Register 1833 p.205
2. ibid. 1843 p.364
3. C.M.S. Report 1834 p. 56 1835 p.31.

without its moments of drama. On January 22nd Weitbrecht wrote:-

"On Sunday night a tiger visited our neighbourhood and killed and carried off three cows; and the following day, as we were making our way through the dense jungle, we lost sight of Haeberlin, and were exceedingly alarmed till he appeared again."⁽¹⁾

The party travelled 250 miles and distributed 16,000 tracts.

In 1836 Haeberlin was ill again, and again came to Burdwan to convalesce. Finally, in 1837 it was decided that he should return to Europe. Hearing on board ship that Weitbrecht had lost both his daughter and new-born son within months of each other, he wrote to console his friend and closed his letter -

"I wish I could have discussed my plans with you before leaving. Whatever happens, my life belongs to India.

I leave it with a heavy heart."⁽²⁾

His plans were no less than that he should take up work with the Bible Society as their Agent in the Bengal Presidency. This was the outcome of proposals in London which had been slowly maturing during the previous year.

The British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in March 1804, had by July of the same year entered into correspondence with the Serampore missionaries, Carey, Marshman and Ward, the East India Company Chaplains, Brown and Buchanan, and George Udney, Member of the East India Council, regarding a Committee of Correspondence in Calcutta. In 1811 the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society was founded followed in 1812, 1813 and 1820 by Auxiliaries in Colombo, Bombay and Madras.⁽³⁾ Correspondence

1. Memoir of J.J. Weitbrecht p.131.

2. Memoir of J.J. Weitbrecht p.180

3. J. Owen. The History of the Origin and First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society. 2 vols. London 1816. Vol. 1 p.98-100.

between London and India was intermittent although Scriptures were forwarded regularly for distribution.

By the mid 1830's the breakdown in communication between England and India had become so critical that the Home Committee took the initiative in proposing that there should be a full time person appointed to conduct the Society's business in each of the various stations.⁽¹⁾ In the Annual Report for 1838 the Secretary was able to state that this proposal had been accepted for the Presidency of Bengal.⁽²⁾

Haeberlin left Calcutta on board the "Francis Smith" on July 2nd 1837 and arrived in London^{on} the 8th December. In the course of his short furlough he met the Committee of the Bible Society, successfully submitted his degree for Doctor of Philosophy, married a wife, advised the Society on the desirability of printing the Pentateuch in Persian and the Bengali New Testament in Roman characters from scripts he had himself edited, took a month's treatment at the baths in Rippoldsau in Baden, held meetings in Frankfurt with Dr. Pinkerton, the Society's German Agent - "as to the management of the Society's affairs in connection with accounts, depots, etc.", again met the London Committee whose further acquaintance with him "tended to increase their esteem of him and to raise their hopes of the benefits likely to accrue to the Society from his appointment" and finally left by the overland route to Brindisi with 1,000 reams of paper and authority to draw £1,000 in expenses.

Meanwhile in Calcutta the Committee prepared for his arrival by engaging premises large enough to serve both as a residence for the new Agent and as a depository for the Bible Society's stocks.

1. B.F.B.S. Annual Report 1837 p.lxxi.
2. B.F.B.S. Annual Report 1838 p.lxxvi.

of literature. (1)

By 1841 the Calcutta Committee were able to report that during the past year, due to their Agent's exertions, the record number of 240,000 copies of the Scriptures, in part or in whole, had been printed. This exceeded the total production of the previous thirty years. (2)

Haeberlin's organising genius had reduced the cost of binding by installing a binding press in his own house, thus saving 30% on previous prices; he followed this by an experimental lithographic press for printing the Scriptures in Persian script; at the same time he had been asked to standardise the spelling of all proper names in the Society's Bibles and Testaments by compiling a guide for use in all future editions.

The Committee while placing on record their esteem for him -

"felt it their duty to endeavour to restrain him, fearing that he is desirous of doing more than his physical powers will allow him to accomplish; and that there is a danger of his prematurely sinking under the effect of over pressure." (3)

Haeberlin's health had always been a cause of great concern; during his furlough in England the Committee reported - "on the advice of two eminent physicians he has remained in this country with a view to the entire re-establishment of his health"; no sooner had he arrived back in Calcutta than he was prostrated for two months with a violent illness; again in 1842 he was attacked by cholera, and following his recovery plans were set on foot to give him a change of climate; he used this opportunity to conduct a valuable survey of the Society's needs in the whole of North India.

1. B.F.B.S. Annual Report 1839 p.lvii. Appendix p.56-60
2. B.F.B.S. Annual Report 1842 p.lvi.
3. B.F.B.S. Annual Report 1841 p.lxv.

Leaving Calcutta by boat in December 1842, Haeberlin reached Monghyr and Patna by February 3rd 1843 where he stayed with Start and two of the German Brethren - Kalberer and Heinich; he continued on his way to Simla, establishing depots, making enquiries about languages, dialects and current versions and from the missionaries up country ascertaining how the work of the Society could be extended; he reached Calcutta again in January 1844 having distributed a total of 60,000 copies of the Scriptures and amassed a great deal of useful information.⁽¹⁾

Following his return, Haeberlin's appointment as Agent for the Society was terminated and he remained as Secretary to the Calcutta Auxiliary for the next two years. He was thus resident in Calcutta when the ship carrying Emil Schatz, a pastor, August Brandt and Friederick Batsch, teachers, and Theodore Janke, a farmer, dropped anchor in the Hooghley on the 13th of December 1844. The English ship 'Tudor' had reached Calcutta from London and Portsmouth after a voyage of three months and nineteen days. Gossner's four missionaries had been dismissed from the Bethlehem Church in Berlin on July 8th and had then crossed to London to take passage to India. In London they obtained lodgings and contacted the Moravian congregation with whom they were able to join in a celebration of the 'Love Feast'. They commented on the social conditions of the city, noticing "the steam machines for making coffee"; they could speak a little English, but when indoors spent their time singing hymns which so attracted the street urchins that they came and stared through the windows; once on board the 'Tudor' they made their own mattresses for the voyage to save expense, and were specially favoured by the Captain, who arranged their ticket money of £40 per head by permitting them to work their passage; from teaching German to those of the

1. For the account of this journey see B.F.B.S. Annual Report 1844. p.lxxxix - xcvi.

wealthy English people on board who were disposed to engage them, they paid their fare to India.⁽¹⁾

On arrival in Calcutta they made their way to Haerberlin's house; they explained to him Gossner's offer of the late Dr, Helfer's property in Mergui and sought his advice on whether they should proceed to Burma or not. Haerberlin's counsel was that they should not go. Only three years previously in July 1841 the veteran missionary and apostle to Burma, Adoniram Judson, had paid a visit to Serampore in the hope of recouping his family's health; he had spent ten days in Calcutta before embarking for Mauritius and had enjoyed meeting William Sinclair Mackey of the Free Church of Scotland Mission.⁽²⁾ Mackey was a contemporary of Haerberlin having arrived in Calcutta in 1831. Consequently, adequate information regarding the mission field in Burma was available, both from Mackey personally as well as from the Baptists who had handed over the field to Judson and his colleagues of the American Baptist Society in 1815. Not only was the property at Mergui deemed "unsuitable as a missionary depot", but Haerberlin also evoked the principle, later to be known as Comity of Missions, whereby "it was most inadvisable for one Society to step in when another Society was already working in the field".⁽³⁾

The venture to Burma was forthwith considered abandoned and the company in Haerberlin's house began to plan alternatives. Before leaving Berlin, in case such an eventuality should arise, Gossner had offered them the Himalayan route into Tibet. Four years earlier a request for help had been addressed to him from

1. 'Biene' 1844 p.94.

2. F. Wayland. 'A Memoir of the life and labours of Adoniram Judson' Vol.2 p.140f.
For W.S. Mackey see B.H. Badley 'Indian Missionary Directory' p.126.

3. 'Biene' 1844 p.94.

a group of English officers and civilians in Simla who in 1840 had been failed by the C.M.S. in their design to found a mission to the hill tribes of the Himalayas. The English society faced with a financial crisis was unable to expand, and in fact had been compelled to close down existing missions. ⁽¹⁾

Nor had Gossner been in any better position to help since his six available missionaries were already promised to Donald McLeod to commence the mission to the Gonds, as previously noticed. The request for help had not been forgotten, however, and meanwhile the Simla mission had received its first full time worker. This was none other than one of Gossner's own missionaries, John Dulloff Prochnow, originally sent out to work with Start in the ^{ges} Ganges valley in 1840, ordained by Bishop Wilson in 1843 and sent to the Himalayan Mission who had undertaken to pay him for a period of five years. ⁽²⁾ Prochnow was now stationed at Kotgarh, fifty miles from Simla in the valley of the river Sutlej, on the high road to the Shipki pass and Tibet. Haerberlin himself in company with J.M. Jamieson of the American Presbyterian Mission in Simla had made an exploratory tour in this area during June and July 1843 to ascertain the possibility of translating the Scriptures into Tibetan. ⁽³⁾

Meanwhile, in the Punjab on the North-west frontier of British India the Sikhs and the Company's armies had been facing each other without as yet any actual open aggression. A despatch from Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General, dated February 11th 1844 had described the state of affairs -

"Our position with respect to the Punjab can now be viewed only in the light of an armed truce. Let our policy be what it may the contest must come at last and the intervening

1. E. Stock. 'History of the C.M.S.' Vol. 2 p.202
2. Missionary Register 1843 p.364.
3. B.F.B.S. Annual Report 1844.

time which may be given to us should be employed in unostentatious but vigilant preparation."⁽¹⁾

It was thought best to write to Prochnow and ask his advice on whether the party should proceed. Prochnow replied that the outbreak of war was imminent, and that his own future and the future of the mission in Simla and Kotgarh was so uncertain that in all probability he would have to leave; the party should certainly not attempt to come to the Punjab in order to join him.⁽²⁾

This second door having remained closed, the company in Calcutta betook themselves to prayer; on the advice of their friends they were to wait upon the Lord until He should show them what He wished them to do; meanwhile Haerberlin and his wife continued to entertain them in their home. They wrote to Gossner that they "were despised for their modesty by some in Calcutta".⁽³⁾

The event which led to the founding of the mission to Chota Nagpur recalls the story told by Bede of Pope Gregory and the Anglian slaves in Rome.⁽⁴⁾

One day as the four Germans were out sight-seeing with their friends on the banks of the river Hooghley they were attracted by the sight of a gang of Coolies working in the road; their ragged clothes, unusual hair style and dark complexions formed such a contrast to the native Bengalis that the visitors asked their friends who these people were and where they came from. The Coolies were Kols from Chota Nagpur who had come to

1. A. Law. India under Lord Ellenborough. John Murray 1926. p.113.

The First Sikh War broke out on December 11th 1845.

2. K. Shital. History of the Church in Chota Nagpur. North India Tract. and Book Society. Allahabad 1955. p.6.
Biene 1865. p.104.

3. Biene 1845 p.60.

4. Bede. Ecclesiastical History of the English People. Book 2 ch.1.

Calcutta as day-labourers. The Missionaries asked for further information about the aboriginals, and forthwith began to consider plans for founding a mission in their country.⁽¹⁾

Although some of their advisors were in favour of the venture, there were critics who decried the whole idea -

"Why go to a rough, half-barbaric people who cannot read or write when so many towns and provinces are inhabited by cultured peoples who not only have their own script, but know how to use it. Amongst such peoples one could work with tracts, and they are not yet ear-marked by other missionaries."⁽²⁾

When the final decision had not as yet been made, Haerberlin received a letter from Captain John Caulfield Hamnyngton,⁽³⁾ the deputy Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, urgently requesting that the four missionaries lately arrived from Germany should be sent to found a mission to the Munda and Oraon tribes in Chota Nagpur. The letter was regarded as a sign from heaven, and the decision to found the mission was accordingly made.

The letter from Ranchi containing the invitation to found a mission in Chota Nagpur was the outcome of a plan discussed by the Agent, Colonel Ouseley, and Captain Hamnyngton. As previously noticed, Ouseley as early as 1840 had been interested in missionaries coming to the South-West Frontier Agency, and having been failed by Bishop Wilson and the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the offer was now renewed direct to Gossner's missionaries.

1. K. Shital, op.cit. p.6.
2. Biene 1865 p.104
3. For Captain Hamnyngton see Appendix 2 p.xlii.

It was left to Hannyngton to write the letter as he was certainly known by name to Haerberlin; on the 15th November 1832 he and his wife had returned from furlough by the "St. George" from Bristol, only ten days after Haerberlin and his companions had arrived in Calcutta on the "James Sibbald"; until May of the following year he had been on the establishment at Fort William before being posted as Adjutant to his regiment - the 24th N.I. (the Ramgarh Battalion). The Hannyngtons were therefore present in Calcutta when Haerberlin was ordained priest by Bishop Wilson on the feast of the Epiphany, January 6th 1833; they were also closely attached to the Weitbrechts at Burdwan who affectionately referred to them as 'our dear friends'.⁽¹⁾

Haerberlin accordingly took charge of the operations for founding the mission. On the 26th of February 1845 he escorted the four pioneers on their journey from Calcutta up the river Hooghley to Chinsurah, a former Dutch settlement 30 miles north of Calcutta where the London Missionary Society had a station. James Bradbury⁽²⁾, the English missionary there, entertained them for a day. On the following day their luggage and a box containing Rs.1,000 of Scriptures were loaded into a bullock-cart and they continued on their way to Burdwan where Haerberlin had arranged for them to meet Weitbrecht and to stay with him.⁽³⁾

The normal mode of travel for Europeans in India during the first part of the nineteenth century was by palanquin. Weitbrecht and his fellow missionaries had adopted this custom, and quite soon after his arrival in India he had written this description of his first journey from Chinsurah to Burdwan.

1. Memoir of J.J. Weitbrecht p.493.
2. James Bradbury arrived in India 1837. In Calcutta 1842. At Chinsurah until 1849 when the station was handed over to the Free Church of Scotland Mission. Retired 1870. See B.H. Badley. Indian Missionary Directory. p.42.
3. 'Biens' 1845 p.60.

"Eight bearers are appointed to one palanquin; four of whom carry it on their shoulders, in turn, by means of poles fixed to the ends, and then exchange with the other four. They go about as quickly as bad post-horses in France. Besides the eight men who carry the palanquin, one or more as need be, carry the luggage which consist of square boxes, generally made of tin and slung by cords fixed to the end of a bamboo which is born across the man's shoulders. Another man is supplied with a bamboo cane filled with oil, and a piece of wood which is covered with old linen, and kept wetted with the oil. This he lights and it forms an excellent torch. As journeys are always performed at night, each palanquin must be attended by a torch-bearer so that one cannot have less than ten men. These change at intervals of six or eight miles and we had forty individuals employed for each of us, between Chinsurah and Burdwan, a distance of about 40 miles. Government employ native officers called 'dak moonshies' to manage this business and they 'lay a dak' as it is called and send the traveller a bill which he discharges."⁽¹⁾

The break with many accepted customs of European society in India which had already characterised Gossner's missionaries was now made at the very start: Palanquins were dispensed with, and the party travelled on foot with only Haeberlin's servant as company. Haeberlin, Brandt, and Janke rode with the bullock-cart, and Schatz, Batsch and the servant went on ahead. The party travelled by day, and in the course of the journey an accident occurred which was to form the topic of conversation in European circles in Calcutta for many months to come. It was recounted to Mrs. Colin Mackenzie, the wife of the Political Agent to Mooltan, who travelled from Calcutta to the Punjab with her

1. Memoir of J.J. Weitbrecht p.45.

husband in 1846. She noted the Indian scene with an independent and intelligent mind, and her descriptions were subsequently published as "Life in the Mission, Camp and Zenana".

The unconventional but devoted life of Gossner's missionaries had already become proverbial and she wrote about them as follows :-

"I may add that for self devoted zeal none can surpass the German missionaries. Many come to the country (some sent out by Pastor Gossner of Berlin) without any settled means of support, and if their lives are spared, continue labouring upon a casual pittance raised by the sympathy of those Christians who are aware of their circumstances. A very large proportion have fallen victims to toils and privations which a better acquaintance with the climate would have shown them could not be attempted without throwing away their lives. For instance, some have assayed to travel on foot, others to maintain themselves by field labour and in the burning plains of Bengal! they have denied themselves the essential luxuries of fans and sun-blinds, under the idea that it would be self-indulgent to use them!

In one instance, near Calcutta, the luggage cart of a party of missionaries stuck in a river. They harnessed themselves and dragged it through, an act of amazing temerity in a country where five minutes exposure to the sun has sometimes caused death".⁽¹⁾

Using the Government staging posts or 'dak bungalows' along the road, the party arrived safely at Burdwan where the Weitbrechts and a recently arrived Basel and Islington man, Bernard Geidt, were waiting to welcome them.⁽²⁾

1. Mrs. Mackenzie. Life in the Mission, Camp and Zenana. 2 Vols. London 1854. Vol. 1 p.126
2. Memoir of J.J. Weitbrecht. p.293.

The weekend in Burdwan was memorable as this was the first country mission station the visitors had seen, and they heard Weitbrecht preach in Bengali in the Chapel with its thatched roof to a congregation of about 150 converts. A meeting was then held on plans for the mission to Chota Nagpur. Since there were only two European-style bungalows at Burdwan, and both were occupied, it was decided that the party should move on to the next large town, Bancoorah, where the Civil Surgeon and his wife were able to offer hospitality and accommodation. Dr. and Mrs. Cheek were stalwart supporters of the Weitbrechts, and Cheek being a man of wealth (he owned sixteen indigo factories) had long wished to sponsor a mission.

At the same time it was decided that Haerberlin should go ahead from Bancoorah to Ranchi, prospect the ground, meet the British officers and report back to the party at Bancoorah on how matters stood. ⁽¹⁾

The eighty miles to Bancoorah were undertaken - this time by Haerberlin in a palanquin - but by the others on foot. They took five days to cover the distance, and found that after 9 a.m. it was too hot to walk. They now had a tent where they were able to rest in the heat of the day, and an aboriginal 'moonshee' or language teacher who had begun to teach them Hindi; they distributed tracts as they went along. At Bancoorah they were given a large bungalow to live in by Dr. Cheek, and they awaited Haerberlin's return, meanwhile continuing their Hindi lessons and in the evening singing hymns from the English Hymn Book of the Moravians which were enjoyed by all - especially the Moonshee. ⁽²⁾

1. Memoir of J.J. Weitbrecht p.293 and p.49.
2. Biene 1845 p.60 f.

In the cantonment of the Ramgarh Battalion at Doranda, Haeberlin found Hamnyngton and also Colonel Ouseley, the Agent. It was decided that the new missionaries should remain at Bancoorah for the monsoon and make the journey up to Ranchi when the cold weather had set in. There could be no doubt as to the genuine interest and support of the two Government officers, and Haeberlin returned to Bancoorah with the encouraging news.

On the following October 25th when the rains were over, the party began the final stage of their journey. The tent and their belonging were loaded on a bullock-cart, and they set out for Ranchi by the road to Purulia and Silli, finally ascending the plateau and reaching Ranchi on November 2nd.

A site for the mission station had been chosen which adjoined Hamnyngton's bungalow. This valuable estate was a gift to them from the Rajah of Chota Nagpur.⁽¹⁾ They took possession of the estate and laid the foundation stone of their first building on December 1st 1845 giving the station the name 'Bethesda'.⁽²⁾

In this way the Gossner Mission to Chota Nagpur was founded with the help, advice and influence of experienced missionaries and Government Officers who had fulfilled Gossner's own intention that the disaster of the mission to the Gonds should not be repeated. The four pioneers had spent almost a year in getting acclimatised to the country; they had been in the circle of interested friends from the day they set foot in India; they had learned something of mission work from what they had seen and heard from Weitbrecht and Haeberlin. They now commenced their evangelistic task to the aboriginals of Chota Nagpur on those principles which Gossner had advocated.

1. H.Löckies 'Johannes Gossner' p.70.
2. K. Shital op.cit. p.9.

5.

The Gossner Mission to the Kols of Chota Nagpur, 1845-1857.

The Indian Mutiny and its repercussions, 1857-1858.

In 1847 "A Brief Sketch of the Present Position of Christian Missions in Northern India" was published by the Reverend Joseph Mullens, ⁽¹⁾ one of the missionaries in Calcutta, belonging to the London Missionary Society. Local reports of missionary societies and private letters addressed to individuals were drawn upon to provide evidence of the progress of Christian Missions since the day when William Carey had first landed in Calcutta ^{on} November 11th 1793. That tangible results of half a century's missionary labour in the Presidency of Bengal were not lacking, Mullens was easily able to demonstrate:-

"A missionary when he lands on the shores of India no longer finds himself, as did his predecessors, destitute of the materials of missionary labour. He finds grammars, dictionaries and vocabularies to assist his study of the native languages; chapels are erected wherein he may preach, and even the heathen are prepared to understand his message; he has school-houses, large numbers of scholars and Christian school books waiting for him; tracts are ready for distribution, and the whole Bible has been translated into almost all the many languages spoken from Cape Cormarin to Hurdwar; if any become converted, he can introduce them to a small society of believers by whose sympathy the penalties consequent on expulsion from caste will be much alleviated. All this is the result of years of labour, carried on by his predecessors and admirably conducing to the conquest of this great land."⁽²⁾

In establishing their mission to the aboriginals of Chota Nagpur Gossner's missionaries had already shared in some of the benefits

1. Joseph Mullens D.D. arrived in India 1843. Pastor in Calcutta until 1866. Returned to England to become Secretary of the London Missionary Society.
2. J. Mullens. Missions in the Presidency of Bengal during 1847. London 1848. p. 2.

which Mullens had particularised and by 1847 the report on the Mission in Ranchi was able to show progress on conventional lines as well as noting those more individual traits associated with Gossner and his missionary methods.

"The station at Ranchi, Chota Nagpur, is in the hill country of Bengal, west of Burdwan, among the Coles and was established in 1845. There are now in it eight European Brethren, one ordained minister, two school masters and five artizans. The mission has from the outset been beset with difficulties, especially from the language; and the plan that has been adopted by the Brethren of building their bungalows, workshops and out-houses with their own hands, and of supporting themselves by their own manual labour, has materially retarded their more direct missionary labour. But they have seen their error in this respect and are now applying to that work more than before. Though not so well acquainted with the language as to engage in regular bazaar preaching, some of the Brethren have held repeated conversations with the villagers around their station. They have also had a small school, the foundation of which was laid by their receiving seven orphans, five boys and two girls. The mission being of such recent origin, its usefulness must be expected to lie in the future more than in the past."⁽¹⁾

For literature, language and school facilities Gossner's missionaries were indebted to those evangelistic methods, proved and tested by time, which their predecessors in Bengal had found successful. From Heberlein, the Bible Society's Agent, they had received a consignment of Scriptures for distribution and they had already commenced this work on their journey up from Calcutta.

1. J. Mullens op.cit. p.9.

At Burdwan an aboriginal language teacher had been engaged for them to teach them Hindi - the 'lingua franca' of the Presidency outside Bengal proper, and on arrival in Ranchi the first scholars for the mission school had been sent to them by the Magistrates who had entrusted them with orphans to be cared for, in accordance with a generally accepted philanthropic practice. The time given to evangelism had been spent using the accepted methods of visiting the villages and bazaars and in distributing Scriptures. The bewildering variety of tribal dialects had been ignored in favour of concentrating on Hindi - the language used by Government officers, land-lords and the judicial courts. Thus far the mission had progressed on conventional lines.

The 'self-help' principle inculcated by Gossner had been enforced on grounds of financial economy so that the building of temporary quarters to house the missionaries and the children might be completed without the expense of hiring local labour. Since this had absorbed time which otherwise might have been spent on more direct evangelistic work it was noted in the report as being a principle of doubtful value. For the same reason the field and garden work of the missionaries, vital for their subsistence, was regarded as being an error in missionary strategy.

The report showed that the character of the mission after only two years was in keeping with Gossner's methods and ideals and Mullens found no cause for despondency for the future.

During 1846 the small band had experienced their first loss when on August 2nd, only ten months after arrival, the farmer, Theodore Janke, had died. This notwithstanding, the work had continued; the instruction and baptism of the orphans had been completed, the first reinforcements from Berlin, Herman Ansonge, Buchwaldt and Henry Batsch and his wife, had reached Ranchi safely.

and an out-station at Domba, nine ^{miles} ~~miles~~ south west of Ranchi had been founded where the newly arrived Batschs and August Brandt settled. Ansonge left the mission and returned to Calcutta where the following year he joined the C.M.S. ⁽¹⁾

In 1840, in response to a request from the missionaries, Gossner sent out "Rules and Regulations for the Brethren and Sisters who are serving the Lord amongst the Heathen in Bethesda and Domba". ⁽²⁾ This was to be the charter for the mission in Chota Nagpur. The twenty-two rules are remarkable for their combination of sound common sense, burning faith and zeal for souls and acute insight into the workings of a mission station when as yet not a single convert had been made. Since no salaries or wages were paid to his missionaries Gossner's rules on domestic economy will repay study. The basic unit for the whole mission was that of the family. * All personnel, married and unmarried were one mission family - divided as the case may be, into separate house families; the business of the whole mission was to be conducted in conferences led by the Director, Emil Schatz; economy, industry and faithfulness in domestic matters were insisted upon so that other mission stations could be founded, and a common money chest for all expenses was provided into which everything earned by the missionaries was to be placed; a treasurer-cum-housekeeper was to be appointed to supervise both the finances and the domestic arrangements of the mission. ⁽³⁾

To what length the desire for economy could lead Gossner's missionaries had been noted by Mrs. Mackenzie:-

"The wife of an officer finding that the newly arrived missionaries did not eat meat, supplied them from her

1. Calcutta Corresponding Committee of C.M.S. Report 1848 p.4.
2. Appendix 1 p.viii
3. Rules 16, 17. Appendix 1. p.xiii.

own farmyard. They sold the fowls and ducks for the benefit of the mission; but she was ^{as} determined in her care for them as they were in self-denial so she sent them the poultry ready for table, which obliged them to eat it." (1)

It was for this reason that in the fields of their extensive estate at Ranchi the missionaries worked with their diminutive band of orphans, weeding, sowing root crops and growing green vegetables. (2) Their very livelihood depended on their own efforts to be self-supporting, eked out from time to time by gifts from the local European community and by whatever funds Gossner could collect in Berlin.

For four years no vestige of interest in the missionaries or their message could be discerned amongst those with whom they came in contact. The supreme difficulty of language had been resolved only by concentrating their efforts on Hindi - the language of the Government, land-owners and courts. This necessarily limited their relations with the illiterate aboriginals whose variety of languages they were unable to speak or understand. Writing years later of this first period Henry Batsch described the sense of anti-climax and near despair -

"The good seed seemed to fall upon an entirely unprepared unfruitful soil, and we were almost in despair, seeing them all go on in their dancing, drinking and playing and quite indifferent to the word of Christ preached to them." (3)

In 1849 a letter was sent to Gossner requesting that the mission might be abandoned -

"We have ploughed the ground, we dug it and we have also sown seeds but no fruit can be seen. People have not become

1. Mrs. Mackenzie. Life in the Mission, Camp and Zenana. Vol. 1 p.126.
2. K. Shital op.cit. p.11.
3. C.M.S. Intelligencer Vol. 10 1859 p.18.

Christians, in the circumstances we wish to go to another field."

But Gossner rose to the crisis in magnificent style and returned the answer :-

"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."⁽¹⁾

This mild rebuke was hardly in accordance with their wishes, but the missionaries accepted Gossner's advice and within twelve months his faith in them and their mission proved fully justified. The first enquirers approached the missionaries in Ranchi and requested to meet Jesus:-

"At the commencement of 1850, four men of the Oraon tribe came to the mission house at Ranchi and desired to see the missionary. They said they had read in a book of someone called Jesus. The word had pleased them and they wished now to see Jesus. The missionaries invited them to attend their evening prayer-meeting which at that time consisted of themselves and a few orphans. At the close of the service they said again 'the word pleases us, but we desire to see Jesus himself'. No explanation would satisfy them; they repeated their request to see Jesus. At last they became impatient and left the mission house vociferating and abusing the inexorable missionaries.

After a week the same men returned again, attended the family service at the mission house and again asked to see Jesus, saying they could not rest until they had seen him. One of the missionaries then went with them into a room, shut the

1. C.H. Swavely, Lutheran Enterprise in India p.54.

door, fell on his knees, and prayed fervently on their behalf for light to see the truth. Soon they went away more quiet than before, and apparently not without a deep impression of the truth of what they had heard.

Some time afterward they again returned, and requested permission to be present at the English service which was then conducted by the missionaries. Permission was gladly given, and at the close of the service they came to the mission house with joy and said 'Now we are satisfied and only desire to become Christians'."(1)

In this historic account of the meeting between the missionaries and the first converts the significant facts are the stimulus received from reading a copy of the Gospels and the impact made after witnessing the worship of the European community in Ranchi during an English service.

The evangelistic method of distributing Scriptures and tracts in the bazaars and surrounding villages had proved to be an erratic but effective means of contact with the local inhabitants and over the period of the past five years this had been the main missionary work of the Brethren. When least expected it had now borne fruit and it confirmed them in their policy of continuing the work of the mission in Hindi since it was a Hindi copy of the Gospels which had prompted this first desire for further enquiry. (2)

The services for the English community had formerly been conducted by Weitbrecht who had been in the habit of coming up to Ranchi from Burdwan. During 1846 he continued this practice

1. J. Cave-Brown. The Chota Nagpore Mission to the Kols. S.P.C.K. 1871 p.23.
2. Shital states that the four men were sent by their 'guru' - teacher, whose name was Chatur, to enquire personally from Jesus following a discussion which took place after they had all heard one of the missionaries preaching and had read a copy of the Gospels. Chatur himself was baptised by Henry Batsch on October 13th 1850. Shital op.cit. p.19.

and the four Germans joined him in the Holy Communion and at Evening Prayer in September. However, the journey through the jungle and up on to the plateau was so exacting that the supervision of the European congregation was soon entrusted to the German Brethren. ⁽¹⁾

It was this English service which the four enquirers were invited to attend and their impression of Christian worship was described by them in later years as follows :-

"When we saw the Sahibs worshipping Jesus without seeing him we believed that the missionaries were honestly our friends and did not begrudge us the enjoyment of seeing Jesus in person." ⁽²⁾

From this remark it appears that the enquirers assumed that the missionaries were keeping Jesus hidden in their house, and were not willing that he should meet them - hence their angry departure at the end of the first meeting.

On Trinity Sunday, June 9th 1850, the four men with their families were baptised by Emil Schatz. They were all proprietors of land - two of them were possessors of half-villages, the other two had lost their possession by the trick of a Zemindar. This first movement among the Oraons was followed the next year by the conversion and baptism of two Mundas on October 26th 1851. ⁽³⁾

1. Memoir of J.J. Weitbrecht p.346.
2. J. Cave-Brown op.cit. p.24.
3. C.M.S. Intelligencer Vol. 10 1859 p.18f.

The names and villages of the men were as follows:-

The Oraons:- Nabin of Hethakota, Ghuran of Karand, Keso and Bandu of Chitakuni.

The Mundas:- Sadho of Bandhea and Mangta of Balalong.

C.H. Swaveley. Lutheran Enterprise in India p.52.

From 1845 when the mission was founded to 1850 when the first converts were baptised Gossner had sent out no less than nineteen men and two women missionaries to Chota Nagpur and of these six had died in service within a period of four years.

In 1846 Captain Hannyngton gave his bungalow and estate in Lohardagga to found a mission and in 1850 a further station was founded at Govindpore when the mission at Domba was finally closed down owing to its unhealthy situation.⁽¹⁾ Following the reception of the first converts plans were taken in hand to build a church. The arrival in 1850 of Adolph Herzog, a master-mason, ensured that the missionaries now had a skilled tradesman capable of supervising the erection of more permanent buildings. The suggested plan was sent to Gossner for his approval and the foundation stone of the church was laid on November 18th 1851; Gossner held himself responsible for sending the necessary money.⁽²⁾ The desire to build a church was quite in keeping with the spirit of the times. Writing in 1850, Lieutenant William Hodson,⁽³⁾ the Commandant of the Corps of Guides, and an exact contemporary of the Gossner Missionaries in India described his concern for proper places of Christian worship in the following terms:-

1. C.H. Swaveley op.cit. p.52.
2. K. Shital op.cit. p.22.
3. William Stephen Raikes Hodson. 1821-1858. Third son of the Rev. George Hodson, Archdeacon of Stafford and Canon of Lichfield. Trinity College Cambridge B.A.1844. Arrived in India September 1845. 2nd Grenadiers. Present at Battles of Mudki, Ferozeshah and Sobraon in the first Sikh War 1846. Transferred 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. Commandant of the Corps of Guides 1848. Raised and commanded a regiment of irregular cavalry 'Hodson's Horse' during the Mutiny 1857. Killed at Lucknow 12th March 1858. A memorial to him is placed in Lichfield Cathedral.

"A few Cathedrals and venerable looking edifices would do wonders in our Colonies. Here we have nothing physical to remind us of any creed but Islamism and Hinduism. Christianity alone is thrust out of sight; A barrack-room, a ball-room, a dining-room, perhaps a court of justice, serve the purpose for which the 'wisdom and piety of our ancestors' constructed such noble and stately temples. I have not seen a church for three years, nor heard the Service of the Church read, save at intervals in a room in which perhaps the night before I had been crushed by a great dinner party or worn out by the hustle and turmoil of suitors. The building in which one toils becomes intimately associated with the toil itself. That in which one prays should at least have some attribute to remind one of prayer."⁽¹⁾

Bishop Wilson in 1834 had launched the 'One Rupee Subscription Fund' as a voluntary means of contributing a rupee a month for building new churches; in little less than twenty years from this fund alone sixty-six new churches had been built in the Presidency of Bengal; the total number of churches in the Diocese of Calcutta stood at one hundred and twenty.⁽²⁾ On March 5th 1847 Weitbrecht had commenced building a new church at Burdwan to replace the little thatched chapel; he later gave it the name of Christ Church.⁽³⁾ A 'pukka' church building was an asset in missionary strategy which the Brethren in Ranchi also were quick to appreciate.

Herzog's plan was for a large brick Gothic church with a square tower, bells and an organ. The Europeans in Ranchi also gave their contribution and like the other buildings in the Mission

1. J. Trotter. The Life of Hodson of Hodson's Horse. Everyman Edition J.M. Dent. 1901 p.84.
2. J. Bateman. Life of Bishop Wilson. Vol.1 p.362.
3. Memoir of J.J. Weitbrecht. p.364.

the church was built largely by the missionaries themselves; it took four years to complete and was dedicated on Christmas Eve 1855, with the designation Christ Church. From this time onwards the Bengal Establishment Chaplain at Hazaribagh came to Ranchi each month to conduct worship for the English residents and the Church was made available to them for English services. (1)

In 1854 McLeod Wylie, (2) First Judge of Small Causes in the Calcutta Court proceeded on sick leave to England; an earnest supporter of Christian Missions in India, a member of the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society in Calcutta, and until his retirement on health grounds, Secretary to the Calcutta Auxiliary of the Bible Society, he published during his leave an account of the missionary work in Bengal which included a report of the Mission in Chota Nagpur written by the Deputy Commissioner, Major J.C. Hannington. The progress of the Mission following the reception of the first converts, written according to Wylie by 'one of the most able public servants in the territory' touched on the following points :-

1. K. Shital op.cit. p.23.

A station for British troops and a Bengal Establishment Chaplain had been appointed to Hazaribagh in 1834 but no provision seems to have been made for the Chaplain to come to Ranchi during these years; the formidable natural obstacle of the River Damodah doubtless being one of the reasons. Christian Intelligencer. March 1834.

2. McLeod Wylie - Bengal Uncovenanted Civil Service. Born 1817, arrived in India 1843. Barrister-at-law. Appointed Junior Magistrate of the Calcutta Police April 11th 1850. First Judge of the Calcutta Court of Small Causes, December 29th 1851. Justice of the Peace for the town of Calcutta 1865. Elected to C.M.S. Corresponding Committee in Calcutta 1844. Assistant Secretary to the Calcutta Auxiliary of the Bible Society 1847. Secretary 1850. Appointed Honorary Life Governor 1854. President 1860. Lists of Bengal Uncovenanted Civil Servants 1850, 1859, 1865. See Bible Society Annual Reports for relevant years.

The baptism of the converts had been followed by a period of persecution in which some of their homes had been burnt down and some wives had returned to their own villages, forsaking those who had broken their caste. ⁽¹⁾ The check was only temporary, however, and in 1853 the number of converts had risen to 171 baptised Christians of whom 112 were adults, the remainder being children of those parents who, both man and wife, had received Baptism; the distinguishing mark insisted upon as the 'conditio sine qua non' of Baptism was the cutting short of the hair. The movement towards Christianity had spread to such an extent that the probationary period for Baptism had been lengthened, resulting in there being no baptisms to date for the year 1853. The Christians all lived in villages in and around Ranchi; the out-stations at Lohardagga, Govindpore and Hazaribagh (founded in 1853) had so far received no converts; as regards statistics there were 18 missionaries in the field, 4 vernacular schools with 138 pupils, a boarding school in Ranchi with 49 boys and 23 girls of whom 17 orphans and 13 other children had been baptised.

Hannington stated :-

"Humanly speaking the Brethren might do more if they had more means. They receive the greater part of their funds from Berlin and a small part in India by way of subscriptions and occasional donations. The whole expenditure including the expenses of a church now building and the purchase of a bungalow in Hazaribagh has been Rs.619 monthly during the present year".

T. Henry Batsch stated:- "One remained unmoved and has done so to the present time. His name is Nouman (sic). The others wavered and bowed under the stroke and have never since regained their former strength, though still confessing their faith in Christ."

C.M.S. Intelligencer. Vol.10 1859 p.19.

Regarding the Mission's internal progress, Hamnyngton was able to give a more encouraging report:-

"At a general yearly conference of the whole body at Ranchi, the native brethren under the guidance of the missionaries select out of their own body their elders, wardens, treasurers, etc. The elders generally act as readers and Catechists in their allotted villages, and in their houses the Brethren meet for prayer, for reading the Scriptures and for learning the Catechism. In their houses also the missionaries, when on visiting or preaching tours, hold meetings. Generally a large congregation attend Church on Sundays at Ranchi. The missionaries hope that by the Lord's help they shall soon be able to ordain some of the native brethren as assistants in the mission. In the education of their boys this great object is kept in view. These are mostly young but some are promising."⁽¹⁾

The years 1850 to 1853 represent a period of quiet growth in Christian converts and as late as 1854 when Ricketts made his detailed tour of the South-West Frontier Agency there was no cause for any comment. Ricketts' only reference 'en passant' is to the educational work of the missionaries :-

"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."⁽²⁾

The year 1855 can be seen as a turning point in the history of the mission. The spread of Christianity had by now become so remarkable that the local land-owners began to see it as a sinister movement which should be stamped out -

1. M. Wylie. Bengal as a Field of Missions. p.191
2. Ricketts Report. p.138.

"In 1855 a Hindu Thikadar (landlord) with a large crowd of armed men made a sudden attack upon the missionary Herzog and beat him so dreadfully that he fell down unconscious and was dying. Though the Thakur (landlord) was fined and threatened to be executed if he would repeat such an act of cruelty, on the whole, things did not change."⁽¹⁾

The wave of persecution soon turned from the missionaries to their converts continuing and increasing in severity. During two months of 1856 Schatz kept a journal of incidents perpetrated against the aboriginal converts by various landlords. It forms a catalogue of petty crime and terrorism all the more reprehensible for being unprovoked.

- October 18th A native Christian from Patergawi had his house burnt down, saving nothing but his life and the clothing he wore.
- October 22nd The crops just sprung up of a Christian at Chissera were all ploughed over. The daughter of another Christian was forcibly dragged to the house of the Zemindar, made out to be a witch and maltreated by his servants.
- October 25th A Christian dragged forcibly away from his house and severely beaten.
- October 28th The wife of a Christian maltreated in her own house during the absence of her husband.
- October 31st A Christian cutting his rice is beaten, his sickle and clothing taken from him.
- November 1st The crops of native Christians cut by servants of the Zemindar who is judge; the father and mother of one of the Christians dragged to the house of the judge and there beaten and imprisoned.

1. Report of the German Evangelical Mission of Chota Nagpur quoted by S.C. Roy. Mandas. p.230.

November 6th & 7th) The crops of Christians cut and taken away.

November 12th All the cattle of a Christian forcibly taken away; in another village crops stolen so that many Christians have nothing left whatsoever from their crops.

November 17th At Murhu the house of a native Christian is plundered, all his corn cut down, and his wife watching in the field plundered to the amount of Rs.20. A native from another village comes to ask for refuge with his child, the people having maltreated him and threatened to kill him. During his absence his house pulled down, his mother and a child thrust out of the village.

November 19th All Christians in Tulgawe fined Rs.80 having been falsely accused of having cut the corn from the fields of the Zemindar. Two of the accused not in the village at the time. They will now have to appeal.⁽¹⁾

The missionaries formed the rallying point during this persecution campaign and naturally it was to their European leaders that the aboriginals turned for help and guidance. In the November 1856 issue of the "Biene" Gossner printed a report on the proceedings at law between the missionaries and their opponents -

"We have now been eleven years here. For the last six the Lord has poured out His blessing; since then we have had much persecution but never so much as just now, and our enemies confess that it is their intention to drive us out of the land or to kill us. The Zemindars or large land-owners are our greatest enemies and they try to hinder the people in every way from embracing Christianity; and after

1. "Calcutta Review" 1869 p.132.

they have embraced it there is no end of persecuting them and plaguing them in every conceivable way.

Our native brethren in the first instance invariably come to us to get our counsel. We always admonish them to bear with meekness and forgiveness and patient endurance. But when matters have gone too far we have permitted them to seek their rights in the courts of law. With great expense of money and time, they have obtained their rights several times, but the gain as to rest and peace have been small, as they are still annoyed and plagued continually.

All zemindars have united and have sent 'vakeels' (lawyers) and attorneys with accusations against us and our native Christians, and even against the English judge to the Civil Court at Calcutta. Twice they have lost their lawsuit and now they have sent a much more bitter and threatening accusation to the Supreme Government upon which an order came, some time ago, to send in all documents of every single lawsuit the Chota Nagpore Christians were concerned in. This has been done and we await with prayer and patience the issue."⁽¹⁾

The inveterate feud between the aboriginals and the land-owners of Chota Nagpur had received additional provocation from the presence of the missionaries and the spread of Christianity.

In Ranchi the Hindu Assistant to the Magistrate was himself allied to the land-lord class as the following incident clearly shows :-

"The other day a poor tenant lodged a complaint against a Brahmin Zemindar in court on account of cruel treatment and oppression. The Medical Officer⁽²⁾ called in as witness

1. Quoted in "Calcutta Review" 1869 p.130.
2. The Civil Surgeon, Dr. C.F. Warnford M.D.

gave us a description of the transaction. As soon as the guilty Brahmin robber came into the court of this judge to be heard, the honest judge rose from his seat, and in the most humble position, crouching on all fours before the accused Brahmin Zemindar, touched and kissed his feet, saying 'Thy blessing, my father' and after having received his blessing he put a chair for the accused close to his own, while the accuser, the Christian tenant with his witnesses, had to stand far off at a distance, being treated as if they were criminals. The crime in this instance was too glaring; the Medical Officer gave evidence as to the dangerous nature of the wounds inflicted, others as to the robbery committed and the Brahmin Zemindar was fined Rs.5"⁽¹⁾

In spite of these persecutions the desire to become Christian was insistent and in a letter of December 9th 1856, Henry Batsch described how a general movement towards Christianity was on the verge of taking place -

"Some people from a village near Chund were here to-day saying that the whole village desires to become Christian and seven or eight families are decided to do so at once. All the country is in great excitement from Ratu to Chund. In the same direction a Thikedar with his whole family came over a month ago. In spite of all the threatenings from the part of the enemies and the fear which lies upon our brethren and all those who are willing to join them we trust to see a great opening in that direction."⁽²⁾

1. Based on a report in "Biene" 1856 quoted in Calcutta Review 1869 p.130 f.
2. C.M.S. Intelligencer 1859 p.21.

In January 1857 Schatz was able to attend a Missionaries Conference at Benares, "where many for the first time heard of the silent blessing his mission had enjoyed."⁽¹⁾ He numbered the baptised at over seven hundred and the enquirers at over two thousand.

Within three months of this favourable announcement describing the success of Gossner's mission in Chota Nagpur, on March 29th 1857 the Adjutant of the 34th Bengal Native Infantry was murderously attacked by one of his own men at Barrackpore, and the whole of North India was suddenly thrown into turmoil as the outrages of the Sepoy Mutiny spread from station to station.

The Indian Mutiny and its Repercussions 1857-1858.

Since the outbreak of the Mutiny in Chota Nagpur has a direct bearing on the history of the Mission and the consequences of the Mutiny produced little less than a religious and social revolution in the lives of the missionaries and their converts the events of the crisis in Ranchi during 1857 must now be described :-

Captain Jacob Camac of the Honourable East India Company's service had entered Chota Nagpur in 1772 supported in his capacity as Military Collector by a battalion of irregular levies which were stationed at Chatra. This battalion had been raised in 1766 at Bankeypore by Sir Robert Barker, the British Commander-in-Chief; it was the only battalion to survive the reduction of troops in 1773 and it joined the Infantry of the Line in 1775 with the designation 14th Bengal Native Infantry. Camac commanded the battalion during the Marhatta Wars of 1778-80 when in support of Captain Popham the British Forces captured Sindhia's fortress of

1. Ibid. 1857 p.22

Gwalior on August 3rd 1780.⁽¹⁾ The battalion returned to the South-West Frontier Agency where it was permanently stationed. Its designation was subsequently changed to the Ramgarh Light Infantry Corps, comprising cavalry, artillery with six-pounder guns and infantry.⁽²⁾ It was engaged during the rising of the Mundas and Oraons in 1832-33 and both Lieutenants Tickell and Hannington served with it, the latter being posted Adjutant in 1833.

After the Second Burma War from 1853-54 the cavalry wing had served in Pegu under Captain Thomas Rattray, an officer of the 64th N.I. seconded to the Ramgarh Battalion for special service.⁽³⁾

1. T. Williams. An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry. London 1817. p.69.
Military Calendar Vol. 2 p.101.
Cambridge History of India. Cambridge University Press 1929. Vol. 5 p.268.
2. India Register 1845 p.170
3. On his return from Pegu Rattray was given command of the Governor-General's Bodyguard with whom he patrolled the Grand Trunk Road during the Santal Rebellion of 1855. In 1856 he was deputed to raise a Bengal Military Police Battalion modelled on the lines of the 24th N.I. from among the Sikh warriors in the Punjab. From Lahore he moved to Delhi with his battalion, known as "Rattray's Sikhs" and went into quarters at Sooree, 126 miles north-west of Calcutta in April 1857. Rattray's Sikhs remained faithful to the British during the Mutiny and were responsible for restoring law and order in Chota Nagpur and Bihar during 1857-58.

See H. St. G.M. McRae. History of the 45th Rattray's Sikhs 1856-1914. 2 Vols. Glasgow 1933. Vol. 1 Chaps. 1, 4 and 7.

In 1857 there were detachments stationed throughout the territory; at Hazaribagh there were in addition two companies of the 8th N.I. from Dinapore; at Purulia, Chaibasa and Sambalpur there were local garrison forces and at Doranda, outside Ranchi, the Headquarters station and the Artillery park. The total complement comprised 5 European officers, 2 European N.C.O's, 14 Native officers and 1062 Native N.C.O's and men.⁽¹⁾ Captain Nation and Lieutenant Graham were at Doranda; the Commissioner, Major Dalton, and his Assistant, Captain Davies, were in Ranchi; Captain Oakes, the other European Assistant was stationed at Hazaribagh.

The events of the Mutiny during the earlier part of 1857, notably the outbreaks at Meerut and Delhi in May, the retreat into the Residency at Lucknow in June and the Massacre at Cawnpore in July had passed without any noticeable stirrings in Bihar. Only when the relief column from Calcutta passing north and west up the Ganges and along the Grand Trunk Road began to be organised did the disaffection of the native troops in Bihar and Chota Nagpur take place. The large cantonment at Dinapore on the Ganges where three Native Regiments were stationed was commanded by General Lloyd, an officer "who owed his appointment more to the length than the merit of his services."⁽²⁾ On July 25th the three regiments mutinied and due to Lloyd's pusillanimity were permitted to march away with their weapons and equipment intact.

On the direct route of march was Arrah, a Civil Station, where for ten years from 1843-53 Gossner's missionaries sponsored by Start had maintained a mission. From July 26th to August 3rd

1. A return of the name or number of each Regiment and Regular or Irregular Corps in India which has mutinied. House of Commons Paper 1859. No. 133.
2. H. Beveridge. History of India. 3 Vols. London 1865. Vol. 3 p.644

a small band of fifteen Europeans, business-men, indigo planters and engineers, ably supported by fifty men of the Bengal Military Police - Rattray's Sikhs, kept the mutineers at bay in the local club, known as the Billiard Room House. The mutineers had been joined by Koer Singh, an octogenarian Rajput chieftain who had become disaffected owing to the loss of his estate in litigation with the Revenue Department. The resistance of the civilians at Arrah proved to be the turning point for the Mutiny in Bihar and Chota Nagpur since the largest concentration of rebels was now engaged in reducing that position.

The Mutiny in Chota Nagpur proper commenced on July 30th when, five days after the event, a party of mutineers from Dinapore reached Hazaribagh. The companies of the 8th N.I. immediately mutinied driving their officers and the surviving civilian officials from the station. The European community, among them Henry Batsch, the only missionary, had sometime previously left Hazaribagh and without incident had reached Calcutta in safety. In Ranchi the disaffection of the companies of the 8th N.I. already being anticipated it was thought best to disarm them, and on July 29th Captain Nation had already dispatched Lieutenant Graham with 30 troopers, 2 companies of infantry, 2 guns and 4 elephants to Hazaribagh. On July 31st, having covered a little over half the journey, Captain Oakes, the Principal Assistant, met Graham with the news that he was too late. In camp, the same night, Graham's own infantry and artillery-men mutinied and setting off before dawn, retraced their steps towards Ranchi. The cavalry troopers remained staunch and Graham was able to send prior warnings to Dalton who immediately ordered the station at Ranchi to be abandoned. Making a detour, Dalton and the European officers joined forces with Graham and the cavalry who, unopposed, entered Hazaribagh which had been left abandoned by the mutineers.

In Ranchi, the European community earlier in the year had taken the necessary precaution of sending away their families to Calcutta. When news of the massacre of the Christians in Delhi on May 11th had been received, Dalton had ordered the missionaries to leave the station since the mere presence of the troops at Doranda constituted a risk; if mutiny were to occur the fate of the missionaries would be sealed. Not unnaturally, Schatz and his colleagues temporised; anxious for their converts, they refused to leave, meanwhile making arrangements for their own wives and children to go away to safe refuge four days' journey from Ranchi. Lulled by the news of the defeat of the mutineers outside Benares on June 4th, followed by the further news of the relief columns which had fought their way through to the Ridge outside Delhi on June 9th, the missionaries recalled their wives and children. When the mutiny in Chota Nagpur commenced the whole of the missionary party were living in the station at Ranchi, with the exception of Lohr and his wife, who were at Petruria. Since the native Christians with Lohr had now come in from the surrounding villages, after prayer, the decision was reluctantly taken that for the safety of everyone, missionaries, children and converts alike, flight was the only alternative. All the ready money was left with Nabin of Hethakota and with only the clothes they were wearing the missionaries left Ranchi on foot to return to Calcutta; the Christians meanwhile scattering to their own villages.

Schatz, Bohn, Frederick Batsch, Brandt, Herzog and Lohr formed the nucleus of the party which set off on August 1st making for the rail-head at Raneegunj, 139 miles north-west of Calcutta; they arrived safely only to find themselves without money. A generous Englishman on the station paid their fares, and they reached Calcutta on August 17th where Mcleod Wylie and other

friends immediately took them into their own homes and made much of them. This fourteen day journey on foot through the jungle and down the "ghats" onto the plains, in the height of the monsoon, without any guide or assistance, was a heroic achievement for Europeans encumbered with women and children. The party had camped by night, too frightened to approach any village, and the numerous rivers, flooded from the rains, were so deep that children had to be carried over on their fathers' shoulders.

The mutineers meanwhile had returned to Ranchi and on August 2nd the Headquarters troops joined them. A general outbreak followed - the treasury was broken open, the gaol forced and all prisoners released, the court-house burned down and private property looted and destroyed. The troops at Furulia and at Chaibasa mutinied on August 5th, and in each place the same deprivations took place.

The mission buildings suffered the same fate as the bungalows of the European residents - only the Civil Surgeon's house being left untouched; the church was used as target practice for the artillery, but of four shots fired only one cannon ball succeeded in hitting the tower where it lodged and is still "in situ" to-day; the furniture of the church was looted and the organ destroyed, but no further damage was done to the building itself. The mutineers remained in Ranchi and were joined by some of the landowners who were disaffected towards Government. One local magnate, Thakur Bisnath Sahi, was elected their Chief and another, Pandey Ganpat Rai, their Commander. Bisnath Sahi occupied the Civil Surgeon's bungalow in the cantonment at Doranda where he set up his own court; he set a price of Rs.2,000 on the heads of Emil Schatz, Dalton and the native Christian convert, Nabin of Hetha Kota, boasting he would flay them alive and use their skins to make drums; he was also the prime instigator of the persecution of the Christian converts which

now commenced. (1)

The restoration of law and order in Bihar and Chota Nagpur began with the relief of the civilian force at Arrah on August 3rd 1857. Major Vincent Eyre of the Royal Horse Artillery and 160 men of the Northumberland Fusiliers who were passing up-river to Allahabad defeated the mutineers in a pitched battle and pursuing the rebel Koer Singh, defeated his forces at Jagdishpur on August 12th 1857.

Dalton had re-occupied Hazaribagh with his small force, augmented by fifty horsemen sent by Jaganath Sahi, the loyal rajah of Chota Nagpur, but on August 13th he was again compelled to retire until reinforced on the 28th by Lieutenant Earl and 150 men of Rattray's Sikhs. With these troops Dalton restored order to Hazaribagh and the surrounding district.

During the second part of August a relief column from Calcutta was being massed which was directed to march via Doranda to Hazaribagh. A force comprising 150 men of the Shropshire Light Infantry and 150 men of Rattray's Sikhs under Major English re-occupied Ranchi on September 22nd, and on the 23rd Dalton reopened the Courts. The mutineers were finally defeated on October 2nd in an engagement at Chatra in which Sergeant Denis Dynon of the Shropshire Light Infantry and Lieutenant J.C.C. Daunt of the 70th Bengal N.I. gained Victoria Crosses for charging the guns and pistolling the artillery men at point-blank range. (2)

The relief column meanwhile had been diverted along the Grand Trunk Road to Benares and Allahabad; taking advantage of this,

1. K. Shital op.cit. p.33.

2. London Gazette February 25th 1862. See O'Moore Creagh and E.M. Humphries. 'The V.C. and D.S.O.' Vol. 1 p.76.

two of the missionaries, Frederick Bohn and August Brandt marched with the troops and from Hazaribagh reached Ranchi on October 4th. Although Ranchi itself was occupied, guerilla warfare continued throughout Chota Nagpur for the rest of the year and well into 1858. The Ramgarh cavalry and a new Kol levy under the command of Lieutenant Reeves were entrusted with hunting the bands of dacoits who still terrorised the districts; the two ringleaders of the rebellion were tried and hung in Ranchi - Bismath Sahi on April 16th and Pandey Gampat on April 21st 1858. Koer Singh's rebellion was not finally crushed until November 1858.

The effects of the Mutiny on the Mission in Chota Nagpur must now be described. Bohn and Brandt had reached the Mission on October 4th 1857, and sent the following report to their colleagues in Calcutta -

"What a heart-rending scene was before us: the whole mission station strewn over with torn books. Only a few (Crudens' Concordance among them) were found entire. All the bungalows stand, but the doors and windows broken, torn out, and the iron wrenched off and taken away. Out of the bungalows everything has been taken - the church has suffered least, though the glass of all the windows has been broken, the organ broken, the church emptied and the bells have been taken from the tower.

But above all we have to lament the hardships which have befallen our people: they have been more than we feared. They all like ourselves had to fly for their lives and had to hide themselves for six weeks in the jungles and hills till Captain Davies (the Principal Assistant) arrived, when they got confidence and returned to their villages. They have lost as much as we: nothing remained in their cottages. All of them look miserable and starved, some have died in

the jungles, many are sick, some have not yet returned, and the brethren know not if they still live."⁽¹⁾

It transpired that, following the flight of the missionaries from Ranchi, a wholesale spoliation and persecution of the native Christians had commenced. The first village to become entirely Christian - Prabhusharan, near Ranchi, had been levelled to the ground and wherever Christians were caught, money was exacted from them, the Hindu "moonsif" (civil judge) of Ranchi taking a leading part in hunting them down and fining them. A hundred of the children from the schools had been hidden in a camp in the jungle for six weeks by Narain of Kota, one of the church elders. With pride and joy it was learned that not a single instance of apostasy had occurred in spite of persistent and severe cases of imprisonment, beatings, and confiscation of property and cattle.

In Calcutta the news was received by Emil Schatz and the remaining members of the party who informed McLeod Wylie and other English and German friends. The missionaries now had a growing circle of European acquaintances who, from learning about the mission at firsthand, were more than ready to help. Emil Schatz and McLeod Wylie in particular had formed a friendship which was to prove decisive for the future of the Mission. Shortly after their safe arrival in Calcutta Schatz had written describing Wylie's concern for the missionaries :-

"Our friend (McLeod Wylie) is very kind not only in taking so much general interest in the Mission but also sharing our anxiety for its future prosperity. However, I say anxiety only because I have no other English word, for it might as well be 'non-anxiety'. As to pecuniary difficulties, we have been in them now and again and more or less; yet they

1. C.M.S. Intelligencer 1859 p.23. McLeod Wylie wrote these articles based on letters received during 1857-59.

have been but a small part of our trials and we have always been brought out of them. The Lord has given us at all times all things, not sparingly, but richly to enjoy, as far as we ourselves were concerned, and when we wanted the silver and gold beyond that, they also have come forth and been put into our hands."⁽¹⁾

The missionaries and their friends now made plans for the future. On receiving the news of their escape from Ranchi, Gossner had written recalling Schatz to Berlin; half-paralysed from a stroke, he had suffered in May the previous year, he was anxious to consult with Schatz since he was aware that his own health was impaired beyond recovery. It was decided accordingly that Henry Batsch, whose wife had died at Domba in 1848, should accompany Schatz on the journey to Europe, and that Frederick Batsch and Herzog should return to Ranchi while the women and children remained in Calcutta. After an absence of thirteen years Schatz and Henry Batsch arrived in Berlin late in November 1857 and began a series of discussions with Gossner regarding their whole future and the prospects for the Mission.

The situation which faced Schatz and Batsch in reviewing their present position was both critical and delicate; the personal loyalty of the missionaries in India and the financial support for the Mission in Germany were equally dependent upon Gossner. In January 1857 Henry Batsch had closed his report on the Mission's activities with these words, amply demonstrating his personal attachment to Gossner :-

'I cannot conclude without mentioning that man of God whose prayers and devotedness to the Work of Christ have done more for bringing in the Kols than we with all our labours; I mean our dear father Gossner who though already in his 84th

1. C.M.S. Intelligencer 1859 p.23.

year still wrestles day and night for the conversion of the heathen, and the outpouring of the Spirit upon the gathered flock and upon us labouring in this promising field."⁽¹⁾

Dr. William Brown in his book "The History of Christian Missions" had also noticed this fact; he wrote more dispassionately:-

"Prior to 1842 Gossner had the sole management of his operations. In that year it was deemed expedient that a Society should be organised and on September 19th 1842 the Evangelical Union for the Spread of Christianity among the Natives of Heathen Lands obtained legal existence. There has been but little change, however, in the mode of conducting business. Gossner may be regarded as the embodiment of the Society. In a humble dwelling outside the walls of Berlin, far back in a garden, where no-one would think of looking for him without special direction, he receives those who are candidates for missionary work; and there he transacts the business of the Society. Though quite aged, he is exceedingly active, full of vivacity, simple, benevolent, a Lutheran, yet very catholic; and a transient visitor will have no difficulty in believing that he may have a strong hold upon the confidence and affection of a portion of the good people of Germany. He has never sought to establish auxiliaries or other subordinate organisations. His treasury receives the free-will offerings (amounting to not quite 5,000 dollars a year) of all such persons as see fit to make use of this channel to send the gospel to the heathen; and that is the whole story. Gossner publishes no annual reports and his magazine 'Biene auf dem Missions felde' is deficient in statistics."⁽²⁾

1. C.M.S. Intelligencer 1859 p.22.

2. W. Brown. History of the Christian Missions Vol.2 p.470,471.

The critical state of Gossner's health was an immediate and urgent cause for concern since although nominally a committee had been forced to organise support for the Mission, in fact Gossner's personality had always been the dominant factor - in Brown's words 'Gossner was the embodiment of the Society'. At this stage there was no-one willing or able to take over the management and supervision of the Missionary Society with the institutions in Berlin - The Elizabeth Hospital and Deaconess House, which looked to Gossner for support. Since Gossner himself was the sole recruiting agent for the Mission as well as its financial secretary and treasurer, his death could not but fundamentally affect the future of the Mission in Germany and India alike. At the same time it was apparent that the grave situation confronting the Mission to the Kols in Ranchi was not caused simply by the deprivations of the mutineers nor by the enforced flight of the missionaries to Calcutta; these events had merely heightened a crisis in the Mission. From 1851 onwards Gossner had been unable to send out any new helpers; in 1855 Christian Behrens, who had come out in 1847, left the Mission to go to America together with Charles Stamm who had arrived in 1851; in 1856 Conrad and the brothers Henry and Rudolph Gerndt followed Behrens to America, all three having joined the Mission in 1849; Oscar Lohr and his wife, on arrival in Calcutta with the party which had fled from Ranchi, also decided to leave and proceeded direct to America; ⁽¹⁾ in less than three years the Mission had lost seven missionaries and gained no replacements.

Emil Schatz had expressed in Calcutta to McLeod Wylie his anxiety for the future of the Mission, but this perhaps was no more than

1. In America Gossner's missionaries worked amongst the German immigrants forming them into congregations and synods.

might be legitimately expected from one who worked for a Mission organised on the "faith principle" of no fixed income, salaries or annual budget; faced with the virtual ruin of all the Mission had achieved, with no resources and no financial support guaranteed in advance the Mission in Ranchi was bankrupt; Schatz could only say -

"We pray that the Lord will not forsake us and that He will open a path for us when the time comes, though we know not when it shall be."⁽¹⁾

It was left to Frederick Batsch in a report to Gossner written from Calcutta to set forth the claims of the missionaries and the deficiencies of the Mission organisation in more forceful terms:-

"We need ecclesiastical connection; we are standing there worse than any party of Dissenters for they at least have ecclesiastical orders. Up to the present the congregation is free to accept the private opinion of everybody, and even if we do all agree on the teaching and rule of the fundamentals of the Church, anyone who comes after can change everything. Each follows his own opinion without any firm Church attitude or firm Church stand. Is it right for the congregation to be in such a situation?"⁽²⁾

Batsch went on to confess the failure of the missionaries to live up to the Gossner ideal of one Mission family with one common fund - in fact, he diagnosed this as being the greatest source of contention between the missionaries - "the money for our families and for the Mission must be completely separate: this is absolutely essential". Comparing in Calcutta the salaries and family allowances which other Societies paid their workers and acutely aware of the responsibility for children's education,

1. C.M.S. Intelligencer 1859 p.23.
2. W. Holsten J. Gossner p.240.

Batsch spoke for all the married missionaries when he stated, "care for children must be an individual responsibility and as each thinks best their accommodation (in Germany) must be arranged." Finally, Batsch dealt a death-blow to Gossner's principles of the common fund and self-help by admitting that it was only out of loyalty to him that for thirteen years the Mission had been organised with no fixed budget or regular salaries; he stated tersely - "experience over the years has shown that it does not work."⁽¹⁾

In voicing these criticisms Frederick Batsch was questioning the whole structure of the Mission as planned and fostered by Gossner; his desire for a more stable and definite Church order and the realignment of the domestic policy of the Mission in accordance with conventional practices of fixed salaries, children's allowances and an annual budget spelt the rejection of Gossner's principles of Pietism, self-help and the common purse. The seven years following the reception of the first converts in 1850 had shown the deficiencies of these methods spiritually and domestically. The instruction of the converts had become the cause of doctrinal dissensions amongst the missionaries themselves while the disparity in family commitments between the married and unmarried missionaries had brought financial strain to the Mission as a whole. For the future of the Mission, reform was imperative, and both in Germany and in India Gossner's death would inevitably cause reorganisation on different principles using more orthodox methods.

There can be little doubt that in the light of subsequent events the influence of McLeod Wylie in Calcutta on both Schatz and Batsch had been considerable. Wylie had been a member of the C.M.S. Corresponding Committee since 1844 and his sympathies for Gossner's missionaries had been clearly stated in his book,

published in 1854, "^{al}Bengal as a Field of Missions". Wylie there acknowledged the debt owed by the C.M.S. in its first years when German missionaries had been sent out to the Society's Mission in Sierra Leone; he further quoted with admiration the names of Zeigenbalg, Plutschau, Swartz, Rhenius, and Weitbrecht - all German missionaries who had worked for English Missions in India. (1)

The possibility of working for the Church Missionary Society must have been first mooted in Calcutta in discussions with McLeod Wylie. It was perhaps only natural that Schatz and Batsch should think of following the example of so many of their fellow countrymen who had worked happily for the C.M.S. in Bengal. Moreover there was precedent in Berlin for such an approach to the C.M.S. in London. In 1848 the Berlin Missionary Society had closed its station at Ghazeeपुर and had offered to the C.M.S. the services of the three missionaries employed there. Frederick Bülow, the President, had written to Henry Venn expressing sentiments which were widely held in Germany -

"We can assure you that our missionaries as well as we would like it most if they were permitted to join your Society, to which we feel ourselves the most connected in Faith and Confession, and under whose Patronage German missionaries have gained so many glorious victories against the common adversary." (2)

1. M. Wylie. Bengal as a Field of Missions. p.193.
2. C.M.S. Miscellaneous Letters No. 46 March 30th 1849.

The esteem in which England was held by Church circles in Germany may be illustrated from the remarks of Christophilius Augustinus Jacobi who in 1813 was appointed to the S.P.C.K. Mission in Tranquebar. "When a boy of seven years of age my father, one of the most learned and pious ministers of the Church of Saxony, telling me something about this country (England) said - 'Behold, God has certainly great designs with England and it is a mighty instrument in His hands to establish His Kingdom on earth'. He then telling me of the Missions, I felt so deeply touched that I cried out 'Father, I will one day go to England, from thence to be sent among the Gentiles'".

S.P.C.K. Charges. London 1814. p.683

Two of the Berlin Society's missionaries, Ernest Droese and Charles Frederick Reuther joined C.M.S. and after ordination by Bishop Wilson were stationed at Bhagalpur and Juanpur respectively; the Society however declined to take over the station at Chazeepur. ⁽¹⁾

There seems no good reason to doubt that the suggestion to offer the Mission to the C.M.S. first discussed in Calcutta was quite acceptable to Gossner. ^C Cave-Brown states :-

"Gossner poured out to him (Schatz) all his fears - the indifference of the Prussian Church to his Mission - the lack of sympathy among his countrymen generally for the work - the only hope he had, and that he had long entertained, that the English Church on the ground of its Apostolic character, as well as of its paramount position in India, should adopt the little mission." ⁽²⁾

The initiative to approach the C.M.S. certainly came from Schatz and Batsch owing to their contact with McLeod Wylie in Calcutta. The outcome was that early in December Gossner wrote a letter to the C.M.S. in London which he delegated Schatz to deliver. ⁽³⁾

1. E. Stock. History of C.M.S. Vol. 2 p.167
2. J. Cave-Brown. The Chota Nagpur Mission to the Cols. p.37.
3. J. Cave-Brown op.cit. p.38.

The original letter has not survived. The earliest copy was printed in the "Friend of India" October 28th 1869. The German version was printed in the "Biene" in 1864 where it is stated that Gossner's original letter in German was lost but that an English translation existed from which the present German letter had been re-translated. Appendix 3 p.lii

Berlin, December 4th, 1857.

Brethren,

It is not unknown to you that I have, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, been endeavouring to do something towards the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom in India. But entering now on my eighty-fifth year, and feeling that my strength is beginning to fail me, I must, I am aware, sooner or later cease entirely from all active and efficient superintendence of the Missions which I have been instrumental to establish. Desirous though I am, however, to put the work into other hands, the Lord seems at least not willing to give me a successor here to carry on the work so as I should wish. I therefore purpose, in the Lord, to transfer the said Missions as they are, and the not inconsiderable funds and means I have, to the care of the Missionary Society of the Church of England. Illness prevents me to correspond myself with you on the subject. I have in consequence with the consent of my Committee, authorised the Rev. Emil Schatz, who is our Senior Missionary to the Mission amongst the Cols in Chota Nagpore, nor merely to lay my wish before your Society and to ascertain your views, but to come to an eventual agreement, should my offer appear to you to deserve attention, to be acceptable. Committing all into the hands of our gracious Redeemer, and praying that He may guide you to come to a conclusion most conducive to his own glory and the enlightenment of the benighted races of India, I am with the members of my Committee, Yours in the Lord,

Johannes Gossner

T. Tamm

A. Beyerhaus

F. Niquel

The letter received a sympathetic reception ^{from} ~~with~~ the Committee of the C.M.S. in London, but in accordance with the Society's policy the question was referred to the Corresponding Committee in Calcutta. In the Report of the Calcutta Committee for 1856/57 the following record appeared :-

"It has been proposed by the Rev. J. Gossner of Berlin, who has for many years acted as a sort of Missionary Society in himself, sending out Missionary labourers to India, and by whose agency the very interesting and much blessed Mission amongst the Coles about Chota Nagpur has been formed, that the whole should be transferred unconditionally, with whatever funds he has been able to gather, to the Management and disposal of the Church Missionary Society. This proposition - gratifying in some respects to the Society has not yet been finally decided upon.

The Committee here, rather incline to leave this Mission, already formed and flourishing, under its present and similar management, and to extend the Church Missionary Society's labours into new fields where the gospel has not yet been fully preached."⁽¹⁾

The Calcutta Committee acting in a highly responsible manner acknowledged that the Gossner Mission in character and system was quite different to their own, and a change in constitution was considered essential if the two were to unite; further, they had no wish to alienate support for the Mission amongst German friends either in India or Germany. At this time two other German Missions in India, one in Assam and the other in the Coorg were offered to the C.M.S., but in lieu of adopting these Missions the London Committee generously gave each of them grants from the "Special Fund" which had been opened after the

Mutiny and for which over £75,000 had been contributed in England to restore those C.M.S. stations destroyed during 1857. The Committee sent out two donations of £500 to McLeod Wylie who was acting in Calcutta as treasurer for the Chota Nagpur Mission. (1)

The immediate financial crisis caused by the Mutiny had been averted owing to this generous subsidy from C.M.S.: for the future, however, Gossner's Mission to the Coles required more permanent measures if it was to continue to work successfully in Chota Nagpur.

1. The grant was paid in two instalments in 1858 and in 1860 through the Calcutta Committee of the Church Missionary Society to McLeod Wylie at whose solicitation mainly the grant had been obtained.

E. Stock. History of C.M.S. Vol. 2 p.263.

J. Cave-Browne op.cit. p.40.

6.

The Period following the Mutiny, 1857-1864.

Bishop Cotton's Visitation, 1864.

Gossner died in his lodgings in Berlin on the Tuesday in Holy Week, March 30th 1858 at the age of eighty-five; he lay in state in the Bethlehem Church on Good Friday and was buried on East Saturday in the Jerusalem Cemetery, adjoining the Cemetery of the Moravians.⁽¹⁾ Since the negotiations with the C.M.S. in London had proved unsuccessful, shortly before his death Gossner appealed to Dr. Karl Büchsel,⁽²⁾ the General-Superintendent of the Province of Niederlausitz and Neumark, who was resident in Berlin, requesting him to accept responsibility for the Elizabeth Hospital, the Deaconess House and the Missions.⁽³⁾ Büchsel was a Doctor of Divinity and an academic but this notwithstanding he faithfully discharged Gossner's dying wish and for over thirty years, until his own death in 1889, acted as Gossner's successor. The chairman of Gossner's old Mission Committee had been Ferdinand Uden, a rich and philanthropic industrialist who had known Gossner in St. Petersburg; after inviting Dr. Büchsel to join the Committee, Uden vacated the chair to him and returned to Finland where, on January 1st 1859, he helped to found the Finnish Missionary Society.⁽⁴⁾

1. H. Lokies. J. Gossner. p.92.
2. Karl Albert Ludwig Büchsel. 1803-1889. Studied Mathematics and Theology in Berlin, deeply influenced by Neander, Schleiermacher and Hengstenberg. 1828 Pastor at Schönfeld. 1841 Pastor and Superintendent in Brüssow. 1846 called to the pastorate of the newly built Matthaii Kirche in Berlin and from 1853-64 General Superintendent of Neumark and Niederlausitz. He exercised an effective preaching and pastoral ministry which deeply influenced the life of his Church. One of his works was translated into English - 'My Ministerial Experiences' London. 1863.
3. In the period following Gossner's death his missionaries working in Malaya, Java, the Celebes, the Sangihe and Palau Islands off Indonesia were taken over by other Societies. The Utrecht Missionary Society took over the Gossner Mission in Dutch New Guinea; the Church of Scotland took over the work in Darjeeling and the Moravians the Mission in the Himalayas. H. Lokies. op.cit. p.76.
4. W. Holsten. J. Gossner. p.38.

Emil Schatz remained as Secretary, but in June 1858 he fell seriously ill and moved to the Baths at Carlsbad in Bohemia to undergo treatment.⁽¹⁾ His place on the Committee was taken by John Duloff Prochnow who in April 1858 had arrived in Berlin from the Mission at Kotgarh with his invalid wife and daughter. Prochnow had been compelled to leave India owing to his wife's ill-health; he accepted temporarily the position of Secretary, but when in October 1858 this post was confirmed, he wrote to Henry Venn, the Secretary of C.M.S., explaining that although he would have preferred to work in England for the Society he felt he could not refuse his services to the Elizabeth Hospital and the Missionary Association; as he had also agreed to take over as Editor of the 'Biene' he requested wood-cuts from C.M.S. to print in the magazine.⁽²⁾ Prochnow continued as Chaplain to the Elizabeth Hospital, Secretary to the Mission and Mission Inspector until 1867.

The new partnership of Prochnow and Dr. Büchsel gradually initiated the reforms which were necessary if Gossner's heritage was to be preserved; they sold the lodgings where Gossner had lived and bought land for building a permanent Secretariat and Bookshop where Prochnow and his family could reside; a Board of Trustees - Curatorium - was formed and the name of the founder was incorporated in the new Missionary Society which was registered in the name of 'The Evangelical Missionary Society of Berlin founded by Pastor Gossner'; finally Gossner's principles of self-help and the common purse for the Mission in India were replaced from January 1st 1859, by monthly salaries at the following modest rates -

1. C.M.S. Intelligencer 1859 p.44.
2. C.M.S. Miscellaneous Letters No. 167. J.D. Prochnow to H. Venn. October 20th 1858.

| | Per Month | Allowance for each child not exceeding three |
|---------------------------------|--------------|--|
| A married unordained missionary | Rs.70 | Rs.10 |
| A married unordained missionary | 50 | 8 |
| A single ordained missionary | 50 | |
| A single unordained missionary | 40 | |

At the exchange rate of two shillings to the rupee this gave the highest salary as £84 per year. ⁽¹⁾

1. J. Cave-Browne op.cit. p.41.

NOTE:- As early as 1814 Dr. Claudius Buchanan had addressed Greenwood and Norton, Schnarre and Rhenius, the first C.M.S. missionaries to India, in the following terms describing the standard of living for missionaries:-

"Is there then peril and privation? Do you go forth to conflict with penury and with inclement seasons as in Greenland or Labrador? In India all the necessities of life and too many of the luxuries of life, are most abundant and you will be in receipt of a salary which is not less than that of the general curacies in the Church of England."

"The annual expense of a missionary, even among the Dissenters, both in the East and West Indies is in many instances not less than £250 and in some cases considerably more. To ordain to a mission appointment in India is to ordain to a situation which is in general more lucrative than a curacy in England and equally creditable and permanent."

'An Address delivered before the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East'. London 1814 p.45,47.

Buchanan recommended that the C.M.S. missionaries' salary should be not less than £100 a year - "Your missionaries and those of the S.P.C.K. ought to be really on the same footing. They go forth as missionaries, not as schoolmasters, under the direct authority of the Society."

C. Hole. Early History of the C.M.S. p.369.

The Curatorium sent out its new proposals to the missionaries in Ranchi in a letter dated July 9th 1858, appealing to them to pledge their warm-hearted trust in the new Committee. On October 4th 1858 the General Conference of the mission noted the new arrangements but clearly stated that in their view the relationship of the Curatorium to the Mission was purely an advisory one; the missionaries in Ranchi with singular obtuseness rejected the principle that by accepting salaries from the Curatorium they thereby became its employees. ⁽¹⁾ The transition from the dynamic personal leadership of Gossner to the more mundane direction of Büchsel and the Curatorium having been made, in 1859, Emil Schatz and Henry Batsch returned to India where in Ranchi they found a situation of extraordinary promise arising out of the social and political aftermath of the Mutiny.

In November 1857 Adolph Herzog and Frederick Batsch had joined Bohn and Brandt at Ranchi, meanwhile leaving their wives with the children in Calcutta to make the necessary arrangements with McLeod Wylie and other friends for re-stocking the Mission. Batsch on his arrival could say with some truth - "We stand just as at the beginning 13 years ago. The whole station is a picture of desolation" - but on the first Sunday after their return they gathered a congregation and the spirit of revival and renewal was borne:-

"Yesterday was the first Service in Church. We had cleaned it, but all the windows were broken, the organ destroyed, the organ loft and gallery which always were full of lively singers

1. "You had in your possession our Conference Resolution of October 4th 1858 in which we quite clearly informed you that we would accept your supervision over our Mission only to the extent that the Brothers working here would ask your advice."

Quoted in a letter of H. Batsch. Biens 1869. p.76.

were now quite empty; but in the midst of this desolation we praised the Lord, and all in coming out of Church exclaimed 'Now we begin to live anew!'"

Batsch soon confirmed the first reports that the mutiny of the Ramgarh Battalion at Doranda had provided the occasion rather than constituted the cause for the persecution of the native Christians :-

"It was not from the Sepoys that we, or the Native Christians suffered most. They sought for treasure only. But there were ill-affected Zemindars who have and showed a hatred, not only to Christianity, but to the British name. Nothing but opportunity had ever been wanting for them to rebel openly before and to commit outrages according to the old, not-forgotten fashion. They hastened the mutiny by inciting and stirring up the Sepoys - All this was well known; and as soon as the mutiny broke out these Zemindars began their work of robbing and plundering Native Christians."⁽¹⁾

The capture followed by the trial and execution of Bisnath Sahi and Pandey Ganpat Rai, the ring-leaders of the Mutiny, which occupied the courts at Ranchi in March and April 1858 was equalled in the Mission by a new influx of converts. Batsch wrote on April 12th:-

"Day by day I have been seeking for a quiet home, but I could not find it, and I know not if I shall be able to finish this letter to-day. It is not only that we are busy re-establishing and re-arranging and furnishing our boarding schools, in repairing the buildings, etc., but Mr. Brandt and I are fully occupied in instructing the candidates for Baptism.

1. C.M.S. Intelligencer 1859 p.40. McLeod Wylie was the author of these articles based on his correspondence with Frederick Batsch during 1857-1859.

Yesterday I baptised 28 adults and 15 children, and we have about 120 persons of all ages under instruction; and I trust we shall be able to admit them into Christ's flock on the next Sabbath, as the Lord shall direct us. There are still many more to come during the next two months to receive Baptism, so you see that in things spiritual Christ's work here has lost nothing by the Mutiny, and in the midst of our distresses we have joy."⁽¹⁾

By the end of May in the six months since their return, a total of 250 baptisms had been recorded, while in the area south and southwest of Ranchi the villages where there were groups of Christians had risen from three to twenty-three. On June 29th Batsch wrote:-

"Here we are still advancing, the Lord be praised! It seems as if a mighty revolution were going on in the native mind. No Sunday comes without bringing some enquirers who immediately by breaking caste join us."

In July 1858 a regiment of Madras Native Infantry which included many Christians strengthened the local force at Dorahda, and the missionaries distributed their stock of English Bibles and Prayer Books to those who could use them; at the same time the instruction and baptism of converts continued without a break. By September 1858 Batsch announced that the number of villages where there were Christians had now reached a total of one hundred and thirty - an increase of over seventy since their flight in August of the previous year - and there were no signs of this mass movement abating; he wrote that he intended holding a Conference in Ranchi on September 20th to become better acquainted with the hosts of new converts and to strengthen the connection between them and the older Christians."⁽²⁾

1. C.M.S. Intelligencer 1859 p.42

2. Ibid. p.45.

Following the death of the rebel Koer Singh who had proclaimed himself King of Shahabad and invaded the Benares Division in March 1858, martial law and guerilla warfare slowly receded from Chota Nagpur. Colonel Dalton and his Assistants began the task of restoring law and order. At the suggestion of Captain Davies in Ranchi and McLeod Wylie in Calcutta, Batsch and his colleagues drew up a list of those Christians who had suffered loss during the Mutiny. Dalton duly authenticated the names of 640 Christians and 22 villages on a petition for compensation to the Calcutta Relief Committee in which the names of the Missionaries and the Mission buildings were also included. The Government paid Rs.5,000 towards the restoration of the Mission with a grant of Rs.2,000 to each of the missionaries; the native converts were also awarded grants in proportion to their losses.⁽¹⁾ The successful outcome of this request for material relief brought a new factor to bear on the movement towards Christianity which Captain Davies,⁽²⁾ the Principal Assistant, noted in a letter to Dalton dated March 15th, 1859 :-

"During the disturbances which followed the mutiny of the Ramgarh Battalion in August 1857 the Zemindars, taking advantage of the absence of authorities, oppressed and plundered the whole of the native converts, many of whom preserved their lives only by seeking with their families the protection of the jungles. On the restoration of order, the Zemindars apparently afraid of what they had done, ceased to molest them for a time, and as they (the converts) received assistance from the Relief Fund to enable them to cultivate their lands they assumed an independence which irritated the land-owners and when the time came for cutting the rice crops for the past year they again came into collision. In the meantime the number of new converts, all unbaptised, had greatly increased."⁽³⁾

1. S.P.G. File D. Calcutta 1865-1871. Item 8713.
2. C.M.S. Intelligencer 1859. p.40.
2. For Captain J.S. Davies see Appendix 2 p.xlvii(a)
2. S.C. Roy. Mundas. p.239.

Since troops had been called out to restore law and order in Govindpore, Davies was investigating the outbreak of affrays between Christians and the Zemindars; he found that armed resistance had been offered in some places to land-lords who had demanded illegal dues while in others the Christians had forcibly re-possessed themselves of their Bhuinhari lands; further instances had occurred of merchants and others who had defrauded aboriginals of their rights being compelled to offer restitution; the Police in some cases had also joined forces in persecution and extortion; Davies concluded drily "Many of these claims I believe to have had some foundation though others were doubtless fictitious." (1)

In a report addressed to the Secretary to the Governor of Bengal, Dalton described the social implications of this mass conversion to Christianity as follows :-

"Until recently no effective opposition has been offered by the ignorant Kols to the absorption of their land tenures. Recently however some native converts of this class being better informed and more independent than their fellows have successfully resisted the encroachments of the Zemindars and this has not only encouraged others to maintain their own existing rights but has induced some to seek by force restitution of rights of which their families have for long periods been dispossessed; or to claim the same rights in lands in their occupation to which no similar privileges are or ever have been attached. In some way or another success in presenting this approach to the Zemindars has come to be associated in the minds of these simple people with the assumption of the name Christian and thus the contest which has been going on has been represented as one between the Native Christians and the Zemindars, though there

is reason to suppose that not a few of those engaged in it attach no other meaning to the term Christian than designating the party opposed to the Zemindars."⁽¹⁾

From the Zemindars' viewpoint the missionaries were undoubtedly the chief promoters of this rebellion, and one of them in complaining to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal stated in his petition :-

"The Missionary in distinct terms holds out hopes to the ignorant tribe of Kols of getting their claims to lands decreed by his interest with the authorities and thus continues daily to practise a deception, the most abominable in its character, by taking numbers of Kols into his premises maintained for the purpose, and making them Christians by causing them to drink a little quantity of water prepared by repeating some mysterious word upon it."⁽²⁾

The mass movement towards Christianity in Chota Nagpur, quickened by the persecutions of 1857, had spring out of the age-old social feud between the aboriginals and their Hindu, Moslem and Sikh land-lords. The compensation awarded to those Christians who had suffered damage and loss in the Mutiny had unintentionally become a lure whereby the aboriginals hoped to improve their lot. On this point Davies was quite clear :-

"With Christianity has naturally come an appreciation of their rights as original clearers of the soil, which rights they have in many cases asserted and established; this, independent of other causes, which induce the higher castes of natives to view with displeasure the spread of Christianity, caused great alarm amongst the land-holders and farmers, who were not slow to use against the converts

1. Calcutta Review 1869 p.125.
2. Calcutta Review 1869. p.122.

every means of persecution they could safely venture on, but with no other effect than the spread of conversion."⁽¹⁾

The missionaries themselves were not unaware that the mass-movement had its more questionable aspects :-

"It must be admitted that most of the new enquirers looked to the secular benefits the Christians enjoyed rather than to the spiritual side of the new religion. 'Let us give up demon-worship, become Christians and be instructed by the Padres; we may be saved from the unjust oppression of the Hindus and regain the land that we have been deprived of.' Such like thoughts were almost common and were specially expressed by the leaders of the people."⁽²⁾

but Batsch assessed the true nature of their work more accurately when he remarked -

"We may find many things which do not please us, but still we have to bear and go on. All will not be found upright but all more or less were formerly drowned in drunkenness, ignorance and vice. But as it is God's way to lift the wretched from the dung-hill to show His power and mercy we are full of hope and confidence that He will be with us."⁽³⁾

The work of adequately shepherding the new converts had grown far beyond the powers of the six missionaries and their wives in Ranchi. In 1859 following the return to India of Schatz and Henry Batsch, August Brandt and his family left for Germany, followed in April 1860 by Frederick Batsch. Reports and appeals for greater assistance now spurred the Curatorium in Berlin to renewed activity.⁽⁴⁾

1. S.C. Roy. Mundas. p.226.
2. S.C. Roy quoting a Mission report. Mundas p.240.
3. C.M.S. Intelligencer. 1859 p.45.
4. 'At the time of the Mutiny there were about 700 converts. Of the yearly increase during 1858, 1859 and 1860 no exact records were available. We only know that by the end of 1860 this number had doubled.' J. Cave-Brown. op.cit. p.42.

The Policy of the Curatorium 1859-1864.

In Berlin during 1859 the Curatorium had been faced with re-organisation and the initiating of radically new policies for the reformed Missionary Society and they had made hardly any progress following the return of Emil Schatz and Henry Batsch to India. The contact with Ferdinand Uhden, Gossner's old friend and Dr. Büchsel's predecessor as Chairman of the old Committee was still maintained, however, and in 1860 the newly formed Finnish Missionary Society began correspondence with the Curatorium over a proposed joint venture in missionary planning. The Finns, who were in the position of having money, but no men, proposed to finance the founding of a station in Chota Nagpur and to pay the salary of one missionary for three years. The Curatorium were happily able to co-operate since towards the end of 1860 they had secured the services of their first two missionaries, Johann Herman Onasch from Schoenwalde in Pomerania and Oscar Theodore Flex from Dubrau in Prussia. The Finns sent 10,000 roubles for the founding of the Mission, and Onasch, who was to be their representative missionary, and Flex were commissioned for the Mission Field on January 28th 1861; they accompanied Frederick Batsch on the journey to India and arrived safely at Ranchi in March. In the following year Onasch and Henry Batsch were able to re-found the station at Hazaribagh which was given the name 'Suomi' - 'Finland', in honour of the country which had sponsored the new development. (1)

In 1861 the Curatorium were able to embark on a second venture for founding a new station in Chota Nagpur. On January 2nd, ¹⁸⁶¹ the Prussian King Frederick William IV, a close friend of Gossner, had died; the King had been a Pietist, a sponsor in 1841 of the

1. Onasch completed his three years and continued to work independently for the Gossner Mission in Chota Nagpur, being ordained in 1866. With the founding of a Mission House in Helsinki in 1868 the liaison between the two Societies ceased. W. Holsten op.cit. p.38f.

controversial Bishopric in Jerusalem as a joint enterprise between the Prussian and Anglican Churches and an enthusiastic promoter of union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Prussia. The Curatorium intended that a memorial to him should take the form of a mission station to be named 'Frederick Wilhlemspur' and they began collecting money forthwith. (1)

After

With the dismissal in 1861 of Onasch and Flex the first of the new missionaries to the Kols Mission, the Curatorium in the ensuing nine years sent out 17 men to maintain the work in Chota Nagpur. The policy and direction of labour however was now undertaken on new principles - the new stations were no longer out-stations of the Mission in Ranchi, but directly under the authority of the Curatorium in Berlin, and in engaging new recruits the Curatorium allotted them their stations and sphere of duty. (2) In 1861 contemporaneous with these encouraging beginnings, the first major crisis between the Curatorium and the missionaries in Ranchi occurred brought about through the retirement of Emil Schatz, the Director of the Mission, who after 16 years in India was compelled to return to Germany on grounds of ill-health. In the appointment of his successor the Curatorium came into collision with the Brethren in Ranchi on a question of policy which clearly demonstrated the lack of understanding as well as the inexperience of the Berlin Committee on Indian affairs.

Without reference to the Brethren in Ranchi the Curatorium appointed Pastor A. Sternberg, one of the senior missionaries in the Ganges Valley Mission, to be the Director of the Kols mission with the intention of uniting the two mission fields in India under a single head. In 1865 Schatz and Sternberg had discussed the possibility of such a union, but the character and scope of

1. W. Holsten. op.cit. p.272.

2. ibid. p.257.

the two missions being so diverse, the scheme was deemed impracticable.⁽¹⁾ Now to add insult to injury the Curatorium directed that -

"the detailed organisation and conduct of affairs for the mission should be laid in Sternberg's hands and the most suitable and convenient house at Ranchi with the necessary furniture and comforts should be made over to Sternberg and his family."⁽²⁾

In a letter dated November 18th, 1861, Henry Batsch voiced the protest of the Ranchi missionaries. Touching on the point that the Kols Mission was the only mission which could rightly be called Gossner's, he insisted that business should be conducted in the spirit which Gossner himself had advocated. Batsch noted that there had been signs of indifference in Berlin - due doubtless to the lack of funds which had resulted in delay in paying the Brethren's salaries; he now claimed that the appointment of Sternberg over the heads of the Missionaries in Ranchi and without giving them any prior notice constituted sufficient cause for the connection between the Kols Mission and the Curatorium to be dissolved. Batsch indignantly closed his letter with the words - "the Chota Nagpur Mission belongs to us and not to you. You have by your own account built no house, no building, not even a stable."⁽³⁾

Feelings ran so high that the Curatorium requested the whole of the Ranchi mission staff to ^{leave} ~~quit~~ the Mission⁽⁴⁾ but wiser counsel prevailed and later in 1862 a meeting was called in Calcutta at which August Brandt, one of the original four pioneers, represented the Ranchi party; Sternberg was also present as were Colonel Hannington and McLeod Wylie, Dr. Alexander Duff of the

1. W. Holsten OP.CIT. p.241.
2. Biene 1869 p.76
3. ibid
4. Letter of F. Batsch to Mr. Schroder. Metropolitan's File. August 25th 1868.

Scottish Missionary Society and Dr. Joseph Mullens of the Baptist Mission. The business of the meeting was to determine who legally owned the Mission property at Ranchi. As the enquiry proceeded the claims of the Ranchi Brethren were disallowed and the Mission according to law was pronounced to be the property of the Curatorium in Berlin; it was also agreed that the Curatorium were within their rights in appointing Sternberg to be Schatz's successor but since the Ranchi Brethren were disinclined to accept him, Sternberg was advised to retire, which he did; the four advisors finally requested that the extreme language used in earlier correspondence with the Curatorium when the Missionaries "had given it to be understood that they would accept no orders from the Committee, unless they had previously been laid before them for advice" should be withdrawn; it was also decided that the Ranchi Brethren might remonstrate but it lay with the Berlin Committee to direct and decide. (1)

The Curatorium in Berlin accepted the resignation of Sternberg perforce, but refused to appoint any successor to Emil Schatz until in 1863 relationships improved and Frederick Batsch was appointed as Senior Missionary. In the same year the Curatorium were able to begin building the station in Purulia in memory of King Frederick IV and sent out three missionaries to man it - a Norwegian, Lars Olsen Skrefsrud, David Didlaukies and his wife, and Frederick Krüger. In December 1863, however, the Prussian government commenced hostilities against the Danes over the occupation of the Provinces of Schleswig-Holstein, and in the ensuing economic crisis the already diminutive finances of the Gossner mission were affected so that the salaries of the Missionaries and the grants for the school could no longer be paid. For the second time in their history the Missionaries in Ranchi were bankrupt. As On the previous occasion after the Mutiny

English friends had come to the support of the Mission, so now on behalf of the Gossner missionaries the Bishop of Calcutta was requested to make an official visitation of the Mission and advise on what plans should best be made for the future. ⁽¹⁾

Bishop Cotton's Visitation 1864.

The Commissioner, Colonel Dalton, and the Reverend Henry Burney, ⁽²⁾ the Senior Government Chaplain at Hazaribagh were the influential English officers who requested Bishop Cotton to make the three hundred mile journey from Calcutta. Burney had served in Calcutta and Darjeeling and was appointed Chaplain to Hazaribagh in 1862; he had paid visits periodically to Ranchi and was an enthusiastic admirer of the Mission. ⁽³⁾ Bishop Cotton was accompanied by Archdeacon John Henry Pratt who had been in India for 25 years, serving first as domestic Chaplain to Bishop Wilson for ten years and since 1849 as Archdeacon of Calcutta. Colonel Dalton acted as host to the party who stayed over the weekend of April 23rd and 24th 1864.

On the Saturday, Bishop Cotton and his party visited the Mission where he estimated there were not less than 2,000 native Christians gathered to greet him; they joined in a procession to Christ Church where, from seats in the choir, they witnessed the baptism of 143 converts; Cotton noted that the catechumens were required

1. See Mrs. Cotton. Memoir of Bishop G.E.L. Cotton. p.396-400.
2. Henry Bannerman Burney. Oriel College, Oxford. B.A. 1841. M.A. 1845. Deacon 1842. Priest 1843. Formerly Chaplain at Calcutta. Prebendary of Wedmore 5th in Wells Cathedral 1865. Vicar of Norton St. Philip, Diocese of Bath and Wells 1866. Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1890.
3. Burney wrote an account describing Sunday worship in Christ Church, Ranchi entitled 'A Missionary Success' which was printed in The Christian Intelligencer, June 1863. p.168.

to repeat the Creed and Ten Commandments with portions of the Lutheran 'Kleine Catechismus'; Frederick Batsch performed the Baptisms 'in a full sleeved black gown with bands' while the choir sang the Kyrie Eleison and the Te Deum. The Bishop, a rather undemonstrative man, described the scene with unwonted fervour :-

"The effect of that grand verse "The Holy Church throughout all the World doth acknowledge Thee" sung just as these people reclaimed from savagery were received into the love and care of Jesus Christ was quite sublime. None of the great "Functions" of St. Peter and Pio Nono with all his incense and peacock's feathers, could excel in conception or in impressive solemnity the scene in the crowded church, the white robed candidates thronging the steps, the minister baptising in the midst, and the choir chanting out the triumphal hymn of Ambrose and Augustin."⁽¹⁾

Cotton preached at the Morning Service on the Sunday when Frederick Batsch, acting as interpreter, introduced him to the congregation as "the Spiritual Father of all India"; to the converts numbering 1200 the Bishop spoke, stressing godliness, good-works and truthfulness; when in the evening he witnessed the Service of Communion in which 600 communicants participated he was again struck by its liturgical character.

The following day, Monday April 25th, was occupied by lengthy discussion in which Dalton, Burney and all the missionaries took part; at the end of the first long conference Cotton proposed four possible courses of action :-

1. That a great effort should be made to interest India in the work.

1. Memoir of Bishop Cotton p.398.

2. That a letter should be written by him to the Gossner Committee in Berlin, representing the great merits and the great needs of the local mission.
3. That they should join the other Committee and merge the Gossner Committee with it. ⁽¹⁾
4. (with the reservation that he came not to proselytise or to build on another man's foundation) that the negotiations that Pastor Gossner had begun should be resumed for the absorption of the Mission by the Church Missionary Society.

When these alternatives were put forward for discussion at a second conference, the suggestion that the Bishop should write to Berlin was adopted for immediate action while the re-opening of negotiations with the C.M.S. was held in reserve. Frederick Batsch, speaking personally, declared his willingness to submit to re-ordination and conformity to the ritual and doctrine of the Church of England; he was also able to satisfy the Bishop regarding changes which would necessarily affect the congregation and their organisation in the event of the Missionaries joining the Church of England. Cotton and Archdeacon Pratt returned to Calcutta, and on May 4th 1864 the Bishop wrote to Dr. Btchsel.

After describing his visit to Ranchi and the favourable impression he had received from his intercourse with the Missionaries and the native Christian congregation, Cotton commented on the need for reinforcements, since the pioneer missionary August Brandt ⁽²⁾ was shortly to be invalided home :-

1. Cotton's biographer states:- "The Mission had been started in the first place by Pastor Gossner of Berlin, and was in connection with two parent committees in that city. The divided councils which prevailed in these committees calls for no notice here" op.cit. p.396.
This is the only evidence which has been traced suggesting that there was any friction between the Curatorium and the Auxiliary Committee in Berlin.
2. August Brandt died in 1864. W. Holsten op.cit. p.237.

"The whole work humanly speaking depends on the health of Mr. Frederick Batsch. A catechist school is necessary. Since my return from Ranchi the Governor of Bengal has written to me saying that he is quite ready to help with considerable support from Government to expand further school instruction in Chota Nagpur. Meanwhile Mr. Batsch can barely maintain the existing work let alone plan for extension.

The main purpose of my letter is to urgently request the Committee which has inherited the work from Pastor Gossner to send help as soon as possible - both money and missionaries for the dear Brethren in Ranchi. If this does not happen I cannot say what evil consequences there might be. It is too much for those who work with such industry and self-denial to be also in daily fear and anxiety for their work and for their support. I hope, therefore, you will be able to give them firm assurance regarding their salary, for the continuity of the work and for the school. If you can do this then all will be well. There is no need for me to say anything else and all that remains is for me to trust in the Lord who has blessed the work in the past and continues to bless it now. If this cannot happen and if the bond between India and Prussia is weak or charity in Prussia is already under such demands from other causes that you are not able to give assurance regarding the position of your missionaries and the expansion of the work, then I venture to recall to your attention, supported by Archdeacon Pratt, the intention and wish of Pastor Gossner: the work should be continued by and in communion with the Missionary Society of the English Church. We are not proselytizers wishing to disturb other Christian congregations in order to gain advantage for our Church in this way; nor do we wish to build on the ground

of any other when the whole of India is spread out before us. I am not writing to you after consultation with the agents of the Church Missionary Society in England, rather I am writing on my own responsibility not knowing if the Society accepts the responsibility although I am confident that it will do so and I shall urge this personally. My main purpose in writing is only the continuity of this work in Chota Nagpur and should it be for any special reason beyond your power, I am of the opinion that it should be entrusted to a Society directly united with the rulers of the country and with the most important Church in India which can offer the greatest security under the help of God.

In conclusion I note that Colonel Dalton agrees with all that I have said. ⁽¹⁾

The reply from Dr. Büchsel was written from Berlin, dated September 1st 1864. After thanking the Bishop and expressing satisfaction for his independent testimony to the condition of the Mission, Büchsel was led to confess the difficulties the Curatorium were experiencing owing to Gossner's unwillingness in the past to publicise his needs. By contrast the Berlin Missionary Society founded in 1830 had firmly established its position in the Eastern Provinces of Prussia and had organised support for its missions in South Africa through numerous Auxiliaries. Büchsel continued -

"The blessed Gossner was so eccentric and odd a man that it was impossible to find anyone to continue his work in exactly the same way as he did. So in the first place variation and uncertainty set in, but the missionaries in India went on working faithfully and diligently. He did not promise them a situation free from external care, but he required that

1. 'Biene' 1864. p.82. Appendix 3. p.liii

they should serve the Lord in poverty and self-denial. It was also not possible for us to support them as much as we would certainly have liked to do. Our first endeavours have been to send out new missionaries; the education, outfitting and care of the children of the older missionaries have laid claims on our slender resources and when your welcome letter arrived we had already prepared to send a number of young men to help our older brothers, among these there is a pastor who has already served the Church in his Fatherland but who wishes to resign his Office and his Pastorate and go to the Kols."

It was apparent that the Curatorium owing to the new policy of paying salaries and allowances to missionaries and their dependants, was in considerable financial straits, notwithstanding the success of the appeal to found Frederick Wilhelmspur. Büchse closed his letter with a plea that Cotton would use his influence to find support for the Mission in India. ⁽¹⁾

From Calcutta the Bishop had already commenced enlisting wider support in India by including in the report of his visit to Ranchi an appeal for funds which was published in "The Christian Intelligencer", the official Anglican Church periodical for North India :-

"Though it will be necessary to take measures placing the mission on a more permanent footing than it is at present, yet any present help sent to the Rev. F. Batsch, Ranchi, Chota Nagpur, will be most worthily bestowed and will meet immediate exigencies, and though needs of the missions and other good works of our own Church are so great that we cannot generally plead the cause of other bodies, yet this one of Ranchi may well be an exception, from the wonderful

success with which God has blessed it, its urgent need, and the close resemblance of the Church to which it belongs in both doctrine and ritual, to our own."⁽¹⁾

The appeal was followed by the creation of an Auxiliary Committee for the Mission from amongst those friends in Calcutta who since the Mutiny had been interested in Gossner's Mission to the Kols. The Auxiliary opened correspondence with the Curatorium in Berlin in a letter dated February 28th, 1865 written by Dr. Brandis on behalf of the Committee which comprised three Germans and three Englishmen. Commenting on the fact that there was sympathy and interest in India for the mission but a great shortage of both personnel and money, Brandis reported that they had deputed Herr J. Schroder to visit Ranchi to gain first-hand experience of the situation confronting the missionaries; that since there was insufficient support from Germany, he and Schroder were to compile a short History of the Mission together with an Appeal directed to friends in Germany making the needs of the Mission better known; all was being carried on with the support and goodwill of the Senior Missionary, Frederick Batsch.⁽²⁾

In the June 1865 number of 'The Christian Intelligencer' the English version of the History entitled 'The Chota Nagpore Mission' and the accompanying Appeal were printed; the main purpose of the articles was to raise money for building a Seminary in Ranchi for the training of pastors and teachers at an estimated cost of Rs.30,000. The foundation stone of the new Seminary had already been laid in faith. In addition, the regular salaries of the missionaries were also referred to as a permanent source of concern :-

1. Christian Intelligencer. June 1864. p.209.
2. Biene 1865 p.51. The Committee comprised:- Dr. Brandis, Johannes Schmidt and J. Schroder and Messrs. Williams, W. Scott-Moncrieff and J.H. Ferguson.

"The Mission is much straightened for want of means. The original founder, the late Pastor Gossner of Berlin, is gone to his rest and the salaries now sent from Germany to the missionaries are not always forthcoming and when received these allowances are exceedingly small, smaller than those of almost any other missionary body. They hardly suffice for the daily necessities of life, and are quite inadequate to furnish the means of itinerating and for training pastors and teachers for the new congregations which are forming in all parts of the province."⁽¹⁾

The Auxiliary Committee were able in their first year to send Rs.3,000 for the Seminary and in 1865 they collected over Rs.11,000 for current expenses.⁽²⁾ Now firmly established the Auxiliary began to play an increasingly important and influential part in the history of the Mission.

1. Christian Intelligencer. June 1865. p.216

2. J. Cave-Browne op.cit. p.64.

Colonel Dalton appeals to Bishop Cotton for English Missionaries.

The visit of Bishop Cotton to Ranchi and his concern for the welfare of the German missionaries and their converts had made a deep impression on the Commissioner, Colonel Dalton, who in December 1864 addressed a letter to the Bishop urging him to found a Mission to the Iurka Coles of Chaibasa. In urging this course Dalton was reiterating Major Ouseley's request for English missionaries to work in the Colehan addressed to Bishop Wilson in 1840 and for the very same reasons - namely to combat the spread of Hinduism. The Commissioner's letter reads as follows :-

Camp Syngbhoom. December 30th 1864.

I am very desirous of interesting your Lordship in Chyabasa. It is in the midst of the country of the Lurka Coles who were an independent people till be subjugated them and who numbering some 80,000 and occupying some 15,000 square miles of fine open country are under the immediate care of local officers. There is no reason why they should not be as impressionable as the Coles of Chota Nagpore, but if not soon led to embrace Christianity they will follow the lead of other tribes in an opposite direction and become Hinduised. The Brahmirs know very well how to proselytise though they aver that a Hindu, like a poet, must be born one. I introduced Dr. Duff⁽¹⁾ to the Lurka Coles and he appeared to take a great interest in them. He avowed his intention of moving his own Society in their favour, but I do not think the plan he proposed to adopt would have answered with them. He appeared to have little confidence in the conversion of uneducated people, and his scheme was to raise them to Christianity through the agency of schools. This would be too dubious a method to suit me - the Brahmirs would have won the race. I would have schools certainly, and will gladly propose to Government to make over to a missionary the existing Chyabasa school which has 150 boys in regular attendance; but if the Lurka Coles like the Chota Nagpore Coles sought for Baptism after oral instruction only, I do not see that it could be refused them on the grounds that they are uneducated, since we could look with confidence to the next generation for education and higher civilisation.

If your Lordship would feel inclined to take up this matter it would afford me great pleasure to furnish you with any further information regarding this interesting race that you may need. There is a very good account of them in one of the old numbers of the Asiatic Society's Journals by Colonel Tickell.⁽²⁾

I remain your Lordship's faithful and obedient servant,

E.T. Dalton.

C.M.S. Archives. C I 1/08/5/1.

1. Dr. Alexander Duff of the Church of Scotland.
2. The article referred to was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. 1840.

On February 12th 1865 Dalton wrote to Burney, the Chaplain at Hazaribagh, regretting his absence from Ranchi when Burney had paid his last visit and acknowledging the favourable view which Bishop Cotton had taken of his request. He supplied the necessary information which would assist the German C.M.S. Missionary at Burdwan, the Reverend Alexander Stern⁽¹⁾ with his party to make a preliminary survey of the area; he also included interesting comparisons between the work of the Germans in Chota Nagpur and the prospects for an English Mission in Singhbhoom.

Touching on the question of language, Dalton assured Burney that Bengali would be understood throughout Singhbhoom but for effective evangelism among the aboriginals the missionaries would need to learn Mundari.⁽²⁾

But as on the previous occasion^{when} in 1840 Major Ouseley had appealed to Bishop Wilson for English missionaries in the Colehan, the plan was frustrated. In December 1864 a bungalow in Chaibasa had been offered to the Gossner Brethren in Ranchi and early in 1865 they commenced activities at their new station;⁽³⁾ Paul Struve, a pastor who had come out to Ranchi in 1864, and Henry Uffman, a new missionary, were the pioneers who began the work amongst the Lurka Coles. The death of Bishop Cotton, who, returning to his steamer on October 6th 1866, fell from a gang-plank and was accidentally drowned in the Ganges, effectively postponed any further interest by an English society in taking up work amongst the aboriginals. Dalton and his Assistants meanwhile continued to support the Mission in Ranchi with financial help.

1. Alexander Stern. Basle and Islington. Ordained priest by Bishop Wilson 1856. Stationed at Burdwan 1852-1870. B.H. Badley. Indian Missionary Directory. p.93.

Note:- There is no reference in Stern's Annual Report to C.M.S. of the survey ever having been made.

2. Appendix 3.

3. The Station was given the name Elizabethpur in honour of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, the Patroness of the Elizabeth Hospital in Berlin. W. Holsten op.cit. p.272.

THE MISSION TO THE KOLS 1865 - September 1868

VISITATION OF INSPECTOR ANSORGE, September - November 1868.

The Mission to the Kols 1865 - September 1868.

In his letter to the Reverend Henry Burney, the Senior Chaplain at Hazaribagh, written from Ranchi on February 12th 1865, the Commissioner, Colonel Dalton, had described the state of Gossner's Mission to the Kols as follows :-

"The prospects of the Missionaries here are not bright. They are assured of nothing but their salaries from Berlin and the miscellaneous expenses of their mission are rapidly increasing. They have just laid the foundation stone of the new training and boarding school - 'in faith' as Mr. Batsch says, for money they have not got."⁽¹⁾

The plan to build a 'Catechist School' in Ranchi, deemed necessary by Bishop Cotton for the development of the mission, received immediate support from the newly formed Auxiliary Committee in Calcutta. The project was included in the Appeal for the Mission printed in the Christian Intelligencer for June 1865 -

"Ranchi is the only place where there is a mission church, and of course it is very desirable to erect others more within reach of the distant villages, but for this there are at present no means. In the hope of attaining this object hereafter, the missionaries are first endeavouring to erect at Ranchi a Seminary for native pastors and teachers. The cost of the building is estimated at Rs.30,000 and collections are urgently asked for it. It might perhaps be built for less, but it is desired to make it as permanent as possible to save the necessity for future repairs and to include dwelling houses for teachers. The foundation stone has already been laid."⁽²⁾

1. Letter of Dalton to Burney. Appendix 3 p.lix.
2. Christian Intelligencer 1865 p.215.

On the evening of Monday, January 30th 1865, at the close of the Harvest Festival the foundation stone of the new Seminary had been laid in the presence of a large congregation, joined by a number of English residents and interested and friendly Hindus and Moslems; two of the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee, Johann Schroder and William Atkinson, were also able to be present. The history of the mission covering the past twenty years was recounted in a speech by Frederick Batsch who expressed the hope that the new building would be the means of furthering their plans for its development and prosperity in the future. Major Davis², the Principal Assistant then read a formal account of the proceedings in English and Frederick Bohn a similar account in Hindi; both documents were then sealed in a flask and placed under the stone. The ceremony concluded with the singing of the 115th psalm. (1)

The necessity for building a Seminary in Ranchi where native pastors and teachers could be trained was a sign that Gossner's Mission to the Kols was entering a new stage of its existence. Hitherto the direct supervision of the Mission had rested entirely in the hands of the German Brethren who had been recruited, with few exceptions, from the artisan classes. Among the older missionaries sent out by Gossner there was no one competent to train indigenous leaders who would henceforth assume more direct responsibility for evangelistic and educational work. A more educated type of missionary who could take charge of the Seminary was clearly required if Frederick Batsch's hopes for the growth of the Mission in the future were to be realised.

To at least one observer present at the foundation-stone ceremony the introduction of more scholarly men amongst Gossner's older artisans posed a potential source of disharmony, and Johann

1. Biene 1865. p.51.

Schroder in correspondence with Dr. Brandis, the President of the Calcutta Auxiliary, stressed that for this very reason "the greatest care and discretion ought to be taken in appointing such new labourers":⁽¹⁾

Since 1858 the Curatorium in Berlin had assumed not only the responsibility for recruiting new members for the Mission but at the same time had specified to each new missionary his particular sphere of duty in India. On the whole this practice seemed to have worked without undue resentment from the side of the older missionaries, chiefly owing to the fact that the new recruits had mainly been sent out for the new stations founded at a distance from Ranchi. Since 1862 Onasch had worked at Hazaribagh with Henry Batsch; in 1863 Frederick Krüger, David Didlankies and Lars Olsen Skrefsrud had begun the work at Purulia; in Ranchi, following the death of August Brandt in 1864, Pastor Paul Struve, George Børreson and Pohlenz had worked with Frederick Batsch, Bohn and Herzog. In the same year, August Lorbeer and Carl Kamphenkel had re-established the station at Lohardagga, deserted since the Mutiny in 1857.⁽²⁾

The only intimation that there was any incompatibility amongst the Ranchi Brethren had been provided by Oscar Flex who resigned from the Mission and moved to superintend one of the tea gardens in Assam. In a letter addressed to the Curatorium dated August 2nd 1864 he declared that 'his stay at Ranchi had been made impossible through the arbitrary treatment on the side of Mr. F. Batsch'.⁽³⁾

1. Metropolitan's Files. Letter of Schroder to Brandis. Appendix A. July 6th 1868.
2. K. Shital op.cit. p.55.
3. Curatorium to Schroder and Atkinson. April 5th 1869. U.S.F.G. Archives D. Calcutta 1865-1871.

In 1865 Struve, who had originally been commissioned by the Curatorium in Berlin for the work of the Seminary in Ranchi, was moved by the Brethren to open the new mission at Chaibassa. The autonomous character of the Ranchi mission had thus been reasonably safeguarded and maintained under the supervision of the Senior Missionary Frederick Batsch.

On October 7th 1865 two missionaries specially recruited for work in the new seminary at Ranchi were commissioned in the Mattheikirche in Berlin. Theodore Jellinghaus, ⁽¹⁾ aged 24, had been ordained in the same church only a fortnight previously; his friend Henry Uffman was a layman sent out to supervise the new building programme in Ranchi. Both men came from Westphalia, and Jellinghaus had felt the call to the mission field by hearing Prochnow, the Gossner Mission Inspector, deliver a lecture to the students at Halle where since 1861 he had been a student. On their arrival in Ranchi, Jellinghaus and his wife settled to the work of the Seminary, but Uffman was re-directed to Chaibassa to help Struve.

During 1866 no missionaries were recruited, but the Curatorium agreed to establish in Berlin an Auxiliary Committee for the Kols Mission in order to foster greater interest and collect money. In thus following the example of the Berlin Missionary Society and other German Missions the Curatorium was making one more departure from the faith-mission principles so tenaciously held by Gossner. One of Gossner's famous maxims had been "Keine Bettelglocke, sondern die Betglocke zu läuten - Don't ring the bell for begging but ring the bell for praying." By constituting an Auxiliary Committee the Curatorium were seeking to preserve Gossner's heritage but in an institutionalized form which he would have abhorred.

1. Theodore Jellinghaus 1841-1913. Born in Schlüsselburg, Weser. Missionary in Chota Nagpur 1865. Minister in the Prussian Church 1873. Principal of Bible College at Lichtenrade near Berlin.

In correspondence, the Curatorium was henceforth referred to as the Parent Committee and one of the main functions of the Berlin Auxiliary was to act as a link between the Auxiliary Committee in Calcutta and the Parent Committee in Berlin.⁽¹⁾ In April 1867 a change took place in the Curatorium itself. John Duloff Prochnow who since 1858 had acted as Secretary to the Association and Mission Inspector, accepted from the King the charge of the church of St. Johannes in Moabit, one of the large churches in Berlin. In a letter to Henry Venn, Secretary of the C.I.S., Prochnow stated that but for his wife's delicate health he would have wished to return to India to die there. He added that his place as Secretary was to be filled by another ex-C.M.S. missionary, Hermann Ansonge, who, following his return from Bengal in 1856, had lately been the Pastor of Waldenburg in Silesia.⁽²⁾

George Frederick Hermann Ansonge, the new Secretary and Mission Inspector, was a man whose foibles were to cause grievous harm to Gossner's Mission to the Kols. As a schoolboy Ansonge had been a morose and unattractive child; as a student he was characterised as an hypochondriac by his professor, Ernst William Hengstenberg.⁽³⁾ With his brother Paul, who was also a teacher, Ansonge joined Gossner's Missionary Association, and together they sailed for India in 1846. Paul Ansonge was engaged by Mrs. Gordon, an English lady, to superintend an Orphanage in Madras, while Ansonge continued to Ranchi in company with Henry Batsch and Buchwaldt to form the first reinforcements for the Mission.

1. M.F. Report of Missionary Conference at Ranchi. November 1868. p.4.
2. C.M.S. Miscellaneous letters No. 280. April 13th 1867.
3. Ernst William Hengstenberg 1802-1869. Distinguished German Theologian and Professor in Berlin. A Champion of Evangelical Christianity, opposed to Rationalism. Author of many Biblical and exegetical works. Editor of the Evangelical Ecclesiastical Journal 1827-1869.

After a stay in Ranchi of only four months from July to October 1846, during which time his first child was born, Ansonge resigned from the Mission. The cause for his resignation was reckoned to be his incompatibility with the other Brethren and his refusal to take a subordinate position by occupying the out-station at Domba.⁽¹⁾ During 1847 Ansonge and his family, virtually destitute, were taken in by Weitbrecht, the missionary at Burdwan, where they stayed for many months, until Weitbrecht was able to arrange for Ansonge to be engaged as a member of the C.M.S. in Bengal.⁽²⁾ In 1848 Ansonge was accepted as a probationer by the C.M.S. and appointed to the mission at Kapasdanga where he was given charge of the school and where from time to time he visited the Christian and heathen villages, acting as assistant to the missionary, the Rev. C.T. Krauss. After Krauss' death in 1849 Ansonge was moved to Solo and in 1851 was given the charge of Jogindo, a neglected group of four villages which had received little or no supervision since their inhabitants had accepted Christianity in 1837.

Ansonge's activities are described in his Annual Reports printed by the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of C.M.S. during the years 1849-1855 in which the contradictory character of the man emerges. His first report was brief and to the point and closed with these words -

"I do not like at all to give a report. These true words only I have written in obedience. The more we talk about missions the sooner the blessings will be taken away."

In 1850 he described his attempts and his failures in characteristic language :-

1. W. Holsten op.cit. p.236.
2. Memoir of J.J. Weitbrecht p.379.

"It is a comfort to have done the Master's will in whatever way the Word is received by the hearers. I went to the surrounding villages since last October 103 times, but the work did not go on as it should because there were many hindrances. Satan and my own flesh and blood which said often 'Today it is very hot, it will rain, preaching is vain'."

In 1854 his vivid awareness of the power of Satan and the anticipation of his own eternal reward were described as follows:-

"The better I understand Bengali the more I see the darkness in the hearts of the Heathen! Oh how carnal minded, how lascivious they are! How Satan has bound them! After having declared salvation by Christ for an hour to an attentive congregation somebody makes an abominable obscene remark and the congregation laugh and leave us. A preaching tour is encouraging indeed but it is also a trying time. Satan often comes to the tent. Living for weeks amongst the heathen we have to pray that Satan gets no influence on our hearts.

I preached the Gospel like a dying man to dying men but they harden their hearts the more, the longer they hear the truth. Though I have very little hope of these dry bones, I firmly believe that I shall have my crown on the Lord's Day and I shall see even some Jogindo people, as redeemed by the Lamb, for the Lord must redeem his promises."

In 1849 Ansonge had written to his brother Paul to join him in the work of the C.M.S. in Bengal. Paul Ansonge and his wife worked in the schools at Chupra where their assistance was greatly valued. Early in 1855 both wives and children left for Germany and this produced such a disastrous effect on Ansonge's work that the Committee reported -

"Mr. Ansonge since the departure of his wife and children in the early part of the year has been suffering from illness and low spirits which are with him constitutional and which have been fostered by the solitary place of Jogindo and the natural feeling of loneliness after the departure of his family. The Committee gave him permission to move from place to place, to promote health and cheerfulness by change of situation. He at length took up his abode at Ruttentpore, but it became apparent that the best course for him was to proceed to Europe which the physicians also recommended."

Ansonge left Calcutta on December 11th 1855 in company with his brother, on board the East Indiaman 'Marchioness of Londonderry' 'having fallen into a depressed and sickly state of health which rendered it advisable if not necessary his leaving India for Europe.' (1)

On arrival in Berlin in May 1856 Ansonge wrote to Henry Venn forwarding his medical certificate. With the cold climate his health had already improved. (2)

Although Gossner was ready to forgive the harsh words which had been exchanged at the time when Ansonge left the mission in Ranchi, Ansonge declined to visit him. In December 1856⁷ he wrote again to C.M.S. from Liegnitz in Prussia offering his services to the Society, and during the years 1858-1860 carried on a correspondence with John Chapman, the Secretary of C.M.S., hoping that he might be reappointed by the Society for work in Bengal. The outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, however, delayed a decision regarding sending him to India and meanwhile in 1858 he obtained an appointment under the Bishop of Breslau first as Assistant, and then as Pastor of Waldenberg in Silesia.

1. C.M.S. Calcutta Corresponding Committee Report 1855 p.39.
2. C.M.S. Miscellaneous Letters No. 105. Received May 30th 1856.

Conscientious to a degree and utterly convinced that in whatever he judged to be right he was fulfilling the Divine Will, Ansonge had a deep awareness of the Satanic powers; he was, moreover, quick to detect such motives in the actions of his opponents. At Waldenberg he had described a dispute among his parishioners in the following terms -

"Satan is exerting himself exceedingly to remove me from this ministry. Should the wicked not succeed then certainly this wonderful doing of the Lord would be a sign to me not to leave this flock. If the wicked succeed, a new proof that the Lord has called me to preach again the Gospel in India for which I have been longing."⁽¹⁾

Hasty and extreme in judgment, stubborn and obdurate in his opinions, Ansonge had already demonstrated his rancorous temperament by refusing to see Gossner on his return to Berlin; his genuine zeal for missionary work, frustrated by his own delicate health, now prompted him to exchange his parish for the position of Secretary and Mission Inspector to his old Missionary Association. He commenced his duties in April 1867.

With the formation of the Berlin Auxiliary the income of the Missionary Society increased and from 1867 the salaries of all the missionaries were increased by Rs.20 per annum.⁽²⁾

1. C.M.S. Miscellaneous Letters No. 172 November 25th 1858.
2. The salaries paid to Gossner's missionaries in 1867 were as follows:-

| | <u>per month.</u> |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| A married ordained missionary : | Rs. 90 |
| A married unordained missionary : | Rs. 70 |
| A single ordained missionary : | Rs. 70 |
| A single unordained missionary : | Rs. 60 |

Note:- In 1864 the S.P.C. were paying the following rates for their missionaries in India.

| | <u>per month</u> |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| A married missionary : | Rs.210 |
| An unmarried missionary : | Rs.160 |

An allowance of Rs.10 per month was given for each child under 16. Furlough allowance of £100 and a widow's pension of £40 p.a. U.S.P.C. Archives : Grants to Colonial Dioceses to 30th June 1864. item 34.

On December 24th 1867 two more Pastors recruited for the Mission arrived in Ranchi. Karl Alfred Nottrott⁽¹⁾ had been a fellow student of Jellinghaus at Halle where he had spent four years prior to his ordination. He was 28 years old and unmarried. Charles Haerberlin was the son of Doctor John Haerberlin who had played such an important part in the founding of the Mission in 1845.⁽²⁾ In joining the Kols Mission, Charles Haerberlin was fulfilling his parents often expressed wishes; like Nottrott he was also in his late twenties, but married.

After their welcome, Nottrott left immediately for the station at Chaibassa and Haerberlin joined Jellinghaus on the staff of the seminary in Ranchi.

At the meeting of the Curatorium held on January 15th 1868 Frederick Batsch was confirmed as Senior Missionary of all four stations in Chota Nagpur.⁽³⁾ The procedure which had in fact been practised for some time of Batsch influencing the movement of missionaries and, following their arrival in Chota Nagpur, of allotting them new spheres of duty was thus regularised.

The appointment of missionaries to different stations, one of the endemic causes of friction in the Mission had been demonstrated in the closing months of 1865 when the two Scandinavian Brethren, Hans Peter Børreson and Lars Olsen Skrefsrud had resigned from

1. Karl Alfred Nottrott. 1837-1924. Appointed missionary 1867. President of the Mission 1887-1913. Translation of the Bible into Mandari 1910. He impressed a Lutheran character on the Mission by translating the Herforder Catechism into Hindø. 1913.
2. In 1847 Dr. Haerberlin had joined the Basle Mission on whose behalf he founded a station at Dacca. The mission had only a brief existence since it was abandoned in November 1849 when Haerberlin died in the Sunderbushⁿ on his way to Calcutta to be invalided home.
Memoir of J.J. Weitbrecht. p.454.
3. M.F. Letter of Brandis to Berlin Auxiliary. June 30th 1867.

Purulia since they had not been permitted to work on the same station, as they desired. ⁽¹⁾ Amongst the Gossner Brethren resignation had always been the one recognised method of dealing with serious complaints if and when, for one reason or another, situations became intolerable. This procedure carried with it no stigma and it had been an established trait of Gossner's Missionary Association from its foundation. As Pietists, trusting solely in the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the Brethren had demanded that spiritual freedom and lack of restraint which prompted them, when occasion required, to move easily from mission to mission and place to place. Freedom of action to witness to

1. Skrefsrud who from 1858-1861 had served a prison sentence for theft in goals at Lillehammer and Kristiania was converted in prison and met Børreson and his wife in Berlin in 1862. Prochnow accepted both men and Børreson's wife for the Mission to the Kols and the Curatorium consented to their working together on the same station but failed to inform Batsch. Skrefsrud following his arrival in Ranchi was sent to Purulia in January 1864 where the Børresons and his fiance Anna Onsum joined him on April 18th. Paul Struve conducted their wedding on May 6th 1864. Batsch had written to the Curatorium prior to the Børresons' arrival stating that he wanted 'no more Danes in the Mission' but the Curatorium ignored him. At the Mission Conference held in Ranchi in October 1865 Børreson and Skrefsrud were refused permission to continue their joint work at Purulia and both forthwith resigned. They moved to Calcutta and in 1868 founded the Indian Home Mission to the Santals. The causes for refusing them permission appeared to be partly the politics of the German-Danish War in Schleswig Holstein (December 1863 - January 1864) which affected the harmony of the Brethren and a personal element of scandal caused by the relations of Skrefsrud with Caroline Børreson.

For a full treatment of this episode see :-
Olav Hodne. L.O. Skrefsrud. Missionary and Social Reformer among the Santals of Santal Parganas. Oslo 1966. p.33-70.

the interpretation of preaching the Gospel as they understood it, was the only pre-requisite they desired and when this freedom was in any way disciplined or circumscribed Gossner's missionaries resigned and moved on, offering their services to anyone who was willing and able to employ them. This act of resignation had been frequently used by the Brethren in the Ganges Valley Mission, and in Ranchi Ansonge himself had been the first of a number of Brethren who had left the Mission in order to work elsewhere.

With the arrival of the three young pastors in Chota Nagpur a quite different method of dealing with complaints was introduced to the life of the Mission which quickly made its effect felt on the harmony of the Brethren in Ranchi. Rather than resign, the younger missionaries preferred to report their complaints direct to the Curatorium in Berlin. Since 1841 the postal service between Europe and India had steadily improved.⁽¹⁾ English mail by the overland route - London to Alexandria and Suez to Bombay or Calcutta now reached Calcutta on an average in 28 days. The relationship established by the Curatorium in recruiting university trained pastors for the Mission to the Kols was such, that the new recruits felt their loyalty to be directly aligned with the Curatorium in Berlin rather than with the Senior Missionary, Frederick Batsch, in Ranchi. In consequence, direct correspondence between the younger pastors and the Curatorium was a new development in the life of the Mission with which none of the Senior Brethren were in a position to interfere. The fact that an uncle of one of the new missionaries was a member of the Curatorium further strengthened the link between the younger members in Ranchi and the Parent Committee in Berlin.

1. In 1841 the Peninsula and Orient Steam Ship Company accepted responsibility for the India-Suez mail service and the British Government subsidised the London-Alexandria service.

The New Constitution for the Mission to the Kols. June 12th 1868.

The delicate relationship between the young pastors and the older Brethren, regarding which Schroder had expressed his concern to Dr. Brandis, received its first shock, fulfilling Schroder's worst fears, when in February 1861 Karl Wottrott forwarded a report to the Curatorium in Berlin in which he complained that the Missionaries in Ranchi were supposed to possess 90 villages, the rent and produce of which they were using for their own benefit.⁽¹⁾

In Ranchi, Jellinghaus and Haeberlin in seeking for information regarding the Mission and its finances also discovered that the Ranchi Brethren held villages in farm from the Government regarding which nothing had ever been published in the English Mission Reports. The manner in which the two young pastors demanded an official explanation from the older Brethren was so provocative that they gained no clear information on the matter, but subsequently wrote to the Curatorium expressing their indignation at the way in which the private transactions of the older Missionaries had been allowed to encroach on the finances and life of the Mission. This report was sent off to Berlin before the General Conference of the Mission was held in Ranchi on April 2nd 1868.

In Berlin the Curatorium received the complaints preferred by the younger missionaries, acknowledging them as a sign that the internal life of the Mission in Chota Nagpur required more strict supervision. Following the death of August Brandt in 1864 Frederick Batsch had carried on a lengthy correspondence with Dr. Büchsel over settling Brandt's estate, and it was known that the missionaries in Ranchi possessed private property, since Brandt's share in a bungalow and field had been mentioned. Some information regarding the acquisition of village property had likewise been

1. M.F. Report of Missionary Conference. November 1868 p.15.

communicated to Berlin during the time when Prochnow had been Secretary to the Association.⁽¹⁾ In attempting to deal with the situation in Ranchi following the communication of these complaints by the younger missionaries, the Curatorium virtually connived at a clandestine correspondence, owing to the disinclination of Dr. Michsel and Ansonge to acquaint Frederick Batsch, the Senior Missionary, with what was going on.

This lack of trust and rapport between Berlin and Ranchi harked back to the crisis of 1861 when the Curatorium had appointed Sternberg to the senior position in the Mission to the Kols without either consulting or informing the Brethren in Ranchi. Now by a similar act of miscalculation and self-conceit the Curatorium decided upon reforming the Mission to the Kols by means of a new constitution but declined either to inform or consult with the Senior group of missionaries concerned. The younger missionaries, Nottrott, Haeberlin, Jellinghaus and Didlaukies who since the General Council of the Mission held in April 1868 had formed themselves into a party, received the news privately that the uncle of one of them who was a member of the Curatorium had been entrusted with the task of initiating the reform by drawing up a new constitution.⁽²⁾

In 1868 the Curatorium consisted of a membership of ten; two members, Uden and Thamm, had been members of Gossner's original committee of eight, nominated in 1842, and a third member, Riquet, had signed the letter written by Gossner to the C.M.S. in 1857.⁽³⁾

1. M.F. Letter of F. Batsch to Schroder. August 25th 1868
Report of Missionary Conference. November 1868 p.15.
2. M.F. Report of the Chota Nagpur Mission for 1868.
3. In the earliest English translation of the letter printed in the Friend of India, October 28th 1869, Riquet's name appears mis-spelt as F. Niquel. The Reverend J.C. Whitley pointed out the discrepancy but the mistake has been perpetuated in English sources. See p. 340.

Dr. Büchsel, the General Superintendent or Bishop of Niederlausitz and Neumark, had, like Gossner, connections with Adolph von Thadden and the Pomeranian Pietists; a great pastor and teacher, he was a close friend of Hengstenberg, and a loyal upholder of the Church Union in Prussia. (1)

The remaining members of the Curatorium were Civil Servants and Academics - Uhdan was a retired Minister of the Crown, Köllner the Dean of St. Peter's Church in Köln, Dr. Beutner the Editor of the newspaper 'Kreuz Zeitung', Flender a Privy Counsellor in the Ministry of Finance, and Reimann an Accountant; Ansorge acted as Secretary and Mission Inspector.

Dr. Büchsel and Köllner as high church dignitaries could legitimately be regarded as upholders of the bureaucratic system of government in the Prussian Church against which Gossner had chafed in vain; the civil servants could likewise be credited with a similar outlook. In the eyes of the Curatorium a new constitution for the Kols Mission formed the necessary and obvious means of preserving the Mission from further discord and irregularity by providing the missionaries and the Auxiliary Committees in Berlin and Calcutta with fixed terms of reference in order to clarify the status and work of each individual missionary and regularise the domestic economy of the Mission. It was not so much the goal, as the methods employed by the Curatorium which were open to criticism. By introducing such a radical reform without consulting or referring in any way to the missionaries in Ranchi, the Curatorium acted in an extremely arbitrary and bureaucratic fashion.

1. K. Büchsel. My Ministerial Experiences. London 1863.

In a manifesto published in the 'Biene' after the introduction of the Constitution the reasons given for the reform of the Mission were enumerated as follows :-

1. The domestic affairs of the Mission required putting in order since the houses, schools, churches, gardens, etc. were not registered in the name of the Mission but in the names of individual missionaries.
2. The lack of compatibility, frankness and brotherly communion amongst the missionaries was due to the fault of the older missionaries who in the past had been permitted undue independence. Each missionary should know his job in regard to his fellow missionaries so that each was aware of his own duties and rights.
3. In order to preserve the work of the Mission an ecclesiastical constitution was required to make changes in the liturgy, hymn books, text books and prayer books; to decide the question whether Hindi should be continued or tribal languages introduced; to determine the use and scope of the institutions and chiefly the staffing of the new Seminary in Ranchi. ⁽¹⁾

The proposal for a new constitution was forthwith sanctioned to be modelled on the pattern of those belonging to existing missionary bodies in Germany and Berlin.

At a meeting of the Curatorium held on June 12th 1868 the new Constitution for the Kols Mission was passed and the Mission Inspector, Pastor Ansoerge, was entrusted with introducing it to the Brethren in Ranchi by making an official Visitation of the Mission. At this same meeting, Frederick Bohn, who had returned to Germany in 1867, was present, and questions regarding the villages mentioned by the younger missionaries were asked, to which Bohn gave a factual and satisfactory answer. ⁽²⁾

1. Biene 1869. p.26
2. M.F. Report of Missionary Conference. November 1868 p.16.

The new Constitution was a document containing 33 clauses divided into four sections as follows :-

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| 1. The Executive Committee. | Clauses 1 - 13. |
| 2. The Educational System relating to the Seminary. | Clauses 14 - 20. |
| 3. The General and Station Conferences. | Clauses 20 - 30. |
| 4. The Authority of the Curatorium. | Clauses 31 - 33. (1) |

The most controversial part of the new Constitution was the replacement of the Senior Missionary by an Executive Committee of three. The Executive was nominated by the Curatorium and consisted of a President, Treasurer and Secretary holding office for a period of three years. The Treasurer's position was the most important of the three and, while Frederick Batsch was retained as President, Haeberlin was nominated as Treasurer. Within six months of his arrival in Ranchi Haeberlin was thus given financial responsibility for the whole of the Kols Mission, including the Seminary in Ranchi of which he was a member. Under the new Constitution the Seminary was withdrawn from the control of the Ranchi Brethren and entrusted to Jellinghausé and Haeberlin who were responsible for its management solely to the Curatorium in Berlin. (2)

News of these innovations in the domestic life of the Mission were conveyed to Calcutta in a private letter written by one of the members of the Berlin Auxiliary, which Dr. Brandis acknowledged on June 30th 1868. The writer further disclosed that a series of general criticisms had been levelled by the younger missionaries against Frederick Batsch who was described as 'domineering and unamiable'. In his reply Brandis expressed his own criticism of Haeberlin's appointment as Treasurer, stating that he could not conscientiously recommend this to the Calcutta Auxiliary until the younger missionaries

1. Appendix 1. No. 4. Constitution of June 12th 1868. p.xviii.
2. Constitution of 1868. Clauses 1, 11, 14-16.

had proved their worth. He regarded Herzog as the obvious choice for Treasurer and he warmly commended Batsch and Herzog for the way they had husbanded the resources of the Mission over the past twenty-three years -

"My impression of F. Batsch is that he is a missionary enthusiastically devoted to his work and of a devout and humble disposition who shuns no self-denial in order to advance the work entrusted to him. His labours and experience and the influence which he has acquired amongst the Kols no one doubts; although he has not received a university education, he has read much and takes a lively interest in science and literature.

In the management of all external affairs, such as buildings, accounts, etc. he is assisted by Mr. Herzog, a man highly efficient in all practical matters who has husbanded the small income of the mission in a wonderful way, and as regards the proper employment of the property and income of the mission, I really do not think that there could be a better combination for this purpose than F. Batsch with Mr. Herzog by his side."

Brandis closed his letter by stating that nothing should be done which would lower the regard or weaken the estimation in which Batsch was held by the native Christians and the English Civil Authorities. ⁽¹⁾

The official notification of the passing of the new Constitution together with copies of the document and a prior notice of the Visitation to be carried out by the Mission Inspector, Pastor Ansonge, were sent by the Berlin Auxiliary to the Calcutta Auxiliary on August 4th 1868.

1. M.F. Letter of Brandis to a member of the Berlin Auxiliary Committee. June 30th 1868.

In this letter, at the request of the Curatorium, the Berlin Auxiliary requested that Dr. Brandis might be deputed as an Assessor to co-operate with Ansorge in the Visitation 'more particularly in regard to external matters, in order to avoid a one sided course'. Since more information had meanwhile been gleaned concerning the criticisms expressed by the younger missionaries against Frederick Batsch and his management of the Mission, in a letter to Schroder written from Ranchi on August 25th, Batsch explained the way in which over the years the Ranchi Brethren had come to acquire various houses as their private property.

Prior to 1857 Gossner's faith-mission policy of no salaries for his workers had been rigidly followed although individual missionaries possessed some private property in the way of books, furniture and cattle. The flight to Calcutta in 1857 at the time of the Mutiny had closed this period in the Mission's history since on the return of the Brethren to Ranchi they had been assisted financially by the Relief Committee set up by the Government. With the help of McLeod Wylie and Major Davies compensation grants of Rs.2,000 were awarded to each individual missionary and a grant also made to the Mission. On McLeod Wylie's advice the missionaries invested their compensation money in Government Paper which stood at 7% discount. During this crisis Gossner had only been able to send Rs.800 for the Mission from Berlin.

From January 1st 1859 the Curatorium had commenced paying salaries to the Brethren but during the crisis of 1861 over the appointment of Sternberg to be the Head of the Mission the Curatorium at one stage requested the Brethren to leave the Mission, and intended to replace them by other missionaries. Faced with eviction, Batsch, Herzog and Brandt had clubbed together and on the advice of the English residents had bought a piece of land fronting the mission

and built a bungalow. When the crisis passed the Brethren let the house instead of occupying it.

In 1863 one of the English residents, Mr. Stainforth, had presented his bungalow in Doranda to Batsch, Bohn, Brandt and Herzog, and the Civil Surgeon, Dr. Kendall, had built a house adjoining in which Batsch, Herzog, Brandt and Onesch had shares.

In 1865 the English residents had helped five of the Brethren to purchase four houses in Doranda owned by the Maharajah of Burdwan.

The Ranchi Brethren thus owned private property amounting to eight bungalows and a field. Batsch was at pains to explain that it was owing to the heavy responsibility of providing for his own and the other Brethren's families that the faith mission principles of Gossner had been found impracticable and had been rejected :-

"Although the houses in Doranda do not give us the least care or trouble, we would willingly sell them if we found a purchaser.

When I was sent out in 1844 I provided for nearly the whole of my outfit and then made over the balance of my property amounting to Thalers 1,000 to the mission fund, where it has remained bearing interest for the benefit of the mission. It did not then cost me any effort to thus part with all my property. When in 1857, at depth of night we fled from Ranchi, our care was the preservation of the Mission and not of what little we possessed.

I think I have shown that I do not care for money, but I also think that neither the Committee nor anyone else can think ill of us, if we have regard for our children. Our relations to the Committee have been marked by a constant uncertainty, both as regards our own support and the support of our children. In my opinion the Committee cannot prevent its

Missionaries from saving and investing their savings for their benefit."⁽¹⁾

In a further letter from Ranchi dated September 4th 1868 Batsch was able to inform Schroder who had replaced Dr. Brandis on the Visitation of the Mission, about the circumstances in which the Mission had acquired a number of villages. (As previously noticed this had constituted the original complaint of the young pastors to the Curatorium). Batsch wrote as follows :-

"The principle accusation that has been made against us at Berlin now appears to be that Mr. Herzog and myself had taken government villages for ourselves at the expense of the mission. I cannot understand how anyone could invent or believe such nonsense; but this accusation has not only been preferred against us at Berlin, and here before the residents, native converts and heathen, but it seems also to have found credit at Berlin but not here, thank God."

Batsch explained that ever since the founding of the Mission, husbandry had played an essential part in the domestic policy of the Brethren, but only in 1862 had rice cultivation commenced in the Mission compound, owing to the rising prices and the increased needs of the hostels attached to the boarding schools. At the same time the Brethren accepted some fields and jungle in the village of Lalgunge, three miles distance from Ranchi, as mortgage for the Mission. This was followed by taking the village of Kachabari for six years, paying in advance the whole rent amounting to Rs.1500. This money had been saved in the Native Church Fund and, since the project had proved successful, another small village was added in which persecuted Christians were able to settle. One strong reason for taking the village of Kachabari had been to ensure that the native Christians

1. M.F. Letter of F. Batsch to Schroder. August 25th 1868.

resident there would be safe-guarded against unfriendly landlords. In 1865 several Government villages were due to be farmed out and at Colonel Dalton's suggestion an option was given to the Mission. On Herzog's recommendation the village of Konka which bordered on the Ranchi Mission compound was accepted on a thirty year lease to form a place of refuge for persecuted Christians.

The system worked as follows :-

The missionaries acted as rent collectors on behalf of the Government, collecting and paying into the Treasury the rent when realised for the village. In return for the trouble of collecting the rent, the Government permitted the missionaries to purchase a certain quantity of rice at a favourable price. In this way a large quantity of rice for the hostels could be obtained very cheaply. Herzog subsequently accepted 17 other Government villages on the same basis. Financially these transactions had brought the Mission Rs220 over the past two years, compounded from fines, interest on rent overdue and rent for land regarding which no return as yet had been made. Batsch closed his letter acknowledging that the policy of renting the villages had been controversial -

"We have not mentioned this in our report for some years past as we have found that some did not like it and because we did not wish to draw attention to the profit the Mission derived from these government villages."⁽¹⁾

In default of any assured income over and above their own salaries the Ranchi Brethren had accepted at the suggestion of the Commissioner this means of supplementing their finances. Since rice for their hostels had become one of the largest items in their budget the arrangement suited both parties. As Batsch, however, was aware, for the Mission to be compromised in the delicate and complex

1. M.F. Letter of F. Batsch to Schroder. September 4th 1868.

question of land - tenure in Chota Nagpur was not without its dangers. Although in this sense controversial, the principle of gaining support for the Mission from indigenous sources was one which Gossner himself had always advocated and one which, owing to the financial and economic uncertainty which had haunted the Mission, the Brethren had accepted as a justifiable risk.

The Visitation of Inspector Ansonge. September-November 1868.

The atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion which had been created in Ranchi between the younger missionaries and the senior Brethren was still present when the Mission Inspector, Hermann Ansonge, accompanied by two new missionaries, Wilhelm Luther Vos and Ferdinand Hahn, reached Calcutta on board the steam ship 'Simla' on Monday September 14th 1868. The party had travelled overland via Venice, Alexandria and Suez. It was twenty-two years since Ansonge had first landed in Calcutta in company with Henry Batsch and Buchwaldt to form the first reinforcements for the Mission at Ranchi. The same rancorous temperament which had made him decline a visit to Gossner on his return to Berlin in 1856 quickly manifested itself again with regard to his former colleague Frederick Batsch. In private conversation with Mr. Schroder and at the meeting of the Auxiliary Committee which he attended in Calcutta, Ansonge made it abundantly clear that he considered the older missionaries in the wrong and consistently refused to accept anything which was said in their favour. Although Schroder remonstrated with him, pointing out that he had been sent out in the capacity of a judge and that the removal of the differences between the younger and older missionaries largely depended on the course of action he was about to follow, Ansonge replied that he found it impossible to remove from his mind the impression that Batsch and Herzog were to blame.⁽¹⁾ It was obvious that the Inspector had arrived already deeply prejudiced against the Senior Brethren.

Prior to Ansonge's departure for Chota Nagpur it was agreed that there would be a General Conference of the Mission convened in Ranchi and that Mr. Schroder would be welcomed as an Assessor to help in the external affairs of the Mission; another member of the Calcutta Auxiliary, Mr. William Atkinson, was also willing to

accompany Schroder, and the arrangement that the two should be present for the Conference was accepted.

After a week's stay in Calcutta, Ansonge made the journey to Ranchi travelling by way of Hazaribagh. He arrived there on Wednesday night, September 23rd, quickly inspected the Mission, visited the two outstations at Arcona and Dumbar, and passed on to Ranchi where he was welcomed on Monday September 28th. He spent his first night with Frederick Batsch, then moved into the Seminary where he stayed for the rest of his visit. After ten days in Ranchi during which time he conducted a swift scrutiny of the Mission Accounts and paid visits to the English Civil Officers, Colonel Davies and Colonel Dalton, he left in company with Frederick Batsch for Purulia on Saturday, October 10th. After a week's stay in Purulia he returned to Ranchi on October 19th and left again for the visit to Chaibassa and Govindpore on the 27th; he returned to Ranchi in poor health having completed his Visitation of the outstations of the Mission on Saturday November 7th. At the end of each visit, following his return to Ranchi, Ansonge wrote letters to Schroder in Calcutta describing his impressions and containing his comments. In his first letter dated October 4th, written at the end of his first week in Ranchi, Ansonge described his impressions of the situation at Hazaribagh :-

"I have received the impression that both the Brethren (Batsch and Pohlenz) have an easy life and not sufficient work."

He commented on the matter of the Government villages :-

"I have now before me the matter of the 17 villages about which F. Batsch had written to you. The thing is so mystical however that I as yet refrain from coming to any conclusion about it and only say - I fear. We have already 21 villages

and the accounts would startle you as a merchant. May God in His Grace make everything clear."⁽¹⁾

In his second letter written on Friday October 9th, Ansonge described his dissatisfaction at the way in which the Mission Accounts had been kept by Batsch and Herzog; he intimated that Herzog would be retained as Treasurer until the General Conference of the Mission in November, when he proposed that Haerberlin should take over as General Treasurer to the Mission, assisted by the newly arrived missionary Voss whom he intended appointing as Secretary, since ^{he} had formerly been a merchant. He also described his visit to the English Officers, Colonel Davies and Colonel Dalton, but provided such a distorted version of the interviews that both Officers subsequently felt compelled to write to Dr. Brandis indignantly repudiating the opinions which Ansonge had imputed to them. By the same letter Ansonge described an incident which had occurred involving Frederick Batsch and which for the remainder of his visit in Chota Nagpur he was persistently to recall. On Wednesday evening October 7th when the Mission Catechists had come in from the surrounding villages Frederick Batsch dismissed them shortly after their arrival. One of the younger missionaries informed Ansonge of what had happened, whereupon he immediately had them recalled and spent six hours on the following day examining them.

His verdict was that 'almost all were in a deplorable ignorance of the word of God'. Ansonge chose to regard this action of Batsch as a personal insult and he enlarged upon it -

"Fred Batsch has exercised an insupportable dictatorship. All so far has been done without quarrelling. Would God grant further that I may become a peacemaker! Frederick

1. M.F. Letter of Ansonge to Schroder. October 4th 1868.

Batsch has much to answer for in neglecting to teach the people and in sending out ignorant men as evangelists. There is much of outward appearance about the Kol Mission but it lacks the inner truth.

If Batsch sends out 25 Catechists on preaching journeys without telling me, who am the Commissioner of the Berlin Committee, one word of it, then you may conceive how he treats the younger missionaries. But the Committee can never consent to the younger Brethren being treated like boys."⁽¹⁾

On the night of Friday October 9th Ansorge and Batsch left for Purulia where Onasch and Didlaukies were stationed; they returned to Ranchi on Monday October 19th. In Purulia a letter from Schroder urging the postponement of the General Conference until the following March when Dr. Brandis would be present had been received to which Ansorge now replied. Having consulted with Onasch he was determined to hold the conference in mid-November and urged Schroder at all costs to be present.

The relations between Ansorge and Frederick Batsch in the course of the ten day visit to Purulia had further deteriorated and Ansorge reiterated the doubts he had expressed in Calcutta regarding Batsch's integrity -

"I have seen that Frederick Batsch does not deal in love with the younger Brethren although they stand in so many respects so much above him. Notwithstanding my being the Commissioner of the Berlin Committee he tries to ignore me, although he outwardly is friendly; he has done things unworthy of a child of God.

The deeper I look into the external and internal administration

1. M.F. Letter of Ansorge to Schroder. October 9th 1868.

of the Mission, the less I find the conscientious faithfulness and economy which you suppose to be there. I regret to say I find in Batsch and Herzog the faithfulness of the Unjust Steward; what appears as faithfulness has no weight with me the experienced missionary.

I shall never permit Fred Batsch to exercise tyranny against the Brethren. He shall be president of the Mission but he must first study again the letters of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus which he has forgotten. As yet I have obtained much through love, and I hope to obtain even much more, but I shall never out of love to Batsch call his crooked ways straight. As I have received my commission from Berlin, according to my instructions and according to my conscience, so I will act with God's help."⁽¹⁾

On October 24th Ansonge again wrote to Schroder from Ranchi refusing to postpone the Conference. Using characteristic language he affirmed -

"I see no reason to accede to Dr. Brandis' wish to postpone the Conference. I would commit a sin against the Holy Cause of the Kingdom of my Lord if these affairs in Ranchi should continue any longer."

and he gave notice that the Conference of the Mission would be held in Ranchi, opening with a Service on Sunday November 22nd at which Frederick Batsch would preach, and commencing business at 7 o'clock the following morning; he again urgently requested Schroder to be present.⁽²⁾

In a long letter to Dr. Brandis written on the same day, Ansonge explained that if the Conference were to be postponed for a further six months all seven junior missionaries would resign.

1. M.F. Letter of Ansonge to Schroder. October 19th 1868.
2. M.F. Letter of Ansonge to Schroder. October 25th 1868.

He then replied to Dr. Brandis' questions regarding the accusations made by the three young Pastors:-

"You wish to know the accusations which have been made by the younger Missionaries against the elder ones. They are properly speaking only questions, which the younger Brethren have laid before the Berlin Committee, namely :-

Why is there no mention made in the English report of the villages which are under the management of the Missionaries?

Why is it that the Berlin Committee know nothing about them?

Wherefore is this done behind our back?

How could the Mission Work be prosecuted in a better manner as in the internal administration of the Church and School many things were in a bad state?."

The bungalows owned in Ranchi by the Senior Brethren had been a stumbling block to the new Missionaries who had written to Berlin asking for information about their acquisition. Ansonge pronounced all these to be internal questions of mission policy with which he alone was competent to deal. He again reiterated his dissatisfaction at the manner in which Herzog had kept the Accounts -

"How is it possible that such an illiterate Brother who can write neither German nor English orthographically can keep such an extensive yearly account? It is clear that the elder Brethren have quite lost the art of keeping things together and have forgotten that the Mission Money bears the sign^{of} the Cross".

In submitting to Dr. Brandis the amounts paid out by the Curatorium for the education of the children belonging to Batsch and Herzog, Ansonge stated that the Association had conscientiously fulfilled this duty and that the Childrens Allowances compared favourably

with those of other Missionary Societies in Germany. According to the statement sent out by Uhden, the Treasurer, for the years 1861-1868 the Curatorium had paid Thalers 2,477 : 7 : 8 for Batsch's two children and from 1865-1868 Thalers 1025 : 10 : 0 for Herzog's two children who were boarded out with Gehling, a bookseller at Cottbus in Prussia. ⁽¹⁾

Ansorge described a second session during which he had reviewed the Mission Accounts with Batsch and Herzog -

"I have examined the Account Books of the Station and have found that a merchant - even if he had not a spark of Christian faith - would declare these Accounts confused and unfair. I have spent a whole day from morning to evening with F. Batsch and Herzog in going through the Accounts for 1867-1868. Brother Batsch can give me no proof for the income. However, about this point I will not express myself further."

The acquisition of private property by the Senior Brethren was condemned in his characteristic language -

"The possession of the houses so near the Mission Station is an offence to pious Englishmen (those who are not pious defend it) and for our Christians, as well as the heathen round the station. St. Paul would not eat meat if it offended his brother. Children and widows are cared for - wherefore this traffic in houses? The motive of the Brethren who are concerned herein is avarice only; and St. Paul says that this is the root of all evil".

Ansorge closed his letter with a rebuke to Dr. Brandis couched in the following terms :-

1. Approximately £375 at £47 per annum and £153 at £38 per annum respectively

"You have prejudice against those Brethren ^{who} you have enjoyed the confidence of the Curatorium whom you do not know at all and whom we cannot ignominiously subordinate to the Brother F. Batsch. The dear Brother Batsch shall be chairman of the Committee but not Pope of Chota Nagpur. I feel convinced that if you had my mission experience and if you saw matters on the spot you would certainly agree with me. You also cannot call white what is black".⁽¹⁾

In his last letter to Schroder, written from Ranchi following his return from Chaibassa on November 8th, Ansonge, who had succumbed to fever, gave notice that he had moved the date of the Conference forward to begin on Sunday November 15th. Once again he urged Schroder to be present.

During the seven weeks from September 23rd to November 8th 1868, in accordance with the wishes of the Curatorium in Berlin, Ansonge had carried out the Visitation of the four Mission Stations in Chota Nagpur at Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Purulia, and Chaibassa. For all his conscientiousness he had quite failed to restore harmony within the Mission and his conduct generally had been such that the English residents in Ranchi, amongst them Colonel Dalton, the Commissioner, and Colonel Davies, the Principal Assistant, had felt compelled to write to Dr. Brandis in Calcutta completely dissociating themselves from the Inspector's actions.

On October 26th 1868 Colonel Dalton wrote to Dr. Brandis in reply to the latter's request for a report of the state of the Mission. He described the two interviews which had taken place between Ansonge and himself, at the second of which, on October 9th, Colonel Davies had also been present. The proposals of the new Constitution had been discussed whereby Haerberlin and Jellinghaus

1. M.F. Letter of Ansonge to Dr. Brandis. October 24th 1868.

were to receive the sole charge of the Seminary which henceforth was to be completely separate from the management of the Mission, and secondly, the composition of the new Executive Committee on which Batsch would be out-voted by two votes to one in anything he proposed. Dalton had expressed his categorical disapproval of these proposals, to which Ansonge had replied that they would never consent to place talented University men in a subordinate position to such men as Frederick Batsch. Ansonge had again reverted to the question of the dismissal of the Catechists by Batsch, but when Dalton enquired whether he had ever intimated to Batsch that he wished to examine the Catechists, Ansonge replied - 'No - I did not - but Mr. Batsch should have consulted me'.

Dalton informed Brandis that the questions relating to the private property of the Brethren and the investigation into the Mission Accounts had been quietly dropped and that the matter of the Government villages was in process of being satisfactorily explained. Untold unnecessary scandal had meanwhile been caused by Ansonge himself who in conversation had repeatedly accused Batsch and Herzog of malversation and of neglecting the Mission work in order to engage in secular work for their own benefit.

Dalton's most ominous comment was as follows :-

"How can Mr. Batsch be expected to work with men who have so cruelly and unjustifiably aspersed him? I think the best arrangement that could be made would be to establish the malcontents at Hazaribagh and Chaibassa and leave here only those who were prepared to act in harmony with our estimable friend. If Mr. Batsch and his friends were driven out of the Berlin Committee's service, they would not be driven out of the Mission, for I believe that the Congregation would generally go with them and they would have the sympathy of the

Officers of the Commission. But such disintegration would be a terrible calamity."⁽¹⁾

In a letter to Dr. Brandis dated November 1st 1868 Colonel Davies explained the full circumstances in which he had discussed and criticised the state of the Mission with Ansoerge. He added his own comment on Haerberlin's appointment as Treasurer -

"The real truth appears to be that there is a desire to place Mr. Haerberlin as virtual head of the Mission; if this is attempted, there must be a rupture and sad will be the result I fear".

Davies also referred to two recent court cases in which owing to their inexperience the junior Missionaries had received a sharp rebuke from the Magistrates for interfering in land disputes and supporting agitators.

"It is well known to us residents that the fault rests in a great measure with the younger Brethren who are impatient of control and think they know better than the older ones. I had hoped great things from the advent of Pastor Ansoerge but my first interview with him quite undeceived me and I found that he was not the man to promote harmony; and such I find to be the case. He has come out prepared to support the younger men against the older."⁽²⁾

Far from creating harmony in the Mission, Ansoerge had irreparably widened the breach between the two parties owing to his inveterate prejudice against Batsch and Herzog and his unconscionable championing of Haerberlin, Jellinghaus and Nottrott for their superior academic attainments. Dr. Büchsel's parting words - 'Dear Brother Ansoerge follow your conscience and do not hush any thing up' had produced calamitous results for which Ansoerge was solely to blame.

1. M.F. Letter of Colonel Dalton to Dr. Brandis. October 26th 1868.
2. M.F. Letter of Colonel Davies to Dr. Brandis. November 1st 1868.

The Mission Conference held at Ranchi, November 18th-22nd, 1868.

There were 18 German Brethren engaged in Gossner's Mission to the Kols at the time of the crisis of 1868. No accurate records exist of the number of unmarried Sisters, but in 1865 Prochnow's daughter Maria who had come out to marry Paul Struve was working in the Orphanage at Hazaribagh, and Antonie Friedemann joined the mission in Purulia in November 1868. Of the Brothers, Frederick and Henry Batsch had given 25 and 22 years service to the Mission, Adolf Herzog had given 18 years, and Frederick Bohn 17 years. Frederick Batsch was the sole survivor of the four pioneer Brethren sent out by Gossner in 1844. The next senior missionary in terms of service was Hermann Onasch who had been at Hazaribagh and Purulia 7 years; David Didlaukies and Frederick Krüger had 5 years service; George Pohlenz, August Lorbeer and Karl Kemphenkel 4 years service; Theodore Jellinghaus and Henry Uffman 3 years service; Karl Nottrott and Charles Haerberlin 1 year's service, and two new missionaries, Wilhelm Voss and Ferdinand Hahn had arrived in 1868. There was thus a disparity of over 20 years service in the Mission between Frederick Batsch and Charles Haerberlin, the respective leaders of the two parties.

In his letter of October 24th 1868 Ansorge had sent word to Schroder in Calcutta announcing that he had changed the date of the Mission Conference from Sunday November 22nd to Sunday November 15th. He had repeatedly requested that Schroder should be present, but when on the 15th Schroder had not yet reached Ranchi, Ansorge commenced the Conference without him.

By a supreme act of tactlessness Ansoerge decided to immediately introduce the new Constitution. He opened the Conference and insisted that, as a preliminary, all the Missionaries present should sign the Constitution as an act of loyalty to the Curatorium. (1)

The four Senior Brethren, Frederick and Henry Batsch, Bohn and Herzog refused to sign the Constitution until they had been officially informed of the charges brought against them by the younger missionaries. Ansoerge declined to allow this, and since neither party would give way, the Conference came to an abrupt end. This stale-mate continued until Schroder and Atkinson arrived in Ranchi when the Conference re-assembled on Wednesday November 18th. Ansoerge finally agreed to have the charges investigated. (2)

Since Ansoerge had persistently refused to disclose the nature of the complaints received by the Curatorium, this was the first occasion on which the Senior Brethren had been informed of the charges brought against them in Berlin. There were 12 charges as follows :-

1. The closing sentences of the Constitution read as follows:-
"Two copies of this Constitution shall be sent to each Brother; one of them shall be sent back to the Curatorium with a notice of information duly signed. If anyone refuses to accept the Constitution, the Curatorium considers this an act of dissociation from the Association.
Appendix 1. Constitution of 1868. Clause 33. P. xxviii
2. A full report of the Conference which lasted from November 18th to 22nd 1868 was compiled by Schroder and Atkinson and subsequently printed with Appendices containing the correspondence which had passed between Ansoerge and the Auxiliary Committee in Calcutta, F. Batsch's letters to Schroder and Dr. Brandis, Dalton and Davies' letters to Dr. Brandis, the Appeal of the Ranchi Residents Committee to the Curatorium, and the Calcutta Auxiliary's letter to the Berlin Auxiliary.

1. That the Accounts were in confusion and that there seemed to be no sufficient reason for the great increase in the expenditure on account of the School.
2. That the word 'sundries' should not have been used in the Accounts Book.
3. That Mr. Herzog had neglected to enter in his Cash Book a sum of money which should have been paid by the Missionaries for the use of the Mission oxen when ploughing their field, called the Tewari field, and also that Mr. Herzog had stated that this payment was included in a certain entry in the Cash Book, which item did not contain it.
4. That Mr. Batsch had forgotten to enter a sum of Rs.50 received by him from Government for the village schools.
5. That the Missionaries had used for their own tables the produce of some coffee trees grown in the Mission Garden.
6. That information about external matters had been, in many cases, withheld from the younger Missionaries; that particularly the farming of certain villages had not been brought before the Missionaries generally.
7. That private property of the elder Missionaries and property of the Mission had been mixed up.
8. That some of the European residents in Ranchi had spoken to the younger Missionaries about the commercial speculations of the elder Brethren.
9. That the Missionaries had evinced a want of discretion in concerning themselves with zemindary matters, and that they had employed in connection with these, a native convert named Matthew, thereby exposing him to temptation.

10. That some female servants of the Missionaries were fed from the School Kitchen.
11. That the Carpenter's Account was in disorder.
12. That the position of the younger Missionaries had been a very precarious one in as much as it sufficed to have incurred the displeasure of the Elder Brethren to be in constant danger of being sent out of the Mission. ⁽¹⁾

In order to investigate these charges a Commission of five Members was appointed consisting of Ansonge, Nottrott, Onasch, Harry Batsch and Schroder.

The Commission reported as follows :-

Charges 1 and 2. A thorough investigation of the Mission Accounts was commenced which included two entries taken at random for the months of January 1868 and April 1867. The School Accounts for the years 1863-1867 were examined and compared; the result was stated as follows :-

'With regard to Pastor Ansonge's statement that the Accounts were confused, we are in a position to state that after having examined them carefully going as far back as 1863, so far from being confused and needing excuse, they have been kept in a simple clear and comprehensive system most creditable to Mr. Herzog, a system which has received no alteration since 1863'.

Charge 3. The Commission by three votes to two exonerated Herzog in his management of the Tewari field. Upon which Ansonge exclaimed - 'You are trying to excuse him but he cannot be excused; nothing but the blood of Jesus Christ will ever cleanse him'.

Charge 4. The omission of Rs.50 in the School Account was considered to be an oversight which would have been automatically corrected when making up the Ledgers at the end of the year.

Charge 5. A coffee plantation, commenced by the Pioneers for their own use, had been retained in the Missionaries' vegetable garden, but latterly only four beds of coffee trees were cultivated. The question at issue concerned the amount of coffee to be shared among the Missionary households in Ranchi. Only those families who helped maintain the vegetable garden received a portion of the coffee.

Charges 6, 7 & 8. The question of the Government villages and of the Brethren's private property in Ranchi was brought before the Conference and after a full discussion both matters were left open.

Charges 9, 10 & 11. A satisfactory account was given regarding Herzog's dealing with the Mission servants.

Charge 12. Jellinghaus' charge that the younger Missionaries had been in real danger of being dismissed from the Mission by Frederick Batsch was gone into and subsequently disallowed since it had been in the nature of a remark passed incidentally. Since 1861 when Batsch had been appointed Senior Missionary at Ranchi only four of the Brethren had left the mission.

At the close of the Conference session held on Saturday November 21st it had become apparent in the course of the enquiry that the persistent hostility of Anson to Batsch and Herzog had left them no alternative but to resign from the Mission. At no point in the enquiry were either apologies offered by the younger Missionaries for their conduct in writing to the Curatorium in Berlin, nor were any of the damaging statements made by Anson reflecting on the honour and integrity of the Senior Brethren withdrawn.

Schroder and Atkinson made a preliminary report of their findings in the following terms :-

"At a Conference which assembled last week to enquire into the state of the mission and into the conduct of the older missionaries the charges which were brought against the Rev. F. Batsch and Herzog were found to be unfounded and frivolous; the accounts of the Mission were found perfectly clear, proving that all the money received for the Mission was used for the Mission.

At the same time the way in which the enquiry was conducted by the Attorney of the Berlin Committee, the Rev. Mr. Anson, showed that he had made up his mind, before the Conference commenced, that the elder Missionaries were wrong. His conduct and bearing during the enquiry were calculated to destroy the respect due to Messrs. Batsch and Herzog by the younger Missionaries and made it clear that while Mr. Anson remained Secretary and Attorney for the Berlin Committee it would be impossible for Messrs. Batsch and Herzog to continue in the Mission."

On Saturday, November 21st, Schroder and Atkinson addressed a circular letter to the Ranchi residents inquiring whether they felt confidence in the two senior Brethren who had been unjustly accused. The twelve British Civil and Military Officers

unanimously supported the two Brethren. During Sunday, November 22nd, Schroder repeatedly urged Batsch and Herzog to sign the Constitution, but to no avail; On Monday, November 23rd, the two Brethren tendered their resignation to Ansoerge, handed over the whole of the Mission property to him and left the Mission. They were shortly afterwards followed by Henry Batsch, Bohn, Pohlenz and Krüger.

The Missionary Conference had ended in complete disunion despite the efforts of Schroder and Atkinson to try and reconcile Ansoerge and the Senior Brethren. Gossner's Mission to the Kole was on the verge of a second major crisis equally as serious as the disruption of the Mission at the time of the Indian Mutiny in 1857. The two parties of Missionaries meanwhile remained in Ranchi awaiting the answer to the reports and appeals which had been submitted to the Curatorium in Berlin.

8.

BISHOP MILMAN RECEIVES THE SENIOR MISSIONARIES INTO
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. JANUARY - APRIL, 1869.

THE CONTROVERSY IN THE PRESS. APRIL - OCTOBER, 1869.

In seeking to understand the crisis which had overtaken Gossner's Mission to the Kols a comparison with the work of the German Missionaries engaged by the Church Missionary Society in Bengal will be of value.

In 1838 a mass movement towards Christianity commenced in the Krishnagar district of Bengal, north of Calcutta, when a group of 55 villages with their total population requested to be received into the Church of England. The total number of converts subsequently baptised exceeded 3,000. Writing in 1899, Eugene Stock, the Editorial Secretary of C.M.S., assessed the work of the German Missionaries in Krishnagar as follows :-

"It is clear that the German Missionaries who took part, such as Deer, Kruckenbergh, Lincke and Blumhardt had not learned the importance of teaching the native church its first lessons in self-support, self-administration and self-extension. Not that they are to be blamed for this more than others. Scarcely anyone at that time at home or abroad had really grasped that great principle; and in North India especially the patriarchal system which suited the genius of the German Brethren making each Missionary the 'Ma-Bap' (mother and father) of his people was, kind as it seemed, a real obstacle to the healthy independent growth of the Church."⁽¹⁾

The patriarchal system of missions which, in Stock's phrase, so admirably 'suited the genius of the German Brethren' had not only been established by the German missionaries engaged by the C.M.S. in Bengal. Emil Schatz and the Gossner Brethren had founded the Mission to the Kols of Chota Nagpur on Gossner's principles that the Brethren were one family under the care and supervision of one Director. In the 'Rules and Regulations for the Brethren

1. E. Stock. History of the Church Missionary Society,
Vol. 1 p.316.

and Sisters' drawn up in 1848 Gossner had made provision for a Mission Director or Father who would supervise the work of the Mission and to whom all the different house congregations and mission families were subject.

"Being a mission-family and a house congregation you must have a Superior or Director or house- and-family Father to whom all Brethren and Sisters are subject in charity, and for the present time this shall be Brother Schatz who is Superior of the whole Mission and especially of the station at Bethesda. For Domba you shall appoint a superior who lives there and is subordinate to him (Schatz). The Director has to see to the strict observance of the rules and regulations of the mission families and the house-congregations. He has to reprimand those who are absent or do wrong and to nip dissensions in the bud or to settle them. He has all the rights and privileges of a family or house father. Should several stations be established and the district of the mission expand, a Conference of the helpers is to be founded in which the Director takes the chair."⁽¹⁾

Since his appointment in 1861 Frederick Batsch had fulfilled this role of Father or Director of the Mission and although Stock's designation 'patriarch' had not been used, it exactly described Batsch's status and relationship towards his fellow missionaries in Chota Nagpur and towards the Curatorium in Berlin. In the crisis which had overtaken the missionaries in Ranchi, Frederick Batsch's status as Director or Patriarch had been assailed and at the Missionary Conference held in November 1868 his monarchical rule of the Kols Mission had been challenged by Ansoerge and the younger Brethren. Owing to the intransigent attitude of the Mission Inspector, and in spite of being cleared of the charges

brought against him, Batsch had been unseated and deposed owing to his unwillingness to sign the new Constitution. The conduct of Ansorge and the methods he had adopted when making his Visitation and introducing the Constitution had been reprehensible in the extreme but nothing could disguise the fact that in the battle for the control of the Mission which had been joined between Ansorge and Batsch, the Inspector, as the official representative of the Curatorium in Berlin, had emerged as the victor. When the enquiry into the charges brought against Batsch and Herzog had been closed, the crucial issue of signing the Constitution finally proved the point that the patriarchal rule of Batsch was at an end. The three-man Executive, intended to replace the old type of patriarchal government, signified that the independent days of the pioneers were over and that the regulations and authoritarian rule of the Curatorium in Berlin were to control the life of the Mission in the future. Owing to his obdurate character Ansorge had exacerbated the strained relations between Batsch and the younger missionaries, but in principle both he and the young pastors were united in their desire for a reform of the Mission aimed at limiting Batsch's power and prerogatives.

The Curatorium had deliberately intended that by means of the Constitution the independent attitude of the Senior Brethren in Ranchi should be disciplined and curtailed. In the Manifesto published in the 'Biene' after the secession had taken place the Curatorium gave as one of their reasons for introducing the new Constitution -

"By and large the older missionaries had assumed a position in which they laid claim to and manifested an undue independence, the reason being that under the indulgent rule of the Curatorium they were abandoned to themselves, lifted

up and encouraged by extraordinary success in their work and by the admiration that was allotted to them in India and Europe. It was obvious that they were trying to safeguard a sort of undivided sovereignty in the heart of the Kols mission. Their intention was to keep away more able colleagues who could affect their position."

Instances of the Elder Brethren's independent attitude were cited in the Manifesto and particular prominence was given to the crisis of 1861 when the Brethren had resisted the appointment of Sternberg to the Senior position in Ranchi; Pastor Struve's transfer from Ranchi to Chabassa was instanced as an indication that the Ranchi Brethren were jealous of more educated men. The question had finally become acute when Batsch had threatened to withdraw from the Mission if the younger missionaries were not transferred.⁽¹⁾ The Curatorium were convinced that in providing more educated workers for the Mission to the Kols they were serving the Mission's best interest and they regarded the new Constitution as a safeguard for their new missionaries. It was in compliance with this intention of the Curatorium that Anson had been commissioned to introduce the Constitution and although by his maladroit and vindictive conduct he had caused the secession of the Senior Brethren, he remained adamant that conformity to his instructions from Berlin was the only basis upon which the Elder Brethren could be received back.

To the contemporary observers of the quarrel, both in Ranchi and in Calcutta, the effect of Anson's actions had been to enlist immediate sympathy for Batsch and the evicted Brethren. The close relationship of Batsch to the Christian Kols (designated by Stock as 'Ma-Bap' Father and Mother') was equally clear and following the return of Schroder and Atkinson to Calcutta, the

1. Biene 1869. p.26.

English residents in Ranchi drafted an Address to the Curatorium in support of the Brethren's Appeal. Dated November 1868, they described Batsch's status in the following terms :-

"In connection with this new constitution there is one point which we wish strongly to urge on you, viz. that Mr. F. Batsch is so undoubtedly Head of the Kol Church and regarded and acknowledged as such by all natives that no mission organisation can work well in Chota Nagpur which in any way tends to lessen his influence in matters of Church or School discipline and economy".

The close relationship binding Batsch to the native congregation was further enlarged upon :-

"We know that if not upheld by you, Mr. Batsch though not leaving the native congregation will leave the Mission belonging to your Society, and that the bulk of the congregation at first and the whole of it ultimately will follow him. There will, therefore, unless Mr. Batsch is held up by you, be temporarily two churches in Chota Nagpur and this we know cannot last; and we are convinced that the action taken by the younger Brethren and Mr. Anson, if approved by you, must result in the new mission formed under Mr. Batsch entirely superseding that now supported by your Society."⁽¹⁾

The Inspector by his conduct had so outraged the feelings of the Senior Brethren, the English residents in Ranchi and the members of the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee that at this stage no one doubted that the Appeal of the Senior Brethren to the Curatorium in Berlin would obtain a more just and favourable decision.

1. M.F. Letter of Ranchi Residents to Curatorium. November 30th 1868. Clauses 16, 19.

In Ranchi the Commission appointed to examine the charges brought against the two Brethren exonerated them, but after the Conference had closed Ansorge refused to reinstate Batsch and Herzog on the grounds that he was not completely satisfied regarding the rights of their case. On Saturday, November 28th, Dalton received word from Hermann Onasch that there was still a chance of continuing the negotiations. Captain Money and Mr. Hanlock arranged a meeting with Ansorge and offered him a compromise solution worked out by the residents. Ansorge, however, refused to re-open the question and observed that the residents 'apparently composed a Curatorium and gave him orders to disobey his instructions from Berlin'.⁽¹⁾

Schroder and Atkinson reached Calcutta on November 28th and the following day Dalton wrote to Schroder describing the events of the first Sunday following the secession -

"Mr. Batsch held the service this morning in a tent. My niece and I went; Captain Money was also there. There were present about 300 native Christians including all the Catechists, the Teachers, many Elders and all the schoolboys and girls. Mr. Batsch addressed his congregation after the sermon on the subject of the secession and they all listened with expressions that indicated great interest in it and deep sympathies with him. I think you should communicate this to the Berlin Committee at once. It clearly proves how fatal to their interests have been all Mr. Ansorge's proceedings."⁽²⁾

The Calcutta Auxiliary through its Chairman, Mr. W.T. Bacon, wrote to the Berlin Auxiliary on December 8th 1868 enclosing the Address from the Ranchi Residents Committee. Bacon informed the Berlin

1. M.F. Letter of Dalton to Schroder. November 29th 1868
2. Ibid.

Secretary that the Report of the Conference compiled by Schroder and Atkinson was in the process of being drafted and that meanwhile the Auxiliary were supporting the Senior Brethren. He requested the Curatorium to suspend judgment on the Appeal of the Senior Brothers until this report was in their hands.

In Ranchi, Frederick Batsch, Bohn and Herzog remained with their families living together in a rented bungalow; Henry Batsch and Pohlenz returned to Hazaribagh and Krüger to Chaibassa. The generous collection of the local Residents Committee provided the funds which enabled the three brethren in Ranchi and Krüger in Chaibassa to continue their work. A temporary chapel was erected for Sunday services, but the 21 catechists and 5 teachers with 70 boys and 40 girls from the schools were all without proper accommodation. The weather, however, was dry and store-rooms and an old stable were used as temporary shelters.

Frederick Bohn spent the whole of December in the district meeting the congregations; he returned to Ranchi in January after a tour of seven weeks during which time he visited over ninety villages. The younger Brethren meanwhile had been joined by a group of leaders in the land-agitation dispute who had been excommunicated in 1865. In December, Anson left Ranchi to visit Børreson and Skrefsrud at Bethesda, the mission station they had founded in the Santal Parganas, hoping to win them back to the Mission to the Kols. He was so impressed with their success, however, that he declined to press the matter any further. ⁽¹⁾

Thus in the closing weeks of 1868 the Senior Brethren found themselves re-established in their work in Ranchi owing to the loyal support of the Ranchi residents and the continued liaison with the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee. The leaders of the

native Christian congregation in Ranchi and the surrounding area had also joined them and although under great physical difficulties the life of the Mission had been maintained. Their future and the future of Gossner's Mission to the Kols rested in the hands of the Curatorium in Berlin.

Bishop Milman of Calcutta receives the Senior Brethren into the
Church of England. January - April 1869.

The keen interest of the Ranchi residents in the crisis which had overtaken Gossner's Mission to the Kols was exemplified by the attitude of Colonel Edward Dalton, the Commissioner of the Chota Nagpur Division. ⁽¹⁾ Throughout the period of Pastor Ansoerge's Visitation of the Mission Dalton had uncompromisingly supported the part of the Senior Brethren. He had been appointed Commissioner in 1857, the year of the Indian Mutiny, and from his first contact with the Mission had given the Brethren his support and encouragement. The controversial acquisition of the government villages had been only one instance of the Commissioner's genuine concern to help the Brethren and in this he was supported by his Principal Assistant, the Judiciary Commissioner, Colonel J.S. Davies, who had helped the Brethren obtain the grants from the Government Relief Fund following the restoration of peace in Chota Nagpur in 1858. In the crisis of 1864 when the Curatorium had been unable either to pay the salaries of the Brethren or send the grants for the schools it was Dalton who had invited Bishop Cotton to make a visitation of the Mission, and, following the Bishop's return to Calcutta, he had addressed to him the appeal for English missionaries to commence work in Chaibassa.

1. For Colonel Dalton see Appendix 2 No. 4 p.xliv.

Note: In addition to the Commissioner and Colonel Davies the English residents in Ranchi at the time of the Visitation of Inspector Ansoerge comprised the following:- Deputy Commissioner Captain R. Money, Superintendent R.W. King of the Police, Assistant Commissioner J. Dalton, and the officers of the 10th Regiment of Madras Native Infantry stationed in the cantonment at Doranda - Colonel W.J. Tweedy, Major J.T. Clarke, Captains G. Rowlandson and F. Beeching, Lieutenant C.M. Russell and the Medical Officer to the Regiment, Dr. Thomas Crowdan. The Ranchi civilians included Mr. H. Stainforth, a retired officer of the Indian Civil Service, Mr. Hanlock and Mr. Peppy.

The Commissioner was now to play a decisive role in the closing events connected with Gossner's Mission to the Kols. It was undoubtedly owing to his initiative that the mission was offered to the Church of England, thus fulfilling Gossner's request to the C.M.S. in 1857, and affording a solution to the impasse which had been reached in Ranchi between the Senior Brethren and Inspector Anson.

The first intimation of Colonel Dalton's proposals was contained in a letter from the Reverend John Cave-Browne,⁽¹⁾ acting Secretary of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the S.P.G., to the Society in London, dated January 5th 1869. Cave-Browne had been the Government Chaplain from 1851 to 1859 at Wazirabad and Subatha in the Punjab; following a period of leave he returned to Calcutta in 1864 and received the appointment as Chaplain at Kidderpore. In March 1868 he consented to act as Secretary to the Calcutta Diocesan Corresponding Committee of the S.P.G. 'from the deep interest I have for the last thirty years felt for this Society' as well as from the great regard he had for the Secretary of the Committee, the Reverend Frederick Ross Vallings. It was in order to enable Vallings to return to England for furlough that Cave-Browne consented to act as his deputy and when in 1869 Vallings, owing to ill health, was unable to return, Cave-Browne agreed to continue as Secretary 'on condition of my continuing to draw the Rs.212 (£21.5.0.) per month according to the vote of the Calcutta Committee'.⁽²⁾ Since an arrangement for the

1. John Cave-Browne, born 1818. Wadham College, Oxford B.A.1840: M.A. 1843. Deacon 1841, Priest 1842. Bath and Wells. Curate Burtle, Bridgewater 1841-42, St. Mary's Lambeth 1842-51. Chaplain Hon. East India Company and Government Chaplain 1851-72. (With Punjab Column, Medal 1857). Curate St. James, Bermondsey 1870-72. Rector Brasted, Sevenoaks, 1872-75. Vicar Detling, Maidstone, 1875-1898.
2. S.P.G. Archives D. Calcutta 1865-1871. Letter of Cave-Browne to Secretary, January 5th 1869.

Reverend Alfred Radford Simmonds, the Society's Secretary in Madras, to come and relieve him proved impossible, Cave-Browne continued as Secretary until Vallings returned to India in 1871.

In a postscript to a letter he had just completed to the Reverend W.T. Bullock, Secretary of the Society in London, Cave-Browne stated :-

"I have just had a long conversation with the Bishop, the substance of which he wishes to communicate to you. You will doubtless remember in what strong terms Bishop Cotton (I think about 1864 or '65) reported the pleasure he had derived during a visit to a German Mission in Chota Nagpur - Ranchi is the headquarters of the mission. The Commissioner of the Division, Colonel Dalton, has just been to Calcutta and reported that the noble mission is in great danger of being sacrificed to the rivalry or discord among its leading missionaries. The great points of difference between the old and the new missionaries have been referred to the Parent Committee in Berlin and it is anticipated that the rupture will result in abandonment of the mission altogether.

Colonel Dalton, a most earnest man and a 'Rara Avis' among Indian officials just now, is a very warm friend of the missionary cause and most anxious to avert the downfall of a mission which has above 11,000 converts and is noted as one of the most interesting in India.

He is very desirous that should the mission be given up by the Berlin Society, S.P.G. should be ready to take charge of it. I write at once, at the Bishop's request, to ask if the Society would consent to be responsible for the salaries of two missionaries at probably under Rs.300 per month. The local subscriptions and public interest would meet all

incidental expenses and indeed would probably do more. So Rs.300 per month would be probably the utmost the Society would be called upon to provide, and that most probably only for a time.

The Bishop will himself be at Ranchi in the middle of March so an early reply would catch him here on his way. Need I press upon the Society the grand opening here presenting itself? It is a mission already formed ministering to 11,000 and more who may if neglected relapse into aboriginal ignorance and superstition".⁽¹⁾

After an interval of 29 years history appeared to be repeating itself. In March 1840 Major Ouseley, the Agent to the Governor General in the South West Frontier Agency, had appealed to Bishop Wilson of Calcutta to send English Missionaries to evangelise the aboriginal tribes in the Colehan. The Bishop had forwarded the appeal to the Society for the Propagation of The Gospel in London who promised their support for any measures the Bishop deemed suitable. Now in 1869 Colonel Dalton, the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, had made a personal appeal to Bishop Wilson's successor in the See of Calcutta, Bishop Robert Milman, to come and save Gossner's Mission to the Kols.

Already prior to Dalton's visit, at the end of 1868, the Bishop had received an appeal from the Ranchi residents, the Elder Brethren and the Christian converts requesting him to take over the Mission at once and to connect it with one of the Church of England Missionary Societies. Milman positively refused to do this until the Appeal of the Senior Brethren had been received from Berlin.⁽²⁾

1. S.P.G. Archives. Calcutta. Letters Vol. 5 No. 295
2. India Office Tract 158. The Indian Church Gazette. April 10th 1869.

On January 29th 1869 the Bishop wrote personally to the Secretary of the S.P.G. giving his own comment on the Commissioner's proposal :-

"Cave-Browne was to write to you about the Lutheran Ranchi Mission. There is a desire apparently that one of our Societies should undertake it as it has outgrown the Berlin Committee which does not indeed work well with the Missionaries.

I had at first thought of C.M.S. as I know how short C.M.S. is, but as Cave-Browne wished to communicate with you, I gave him directions to write home, holding myself meanwhile free to act as I think best. The Ministers are, I hear from Colonel Dalton our Commissioner there, ready and desirous for English Orders. I do not know what pecuniary terms they propose which is, I conclude, an important question."⁽¹⁾

The Bishop further informed the Society that he was planning a visit to Ranchi on March 12th by which time the reply to the Appeal of the Senior Missionaries would have been received from Berlin.

Cave-Browne's letter was received in London on February 1st 1869 and after a meeting of the Committee, on February 12th a reply was duly despatched :-

"Our Committee could not but feel a strong wish to enter on the work at Chota Nagpur if an opportunity should be presented. At present we have no funds here from which even the moderate grant suggested by you could be made.

If the contingency which you should expect should actually occur and the Mission be offered to us, the Committee will at least endeavour to raise a special fund in England for its support."⁽¹⁾

1. S.P.G. Archives Vol. 2 Calcutta Letters sent No. 96.

Note: The S.P.G. had been at work in Bengal since 1819 when Archbishop Sutton, the President of S.P.G. had urged the Society to co-operate with Bishop Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta. The Society responded by helping to sponsor the founding of Bishop's College Calcutta in co-operation with the C.M.S. and the S.P.C.K. In South India the Society received the old Danish Missions from the S.P.C.K. in 1825 and in February 1826 Bishop Heber was able to constitute a local Committee for S.P.G. in Calcutta. Work in the city was centred in Howrah (1825/26) Cossipore (1823) and the Cathedral Mission (1874) with out stations at Tollygunge (1823) and the Sunderbuns (1829). From 1824-1827 Thomas Christian had worked amongst the aboriginals at Bhagalpur; at Chinsurah and Midnapore in Orissa the Society had been able to work only intermittently. Further afield there were Stations at Roorkee (1861), Cawnpore (1833) and Delhi (1854), Patna (1860) Tezpur in Assam (1862) and at Rangoon and Moulmein in Burma (1859).

In 1868 there were 22 Missionaries and 6 Indian clergy on the Society's roll for North India and Burma but nowhere had the Missions succeeded in winning converts or establishing an indigenous Christian community which could bear comparison with the success of the Gossner Brethren among the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur.

In his letter of January 29th 1869 to the S.P.G. in London Bishop Milman had quoted Dalton as saying that the Ranchi Brethren 'were ready and desirous for English Orders'. Following the submission of their Appeal to the Curatorium in Berlin the Senior Brethren had already begun discussions on the alternatives remaining to them should their Appeal be rejected. Batsch's conversation with Bishop Cotton was already being considered as a possible solution to their predicament.⁽¹⁾ According to Milman's biographer an appeal for help from the Ranchi Missionaries had been addressed to the Bishop during his stay at Murree the previous year when from June to August 1868 he had rested in the Hills during his tour of the Punjab.⁽²⁾ After Dalton had represented to him in Calcutta the events of Pastor Anson's Visitation and its consequences Milman had agreed to notify S.P.G. of the possible transfer of the Mission. He meanwhile awaited the decision of the Curatorium in answer to the Appeal of the Senior Brethren.

1. See page 229.

2. F.M. Milman. Memoir of the Rt. Rev. Robert Milman D.D. p.69.

The Reply of the Curatorium to the Appeal of the Senior Missionaries. January 26th 1869.

The reply of the Curatorium to the Appeal of the Senior Brethren against Pastor Ansoerge's conduct of the Visitation was printed in Berlin, dated January 26th 1869,⁽¹⁾ and copies were sent through the agency of the Berlin Auxiliary Committee to the Missionaries concerned - Frederick and Henry Batsch, Herzog, Bohn, Pohlenz and Krüger, and to the Auxiliary Committee in Calcutta. The Curatorium had received Ansoerge's official report of the Visitation, Schroder's letter of December 8th 1868 enclosing the Address of the Ranchi Residents Committee, and an abstract of correspondence between Schroder and Dr. Brandis written on December 14th 1868. Owing to the vagaries of the mail service the official report of the Conference at Ranchi drawn up by Schroder and Atkinson was delayed and finally reached Berlin on March 7th 1869.

The Curatorium considered the Appeal of the six Missionaries under four heads, viz:

1. The behaviour of the Senior Missionaries.
2. The Defence of the same.
3. The Proposals put forward to heal the division.
4. The result of the Visitation itself.

1. The behaviour of the Senior Brethren.

In the opening paragraph the Curatorium condemned the disobedience of the Senior Brethren and reproached them for their attitude towards Ansoerge :-

1. S.P.G. Archives D. Calcutta 1865 to 1871.

"Regarding your attitude to the Visitation of the Kols Mission ordered by us you definitely did not heed our express advice to meet Inspector Pastor Ansoerge with respect, love, and trust, and to promote as much as in you lies the purpose of the Visitation which had become necessary. On the contrary you received the Inspector with unmistakable coolness and mistrust and you continued in this attitude all the time."

The Curatorium had taken special note of eight points of dispute which had been reported to them by Ansoerge :-

1. The Account Books
2. The dismissal of the Catechists by F. Batsch.
3. Reproaching Ansoerge when he was ill.
4. The refusal to accept the Constitution.
5. Leaving the Conference.
6. Refusing to obey Ansoerge.
7. Inciting the students to leave the schools.
8. Erecting a counter mission.

These several acts were regarded as instances of the fundamental disobedience of the Brethren to the wishes of the Curatorium; and this in turn recalled the former aggressive behaviour of the Senior Brethren in 1861 when they had opposed the wishes of the Curatorium by refusing to receive Sternberg as the Senior of the Kols Mission -

"Already in those days you showed a decided obstruction to the well-laid orders of the Committee so that unless the Committee had given way to you for the sake of peace, very likely at that time similar events would have taken place as we are experiencing now."

The Curatorium considered the Brethren guilty of gross disobedience to their wishes by showing disrespect to their Inspector, Pastor Ansoerge.

2. The Complaints of the Senior Missionaries.

The Complaint of the Senior Brethren that their honour had been injured was considered and answered as follows :-

Complaint 1. You have allegedly been insulted by false accusations.

Answer. Why then did you not welcome gladly the Visitation we had ordered? There was no other means available for thoroughly destroying all false views, doubts and suspicions.

Complaint 2. Why was the Constitution not shown to you for your comments before its introduction?

Answer. Under prevailing conditions this would have caused inevitable delay. We reserve to ourselves the right to introduce the Constitution; after its acceptance we offered you the opportunity to amend it later. Any demands from your side would have been given a fair hearing.

Complaint 3. The Constitution does not assign you a position corresponding to your merits.

Answer. We appointed F. Batsch President of the General Conference and Visitor of all the Stations in the Kols Mission. It is true the office of Treasurer was given to another Missionary but this was no reason for preventing Herzog from continuing to administer the property of the Mission in Ranchi.

Complaint 4. You complain of Inspector Ansoerge's conduct to you.

Answer. If you had received Ansoerge in a more friendly manner he would have reciprocated. You have brought this conduct upon yourselves.

The complaint of the Brethren was dismissed with the comment:-
'It is astonishing that such a subordinate point as the personal honour of some missionary workers should have driven you to such extreme steps and in such haste!'

3. The Proposals for healing the division.

The three proposals put forward by the Brethren as conditions for continuing their association with the Curatorium were as follows :-

1. The withdrawal of the Constitution.
2. The dismissal of Ansoerge as Mission Inspector.
3. The transfer of Jellinghaus and Nottrott.

In categorically refusing all three proposals the Curatorium touched the real heart of the crisis. Between the patriarchal rule of the Mission under Batsch and the direction of the Mission by the Curatorium there could be no compromise -

"We should also not hide from you that formal reasons do not permit us to make such concessions to you in this situation since the acceptance of your conditions would in fact mean that the leadership of the whole Kols Mission would be put in your hands and taken out of ours. The Lord God has instituted us properly as heirs of the Government of the Gossner Mission and we took over this responsibility. We are astounded that you could make these proposals after having refused your obedience to us and after having taken an aggressive position against us through the counter Mission".

4. The results of the Visitation.

The Curatorium took note of the following defects in the work and life of the Mission which had been reported to them by Ansonge :-

1. The unsatisfactory character of the Catechists and their lack of proper instruction; the failure to visit prisoners in the goals and to superintend the converts in the villages round about Ranchi.
2. Further information was requested on the following matters :-
The reasons for acquiring private property in Ranchi; the amount of compensation awarded by the British Government to the Mission at the time of the Mutiny; the acquisition of the Government villages and the particulars of the Native Church Fund.

The Curatorium placed the blame for the strained relations between the Ranchi Missionaries squarely on the shoulders of the Senior Brethren -

"Your whole attitude to all Brothers who were sent to you over a number of years gives the impression that efficient assistants were not welcome to you, for regularly you either opposed their entrance or you tried later to cause their transfer".

Only one passing reference was made to the Address of the Ranchi Residents Committee and Schroder's efforts to support the claims of the Senior Brethren :-

"All apologies, vindications and commendations of well-meaning and honourable persons who nevertheless are not in a position to look into the inner workings of the Mission, and into your conduct within the whole circle of your duties, cannot exonerate you".

Finally, in reverting to the Missionaries' act of disobedience the Curatorium passed its judgment -

"You yourselves have decided upon your relationship to us, the Gossner Committee, since you have verbally, in writing and in fact, refused obedience to the orders of our Inspector and ourselves. We must now consider the bond of official fellowship between ourselves as severed, and also all mutual and current obligations existing between us, all rights of an official nature extinguished. Rebellion and co-operation at the same time are of course incompatible. By refusing to render obedience, as has now happened, you have of course ceased to be Gossner Missionaries. It is alone through the Gossner Committee that you have so far possessed a Ministry including bread, protection and a congregation".

The Curatorium had considered the Appeal of the Senior Brethren, their past and present conduct and the state of the Mission in the light of Inspector Ansorge's Report. Although Schroder's full Report of the Ranchi Conference had not yet been received in Berlin, the attitude of the Curatorium to the Appeals of the Calcutta Auxiliary and the Residents Committee in Ranchi was sufficiently indicated :- In the eyes of the Curatorium they were not competent to judge the internal life of the Mission. In dismissing the Senior Missionaries the Curatorium had in mind their previous act of rebellion when in 1861 they had opposed the appointment of Sternberg. Unable to make a second concession, the Curatorium preferred to dissolve the connection between themselves and the rebels in Ranchi and fully supported their Inspector in his actions at the Conference held in November 1868. The Senior Brethren and their dependants in Germany were cut off from any further support and employment by the Gossner Mission. The Appeal to Berlin had been categorically rejected.

Bishop Milman's First Visit to Ranchi. March 16th & 17th 1869.

While the Curatorium had been engaged in considering the Appeal of the Senior Brethren the state of the Mission in Ranchi had become a matter of concern to all interested Missionaries in Bengal and during February 1869 a deputation consisting of Dr. Murray Mitchell, the Principal of the Free Church of Scotland Institute in Calcutta and the Revd. James Long, one of the senior Missionaries of the C.M.S. visited Ranchi on behalf of Bishop Milman to meet the Brethren and discuss alternatives for the future of the Mission. On their return to Calcutta they reported to the Bishop that although at first sight it had seemed possible for that part of the Mission centred in Hazaribagh to be offered to the Free Church of Scotland, the Senior Brethren and the converts were resolved on acting together and had stated a preference to join the Church of England as a body rather than split the Mission.

In the meantime Milman had also written to the Revd. Edwin Stuart, the Secretary of the C.M.S. in Bengal, consulting him over the Society taking the Mission in conjunction with their Mission to the Santals based on Bhagalpur. As on the two previous occasions in 1857 and 1864 the C.M.S. declined to accept responsibility for Gossner's Mission to the Kols. ⁽¹⁾

The way in which the majority of the Christian converts had come to join the Senior Brethren and reach a common mind over their future was one aspect of the crisis which Dalton and the residents in Ranchi had perceived might result from the secession of the older Missionaries but of which Ansorge and the Curatorium in Berlin as yet remained unaware. The Reverend Kushalmai Shital, the aboriginal Church historian in his 'History of the Church in Chota Nagpur', states that in the anxious days following the

1. India Office Tract 158. Indian Church Gazette. April 10th 1869.

resignation of the Senior Brethren the leaders of the Christian Community in and around Ranchi held their own meetings to discuss what they should do. The leader amongst the converts was a Rajput orphan from Bundelkhand who had been entrusted to the Brethren in Ranchi in 1851 at the age of ten. On August 20th 1856 Emil Schatz had baptized him Wilhelm Luther Daud Singh and, prior to his marriage, he had lived with the Brethren for eight years, taking responsibility for the work of the schools and evangelizing the neighbouring villages. Daud Singh was recognised generally as the leader of the Native Christians and at his suggestion a deputation of Christian leaders called on Dalton and asked for his advice regarding which party of Missionaries they should join. In reply Dalton quoted to them the letter which Gossner had written to the C.M.S. in 1857 and promised that for himself he would support Frederick Batsch and the Senior Brethren. The deputation retired and forthwith decided to support their old leaders, thus bringing the majority of the Christian congregations with them. The desire of the native Christians to join their leaders as one body in the Church of England stemmed from this meeting at which the Commissioner had given them the benefit of his influence and advice. ⁽¹⁾

Bishop Milman had deliberately delayed making any direct contact with the parties in Ranchi until the reply to the Senior Brethren's Appeal had been received from Berlin. Apart from giving prior notification to the S.P.G. of what might possibly occur he had hitherto acted through intermediaries - Cave-Browne, Long of the C.M.S. and Dr. Murray Mitchell. On March 11th 1869 the Bishop wrote to the Commissioner in Ranchi :-

"I am most anxious that a satisfactory arrangement should be made by which the Mission may become part of our own

Church. I believe that it would be for its true welfare and the welfare of the faith in general. Nevertheless the strict rules of Right must of course be observed and every opportunity be given to Mr. Ansonge to lay his reasons and his ideas before me. I have also asked the Secretaries of the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. to be present, or rather, understanding that Stuart⁽¹⁾ is coming I have requested Mr. Cave-Browne to accompany him. All that I can do for the real interest of the Mission I will do, and I trust God will guide and assist us in our deliberations."⁽²⁾

Milman had finally decided to visit Ranchi in order to enquire on the spot regarding the state of Gossner's Mission to the Kols. He and his party arrived early in the morning of Tuesday, March 16th, and stayed with Dalton at the Commissioner's bungalow. A deputation of 800 converts of all ages led by the Catechists and Readers came to meet the Bishop and presented him with an Address in Hindi. The Address contained a brief history of the Mission and included Gossner's dying wish that the congregation and Church in Chota Nagpur should be given to the Church Missionary Society. Following the account of the recent division in the Mission between the younger and the senior missionaries, the petitioners addressed the Bishop as follows :-

"Your humble Petitioners have no longer any desire to hold communion with them (the younger Missionaries) and they fervently pray that your Lordship may be graciously pleased, to receive your poor Petitioners with their Instructors into the Communion of the Church of England. Your Petitioners being loyal subjects of Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria and your Lordship being appointed by the Queen as Head of the Churches in this country, naturally look up to your Lordship

1. The Revd. Edwin Craig Stuart. Secretary of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S.
2. F.M. Milman. op.cit. p.97.

as their friend and protector. Were your Lordship to reject their prayer - where are they to seek for refuge? The English gentlemen at Ranchi and Dorandah have evinced their willingness to help your poor Petitioners who as their ryots desire to enter their church and to sever their connection with the Committee at Berlin to avoid future misunderstandings. Believing that your Lordship will accede to their prayer your Petitioners submit themselves to your Lordship in the hope that they may now be allowed to obey the commands of Jesus Christ in peace."⁽¹⁾

The Bishop received the Address and replied to the deputation that he must first consult the Local Committee of the Mission in Ranchi and the Auxiliary in Calcutta before giving them a definite answer. The native leaders however were so insistant that the Bishop finally consented to give them his reply on the following day. The native congregation were followed by the English residents who came in a body and presented the Bishop with a Memorial in which they stated their belief that the Senior Missionaries had suffered an injustice at the hands of the Curatorium. Hitherto they had been willing and able to support the Senior Missionaries from their private resources; for the future they considered that a new connection with England and the English Church was most desirable in order to promote the further spread of Christianity in Chota Nagpur and to dispel the bewilderment which had overcome the converts at seeing their venerable leaders dispossessed of the church, schools, and other buildings built with their own hands. The residents further pointed out the close connection which existed between the Brethren and their converts, a fact which the Curatorium had apparently failed to notice -

1. M.F. Petition of Native Converts to Bishop Milman.
March 16th 1869.

"This Society appears to overlook the fact that although its dictum may dissolve the Connection between itself and these few Missionaries it can in no way dissolve the connection between those Missionaries and their congregation - and the result has shown that although its authority has driven the Missionaries out of the Ranchi church buildings it has driven with them the bulk of the native Christians also".

The residents stated that the portion of the Church which remained with Frederick Batsch and the Senior Missionaries numbered about 7,000 converts and they stressed the wish of the Native Christians to associate themselves with the Church of England -

"They begin to realize that had they and their pastors belonged to the Church of England they could not have been treated as they have been, and that finding themselves at present without a shepherd, the wish has arisen among them to take refuge in the Church of England. This wish appears to us to be most natural, and we believe that the time has arrived when for many reasons, political and others, the Kol Church should become identified with the Church of England and that this step will be advantageous both to the spread of Christianity and the peace of the people." (1)

1. India Office Tract 158. Address of Ranchi Residents to Bishop Milman. March 16th 1869.

The Bishop gave the same answer to the residents, deferring his decision until the following day and then requested to meet the younger Missionaries. Three of the party - Jellinghaus, Haerberlin and Oscar Flex (the latter having returned to the Mission from Assam in February 1869) called on the Bishop in the course of the afternoon. Milman informed them of the sentiments expressed both by the native converts and the English residents and gave his opinion that an injustice had been done to the Senior Br-ethren who had been dismissed from the Mission.

He asked the deputation if they had any counter proposals to offer in order to guide him to a decision. The unexpected turn in events whereby the majority of the native converts had decided to join the Senior Brethren in requesting to be admitted into the Church of England had left the junior Missionaries at a loss. After a long silence they referred the Bishop to the Manifesto printed by the Curatorium in which the Appeal of the Senior Brethren had been rejected; they stated that they based the defence of their conduct on the approval of the Curatorium who had justified their action, and while regretting the evils of division, repeated the charges made at the Conference against the Senior Brethren. The younger Missionaries then asked the Bishop for his advice. He told them that as newcomers they had the whole of India before them as a field for their missionary labours and that they should withdraw from Chota Nagpur to avert the strife and division which would result if they remained. Before taking their leave the junior Missionaries presented the Bishop with a copy of the Manifesto so that he could study it at his leisure. Milman, who was a fine linguist, now had the opportunity to examine the document for the first time and after a close study of the position taken by the Curatorium he declared his decision to receive the Senior Brethren and their converts into the Church of England.

.On the following morning, Wednesday March 17th 1869, Batsch, Bohn and Herzog with an even larger deputation waited on the Bishop to hear his decision. An eye witness described the scene -

"The sight of the Bishop delivering his address to the native Christians was most impressive. He stood in a flower-girt veranda at Colonel Dalton's house where most of the residents were assembled. Below were hundreds of native Christians listening eagerly to every word as it fell from the Bishop's lips; beyond them was a fine teak avenue sloping down to the Ranchi lake which is studded with richly wooded islands surrounded by trees and backed by a high conical hill."

Milman read his reply to the converts in Hindi, stating that he had heard of Gossner's wish to offer the Mission to the C.M.S., and recalled that his predecessor, Bishop Cotton, had taken a great interest in the Mission. He continued :-

"It seems necessary and proper that I should make what arrangements I can and that I should think over a remedy which you and Colonel Dalton and others of my countrymen propose. It has become clear to me that your old Missionary Mr. Batsch is entirely without blame: he is not the cause of this sad quarrel. This is also clear that the Berlin Committee required that they (the Senior Missionaries) should confess that they had done wrong, and return to them, which is both unjustifiable and impossible. I am therefore happy to fulfil your and their desire and receive your Congregation and your Mission into the English Church."⁽¹⁾

1. India Office Tract. 158 Appendix B. Reply of Bishop Milman to Native Converts.

Milman warned his hearers of the hardships which this course would entail, chiefly on account of the lack of adequate buildings for the Mission. He declared that after making further arrangements in Calcutta with the S.P.G. Committee and the Auxiliary Committee he would return soon to fulfil their desire. This further cause for delay was not immediately apparent to the native congregation but after receiving a written statement from the Bishop that he would receive them into the Church they sang in Hindi 'Now thank we all our God' and departed satisfied with the outcome. They were followed by a deputation of about 60 members representing the party of the younger Missionaries who presented a petition to the Bishop requesting his influence in releasing a prisoner from goal and a further petition enlisting his support in the land-dispute question. The Bishop declined to interfere and referred the deputation to the Magistrates Court. After settling arrangements for his return to the satisfaction of Datsch and the Brethren the Bishop and his party left Ranchi on the same day and returned to Calcutta.

On March 23rd 1869 a report of the Bishop's visit to Ranchi was printed in the Calcutta newspaper 'The Englishman' which included the following uncomplimentary reference to Ansoerge and his activities :-

"It seems that for some long time many of the Kol Christians have contemplated joining the Church of England, from various motives, easy to understand and unnecessary to explain at this place. It is known that such a consummation was the earnest desire of the pious founder of the Mission. It needed but a spark to fire a train which had already been laid. This spark, in the shape of a flaming torch, was recently applied by a gentleman deputed from Berlin to investigate certain charges preferred by the younger members

of the Mission against the Seniors who had conducted its operations very nearly from their commencement. Of the untruthfulness of the charges, of their extremely trifling nature, and of the highly ludicrous manner in which the investigation was conducted by the Berlin delegate, there seems to be but one opinion among the old residents in Ranchi. The staunchest friends of the Mission are to a man on the side of the Elder Brethren and opposed to the pretensions of the young pastors sent out to strengthen the Mission."⁽¹⁾

This Report, written by "A friend from Ranchi", was the first communication to the national press of what hitherto had been a purely domestic question in the life of Gossner's Mission to the Kols. Following this publicity, the Bishop's action, the rights of the Senior Brethren and their treatment by Anson and the Curatorium became a controversial issue over which correspondents, first in India and later in Germany and England, took sides and wrote to the newspapers enlisting sympathy and support.

On March 25th at a meeting in the Bishop's palace the Calcutta Committee of S.P.C. received the Bishop's report of his visit to Ranchi. The Committee, supported by the resolution of the Standing Committee of the Society, passed in London on February 12th and telegraphed to the Bishop while he was at Ranchi, undertook responsibility for the Mission to the extent of Rs.5,000 per year. The Ranchi Residents Committee was requested to prepare an Appeal for publication, and, since the Society in England had already offered to launch a special fund for the Mission, the Secretary was asked to prepare a short history of the Mission setting out all the circumstances of the case for printing and circulation. Cave-Browne's report was subsequently printed in 'The Indian Church Gazette and Southern Cross' on April 10th 1869.⁽²⁾

1. The Englishman, Calcutta. March 23rd 1869.
2. S.P.C. Archives. D. Calcutta 1865-1871.

On March 30th 1869 Milman wrote a covering letter to the Secretary of S.P.G. in London which accompanied the Report of his visit prepared by Cave-Browne -

"I think its (the mission's) reception is universally approved out here and will I hope meet with the same approval at home. It is better for the responsibility to be laid entirely upon me where indeed it justly rests."⁽¹⁾

Milman had consulted Sir John Lawrence⁽²⁾, the Governor-General, and Sir William Grey⁽³⁾, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, both of whom, as more impartial judges than the members of the Missionary Societies involved, were likely to give him their unbiased opinions. Both officers, representing the highest civil authority in India and Bengal, gave the Bishop their approval.⁽⁴⁾ Milman had also met Mr. Schroder and Mr. Pilgram of the Calcutta Auxiliary who said that they heartily approved of and were thankful for the steps he was taking and promised their continued support in raising funds for the Mission. Supported by this consensus of responsible opinion, the Bishop fixed Saturday and Sunday April 17th and 18th 1869 as the date for his return to Ranchi and gave notice that he intended ordaining Frederick Batsch and Frederick Bohn to the Priesthood and Daud Luther Singh to the Diaconate, at the same time administering the rite of Confirmation to the lay members of the Mission and to the Native converts.

1. S.P.G. Archives D. Calcutta 1865-1871. letter No. 330.
2. John Laird Mair, first Baron Lawrence. 1811-1879. Chief Commissioner in the Punjab 1853. Governor General 1863-1869.
3. Sir William Grey. 1818-1878. Secretary to the Bank of Bengal 1851. Secretary to the Government of India 1859. Lieutenant Governor of Bengal 1867-1871.
4. Bishop Milman's charge 1871. Mission Life Vol.VII pt. 1 p.453.

The Reply of the Curatorium to the Report of the Conference
at Ranchi. April 5th 1869.

In Berlin on April 5th 1869 the Curatorium issued a printed reply⁽¹⁾ to the Report of the Conference held at Ranchi in November 1868 sent to them by the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee. In the lapse of time between replying to the Appeal of the Missionaries in January and receiving Schroder's Report in March, the Curatorium had found further reasons to justify their action in dismissing the six Brethren. They now stated their case in great detail referring to their reply of January 26th 1869, and pointing out discrepancies and omissions in the Conference Report.

After thanking Atkinson and Schroder for the trouble they had taken and regretting that the urgency of the situation in Ranchi had compelled them to act without waiting to receive the Report, the Curatorium addressed them as follows :-

"Wherein do our convictions differ?"

Under three heads the Curatorium stated their case :-

1. The orderly administration of the Mission.
2. The personal position of Frederick Batsch and his Associates.
3. The relationship of Frederick Batsch and his Associates to the Committee.

1. The Orderly Administration of the Mission.

The Curatorium maintained that the report of the Conference had failed to give any information regarding the following points :-

- i. The amount of compensation paid by the British Government to the Mission after the Mutiny and how it had been spent.

1. 'To Messrs. Schroder and Atkinson, until recently Members of the Auxiliary Committee of the Evangelical Gossner Mission amongst the Kols in Calcutta'.
S.P.G. Archives D. Calcutta 1865-1871.

- ii. The £1000 granted to the Mission by the C.M.S. in 1858 and 1860 and how it had been used.
- iii. The Native Church Fund and its source of income.
- iv. The annual expenditure in detail for the years 1865-1868.

The Government villages and the acquisition of private property by the Missionaries were both equally condemned :-

"Who gives them the right to spend money, which the love of friends of our Mission has entrusted to us for the purposes of spreading the Gospel, for paying leaseholds of revenue? How can we answer for this that our Missionaries burden themselves with revenue cares and affairs while at the same time the most important burning and pastoral duties in regard to the young Kols Church entrusted to them are neglected?"

The Curatorium firmly upheld the faith mission principles laid down by Gossner as the ideal policy for all Missionaries and much was made of the fact that only after Gossner's death had the Missionaries in Ranchi acquired bungalows as a security for their families -

"It is true that Gossner did not guarantee a fixed stipend in the same way as happened with other Missions but this did not result in neglect and hardship. A Missionary was well advised to have nothing to do with acquiring earthly private property as long as the late Gossner was alive. Here everyone knows that he would have made short shrift of such doings with holy zeal and energy. Messrs. F. Batsch and Associates must have known this too. How is their complaint about low support on the part of the Missionary leadership at home compatible with the fact that the Missionaries did in fact save money and make fortunes?"

2. The Personal Position of Frederick Batsch.

In assessing the position which Frederick Batsch had obtained in the Mission to the Kols the Curatorium referred to Batsch's correspondence with the Committee for the past 20 years. While allowing a certain advantage to eye witnesses of the Mission in India they considered that they were in a better position to judge Batsch's character, defects and omissions than were the members of the Auxiliary in Calcutta. The Curatorium stated their position bluntly :-

"We are conscious of having more complete material for judging the achievements of Mr. F. Batsch than anyone else. And so we declare with certainty that your way of estimating him, both in regard to his abilities, merits and successes is evidently exaggerated."

They posed the leading question -

"Why amongst the great number of Missionaries who have been sent to help Messrs. F. Batsch and Associates in Ranchi did hardly anyone stay in spite of the fact that the increase in workers was an urgent necessity?"

The only evidence for 'the great number of missionaries' who had left the Mission which the Curatorium could produce was one remark made by Oscar Flex who had resigned in 1864 'through the arbitrary treatment on the side of Mr. F. Batsch'.

Batsch's conduct of the Mission was criticised on the following points :- He was held responsible for convening the Conference in April 1868 during the hot weather when both Haerberlin and Nottrott had fell ill owing to the heat; he was considered blameworthy for the continued use of Hindi in the Mission when the tribal languages had been reduced to writing; for the lack of accurate statistics for the number of converts and finally

for the extravagant use of money in building the Seminary at Ranchi. The Curatorium belittled the human element in the success of the Mission by stating -

"Everyone who knows at all the Missionary cause is aware that the happy success of the Kols Mission is the result of different causes amongst which the Lord's wonderful grace comes first and must remain first".

At the same time they conceded -

"Even if a great measure of meritorious achievement fell to him (Batsch), what Missionary Board would grant such an Agent a totally independent and domineering position?"

In repudiating the 'hero worship' of the Calcutta Auxiliary and other friends of the Mission in India the Curatorium were determined to bring Batsch's rule of the Mission to a close.

3. The Relation of Frederick Batsch and his Associates with the Committee.

Disobedience was seen to be the vital issue between the Curatorium and the six missionaries in Ranchi. In this act of rebellion the Calcutta Auxiliary were also compromised since they had supported the counter-mission commenced in Ranchi. Insubordination to Ansorge, the Mission Inspector, was considered to be only the latest act in a rebellion which had commenced in 1861 with the refusal of the Senior Berthren to acknowledge Sternberg as Head of the Mission.

The Curatorium defended Ansorge's conduct during his Visitation on the principle that since members of the Auxiliary had gone to extremes in their favourable opinion of Batsch, they were guilty of entertaining an equally unfavourable opinion of Ansorge.

The Report of the Mission Conference had contained no evidence or reference to the complaints of the junior missionaries - it could hardly therefore be considered a fair and unbiased document. Whereas it was well known that it had been Anson's habit of malicious and ill-advised talk in Calcutta and Ranchi which had been a main cause of trouble between himself and the Senior Brethren, the Curatorium were at pains to point out that Anson had written nothing in complaint of the conduct of the Senior Missionaries until he had actually met them in Ranchi -

"Only when he had received many unfavourable impressions of their conduct in the manner of their work did he speak in essential points against Mr. Batsch and Associates in his Report. When we consider the position which he took what kind of partiality was it which captivated him? It was in support of right, truth and order and who would reproach him for this?".

The Curatorium considered that the complaints of the junior missionaries which had prompted the Visitation arose as the direct result of the failure of the Senior Brethren in Ranchi to give an account of their actions in charity and good faith. Regarding the conduct of the young pastors the Curatorium noted -

"It may well have happened that with their distrust the younger missionaries went too far here and there, something that can easily happen in the struggle of human opponents, but when you say their accusations against the older Missionaries were frivolous and untrue then we must decidedly reject these serious charges."

The complaints brought against Batsch and his Associates were enumerated :-

1. The Accounts were unclear.
2. Too much worldly business was carried on taking up too much time, strength and care.
3. Private property and Mission property was not duly separated.
4. The older Missionaries kept several things secret.
5. Pastoral cares were not duly carried out.
6. The National Assistants in the Mission were not properly cared for.

The Curatorium exonerated the younger Missionaries for writing direct to Berlin on the following grounds :-

"Of course it belongs to younger men to subordinate themselves to and to leave certain things they cannot understand alone. But such a duty has its limits and the Committee will never tolerate a Dictatorship or deny to an injured and offended feeling the opportunity for right utterance."

The Curatorium remained adamant in refusing to acknowledge the claims of Batsch and the Senior Brethren to control the life of the Mission and finally requested their removal to another part of India -

"Only we are the heirs of those who began the Mission in Chota Nagpur. We are therefore the responsible leaders and guardians of the Mission. We stand and fall to our Lord. He who disturbs us in our work and confuses it must see how he will answer for it. If you wish to keep your estimation and affection for Mr. F. Batsch and his companions and to show these through your support, you may do so, but please not in our territories, for this will without doubt do harm to the work of the Lord."

The Campaign in the Press. April 1869.

In justifying the dismissal of Batsch and the Senior Brethren the Curatorium were as yet unaware how deeply the native congregation was also involved in the dispute. As yet word had not reached Berlin that the majority of the converts had already decided to join their leaders and leave the authority of the Curatorium. On April 8th 1869 'The Friend of India' the newspaper originally commenced at Serampore by the Baptist Missionaries Carey, Marshman and Ward, carried a short leader on the crisis in Ranchi.

Editorial Leader.

"We regret to learn that in spite of the protests of all the residents and of the German Auxiliary in Calcutta, the Berlin Committee who manage the Lutheran Mission amongst the Kols have endorsed all the proceedings of their hot-headed and prejudiced agent in Chota Nagpur. The break is now complete.

The property of the Mission, including the fine church which the mutineers unroofed has been handed over to the 5 young missionaries who have ousted the men to whom the present flourishing state of the Kols Church, numbering 20,000 converts, is due. The majority of the converts adhere to Mr. Batsch and the senior missionaries. But it is a pity that such a break has been followed by schism.

It was the intention of the Free Church to undertake the support of 2 of the missionaries placing them on the new station at Kurhurbali. The Bishop of Calcutta, however, has somewhat hastily taken over all the seven seceders who are likely to accept Anglican Orders and to be supervised by the Gospel Propagation Society. Unless the Berlin Committee or the Bishop abandons the present station for new ones, this prosperous young church of simple Christians will be exposed to all the evils of ecclesiastical division and high sacramentarian teaching.

We understand that the Church Missionary Society, which assisted the Lutheran agents after the Mutiny, declined to be the means of intensifying the evil of a state of things due entirely to the wrong-headedness and injustice of the Berlin Committee and their uncharitable agent".

The report of the Bishop's visit to Ranchi published by 'The Englishman' on March 23rd had not passed without comment in Ranchi. Theodore Jellinghaus, the newly appointed Secretary to the Mission, replied to the Editor, but since his communication was neither acknowledged nor printed, on April 9th he wrote to 'The Friend of India' requesting permission to furnish the newspaper with the facts as seen by the younger missionaries.

On the same day a copy of the issue containing the Leader of April 8th reached Ranchi and disabused the younger missionaries of the paper's sympathies. Jellinghaus wrote a second letter on April 10th which corrected the inaccuracies of the Leader and acclaimed the Editor's criticism of the Bishop's action.

Both letters with the sub-title 'The Schism in the Kole Mission at Ranchi' were printed in the edition of April 22nd 1869.

In these letters for the first time, the younger Missionaries were able to express their views in public and Jellinghaus commented on the article printed in 'The Englishman' on March 23rd as follows :-

"It would have been an easy task for us to contradict the statements contained therein, for the real and sole cause of the disruption lay not in the inimical position ascribed to the junior missionaries but in the rotten condition of the internal state of our Mission, the usual sequence of neglectful and weak mismanagement; and as soon as they touched this sore spot which had for years been glossed over by flourishing reports, and desired a thorough investigation and reformation, they found that they had inflicted a vital wound to the whole tottering system, which could not but crush those to whom it owed its existence in its fall".⁽¹⁾

1. Friend of India. April 22nd 1869. letter of April 9th.

In his second letter Jellinghaus protested against Bishop Milman's intended action in receiving the opposition into the Church of England without notifying the Home Committee in Berlin. He corrected three major mistakes in the Leader:- the party of young Missionaries were ten in number (not five); the converts numbered 11,000 (not 20,000) "of whom however many hundreds had either relapsed into heathenism, emigrated or died"; and of the seceders only three were to be ordained, one was due to return home, and 'the remaining two are still rather young hands who seem to delight a bit in the little game of 'follow my leader'. Jellinghaus concluded -

"We are glad to see that you coincided with us as to the unfair and inconsiderate way in which the Bishop has hastened to gobble up the Mission as fast as possible!"⁽¹⁾

On April 12th 1869 Ansonge wrote a formal protest to Bishop Milman from Ranchi since the full consequence of his actions towards the Senior Brethren and the Native congregation had become clear. The protest was printed with Jellinghaus' letters in 'The Friend of India' on April 22nd 1869. Ansonge wrote as follows :-

1. Friend of India. April 22nd 1869. Letter of April 10th.

Ranchi,
April 12th 1869.

Right Reverend Sir,

It is a matter of extreme regret to me to have missed the opportunity of seeing your Lordship during your late visit to Ranchi. Messrs. Haerberlin, Jellinghaus and Flex, who called upon you to pay their respects have acquainted me with the result of their interview with your Lordship, viz:- that you had resolved to receive those Missionaries that have left our Mission, renounced their allegiance to our Committee; and induced a number of converts to follow their example, into the Church of England; and I now learn that you are on the point of carrying out your resolution by ordaining three of those seceders. As Representative of our Committee properly delegated and legally authorised it is my duty to inform your Lordship herewith :-

1. That I consider your interference in our German Mission uncalled for and unjust; for when those seceders asked your assistance, they might be received into another church, but not our converts who are by no means their personal property but children of our Evangelical Lutheran Church who is not willing to part with them.
2. That I consider the way in which you intend incorporating those seceders with their followers into your Church, unfair as well as illegal, for in order to appropriate a portion of our Mission it was necessary first to refer to our Committee and ask their permission.
3. That I consider the plan of creating an Opposition Mission here in Ranchi as conducive to the entire ruin of the integrity of our Native Church, and therefore not only unwise but inconsistent with the principles of Christianity.

And beg in consequence herein to lay down my solemn protest :-

1. Against the erection of an Opposition Mission in our Church.
2. Against the intended ordination of our seceded Missionaries, without your having duly consulted Drs. Büchsel and Hoffman, General Superintendents in Berlin and Members of our Home and Auxiliary Committee.

I beg to remain,
Right Reverend Sir,

H. Ansorge.

Secretary to the Evangelical Missionary Society
in Berlin.

Bishop Milman's Second Visit to Ranchi. April 16th-18th 1869.

On the evening of Monday April 12th 1869 Bishop Milman accompanied by his domestic Chaplain, The Revd. M.R. Burge, left Calcutta for Bancoorah and Ranchi. The Bishop stayed with Mr. Grant, the Magistrate in Bancoorah, and on the 13th consecrated two cemeteries. Leaving at 5 a.m. on Wednesday morning he made the journey by carriage and palki-dak to Ranchi where he arrived on Thursday night at 10 p.m. He was received by Colonel Dalton. On Friday morning a party consisting of Cave-Browne, the Revd. Charles Edmund Driberg, the Senior Missionary belonging to the S.P.G. in Bengal, and the Revd. F. Robberds, the Chaplain in Hazaribagh reached Ranchi.

On Friday and Saturday Wilhelm Luther Singh was examined for his Deacon's Ordination, and on Saturday the Confirmation of the Converts commenced with services held in the temporary church. At the first service 133 men and 97 women were confirmed; in the afternoon 154 and 46 women, making a grand total of 430 candidates. The English residents attended the services which were conducted in Hindi and the Bishop preached sermons in Urdu. On Saturday the residents held a meeting at Dalton's house when the Committee consisting of 3 laymen and 3 members of the Mission was reconstituted with Captain Rowlandson as Secretary. It was agreed that the German Missionaries should continue to receive their salaries at the rate paid by the Curatorium; all Catechists and Readers should receive their former rates of pay and the character of the Mission with its former constitution should be retained.

Further -

"it being stated to be the wish of the German Missionaries to have connected with them an English Missionary of some experience, it was agreed, the Lord Bishop having given his consent, that the Revd. J.C. Whitley⁽¹⁾ at present at Kurnal, where the field did not seem promising, should be transferred to Ranchi where he would also be acceptable in performing Divine Service for the English residents."⁽²⁾

While the meeting of the residents was in session a copy of Anson's formal protest was delivered to the Bishop. Having read it Milman replied as follows :-

1. Jabez Cornelius Whitley. Born in London January 20th 1837. M.A. Queens' College, Cambridge. Ordained Deacon 1860, Winchester. Chief Station Kurnaul 1862-64, Delhi 1865-68. Kurnaul 1868-69. Transferred to Chota Nagpur 1869. Consecrated first Bishop of Chota Nagpur March 23rd 1890 in St. Paul's Church, Ranchi.
2. S.F.G. Archives. Committee Minutes. May 6th 1869.

Ranchi,
April 17th 1869.

Reverend Sir,

I have diligently considered all the circumstances of the unfortunate differences that have arisen in the Chota Nagpur Mission. I read carefully the Manifesto of the Berlin Committee which I received from the younger Missionaries, who kindly came to see me at my request when I was at Ranchi before. The paper seemed to me to fully JUSTIFY the elder Brethren under whom the Mission had singularly flourished.

I came to the conclusion that it is my duty to support the Elder Missionaries who, in my opinion, were unjustly treated and practically dismissed without cause.

I also judged that for the spiritual welfare of the converts the presence of the Elder Missionaries is absolutely necessary. I do not consider them to be the authors of the division that has taken place. Therefore, at the request of all the local resident supporters of the Mission and in agreement with the members of the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee I have undertaken to receive the Elder Missionaries, and the converts made through THEIR instrumentality into the English Church. I did not seek them: but they sought me repeatedly. I cannot in justice refuse them their earnest petition and desire.

I fervently hope that the Berlin Committee will withdraw the younger Missionaries from the place pre-occupied by the Elder Missionaries and make some friendly arrangement for the restoration of the church and buildings to those Missionaries by whose exertions they were chiefly raised.

Believe me that I have sought for God's guidance in this matter; and I cannot doubt the correctness of my judgment in it, especially as I have the universal concurrence of the supporters of the Mission in India itself.

I have already begun to receive the Native Converts and do not think myself justified in delaying the reception of the Elder Missionaries into English Orders and placing them upon the list of one of our Societies.

I am sorry that your absence during my previous visit caused your protest to arrive so late. It is now a whole month since I was at Ranchi. I will, however, write to one of the gentlemen you name at Berlin and give the Committee the best advice I can under the circumstances.

I am,
Yours truly in Christ,
R. Calcutta.

Rev.H.Ansorge,
Secretary to the
Evangelical
Missionary Society.

On Sunday April 18th at 7 a.m. the Ordination Service was held in English. Cave-Browne presented the three candidates, Frederick Batsch, Henry Batsch and Frederick Bohn who were ordained Deacon and Priest, and Wilhelm Luther Daud Singh who was ordained Deacon. A congregation of about 1,100 which included the English residents witnessed the service; Robberds read the Litany, Driberg the Epistle, and the Bishop preached the sermon; 650 people communicated and there was an offertory of Rs.1080. This service was followed at 2 p.m. by a Hindi service and at 5 p.m. by an English service for the residents followed by a third Confirmation at which Frederick Batsch presented the candidates and preached the sermon. On Monday April 19th a further Baptism of new converts followed by a Confirmation was conducted and in the afternoon the Bishop left for Hazaribagh. On Tuesday he conducted a fifth Confirmation at which 32 candidates were confirmed, following which he and his party left for Calcutta travelling via the Grand Trunk Road and Barrackpur. They arrived on Thursday afternoon, April 22nd and Milman wrote to his brother :-

"I dare say I shall be criticised for my conduct, but I have concluded that the Appeal made by the English residents and subscribers, as well as by the Native Christians could not be refused. Hitherto I have only been found fault with as hasty, which as the matter has been very long in hand is not a very just criticism. However, I must not shirk responsibility."⁽¹⁾

The Controversy in the Press, April - October 1869.

From April to October 1869 the schism in Gossner's Mission to the Kols and the Bishop of Calcutta's action in receiving the Senior Brethren into the Church of England were treated as controversial issues by the press in India, Germany and England. The views of all parties concerned - the Bishop, the Senior Brethren, the Curatorium, and letters from private individuals appeared in Leading Articles and in the correspondence columns of 'The Englishman', 'The Friend of India', 'The Times' and several German periodicals. On April 13th 1869 Dr. George Smith, the Editor of 'The Friend of India' and Indian Correspondent to 'The Times' included in his despatch from Calcutta the following account of the schism :-

INDIA

(from our Correspondent)

Calcutta,
April 13th 1869.

"The Coles in Chota Nagpore, between Bengal and Central India, demand a word. Before the Mutiny Pastor Gossner of Berlin sent out some Lutheran Missionaries, not trained theologians but admirably suited for these simple people. A fine church was built, but unroofed in the Mutiny, the Missionaries had to flee, and would have been destitute but for the aid of the Church Missionary Society and private friends. They were on their return forced to buy houses and keep a garden, for the Berlin Society ceased to support them. Since the Mutiny their Mission has been the most successful in India, numbering 20,000 converts. University theologians were lately sent out to assist them, especially in building up the infant church. They have brought charges against the Seniors of secularity and selfishness, which are declared by all the official residents and by a German Committee in Calcutta to be both cruel and unfounded after careful investigation on the spot. The marvel is that the Senior Missionaries have done so much - not that they have left undone some things to which the new theologians attach undue importance.

The Berlin Committee sent out an Agent to enquire into and settle the dispute, but even before he left Calcutta he prejudged the case and the result of his action has been a permanent schism. The Committee have approved their Agent's proceedings and the sad spectacle is presented of a large Christian community of simple Coles, lately savages, divided by disputes which they cannot understand. To make matters worse the Bishop of Calcutta has gone to the chief station Ranchi, and has adopted the cause of the Missionaries, so unjustly ejected, whom he is about to ordain over again. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is to superintend them. Unless one party or another of these Germans retires from the field to the vast unoccupied ground now being opened up by the Chord Railway, a scandalous sight will be presented to the heathen, and political differences may be again raised, for the land question is mixed up with the dispute.

These are the merits of a very interesting conflict so far as I gather them from all the papers in the case, and these are the conclusions of all the observers on the spot in Calcutta."⁽¹⁾

1. The Times, Monday May 10th 1869.

On April 21st 1869 The Curatorium drafted an official protest to Bishop Milman which they enclosed with copies of the two printed Manifestos. Astonishment at the Bishop's action in not consulting them was followed by a protest couched in terms deploring the breach in comity between evangelical Missionary Societies :-

"We regard all Evangelical Mission Societies as instruments in the work of one holy enterprise and therefore all the Churches appear to us in a certain affinity, but this very relation lays upon all the Societies the sacred duty that each recognise the liberty, the independence and the rights of others and that none should overlap in any way the boundaries and limits which have been fixed for them by God."⁽¹⁾

On April 29th 1869 the Revd. James Edward Carlyle,⁽²⁾ the Presbyterian Chaplain in Berlin wrote to 'The Friend of India' supporting the Curatorium against the Senior Brethren. In explaining the change in policy of the Gossner Mission, Carlyle quoted as his authority Mauritz August von Bethmann-Hollweg, the former Prussian Minister of State for Education, one of the Founder Members of the Berlin Missionary Society and an intimate friend and biographer of Gossner.

"So long as Gossner lived, that man of faith and holy energy, all went well with the Mission and the Missionaries submitted to the home authorities. Before his decease the future of the Mission caused him anxiety and I am aware that he applied to a very distinguished clergyman here, (Dr. Büchsel) whose name is known in all the churches, to succeed him. The latter told him that if he undertook the care of the

1. M.F. Curatorium to Bishop Milman. April 21st 1869.
2. James Edward Carlyle, 1821-1893. Ordained at Brechin 1852. Chaplain at Bombay 1859-62, at Maritzburg, Natal 1874-76, Author 'South Africa and its Mission Fields' London 1878.

Mission he must conduct it on other principles - especially that he would aim at having a more highly educated class of Missionaries. Gossner owned in reply that he had made a blunder. I think it necessary for the sake of truth to state this openly. I hear it on the best authority which I can give if necessary."

From 1859-62 Carlyle had been a Government Chaplain in Bombay and one of the Secretaries to the Bombay Auxiliary of the Bible Society. Drawing on his Indian experiences he advanced the following supposition for the action of the Senior Brethren -

"You know how in India everyone has a natural ambition to be a 'Burra Sahib' and this may even apply to Christian men. Then I think the climate affects the temperament and makes one sensitive and ready to take offence. I venture on this as an imperfect theory explanatory of the beginnings of this schism, but it is merely an hypothesis".

Carlyle reiterated with approval the causes for dismissing the six missionaries, described the determination of the Curatorium to retain the mission-field in Chota Nagpur and stated that the Gossner Mission intended canvassing all the Evangelical Churches and most of the influential clergymen of the Prussian Church to support their protest in the event of possible interference from the Bishop of Calcutta. ⁽¹⁾

On May 4th 1869 Bishop Milman wrote to Dr. Büchsel in accordance with his promise made to Ansorge at Ranchi at the time of the Ordination. He justified his conduct in responding to the appeal of the Senior Brethren and implored the Curatorium to withdraw or transfer the younger Missionaries to another field.

1. 'The Friend of India' May 27th 1869. 'The Chota Nagpur Mission - the Berlin side'.

"I could not refuse to delay my consent to take charge of them (the Senior Missionaries). I saw in it the interest of our Lord and His Kingdom and sincerely and earnestly advise you to withdraw the younger Missionaries to some new field of Christian labour.

I will do my best to make satisfactory arrangements about the various buildings and property, the Church, Schools, and dwellings which the Elder Missionaries erected at Ranchi and elsewhere, if you and your friends will assist me in this object.

It is a great trial to have so large a Mission suddenly thrown on my hands, but the liberality of the kind Officers, who are men of great ability and weight, and of all our Christian friends in India and elsewhere will, I doubt not, enable me to meet the purpose.

I steadily refused, though often asked, to go to Ranchi until all hope of arrangements were over. I trusted that any step on my part might be needless. But when in my judgment I could no longer refuse the aid sought from me, and no other alternative remained for the elder missionaries, I did not shrink from the responsibility however heavy or distressing."⁽¹⁾

On May 12th 1869 the Curatorium forwarded the two printed Manifestos with a copy of their official protest to the Bishop of Calcutta to the Revd. W.T. Bullock, the Secretary of the S.P.G. in London, requesting him to examine the case for himself -

"We feel convinced that after mature consideration of all the circumstances you will in no wise think of supporting a rival mission as such a step would be unheard of in the

1. M.F. Bishop Milman to Dr. Büchsel. May 4th 1869.

history of Missions and would be like declaring war among Christian communities."⁽¹⁾

On May 15th Carlyle wrote to 'The Times' commenting on the Report of their Indian Correspondent published on May 10th. He deeply deplored the Bishop's action in interfering in a question which was purely a German domestic issue.

"Prussia showed its desire for evangelical unity in the arrangement for a Bishopric at Jerusalem with England, and it expects that we should reciprocate this by Christian courtesy to her Missions. The Kols Mission owes its origin to Gossner. It has been the most successful in India. Shall we interfere in a work owing its origin and progress to the genius of German Christianity?"

He closed his letter with a pointed contrast between the policies of the two Anglican Missionary Societies at work in India :-

"The progress of Christianity in India is bound up with the spirit of catholicity. I can testify that the Church Missionary Society always acts on these principles. I cannot speak so decidedly as to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel."⁽²⁾

Both 'The Englishman' and 'The Friend of India' had deplored the Bishop's action in receiving the Senior Brethren and their converts into the Church of England. Cave-Browne writing to the Secretary of the S.P.G. in London touched on one reason for this criticism :-

"The Bishop felt his course clear, however much some may condemn the act, the condemnation being not in receiving

1. S.P.G. Archives. D. Calcutta May 1869. Curatorium to Secretary.
2. The Times. May 22nd 1869. ('Indian Missions'

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1. S.P.G. Archives. D. Calcutta May 1869. Curatorium to Secretary.
2. The Times. May 22nd 1869. ('Indian Missions')

the Kols - for the Kirk or the C.M.S. might have done it and have been praised - but doing it through S.P.G."⁽¹⁾

Unlike his immediate predecessors in the See of Calcutta, Bishop Robert Milman was a High Churchman. He had been local Secretary of the S.P.G. to his Archdeaconry from 1863 to 1867 when Vicar of Great Marlow in Buckinghamshire, and had lectured at Cuddesdon and conducted retreats for clergy. Following his appointment to India in 1867 the majority of Government Chaplaincies were filled by men of Catholic outlook. On May 20th 1869 a correspondent from Berlin published an Article with the Sub-title "A Puseyite Aggression" commenting on the Report of 'The Times' Indian Correspondent. The writer throughout fully supported the action of the Curatorium and concluded his article with an attack on Milman and his High Church principles.

"Besides the Bishop, Dr. Milman, is the most articulate man belonging to the Puseyite and High Church Ritualists and his whole conduct seems to have a one-sided confessional direction. It is known in the history of missions that this influential party in the Church tending so much to Catholicism, has in the most reckless manner pushed itself into the field of work of other Missionaries and raised its party banner. But for the first time, as far as we know, there has been such an aggression on a German Evangelical Mission. The Berlin Committee has not failed to make its solemn and earnest protest against this unjust and injurious interference regarding which the Correspondent of 'The Times' himself says that the matter has been made worse. It may be expected that the Berlin Committee will make an appeal and an enquiry directed to all the friends of German Evangelical Christianity, asking

them if they will quietly submit to such an act of violence on the part of the Puseyites."⁽¹⁾

On May 30th 1869 General Hannington who in 1861 had retired as Officiating Military Auditor-General and Controller of Military Finance, wrote from his home in Julpigoree near Darjeeling to 'The Friend of India' commenting on Carlyle's letter of April 27th. The General's contacts with the Gossner Mission dated from the year 1845 when he and Dr. Haerberlin had made the preliminary plans for the Brethren to come to Ranchi; Hannington expressed his surprise at Ansorge's appointment as Visitor to the Mission -

"Without questioning the propriety of the conduct of the Curatorium in closely looking into the affairs of the Mission I would ask in the name of common sense, and with an appeal to common experience, what possible good could they hope to result from Mr. Ansorge's deputation? Had he not quarrelled with the Mission and left it on personal grounds? and if so what possible hope was there that he could act beneficially and in concert with the older Missionaries?"

He took issue with Carlyle over Dr. Büchsel's reform of the Mission and Gossner's confession -

"Gossner owned that he had made a blunder! Did Gossner really do this or say he did it? Are 12,000 Christians added to Christ's fold a blunder? How many learned Ansorges would have sufficed for the task? Would all the Ansorges in the world combined have done so much - not to say more? Is it really true that the most learned missionaries are the most successful?"

1. 'The Friend of India', June 18th 1869. 'A Puseyite Aggression'.

He concluded by giving his warm support for Frederick Batsch and the Elder Brethren and appealed for a constructive approach to the situation in Ranchi -

"The union of a portion of the converts to the Church of England is a fact - I will therefore abstain from any useless remarks on that subject. Let us try and heal our wounds and the separated churches emulate one another in zeal and good works only."⁽¹⁾

On June 4th 1869 'The Friend of India' published 'An Appeal on behalf of the Chota Nagpur Mission (now in connection with the Church of England) by the Revs. F. Batsch, H. Batsch, F. Bohn, A. Herzog, G. Pohlenz and F. Krüger, the Original Pastors and Lay-Helpers of this Mission' in which the Missionaries defended their conduct, stated their case against the Curatorium and appealed for funds to support their work.⁽²⁾

On the same day, June 4th, the Bishop acknowledged the receipt of the Protest from the Curatorium with its two enclosures, despatched from Berlin on April 21st. Milman reviewed the events leading to his action as follows :-

"I had previously had appeals made to me by the native Christians of Chota Nagpur expressing a desire for a visit from me and for admission into the English Church,⁽³⁾ but I had taken no notice of them and hearing that some troubles had arisen in the missionary body I had delayed even my ordinary visitation for fear of appearing desirous to intrude in any way about the Mission.

1. Friend of India. June 10th 1869.
2. Friend of India. June 4th 1869. 'The Anglican Mission in Chota Nagpur'.
3. Possibly the appeal which reached the Bishop at Murree in June-August 1868. F.M. Milman. op.cit. page 69.

Afterwards Colonel Dalton, the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, applied to me on behalf of his local Committee to examine into the dispute between the older and the younger missionaries and stating that the older missionaries and the great body of native converts are desirous or even determined to persevere in seeking for admission with the Church of England.

I went carefully into the circumstances of the case and I found that my opinion coincided with that of the local Committee of my fellow countrymen, and with the Calcutta Committee, that the charges brought against the older Missionaries were, after a fair investigation of men of official and commercial habits, entirely disproved, but I informed Colonel Dalton that as long as any hope remained of a reconciliation or adjustment I could not in any way interfere.

Gentlemen, you state that the step which I have taken is new. I reply the circumstances which occasioned it are altogether new. For these you must excuse me holding you responsible."(1)

On June 15th 1869 'The Englishman' printed a Leading Article reviewing the situation in Ranchi and commenting judiciously on the parties concerned. After describing Gossner's missionary methods and referring to his offer of the Kols Mission to the C.M.S. in 1857, the Editor made a comparison with the East India Company to illustrate the conduct of the Curatorium -

"The Curatorium in fact has held pretty much the position as the Court of Directors in the last century; filling up the appointments, controlling the establishment, passing its verdict on the action of its servants, sending them out specie in small quantities, and leaving them to forage locally for the rest of their support. They now come before the public as a controlling body, whose position

1. M.F. Bishop Milman to Curatorium. June 4th 1869.

legitimately obtained in the first place by the bequest of the founder, has been strengthened by more than 10 years of undisputed authority, and by the fact that they have during that long period furnished sparingly, yet to the utmost of their ability, the sinews of war."

The question of whether tribal languages should replace Hindi in the Mission, an issue which had won ready support from the young pastors, received sympathetic treatment :-

"The system of teaching pursued by the remnant of the original Missionaries was open to most serious question as antiquated and opposed to the present system of proselytising efforts among the aboriginal races. The older Missionaries had begun their labours at a time when scarcely anything was known of the language, customs, social feelings and political prejudices of the hill and forest tribes. They had taught and preached in Hindi for want of a more popular vehicle and, at first, in ignorance of the fact that the use of Hindi placed a great gulf between them and the sympathies of the people.

The researches of recent years and the general attention which has been drawn to the wants and character of such primitive tribes have placed beyond doubt the expediency of employing the aboriginal languages as a vehicle for reaching the aboriginal races. Among the German Missionaries in Chota Nagpur the younger members were anxious to employ the vernacular of the people as the language of the Church. But the Elder Members, justly proud of their success, maintained the superiority of the linguistic weapons by which they had won it."

The crisis in the Mission as viewed in Europe and in India was noticed as follows :-

"It should be remembered that the question will be looked at from very different points of view in Europe from that which has regulated the discussion here. In India Missionary public opinion is the opinion of a number of individuals all of whom are under some society or committee in Europe and between whom and these controlling bodies differences and even collisions occasionally occur. It therefore falls out that Missionaries in a state of opposition to their controlling body in Europe have the popular interest on their side in India. But in Europe the shield is reversed and the controlling body appeals not to individual missionaries but to other controlling bodies who are equally interested in maintaining and enforcing the authority of the home Committees. It is in fact the old question of local experience against general deductions and of individual liberty against general control."

The Editor supported the Bishop's action in receiving the Senior Missionaries -

"There was no undue haste although there might with much wisdom have been a little more delay and the Bishop of Calcutta would have been shrinking from one of the most solemn duties of his position had he shut his ears to their cries."

In reaching a verdict the Editor stated his case impartially :-

"We hold that the Berlin Committee had a perfect right to enforce their authority and to revise the local constitution of their Kol Mission. But we also hold that the local Missionaries had a right to secede ; a right which could

only be used under a very heavy responsibility to the seceders, and only as a last resource. We further maintain that the conduct of the Berlin Agent left the older Missionaries no option but to avail themselves of this right, and that after their secession they did wisely in seeking a Union with another Church."

The Leader closed with a sober and measured criticism of Anson and his whole conduct throughout the proceedings :-

"One word with that gentleman and we have done. The letters we have seen from the Berlin Committee betray an unacquaintance with the real points of the case which reflect little credit on their Agent here. We have traced him from the time he landed in Calcutta and we regret to have to add that he left but one impression upon the minds of all uninterested parties to whom he spoke of his work. That impression we are bound to admit was most discreditable to him as a man, and worse than discreditable to him as the Agent of a Christian body, and in event of any agitation we plainly warn him that the first subject to be investigated will be his own conduct."⁽¹⁾

On June 18th 1869 'The Friend of India' carried an Editorial accompanying the Protest of the Curatorium to Bishop Milman, dated April 21st from Berlin, which the paper printed in full. The Editor noted that the Curatorium showed ignorance of many of the facts of the case for which he deemed their Agent Mr. Anson to blame. He deplored the determination of the Curatorium to maintain and advance their position in Chota Nagpur, reiterated his criticism of the Bishop in reordaining the Lutheran Missionaries and regretted that more time had

1. The Englishman. June 15th 1869.

not been gained -

"to expose Mr. Ansorge, enlighten the Berlin Committee, and if not reconcile the disputants, make such a division of the property that the Juniors would have broken new ground."⁽¹⁾

On July 29th 1869 'The Friend of India' published an article translated from the Berlin newspaper 'Neus Evangelische-Kirchen-Zeitung' which appealed to the Scottish and English Missionary Societies to pronounce on the Bishop's action :-

"They are in a position to give an opinion of no party character and founded on a sound knowledge of the subject. The Berlin Curatorium will readily lay before them all necessary documents. We earnestly urge this. We cherish this sure confidence that they will form the same judgment of the Bishop that we do. Let the voice of English Christianity be loudly and decidedly expressed so that Evangelical Christians of Germany may know of a truth that this aggression of Dr. Milman is only the deed of a single man, which his countrymen condemn as we do."⁽²⁾

On October 14th a letter to 'The Friend of India' signed 'Germania' written by a German Missionary in India attempted to raise the question of the reordination of the Lutheran Pastors.

The writer who claimed for himself 13 years experience in India severely criticised Ansorge for his 'zeal but not according to knowledge', for his lack of tact, gentleness and due regard for the labour and experience of the Senior Brethren. At the same

1. The Friend of India. June 18th 1869
2. The Friend of India. July 29th 1869. 'The Bishop of Calcutta and the Kole Mission'.

time he attacked the older missionaries for their desertion of pure evangelical principles in submitting to reordination -

"Their secession showed, in part at least, their incapacity for superintending and building up the Church which they had been instrumental in gathering. Such an indifference to the principles of their Church with her unadorned and unadulterated Gospel teaching, such an impatience and imprudence we did not expect from those Brethren.

What! have they not done God's work all this time? Why should they submit to the right of reordination? In whose name and at whose command have they preached the Gospel, administered the Sacraments and constituted the believers amongst the Koles into a Church? What was wanting in their ordination? Have any new gifts been imparted to them by the imposition of Anglo-Episcopalian hands? Are they converted to a belief in that strange piece of Papal antiquity called 'Apostolical succession'? If they are, we see no difference between them and those 'Anglican priests' who are preparing for a journey to Rome to obtain a pontifical certificate as to the validity of their ordination. No! We cannot believe that our countrymen have thus far yielded to the spirit of the times. As Protestant Germans we hope they still adhere to the truth upheld by the Reformation, that the true and only valid apostolical succession depends on a minister's being called to his holy office by that same Spirit, who descended upon and filled the Apostles for their important missions. Such a succession stands on evangelical principles, whereas a periodical issued in this Presidency by staunch adherents to the Papal-Succession view, which Dr. Milman has no little sympathy with, calls the blessed Reformation 'the Babel of three hundred years'.⁽¹⁾

1. The Friend of India. October 14th 1869. 'A German on the Kole Mission'.

The correspondence concerning the schism was brought to a close on October 28th 1869 with a short letter from the Revd. Jabez Cornelius Whitley who wrote from Ranchi -

Dear Sir,

The letter of 'Germania' seems to show that the principles of Pastor Gossner are not known, as well as they should be, to those who think themselves well informed on the subject. May I ask you to insert the enclosed copy of Pastor Gossner's letter in full?

Yours faithfully,

J.C. Whitley.

Ranchi. October 17th.

Berlin, December 4th 1857.

Brethren,

It is not unknown to you that I have, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, been endeavouring to do something towards the promotion of the Redeemer's Kingdom in India. But entering now on my eighty-fifth year, and feeling that my strength is beginning to fail me, I must, I am aware sooner or later cease entirely from all active and efficient superintendence of the Missions which I have been instrumental to establish. Desirous though I am, however, to put the work into other hands, the Lord seems at least not willing to give me a successor here to carry on the work so as I should wish. I therefore purpose, in the Lord, to transfer the said missions as they are, and the not inconsiderable funds and means I have, to the care of the Missionary Society of the Church of England. Illness prevents me to correspond myself with you on the subject; I have in consequence, with the consent of my Committee, authorised the Revd. Emil Schatz, who is our Senior Missionary to the Mission amongst the Coles in Chota Nagpore, not merely to lay my wish before your Society and to ascertain your views, but to come to an eventual arrangement, should my offer appear to you to deserve attention, to be acceptable. Committing all into the hands of our gracious Redeemer, and praying that He may guide you to come to a conclusion most conducive to His own Glory and the enlightenment of the benighted races of India, I am, with the members of my Committee, Yours in the Lord.

Johannes Gossner.

T. Tamm.

A. Beyerhaus.

F. Niquel.

P.S. In the above Niquel is a misprint for Riquet; both he and Mr. Thamm are, I hear, members of the Curatorium. ⁽¹⁾

1. 'The Friend of India'. October 28th 1869.

The publication of Gossner's letter to the C.M.S. by 'The Friend of India' finally terminated the controversy in the Indian Press over the schism in the Mission to the Kols and Bishop Milman's action in receiving the Senior Brethren and their converts into the Church of England. No further interest was evinced when in January 1870 the Scotch Missionary Magazine 'Christian Work' under the heading 'Missionary Aggression' printed a resume of events, commencing with Sternberg's appointment in 1861 and strongly deprecating the attitude of the Senior Missionaries and criticising their deficiencies. The Special Correspondent upheld the conduct of Ansoorge whom he described as 'a conscientious Christian man who was determined not to be brow-beaten but to carry out the instructions given to him', and particularised the deficiencies in the Mission as follows :-

"The older Catechists, Mr. Ansoorge found, were not properly educated. Very few of the Coles have as yet received education. The poor girls have been especially overlooked. How Mr. Batsch and his friends with such glaring deficiencies should have refused to receive the educated missionaries sent to aid them is incomprehensible. The older missionaries only preached in Hindi which is the same as if one were to address an English congregation in Latin. The German Mission has now decided that their missionaries shall learn Mundari - the language most spoken."⁽¹⁾

This is the last reference to the events in Chota Nagpur which has been traced.

1. Christian Work. January 1st 1870.

All attempts to manufacture a profound theological crisis or an ecclesiastical scandal out of the events at Ranchi failed chiefly owing to the fact that the weight of responsible public opinion in Calcutta was unanimously in favour of the Elder Brethren. Early criticism of Bishop Milman was slowly replaced by a more generous attitude as the circumstances attending his difficult decision became known. In his Charge given to the Diocese of Calcutta in March 1871 the Bishop was able to refer encouragingly to the situation in Chota Nagpur -

"The Missions, both that of the S.P.G. and the German Mission are working well and successfully. There has never been anything but goodwill on the part of the English Mission and I trust (and hear) that the same feelings are beginning to be reciprocated by the German Mission as it is called. I hear from our authorities that no other distinction seems visible to the natives. I hope and trust that there may rest an increased abundance and out-pouring of God's grace on this remarkable Mission."⁽¹⁾

In 1872 Whitley was joined by the Revd. F.R. Vallings, who was transferred from Calcutta at his own request to assist with the work in Ranchi. In 1874 Frederick and Henry Batsch left for furlough in Germany to recover their health. In his report for 1874 Whitley appealed to the Society in London expressing his desire for more assistance :-

"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

1. Mission Life. Volume 7 Part 1. P.454.

made for the future. It is just kept going and no aggressive work against heathenism can be attempted with any regularity. It seems to be high time that one or two new Englishmen should be sent here."⁽¹⁾

In March 1875 Colonel Dalton who had played such a conspicuous part in events at Ranchi retired as Commissioner of Chota Nagpur. His final act of benevolence to the Brethren was to make over the lease of his house to the Mission for a period of 25 years at £100 per year.

The connection with Gossner's old Missionaries continued until the Senior Brethren retired from India; Frederick Batsch returned to Germany in 1886, Henry Batsch in 1875, and Frederick Bohn in 1888.

On March 23rd 1890 a separate Anglican Diocese of Chota Nagpur was created with Whitley as the first Bishop.

To-day the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church in Chota Nagpur and Assam retains its connections with the Gossner Mission in Berlin, and is the only Mission of those founded during Gossner's lifetime to survive.

1. S.P.G. Annual Report 1874 p.17.

EPILOGUE.

The crisis which had overtaken Gossner's Mission to the Kols and the schism within the Mission which brought about the Appeal to the Bishop of Calcutta were events barely noticed and soon forgotten outside mission circles in India. The controversy in the Press from April to October 1869 which gave a brief publicity to the domestic quarrel between the younger and the senior Missionaries produced no repercussions either in inter-Church politics or in international affairs. Attempts to make an issue out of the re-ordination of Lutheran Ministers by the Bishop of Calcutta or to enlarge upon the international aspect of the breach in the comity of missions which the reception of the German Brethren and their converts into the Church of England had caused failed to win more than a passing interest from the Christian world at large.

That this should have been the case may be attributed to the peculiar character of the Mission which it inherited from Gossner himself. The Mission to the Kols was not so much a Lutheran Mission or a German Mission as a Faith Mission. It was a mission which sought to create amongst the heathen in Chota Nagpur the Pietist ideal of the 'ecclesiola in ecclesia'. With its frugal communal domestic policy and its intimate family fellowship the Mission had been founded on Gossner's principle that simple faith in the Word of Christ - 'When I sent you out without purse or bag or sandals did you lack anything?' constituted the commissioning oath for his missionaries. 'If you cannot go in faith - you had better not go at all' had been his consistent cautionary teaching.

To realise this faith-mission ideal Gossner had insisted that his workers should be artisans and tradesmen who could be self-supporting and self-reliant once he had dismissed them to their sphere of labour. His close contact with the Moravians had convinced him that the artisan mission worker was a more effective evangelist than the University trained pastor and theologian, and the tent-making ministry of St. Paul was the example which he insisted his workers should follow. The domestic policy of the Mission which was that of one family having all things common was a reinterpretation of the classical monastic ideal of holy poverty which St. Francis of Assisi had laid down for his friars and which the institutionalised Missionary Orders of the Roman Catholic Church had consistently attempted to realise.

Although Gossner himself was intimate with the aristocracy of Berlin and accepted the patronage of the royal house of Hohenzollern he took no interest in the state establishment of the Prussian Church and his Pietist principles lead him to decry the bureaucratic methods (of both the Brandenburg Consistorium and the Prussian Ministry of Religious Affairs. Since he made no claims on state connections himself, his Missions also were completely detached from both State and Church support in Germany. In British India with its Ecclesiastical Establishment and institutionalised missionary societies the Gossner Brethren were well nigh unique in their total disregard for both official Government and confessional connections. No Church or party in Germany came to the support of the Gossner Brethren in the crisis with the Curatorium. The lack of official connection with both Church and State in Germany effectively precluded any major crisis arising out of the domestic events of 1869.

The crisis which overtook the Gossner Brethren in Ranchi arose out of the success which accompanied the founding of the Mission on Gossner's principles. After the Brethren had begun their task a mass-movement towards Christianity commenced amongst the Kols of Chota Nagpur in which Emil Schatz and later Frederick Batsch acted as directors or patriarchs of the Mission. Freedom from financial control and a lack of rigid supervision had been implicit from the start in Gossner's Missionary Association: the only bond uniting him with his workers was that of prayer. The founding of an independent indigenous Church, drawing on local support for its maintenance, had been the ideal which he had consistently fostered, but the very success which had accompanied the Mission to the Kols at the same time exposed the weakness of the principles which Gossner advocated.

A common purse from which all personal and mission expenses were paid proved inadequate for the needs of the Brethren when family commitments amongst those who were married, and institutional requirements for schools and hostels made excessive demands on the simple economy of the Mission. The ideal of 'all things common' was not equal to the precarious financial and economic life of the Mission once the numbers of converts and the numbers of Brethren required to care for them began to increase. The financial uncertainty which haunted the Mission from its outset finally provoked the missionaries into taking up the farm of the Government villages as an assured source of income and rice for their schools and hostels. The growth of such institutions and notably the founding of the Seminary in Ranchi, was a development in the life of the Mission for which Gossner's principle of one simple family proved unequal.

The artisan evangelists in the Mission to the Kols had found that the training of converts produced a crisis in the life of the Mission when Brethren who held every variety of belief were permitted to instruct the Catechums^{am}. The theological diversity amongst Gossner's pietists had produced its problems before the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny and the influx of the newly baptised which commenced after 1858. Following the mass-movement to Christianity the change in the character of the Mission from proclaiming the Gospel to the heathen to the instruction of the converted and the training of indigenous leaders created the needs for a Seminary and for academically trained workers to supplement the artisan evangelists. For this more advanced training in Christian discipleship, Gossner's artisans, who could communicate the simple Gospel of conversion and redemption by the blood of Jesus, proved inadequate. For the Mission to grow in Christian maturity both types of missionaries were necessary. The introduction of the young untried pastors into the lay and artisan Mission organisation only too quickly produced disharmony and discord. By training and background the younger missionaries were unsuited to do the work of assistants. As Pastors they were officials of the State Church in Prussia, and owing to their University training and social status they were imbued naturally with the ideal of being leaders. Their violent reaction to the situation in Ranchi was indicative of how little they were prepared either to tolerate or to learn.

The immediate cause of the disruption in Ranchi was the Visitation of Inspector Anson and the introduction of the new Constitution. These events must be viewed as the outcome of the bureaucratic methods and mentality of the Curatorium. The Visitation of the Mission and even the introduction of a new Constitution were not in themselves sufficiently provocative to cause the older

missionaries to secede. It was the methods adopted by Ansonge in his dealings with the Senior Brethren and his inherent prejudices and foibles which vitiated his former experience in India and negated his capacity to act as Mission Inspector. The Curatorium as a body of officials were sensitive only to the way in which their wishes had been disobeyed and their accredited agent ignored. Since none of them had any intimate experience of mission affairs or conditions in India their reaction to the events in Ranchi was wholly conditioned by their determination to support the Mission Inspector. In their unconditional support and approval of Ansonge's conduct and by conniving at the clandestine correspondence of the junior missionaries the Curatorium must be deemed guilty of causing the secession of the Senior Brethren.

The British Government officials, the Agents and Commissioners who gave their support to the Gossner Brethren formed the liaison between the German Missionaries and the Anglican Episcopate. In 1840 Major Ouseley and Lieutenant Tickell interested Bishop Wilson in the evangelisation of the aboriginal tribes in the Colehan. In 1845 Colonel Ouseley and Captain Hannington issued the invitation to the Gossner Brethren to come to Chota Nagpur and Dr. John Haerberlin, a fellow German, but also the Agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society, and an ex-C.M.S. missionary, made the preliminary survey for establishing the Mission at Ranchi.

In 1857-58 following the Indian Mutiny and the complete disruption of the Mission, McLeod Wylie, the Commissioner Major Dalton and Captain Davies secured for the Brethren the financial subsidies from the Government and the C.M.S. which made renewal and advance possible. In the financial crisis of 1863-64 at the time of the Danish-German War, Colonel Dalton invited Bishop

Cotton to visit the Mission and as a direct result of the Bishop's interest the Auxiliary Committee for the Mission was founded in Calcutta. In the crisis of 1868-69 Colonel Dalton invited Bishop Milman to attempt a reconciliation between the two parties of missionaries and the weight of his influential advice brought over the native leaders and the mass of the converts to the side of the Senior Brethren. The favourable impression left by Bishop Cotton after his Visitation in 1864 anticipated the Appeal made by the Senior Brethren to Bishop Milman to accept them and their converts into the Church of England after their appeal to Berlin had been rejected.

The crisis in Anglican missionary policy arose initially through the decision of the Church Missionary Society to decline the Mission to the Kols when Gossner offered it in 1857. The policy of the Society rested on two principles:- the Constitution and character of the Kols Mission would require reforming before it could be taken over, and secondly, the Society was firmly committed to pioneer evangelism in India rather than the absorption of already established missions. One further local factor in the events of 1857-58 must be noticed - the fear of alienating German opinion both at home and in India when, owing to the Sepoy Mutiny, British rule had received such an unexpected setback.

In its relations with other Missions the C.M.S. strictly upheld the law of comity, and even when in 1864 a second representation was made to the Society by Bishop Cotton its policy remained unchanged. This inability of the Society to make accommodation in any way emerged as one aspect of the crisis in Anglican Missionary policy at this period. By contrast the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which had from its foundation committed the care and responsibility of the Society's interests

to the local Bishop felt no compunction over supporting Gossner's Mission to the Kols once the decision had been made by the Bishop in Calcutta. The stipulation of the local S.P.G. committee that nothing in the character and constitution of the Mission should be altered provided the means whereby the S.P.G. was able to take over support for the Senior Brethren and their converts without any further changes being required other than their ordination and confirmation.

Strained relations between younger and older missionaries and a dictatorial attitude in the Mission Board were no new thing in the history of Christian Missions and there had been a similar dissent amongst the Serampore Baptists in 1818-20 in which the Home Committee, the younger missionaries, and the veterans Carey, Marshman and Ward, were involved. It was the local circumstances which accompanied the crisis in the Gossner Mission to the Kols which in Bishop Milman's phrase were altogether new, and he would have failed in his position as head of the English Church in India if he had declined responsibility for the Senior Brethren and their converts.

Appendix 1.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE GOSSNER MISSION.

1. The Rules of the Missionary Association October 1838
which did not receive the Prussian Government Licence. Page.. ii

2. The Constitution licensed by the Prussian Government
June 29th 1842. iv

3. The Constitution for the Kols Mission drawn up by Gossner
August 8th 1848. vii

4. The Constitution for the Kols Mission drawn up by the
Curatorium June 12th 1868. xviii

Taken from W. Holsten: 'Johannes Evangelista Gossner'

Appendix Ia p.388.

The Rules drawn up by Gossner for the Bethlehem Missionary Association, dated October 1838, which did not receive the Prussian Government licence.

I

The little Missionary Association of the Bethlehem parish (so called, because the whole parish participates heartily in this task) has only one purpose, to test young people whatever their social status may be - craftsmen with excellent gifts, or candidates for preaching and teaching, "who know whom they have believed" (2 Tim. 1, 12) and have already experienced so much of Christianity, that though they are not able to preach, they are able to bear strong witness to the truth they have experienced by word and deed, and to prepare themselves, as long as it seems necessary, for their exalted calling on the plain evangelical way, according to the example of Jesus Christ and his apostles; also the Association shows the way, how to obtain, conserve and demonstrate the apostolic mind and spirit and to send them thus equipped into the world of the heathen.

II

Unlike the large missionary societies the little Association does not propose to support its candidates in the world of the heathen from its own resources, but to hand them over to other missionary societies which undertake their further instruction and finally their maintenance from their mission income. Therefore this Association will not organise active associations for (mission) aid or collect (money), but in order to bear the necessary costs for the instruction and the sending (off) will

accept only voluntary gifts from those who feel compelled to give.

III

Everyone is welcome as a member even if he does not contribute a penny (a coin worth about threepence - German "dreier") if he only supports the task with his whole heart according to the commandment of the Lord (Mt. 9, 38) and according to the example of the first mission association (Acts 1, 14).

IV

The Association does not need a president, as there is already one above all (men) who has said "you are all brethren" (Mt. 23, 8). And even if one person administers the spiritual affairs and the other persons the external, i.e. food, cash and so on, yet everybody will participate and serve in everything fraternally, as much as each is able.

V

Voluntary gifts will be accepted conscientiously and acknowledged in the "Biene" (magazine).

October 1838.

W. Holsten Appendix I p.386.

The Final Constitution licensed by the Prussian Government on
28th June, 1842

Approval of the Statutes of the Evangelical Missionary Association for the Propagation of Christianity among the Nations in Heathenlands. No. 16886.

I

Principally this Association has, like all missionary societies, the purpose, to proclaim the Gospel to all nations according to the command of Christ. Its special purpose, however, is to train young men of the craftsman class and of each other class in a way, shorter and less expensive than usual, to be assistants of the mission, to be deacons (in the sense of Acts 6, 1) Catechists and co-workers in the holy service and to make up a deficiency here and there, or to found mission stations of their own among the heathens. For that purpose they are taught and instructed not by paid teachers in an established institution, but by members of the Association in voluntary private tuition, while they, in order to save expenses, remain in their occupation (business) supporting themselves by their handiwork and gaining essential knowledge in their leisure hours. Nevertheless scientifically educated persons, so called scholars, curates, teachers, reporting themselves as such, combining their science with a determined piety may also be accepted. They also may be sent off in order to fill up the lack of uneducated persons and to lead the whole work.

II

In the selection of the pupils and the candidates these points are to be especially noted :-

- a) That they are thoroughly awakened with a living faith, well exercised in Christian life and godliness, feeling compelled only by the love of Christ and by true ardour of soul.
- b) That they possess special talents and gifts, to train themselves still further and to develop more and more.

III

Faith in the word of Jesus "When I sent you out without purse or bag or sandals did you lack anything?" (Luke 22, 35) is the means and the funds. This has sufficed to date, and we have to confess like the disciples "Lord, nothing". Therefore until to-day there have been no collections; 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 in by mission friends spontaneously of their own accord. And so it will be managed in the future, too. However, there will be no objection, if there are spontaneously, here (in Berlin, or Germany) or abroad, constituted aid associations of women and virgins, men and adolescents, (which like the single members properly ought not to be collectors of money, but rather eager and hearty men of prayer), associations of prayer, holy spiritual assemblies which are first of all careful, to follow the main purpose of the association, namely to pray for an apostolic mind and spirit, 'tongues of fire' (Acts 2) and ardent hearts for all service of the Lord among Christians and the heathen. Then they, compelled by the love of Christ, will be also anxious to practise their participation in the holy work by offering temporal gifts.

IV

Members of the Association are :-

- 1) All those whose hearts are occupied with the holy work, i.e. the conversion of the nations, who are earnestly and continually wrestling with the work in daily unceasing prayers to God, the Father of all men and of Jesus Christ, the great shepherd of the sheep; who are fervently and urgently calling down blessings and the pouring out of the Holy Spirit upon all the heathen and the messengers to them; upon our association; upon all missionary societies; upon the whole of mankind.
- 2) All those, who are helping to further mission work in some practical way by subscriptions of money and other things necessary for equipping and supporting the missionaries.

V

The direction of the mission work has been taken over hitherto by the Preacher Gossner in association with the Curatorium of the Women's Hospital Association and with other present active mission friends. A treasurer and a secretary shall be chosen out of the ranks of these members, who will appoint themselves if necessary by by-election, from amongst the admitted mission friends. In the "Biene Auf Dem Missionsfelde" will be given an account of the receipts and the expenses, the use made of the subscriptions and the working of the association.

Berlin 7:6:1842.

Signed:-

Gossner

Uhdn

Herrmann

Tesmer

Gemberg

Schubert

Thamm

S. Elsner

Lobeck

W. Holsten: 'Johannes Evangelista Gossner' P.389 Appendix 2.

A Constitution drawn up by Gossner for the Kols Mission,

August 8th, 1848.

Rules and Regulations for the Brethren and Sisters who are serving the Lord among the Heathen in Bethesda and Domba.

1.

Everybody who wishes to serve the Saviour amongst the heathen, generally speaking, in order to convert them must be converted thoroughly himself; he must have forgiveness of his sins, the peace of God, the childlike access to Him (compare Romans Ch. 5 verse 1f) and also the seal and the communion of the Holy Spirit; he must live no longer for himself, but for Him who died and rose for us and all the heathen; he must examine himself daily whether he still has this grace, this mind and this seal uncorrupt. The joy of the Lord must be his strength (Neh.8.10.) and a blessed heart must shine out of his eyes, so that the heathen see and ask - "How can one become such a man?". Everybody who is faithful in small things will be able without difficulty to preach Him and the blessed life in Him, above all first by his own way of life.

2.

To this end, everybody must request for himself grace and wisdom to expect the conversion of every single heathen with necessary patience, without cooling down in his zeal, or being misled by impatience. The love for Jesus and for the souls whom Jesus has redeemed with His blood, does not fear death or deadly perils or frequent diseases in a hot climate, because no servant of Jesus will die, ere the Saviour calls him off, all the more so as not a hair of his head or sparrow from the roof falls down

without God's will. This conviction makes the servants of Jesus indefatigable in all the troubles of their calling (not job) and preserves them from the discontent of Jonah, who desired death because the heat of the sun was too hot shining upon his head.

3.

However, necessary caution and care for health must be observed in order to avoid illness and death by departing from the custom of the climate. Therefore the Brothers and Sisters will warn each other and be warned carefully to avoid such carelessness which is equivalent to suicide.

4.

In order to be able to convert the heathen, the first priority is to learn the language and one should not be content long with interpreters who often say something different from what they ought. Here no diligence may be spared.

5.

The Brethren have no doctrine other than the doctrine of Jesus Christ and His Apostles; likewise their method of teaching and converting the heathen will be none otherwise than that of the Apostles. One witnesses about Jesus Christ, that He, the God above all, came into the world, suffered and died in order to save sinners. They paint him as the kindest most gracious Shepherd and Saviour, whose heart's desire it is to find and save a little lost sheep. One speaks to them about the Father, who sent the Son for the love of the world, and about the Holy Spirit, who transfigures Christ in the heart, leads to all truth, teaches, comforts, punishes, reminds and gives testimony of God's sonship in the heart. In short, the Bible is the

text book and the biblical histories of the Old and New Testament are the aid to acquaint the heathen with God and Jesus Christ.

6.

The missionary prays daily, hourly, before every speech, on the way to every kind of work among the heathen, at school or in the prayer house - most ardently and devotedly, that the Lord Jesus may own his testimony, accompany it with spirit and power, make his heart fervent and his tongue burning - like that of the Apostles - ardent and kindling. Then the heathen will feel and see that the missionary believes everything earnestly himself, and that he lives in the truth, which he pronounces, and thus the Lord will open the heart of the heathen like that of Lydia, if the missionary is speaking from heart to heart. He beseeches on behalf of Christ "Be ye reconciled to God" (2 Cor. 5:20). He tries to win and hold the hearts of the heathen, small and great for the Saviour being held himself by Jesus Christ and bearing Jesus in his own heart.

7.

If one becomes aware that a spark is dropped into the heart of one or several of the heathen and that grace is working in them, and they are showing that they want to hear still more, one enters into a closer relation with them, takes care of them, visits them in their huts, in order to get to know them better, so that they can pour out their hearts. Such people are accepted at first as candidates for baptism and special meetings are arranged for them, they are introduced to the truth of Christianity; penitence and baptism are explained and the Congregation or Church of Jesus is represented as Christ's bride. The duration of the instruction before baptism cannot be determined generally. One should be neither hasty nor too doubtful, but one should ask for wisdom to know the will of the Lord in each individual case.

8.

No one shall be baptised who is not previously aware that the Holy Spirit has detected him in his corruption and revealed to his heart Jesus as the Saviour of sinners. Therefore previously they have to answer these important questions publicly and they have to confess that they are lost without Jesus, but blessed by Him and that they hope to be "Delivered from the wrath to come" (1 Thess. 1:10). The new and recently baptised Christians are to be specially watched over so that they do credit and not discredit to the Saviour and the congregation, and that they attract and do not repel others by their way of life. Therefore special meetings are to be arranged for the baptised and they are to be exhorted and instructed, how to die themselves and to live for the Saviour, to renounce all heathen customs and to follow Christ.

9.

Every baptised Christian immediately becomes a candidate not a Companion - (Communicant) of the Lord's Supper and he must be instructed carefully to grow in the perception, love and grace of Christ, in order to attain the use of the Holy Supper soon, before the first impression of the baptismal grace disappears or cools down. Yet, one may not hasten it too much, but one must at first let him become hungry and instruct him exactly what the Holy Supper is and gives, or what harm entails if it is taken unworthily. Everybody who eats Jesus must also live in Jesus and be guided and lead by the Holy Spirit.

10.

The instruction of the baptised and Companions of the Lord's Supper may never cease and must be given if possible to the different groups of the congregation - i.e. Adult men, women,

adolescents, virgins, children - separately. But here one has to take care not only of the growth of perception of the intellect, but also of the growth in grace of the heart. Christ is to come not only in the head but also in the heart.. However, they have to learn texts or larger or smaller portions of the Holy Scripture so that the Holy Spirit can recall these to them if they are about to apostatise.

11.

Concerning conduct, one has to bring every converted Christian into personal touch with Jesus so that he prefers nothing in the world to Jesus, that he perpetually keeps his heart and eye on Jesus' deeds and suffering done for the love of us. The more intimate the intercourse with Jesus, the more ardent the love for Him. Christ's way of life from His childhood to His death is not only an example, but nothing less than merit for us, that we can be like him in this world. The grace, charity and simplicity of the first congregation according to the Acts, are the examples of the fruits of the Spirit, which are ripening on the tree of faith. Every converted Christian has to purify himself not only from general sinfulness, but also and especially from the particular naughtiness of his own nation, otherwise he is not faithful.

12.

Persons who are showing special grace and gifts - both male and female - may and shall be appointed to be native assistants. Likewise boys and adolescents with good talents are to be prepared in order to be engaged in time as assistants in the schools, and later on as teachers or catechists taking care of souls.

13.

If a converted Christian relapses into gross sins, one should not be surprised and lose courage, one should not treat him severely by excessive church discipline but one should act like the good shepherd who seeks the lost sheep until he recovers it. However, public sins must be blamed publicly, and a Companion of the Lord's Supper proving to be unworthy of the grace must be suspended publicly. This discipline, however, shall serve for amendment not for rejection and he is recommended to the hearty sympathetic intercession of the Congregation. Attendance at the Common Meetings is not forbidden to him, but recommended, and if he proves upright through repentance and true amendment, he is accepted again by regular absolution.

14.

If parents are received into the congregation by baptism, their children, aged less than four years are baptised at the same time, and those who are born afterwards are baptised immediately after their birth. Afterwards, however, and always it is a main task of the missionaries to take care of the children in schools and kindergartens to instruct them, to bring Christian doctrine not only into their memory but into their hearts. The parents are won by the children.

15.

Above all it is important that the missionaries celebrate Sunday with due devotion, and get the heathen used to it, and teach them that there is a distinct day devoted to God, and a Church or holy place belongs to it. In order to make this vivid to these rude people - the difference between the ungodliness of paganism and the true worship of God in Christianity - the missionaries themselves have to take the lead by their example

i.e. they have not only to abstain from all work, but they have to hallow this day. Meetings are arranged on the other days of the week too. The brethren are also often to perform their songs of praise and their simple prayers to God in the presence of the heathen and they are to invoke the name of the Lord upon the heathen and upon their children for their blessing. They shall learn, that praying and singing is an important thing; they shall learn to demonstrate awe and to be quiet.

16.

As for the relationships of the Brethren and Sisters of the Mission to each other, they constitute, although living together in different places - married and unmarried - one mission-family; and if our Brethren and Sisters are living in one place, they constitute a house-family, and everybody has to participate in the affairs according to his energies and capacities - either in education, or in arranging meetings, in visiting the sick, or in external housekeeping and business. They get on well with each other, guided by the director in the mission conferences and house conferences which are arranged periodically. In the former, proper mission work is taken down and discussed, in the latter external matters such as housekeeping.

17.

Every member tries to further the work of the Lord by conscientious economy, industry and faithfulness, in order thus to be able to found new stations. Everything that is gained and earned, comes into a money-chest from which is born everything that is needed in common or individually. The director or a brother who is appointed by him keeps accounts of receipts and expenses and also administers and distributes the stores. It stands to reason that everybody does willingly and faithfully

what he can and shall, and that everybody gladly tries to save and to gain something, according to the words of the Lord - "It is more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts 20:35) and according to His example, rather to serve than to be served. Finally, everybody has to live, in simplicity and to look not to his own affairs but to Christ's.

18.

A special blessing will rest upon the mission if you shall live together in charity and unity according to Psalm 133 verses 1-3; discord, however, would harm the work of the Lord and would be heart-rending for yourselves. Messengers of peace must keep peace. Therefore do not allow self-love which kills charity to rule; do not allow a bitter root to grow which destroys all blessings. Let envy be far away if others have more gifts, are loved more or find more openness and blessing. These in their turn, however, should not despise others. All brethren have to take care that every heart remains in intercourse with Jesus, that everybody is mindful of his own mistakes and bears other peoples' with patience. Charity may not be disturbed, and if it should happen - then the Brethren and Sisters shall not let the sun go down upon their wrath.

19.

Being a mission-family and a house-congregation you must have a superior (Director) or house-or family-father to whom all Brethren and Sisters are subject in charity and for the present time this shall be Brother Schatz, who is superior of the whole mission and especially of the station in Bethesda. For Domba you shall appoint a superior who lives there and is subordinate to him (Schatz). The Director has to see to the strict observance of the rules and regulations for the mission-families

and the house-congregations. He has to reprimand those who are absent or do wrong, and to nip dissensions in the bud or to settle them. He has all the rights and duties of a family and house-father. Should several stations be established and the district of the mission expand, a conference of the helpers is to be founded of which the chief is the President. The Director has to give reports to us periodically, however, the other Brethren and Sisters are not forbidden in agreement with the Director also to give reports and to write what they have on their mind. If somebody has a quarrel with his brother he shall proceed according to Matthew 18:15 "If thy brother shall trespass against thee go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone. If he should hear thee, thou has gained thy brother".

20.

The committee of the mission-association which sent you out is trusted with the guidance of the whole of the mission-work; therefore it must be continually and exactly acquainted with the internal and external state of the mission by assiduous correspondence and reports. Not only shall the superiors of each separate station write often, but every Brother and every Sister shall give news about themselves once a year at least, how it goes with them, whether they are remaining in the Lord like the branches in the vine, enjoying His nearness and grace, living in peace with the Brethren and Sisters, what special graces and temptations they have experienced. Also everybody should write what he wishes to recall concerning the mission, not, however, secretly and without the knowledge of the others, but frankly and sincerely in order that the superiors and the others at the same time may also describe their point of view. But stay at home with unfounded complaints and accusations; drop them into the water. The main points of the Minutes of

the mission and house-conferences must be reported to us. The same is required of the diaries which are to be kept on every station. Every day what is happening internally and externally shall be reported. Often little things have great consequences. The observance of this rule will be wholesome for everybody.

21.

The parochial registers, registers of baptism, weddings and burials must be kept in good order with all necessary statements - when - where - how - by whom - who was present - with the old and new name, when confirmed, when married, when died. The mission pastor shall write this with his own hand or initial with his own signature. Strict accounts shall be kept about every expense and income; an account shall be given about the state and the progress of the businesses and generally an account every year; the state of the whole housekeeping of the mission is to be explained to the Committee.

22.

We send these twenty-two points for acceptance by the Brethren and Sisters, because they themselves have asked us urgently for an order. After common prayer and invocation of the Lord's grace there shall be a solemn decision made for the conscientious and faithful observance of these points and they shall read them twice a year at least (and in the case of transgression especially) in house-meetings and in the families in order to commit them deeply to memory and to implore corporately new grace for their observance.

As for the rest we reserve to ourselves the right to add further explanations and additions, if necessary, and we do not

doubt that the dear Brethren and Sisters who have devoted themselves to the Saviour in order to serve Him among the heathen will accept these directions in hearty love. May the Lord add His blessing and His spirit of grace to them. And may He himself speak His word to the soul - "Take my yoke upon you and learn from me; for I am gentle and lowly in heart, and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light" (Matthew 11:29).

So as all members of the committee subscribe to these rules and regulations so also all the Brethren and Sisters having read, considered and approved them in the face of the Lord, shall subscribe to them and thus they shall bind themselves to the faithful observance of them, trusting in the aid of the Lord.

The Committee

of the Evangelical Association for the Propagation of Christianity
among the natives of heathen-countries.

Berlin 8.8.1848.

W. Holsten 'Johannes Evangelista Gossner'

Appendix 3 p.396f.

The Constitution of 1868.

Constitution for the Gossner Mission among the Kols in India.

Section 1: The Executive Committee

1. A Committee shall be constituted consisting of a President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. The same shall have the title The Committee of the Kols - Mission. Its members shall be nominated by the Curatorium (Board of Trustees) for three years.
2. The Committee as a whole in brotherly unity has the task of leading and representing the whole Kols-Mission both externally and internally. It shall take care of its unity and order, and shall further its development, and shall provide for the Christian community and for all its co-workers and their families.
3. The Committee is responsible for its laws and its duties to the Board of Trustees - Curatorium - of the Gossner-Mission in Berlin. It must obey the Curatorium in all its official functions. It must inform the Curatorium of the condition of the work at any time and it must request permission for all undertakings, expenses and receipts.
4. In its task the Committee has the privilege and right, mindful of the affairs of God, to demand obedience from all the co-workers of its district, but it shall not do this imperiously. The members shall consider themselves as the senior persons in official things, but with the other people completely equal, and they shall do their task in this way, that they have the consent from all the workers for the mission. If it is necessary to found large buildings or institutions, permission must be given by the General Meeting.

5. The Committee holds meetings to deliberate its affairs. These meetings must be announced by the President and must be held at any time, when one member wants it.
6. The Committee sends official reports regularly to the Curatorium in Berlin and is responsible for all things which happen (whether favourable or unfavourable) to the mission. These shall be reported to the Curatorium. The main annual report takes place immediately after the General Meeting. Also the Committee has to report if uncommon occurrences have taken place or new undertakings or measures are planned and generally as often and in such detail so that the Curatorium at any time knows the whole situation of the mission. These reports shall be signed by all three members of the Committee.
7. The Committee has to maintain discipline between the brothers. If one brother gives offence he shall be admonished very gently by the President. This shall be done personally or in writing. In the second instance he shall be reminded of his duty in the presence of the whole Committee. The third and fourth instance is at the General Meeting and the report for the Curatorium. The report shall not be given without announcing it to the brethren and not without the brother being asked to make his own declaration to the Curatorium. The members shall do this difficult duty in brotherly discretion and love, but also with holy seriousness. In especially difficult cases the Committee has the privilege and right to suspend the author immediately, till the decision from the Curatorium arrives. During the time he is suspended he receives only the half of his wages.
8. The three members of the Committee have to divide their work in this way, that the President convenes and leads the meetings. He is responsible for the execution of the resolutions and also the directions from the Curatorium. He has to visit regularly

the different stations of the Kols-mission. The result he discusses with the other two members and gives a report to the Curatorium. This report must be signed by all the three members. The President has also to compose the regular reports for the Curatorium and to sign them first.

9. The Treasurer. His title of General Treasurer of the Kols-mission. He has to reckon up all expenses and receipts. Having reckoned up all expenses he is personally responsible to the Curatorium in Berlin, so that he administers the budget of the money of the Kols-mission in a uniform and clear way. He has to assess all the money and all the objects with monetary value for the whole mission as well as for the single parishes. He has to pay out all the expenses, salaries, building charges which are granted from the Curatorium. Extraordinary expenses, which are not yet assigned by the Curatorium, may be only spent in cases of need and with the consent of the Committee or in important events by the General Conference.

10. The General Treasurer has to submit an annual budget at the end of the year to the Curatorium. Simultaneously he has to submit the budget of the following year, which must be approved by the General Conference and all members. With the first annual budget he has to enclose an inventory of all immovables, all the houses, all the plots of land, all the incomes etc. and later with the report of subsequent annual budgets he has to note down all the changes in the inventory.

11. Concerning in practice the responsibility of the General Treasurer, all the missionaries have to pay attention to the following points:-

a) All brethren in Ranchi shall be instructed, that they have to deliver to the General Treasurer all money that they have received for the mission from friends of the Mission

in India, as well as the government grants for the schools and orphans and also the amount of potential land or domestic property.

The brethren of the stations in Hazaribagh, Purulia and Chayabassa have to enclose a list of all the gifts for the mission they have received as well as the grants, which are granted by the government for schools and orphans together with the potential produce of houses and landed property, which belongs to the mission, and they have to reckon up the sums with the General Treasurer.

- b) The General Treasurer has the exclusive right to levy money for the Kols-Mission in Calcutta, Berlin or in other places, and none of the missionaries are permitted to draw money direct

Each brother has to address himself to the General Treasurer in money matters. If an urgent case of need occurs, the General Treasurer has the privilege and right to grant a sum of 200 Rupees with the approval of all members of the Committee. But he has subsequently to apply for permission to the Curatorium.

- c) The senior missionary of every station has to fill in exactly the monthly bill, and has to send it at the end of the month to the General Treasurer, who has to send the money punctually after the bill is approved by the Committee. If no monthly bill is given in, no payment will follow.
- d) For the seminary in Ranchi a separate monthly bill shall be filled in, in which the salaries of the European brethren employed in the seminary and also of the native teachers, as well as the expenses for the board, clothing etc. for the new students of the seminary shall be declared. All expenses, which are incurred by the seminary shall not be written on the monthly bill of the station at Ranchi, but exclusively on the seminary bill. All employees of the seminary shall receive

their salaries from the Principal.

- e) All correspondence by the Treasurer in money matters to the Auxiliary Committee in Calcutta, to Messrs. Schroder and Smidt in Calcutta, to the Auxiliary Committee in Berlin, to the Curatorium in Berlin, or to any other place in order to cover money, must be signed by the two other members, as well as by the Treasurer.
 - f) Annually in the middle of the financial year a revision of the cash in presence of all the Ranchi brethren shall be undertaken. It shall be taken down in the minutes, a copy of it shall be signed by all the Ranchi brethren and it shall be sent to the Curatorium in Berlin.
 - g) The General Treasurer has the duty to make a report of the cash to every ordinary General Meeting and has to permit inspection of the cash by every brother
 - h) After expiration of one financial year the General Treasurer has to send the twelve monthly bills from each station and from the seminary, as well as the yearly survey of all the expenses and receipts of all the stations and the whole mission to the Curatorium
12. The Secretary has the task to see that the official exchange of correspondence between the Curatorium and the Kols Mission is filed and carried on in a lively manner. He is responsible to the Curatorium and has to take down the minutes during the committee and station meetings and at General Conferences and has to submit them through the President to the Curatorium. He has to keep a record of all the official correspondence between the Curatorium and the Committee. He has to take care that the directions and resolutions, which are sent by the Curatorium through the committee, arrive punctually and promptly at their addresses. He has to support the General Treasurer in his book keeping, if he wants it.

13. It will be expected from the three members that they support, encourage, remember and strengthen each other in a brotherly spirit.

Section 2: The Educational System.

14. The seminary in Ranchi is not to be considered as an institution of the station at Ranchi, but it has to have in view equally the total requirements of education and teaching in the whole Kols Mission
15. The seminary in Ranchi is not under the jurisdiction of the station management but of the Curatorium, the Committee and the General Conference.
16. For all internal affairs of the seminary, that is the study and time table, paedagogics and discipline, determination of text books, distribution of the lessons to the different teachers and the arrangements of the holidays, a special seminary committee shall be nominated by the Curatorium. This committee shall consist of a principal and a vice-principal, who have responsibility for the internal affairs. By order of both of the leading brethren, one of the brothers has to undertake the administration of the economical affairs and has to take care of the boarding and clothing of the pupils.
17. The seminary management has to give an account each year in a special report about the seminary and the whole educational system, together with the general report.
18. The course of studies is to be approved by the Curatorium.
19. The arrangement of all the schools of the Kols-Mission, their time-table and textbooks shall be agreed upon with the seminary management in Ranchi. The seminary management has from time to time to make an inspection of the state of all the schools of the Kols-Mission, and has to give an account about that to the Curatorium

20. The seminary management has the right to permit inspection of the whole seminary administration by the meeting of the General Conference. On this occasion the annual examinations are conducted by the seminary management. Each teacher has to examine in his own subjects. To this examination also all friends and patrons are admitted. The meeting of the General Conference takes note of the examination and forms a judgment of the result together with wishes and proposals.

Section 3: The Conferences

The Station Conference.

21. All European mission workers of one station constitute together a corporation, whose name is Station Conference. Every mission worker who is engaged by the Curatorium is an ordinary member of this conference. The ordained and the unordained; the teacher and the assistant.
22. The task of the Station Conference is to take care that the whole mission work is done in a brotherly and uniform way. That to each mission worker is afforded the opportunity to give and to receive suggestions and instructions. It has the task of reporting their meetings so that the Curatorium in Berlin can picture to itself the common work and the different qualities of the workers and their relations with one another.
23. The Station Conference meets regularly once in a month on an appointed day and each member has the duty to come. This conference is convened and led by the senior missionary^a. In the larger stations like Ranchi the senior missionary is assisted by the secretary. It is to be observed that native assistants according to their maturity shall be admitted to the discussions of the station - conferences partly as listeners, partly as consultative members.

24. The Station Conference gives advice in its meetings regarding all affairs of the mission of that station external and internal. Their considerations, applications and resolutions shall be recorded in a minute book, which is the chronicle of the station. Each record of minutes is to be signed by each person present. The resolutions are effective, if the absolute majority of the persons present is in favour. The monthly report for the Curatorium about the station is to be sent after each conference. In important affairs and by request from the Curatorium, all protocol reports are to be copied word for word and are to be submitted to the Curatorium. The official report is to be signed by all members of the station conference.
25. Every ordinary member of the conference has the right to enclose with his signature his own remarks.
26. The missionaries of the outside stations :- Hazaribagh, Purulia and Chayabassa, who are unable to have conferences because of their small number of members, shall meet for a monthly ordinary report; they shall report the work, their experiences, and the prospect of the station circle and their ideas in a minute book, and shall send the report to the Curatorium. This report is to be signed by all European members of the station.

General Conference.

27. All European mission workers of the whole Kols mission constitute together a corporation, which is named General Conference. Each European mission worker who is engaged by the Curatorium, the ordained as well as the unordained, is an ordinary member of the General Conference.
28. The task of the General Conference is to take care, that the whole mission work in the whole field of the Kols-mission is done in a brotherly and uniform way, so that

each mission worker from the whole sphere is afforded an opportunity to receive suggestions and also to give suggestions to the whole circle of his co-workers. And it has the task to send their conference minutes to the Curatorium, so that the Curatorium can picture to itself the complete work, as well as the relation between the workers.

29. The General Conference meets regularly once a year. The Committee of the Kols mission shall be convened six weeks beforehand. All members shall be informed which particular subjects will be discussed. All members shall be invited to make their own application, and they shall send it 14 days beforehand to the Committee. The meeting of the General Conference is to commence with a public service in the Hindi language, which is to be conducted on a fixed rota by two brethren, of whom one conducts the liturgy and the other the sermon. Also the Holy Communion takes place. All sessions begin and end with a prayer. The General Conference shall have in view the whole situation of the Kols mission and shall put at the head of the agenda urgent business. For the purpose of detailed and thorough discussion, a general report about the ethical and ecclesiastical life of the congregation is to be worked out, by the President or the Secretary. For this report the brethren from the outside stations have to send their special reports about their sphere of activity. In the same way a special report is to be sent from the Principal of the seminary. At the meeting of the General Conference also shall take place an examination of the students, of which in the report there shall be given due notice. The meeting of the General Conference has the privilege and right to adjust possible differences between the brethren,

if they cannot be settled in the select circle of the concerned persons. In the same way it shall put in order any possible offences that have happened which could not be rectified by the ordinary procedures, by giving brotherly exhortations and reminders. The meeting of the General Conference has the right in urgent cases to conclude an expense to the amount of 700 Rupees, but it has to apply subsequently for permission for this to the Curatorium.

The General Conference has to receive a report of the state of the cash from the General Treasurer.

It reaches its conclusions by an absolute majority of the present ordinary members. It is to take into consideration, that mature native assistants shall also take their part in the meetings.

30. The discussions, conclusions and applications shall be taken down and shall be recorded in a book and signed by all participants. The minutes shall be written by the Secretary. A certified copy shall be sent to the Curatorium. Each member is allowed to note down his possible objections. At the same time the General Report shall be proposed. Extraordinary sessions of the General Meeting can only take place in very urgent cases, and all three members of the Committee have to be convinced of the necessity of such a step. But it can be applied for in particular and urgent affairs by a written vote. But such a written vote has only validity if three quarters of the members are in favour of the application.
31. All important undertakings inside the Kols Mission and all the more important orders concerning the allotting of the work and longer holidays for the single mission workers can only be sanctioned, if the Curatorium has given permission or direction. To such important acts are to be added

granting of an occupation to a brother, transfer of a brother to another place or employment, definitive employment of a native assistant in teaching or ministry, buying or sale of land or houses, foundation of institutions, holiday journeys which are longer than four weeks and for which a special payment from the cash is necessary. If it is necessary to purchase and maintain a horse for a station for the purpose of the mission, then the Committee has to decide it. If in urgent events an exception is necessary the grant may be applied for afterwards. But no one is ever allowed to set out on a journey to Europe without the explicit permission of the Curatorium.

32. The Curatorium reserves to itself the right to make additions and alterations to this constitution, after sufficient experience has been gained from its working.
33. The Curatorium expects that all instructions of the constitution shall be observed in holy faith for the sake of the Lord, conscience, order and peace, and it makes each brother responsible to take care, that it will be adhered to strictly.

Two copies of this constitution will be sent to each brother, one of them shall be sent back to the Curatorium with a notice of information duly signed. If any one refuses to accept the constitution, the Curatorium considers this as an act of dissociation from the association.

Berlin, 12th June 1868.

THE CURATORIUM OF THE EVANGELICAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY

FOUNDED BY J. GOSSNER.

D. BUCHSEL
General Superintendent

UHDEM
Minister of State
retired

KOLLNER
Dean of St. Peter's

RIQUET
Purveyor

REIMANN
Accountant

PLENDER
Privy Auditor

UHDEN
Special Member

DR. BEUTNER
Chief Editor

THALM
Honorary Member

ANSORGE
Pastor and Mission Inspector

APPENDIX 2.

The Official Records dealing with the Careers of the following Officers who were connected with Gossner's Mission to Chota Nagpur, 1845-1875.

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Samuel Richard Tickell | xxxi |
| 2. John Ralph Ouseley | xxxvi |
| 3. John Caulfield Hannyngton | xlii |
| 4. Edward Tuite Dalton | xliv |
| 5. James Snow Davies | xlvii(a) |

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SAMUEL RICHARD TICKELL

Nominated by J.D. Alexander Esq, on the recommendation of Cadet's uncle, W. Linley, Esq. son of the late Lieutenant Samuel Tickell, 8th Regiment N.I. Deputy Judge Advocate General in the Field.

| | | |
|------|----------------------------|--|
| 1811 | Born 19th August. | |
| 1829 | 12th June | ENSIGN 22nd/31st N.I. |
| 1830 | 9th February | Arrived in India. |
| | 22nd April | To do duty with 68th N.I. |
| | 3rd September | Appointed at his own request to do duty with 72nd N.I. at Mullye. |
| 1832 | | ACTING ENSIGN |
| | 13th March | The request to do duty with 31st N.I. instead of the 72nd confirmed. |
| | 14th November | The request to do duty with 34th N.I. confirmed |
| | 23rd December | Posted to Lucknow to do duty with 22nd N.I. |
| 1833 | 22nd February | Removed at his request to 31st N.I. |
| | 1st August - 30th November | On leave at PATNA. |
| 1834 | 31st July - 31st August | On leave to the Presidency |
| 1835 | 31st January - 31st March | } Leave to appear before the College examiners |
| | 1st June - 1st October | |
| | 21st September | Passed examination in the College. |
| | 14th October | Appointed to act as Interpreter to the 31st N.I. |

- 1835 26th October Recommended by the Quarter Master General for the duty of surveying the tract of country on the S.W. Frontier where the operations of the Ramghar Battalion are about to commence. Stated to be now at Bancoorah to have served with the detachment employed on that frontier two years ago and to be thoroughly qualified for the study; in proof of which a small survey of the disturbed districts by him in 1833 is forwarded.
- 6th November Directed to accompany the Ramghur Light Infantry Battalion for the performance of a special duty during the movement of that Corps.
- 1836 4th August LIEUTENANT 31st N.I.
- 30th August Directed to do duty with the Ramghur L.I. Battalion. With reference to the very useful acquisitions made to Geographical knowledge by Lieut. Tickell in 1835 the Commander in Chief again appointed him to do duty with the Ramghur Battalion while employed on service on the S.W. Frontier in order to make further surveys. Granted Rs.100 per mensem while so employed.
- 1837 8th May An allowance of Rs.200 granted to Lieut. Tickell the officer in charge of the Ramghur Battalion for Civil Duties entrusted to him. Appointed on account of his peculiar fitness to the Civil charge of the whole of the Cole Peers on a consolidated allowance of Rs.500 p.m.

- 1837 10th April His proposed appointment to be an officiating Deputy Assistant in the Quarter-Master General's Department suspended for the present Military Consideration.
- 19th December Letter from F.J. Hathday Esq. officiating Secretary to the Bengal Government to Captain Wilkinson, Agent to the Governor General on the S.W. Frontier. "I am directed to express the satisfaction with which the Honourable the Deputy Governor of Bengal has formed of the account of Lieutenant Tickell's proceedings under your instructions and superintendence. His Honour concurring with you that Lieut. Tickell is entitled to commendation for the part he has performed and you are requested to convey to that officer the sentiments with which his proceedings are received by the Government."
- 1838 24th September 'With reference to his application to be permitted to join his regiment proceeding on Service it is stated - "Lieut. Tickell has been an officer who has been very usefully employed in the management of the wild tribes of the Colehan. He is understood to have acquired the Cole language and to have conciliated to a remarkable degree the affections of the people. It will be difficult if not impossible to supply Lieut. Tickell's place and at all

events his removal is certain to cause great public inconvenience" and he was accordingly apprised that his application could not be complied with.'

- 1840 13th April The warm acknowledgment of the Government expressed for the promptitude, tact and judgment displayed by him in preventing a case of suttee.
- 12th August Appointed Assistant to the Resident at Catmandhoo and Commandant of the Residency Escort. Allowed to remain at his post on the S.W. Frontier Agency until the season will allow of his travelling through the Terai. Ceases in consequence to be Junior Assistant to the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur.
- 15th December
1841. 15th March On LEAVE
- 27th January Appointed Assistant to the Governor General's Agent for Rajpootana
- 17th February Placed at the disposal of the Governor of Bengal and appointed a Junior Assistant to the Agent of the Governor General on the S.W. Frontier and stationed in charge of the Colehan district
- 1842 20th May Leave for two years to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope per 'Zenobia' 13th May
- 1843 23rd March The unexpired portion of his leave granted to him in April last cancelled from the date on which he assumed charge of the Lohardugga Division. Retired from the

charge of the Lohardugga Division. Assumed charge of the office of Junior Assistant to the Agent to the Governor General S.W. Frontier

1843 April -

1844 April

On leave in Darjeeling

1843 22nd November

Appointed First Class Assistant to the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur. Permitted to proceed on the river during the months of December and January ensuing and to visit Calcutta if necessary.

1865 15th January

Retired Lieutenant-Colonel.

India Office Records.

Bengal Service Army List
Volume 4 item 431.JOHN RALPH OUSELEY

Nominated by W. Astell Esq. at the recommendation of Lady Chambers.
Son of Sir William Ouseley.

| | | |
|------|---------------|---|
| 1801 | Born 12th May | |
| 1818 | 14th March | ENSIGN 30th/60th N.I. |
| | 1st August | LIEUTENANT |
| | 15th August | admitted into the Service |
| 1823 | 7th May | Junior Assistant to the Governor General's agent in Saugor and Nerbudda Territories |
| 1825 | 8th November | Placed at the Commander in Chief's disposal during the employment of his regiment against BHURTPORE. Shared Bhurtpore prize money. |
| 1829 | 2nd October | CAPTAIN 60th N.I. |
| 1831 | 4th February | In charge of district of Baitool |
| 1832 | 30th July | His conduct as Principal Assistant at Hussingabad in having demanded the release of one of the Scindea's subjects, confined by order of the Amil of Hurda, considered reprehensible, as well as the mode of making the demand, and the tone of his letters: and the unqualified disapprobation of the Governor-General expressed at his intemperate language when speaking of the Resident and Prime Minister at Gwalior. |

1833 22nd August

The complaint made against him by the Rajah of Nagpur for having issued an order to the Officers of His Highness to admit himself and his train duty free to the Mahadeo Temple in the Panchmurree Hills and the opinion of the Governor-General that he was not entitled to issue such an order with the intimation that if he considered his party not obliged to pay the tolls he should have pursued a different course, referred to.

Permitted to depute a native for the inspection of the falls and rapids of the Nerbudda. Stated that should that river be opened he would be able to supply abundance of the finest coal. A specimen of the coal on analysis was far from being of that superior quality supposed. Captain Ouseley requested that an opinion of its merits might be suspended until a better sample could be furnished

1834 January and November

Further specimens of coal forwarded sent to the Assay Master for report. His search to be continued. The Assay Master reported that one of the specimens was superior to any before sent by him and agreeing with the Burdwan coal, but the other a poor slatey coal.

April

Succeeds Major Wardlaw as Principal Assistant at Dussarmow taking temporary charge of Nursingpore retaining charge of

Hooshingabad. A map of the Nerbudda taken by him from the survey of a native is, it is observed, well done and does credit to his abilities.

1834 July

The Commissioner states that :-

'Hoshingabad is a commercial place and before the institution of the Pergunnah Courts the duties of the Civil Courts were heavy particularly relative to commercial transactions. Captain Ouseley's decisions generally gave satisfaction and when appeals were made they chiefly originated from the intricacy of accounts which admitted of more than one construction.'

1835 May

Permitted to defer sending in a statement on the subject of the Saugor coal till after the rains to enable him to make some experiments.

4th June

The Sudder Board of Revenue approved of Captain Ouseley's employment believing him to be one of the most competent of the Saugor and Nerbudda Assistants

1836 19th October

The specimen of the coal tested was pronounced to be of a superior quality, but the difficulty of conveying the coal offered an insuperable difficulty to the working of the mines.

2nd December

MAJOR

1836

The Officiating Commissioner remarks as follows :-

"On the whole the returns are favourable and I think Major Ouseley should discontinue the apprehension of so many persons for petty crimes as were seized in 1836, particularly when the proportion eventually discharged without punishment is so large. I know Major Ouseley to be a most laborious and indefatigable public servant and hope that more attention to the point may be observable in the future and am certain that it will relieve him from much unnecessary trouble and vexation. This and greater accuracy in the Returns are certainly required at Hooshingabad in the administration of the Principal Assistant's Criminal Index."

1837 28th February

The objectionable mode in which he treats the instructions of the Commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories noted.

14th November

The Officiating Commissioner of the Saugor Division says :-

"My last report was prepared without sufficient information about this district, Hooshingabad in particular, and I was under the necessity in self defence of making an observation regarding its deficiency, but such observations would on this occasion be misplaced and I have to record my obligations to Major Ouseley for the careful and ready attention paid by him to my wishes in his Police Reports on the District for the last six months. In my last report I stated for

the information of the Honourable the Lieut.-Governor the high opinion I entertained of Major Ouseley for assiduity and application to business. My prolonged residence in Jubbulpore has strengthened that opinion and though we and all men must occasionally differ in our sentiments on particular questions I have no hesitation in affirming that Major Ouseley's merits are of a high order, that the welfare of the people under his authority is most anxiously studied by him and his considerations and efforts to promote their prosperity must be ever remembered by the well disposed and industrious among them with real and sincere gratitude."

1839 4th February

Placed at the disposal of the Governor of Bengal and appointed Officiating Agent to the Governor-General South West Frontier.

2nd May

Appointed Agent.

1840 13th April

The salary as Commissioner to commence from the date on which he joined his appointment. Between the dates of leaving the station of his former appointment viz. Jubbulpore and reaching the jurisdiction of the S.W. Frontier Agency, it was resolved that he should be entitled only to his regimental pay and allowances. The application for travelling charges negated as the salary of his Office viz. Rs.30,000 per annum was considered sufficiently liberal to meet such expenses

- 1840 4th June Court state that the notice which Government took of Major Ouseley's practice of discussing instead of obeying the instructions of his official superior was very proper.
- 13th August Granted an allowance of Rs.230 per mensem on account of Camp Equipage and Establishment for Circuit.
- 1843 5th February LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.
- 1844 20th March The irregularity of his judicial proceedings and unsatisfactory manner in which he conducts them noticed. The entire duties of Civil and Sessional Judge in the several districts of the South West Frontier were in consequence transferred to Captain Hannington. His proceedings in regard to the apprehension of Paloo Mullick in Soonpore disapproved.
- 1850 17th February Died on service at Dinapore.

India Office Records.

Bengal Service Army List
Volume 7. item 13.JOHN CAULFIELD HANNYNGTON

Nominated by R. Campbell Esq. at the recommendation of the Cadet's mother. Son of T.K. Hannyngton Esq. of Bellisle Fermanagh.

- 1807 Born 8th March
- 1825 8th January ENSIGN 24th N.I.
29th June Arrived in India
20th July LIEUTENANT
- 1827 Commanded the Escort of the Resident at Kotah Central Indian Agency
- 1828 November Served with 15th N.I.
- 1830 14th January Furlough in England
- 1832 15th November Arrived at Fort William from England
- 1833 12th April Appointed Acting ADJUTANT 24th N.I.
28th November Qualified as Interpreter by College Examiners
- 1834 5th March Confirmed as ADJUTANT 24th N.I.
- 1835 28th July Junior Assistant to Governor General's Agent in Ramghur. Ceases in consequence to act as Adjutant.
5th August Received charge of Maunbhoom Division
- 1837 30th September Delivered over charge of the Maunbhoom Division
28th November Appointed a Principal Assistant to Agent to the Governor General South Western Frontier under Regulation xiii of 1833 on a consolidated salary of Rs.1,000 per mensem.
- 1839 22nd January Summoned to the Presidency on the Trial of Mr. Ogilvey.

| | | |
|------|---------------|--|
| 1840 | 8th January | CAPTAIN |
| 1841 | 8th April | His explanation regarding the censure of his judicial administration in Maunbhoom considered satisfactory but his request to have the censure expunged from the records of Government negatived. |
| | 9th October | Made over charge of the Treasuries |
| | 20th October | Received charge of the Treasury of Maunbhoom. |
| 1843 | 13th November | Deputy Commission ^{er} S.W. Frontier and Sambulpur |
| | 30th December | Made over charge of the Maunbhoom Treasury to Lieutenant. Oakes. |
| 1844 | 19th January | Deputy Commissioner Chota Nagpur on a salary of Rs.15,00 per mensem. |
| | | MAJOR |
| 1854 | 28th November | LIEUT. COLONEL 24th N.I. |
| 1860 | | Deputy Military Auditor General, Officiating Military Auditor General |
| 1861 | | Officiating Controller of Military Finance |
| | 31st December | Retired as Major General |

India Office Records.

Bengal Service Army List
Volume 13. Item 28.EDWARD TUIPE DALTON

Nominated by Sir William Young, Bart. at the recommendation of his step-father the Marquess of Headfort.

| | | |
|------|------------------|--|
| 1815 | Born 17th August | |
| 1835 | 13th June | ENSIGN 9th/33rd N.I. |
| | 12th November | Arrived at Fort William |
| | 28th November | Appointed to do duty with the 43rd N.I. at Barrackpore |
| 1836 | June | Removed to 9th N.I. |
| | 23rd June | Posted to 33rd N.I. |
| 1839 | 11th March | Appointed to do duty with the Assam Light Infantry Military Constabulary |
| | 10th August | Confirmed as Acting Adjutant to the Assam Light Infantry |
| | 24th December | Brigadier Littler states that Ensign Dalton has been acting Adjutant to the Assam Light Infantry since the 26th June last. "He is a very smart zealous officer, extremely attentive to his duties and in every respect fully qualified for the situation being mild in temper and of an engaging conciliatory manner. Absent on command at Ranypore." |
| 1840 | 8th April | Appointed Adjutant to the Assam Light Infantry |
| 1842 | 1st April | Officiating Junior Assistant to the Commissioner of Assam |

| | | |
|------|----------------|--|
| 1842 | 29th July | The arrangement authorised under which Lieutenant Brodie, assumed charge of the office of Principal Assistant in Upper Assam with the assistance of Lieutenant Dalton confirmed. |
| 1843 | 29th September | Placed at the disposal of the Commissioner of Assam for political employ |
| 1875 | 15th April | Retired from Service |
| | 11th June | In Europe |
| 1877 | 1st October | MAJOR-GENERAL |
| 1880 | 30th June | Died in England. |

SERVICES IN THE FIELD

Colonel Dalton served in Chota Nagpur during the Mutiny on occasions detailed in the Statement of Employment during Service. Obtained medal.

Nature of Employment during Service

During his service in Assam which extended from the middle of 1839 to the 1st July 1843 as Adjutant First Assam Light Infantry and from that date to 5th January 1857 in Civil and Political employ Colonel Dalton accompanied or undertook several expeditions to the Frontier tribes and his conduct was favourably noticed by the Government and Court of Directors.

As Officiating Political Agent in Upper Assam Colonel Dalton in 1855 planned and superintended the operation of a small force composed of a Detachment of the First Assam Light Infantry and some Kampti Auxiliaries organised for the occasion under the command of Lieut. F.G. Eden which surprised and captured the Mishmi Chief Kaisa who had murdered the French Missionaries Messrs. Kink and Bowrey on the Tibetan Frontier, north east of Sadya.

For the above services received the "Cordial thanks" of the Marquess of Dalhousie, Governor General in a latter. Foreign Department No. 253 6th June 1855.

In January and February 1858 Colonel Dalton as Commissioner of Chota Nagpore accompanied a field force commanded by Major McDonell of the 27th Madras Native Infantry against insurgents in Palamow and from May 1858 to the end of February 1859 Colonel Dalton was employed in superintending and conducting operations against insurgents in Singhboom with a force composed of a European Naval Brigade, Sikhs and a levy of Kols.

During the above operations he frequently received the thanks of the Bengal Government and intimation of the entire approval of the Secretary of State in a dispatch No. 60 of the 4th November 1859 and finally for his services during the mutinies brought to the notice of the Home Government in the Governor General's dispatch. Colonel Dalton was honoured by a letter from the Secretary of State dated India Office 11th June 1860, communicating to him the approbation of the Queen of his conduct on the several occasions above referred to.

In July 1868 Colonel Dalton was ordered to proceed to Keonjhur, one of the Cuttack Tributary Mehals, and in concert with Mr. T.G. Ravenshaw, C.S. the Superintendent, to put down a very general insurrection of the people of that country but chiefly of the Mountain Tribes of Bhoomyas, Colonel Dalton received the acknowledgments of the Government of India for the success of the operations on this occasion by which the insurrection was brought to a speedy and satisfactory close, all leaders having been captured.

In February 1869 Colonel Dalton was Gazetted Companion of the Star of India.

At the request of the Government of Bengal in a letter to the Government of India No. 307 of the 24th July 1870, Colonel

Dalton was permitted to retain his appointment as Commissioner of Chota Nagpore after having attained the age of 55 years.

Colonel Dalton was gazetted to Colonel's allowance in the order of the Government of India Military Department No. 6192 of 1873 published in the Gazette of India 21st June 1873, but a strong recommendation having been made by the Government of Bengal and India, the Secretary of State sanctioned his being reappointed Commissioner of Chota Nagpore until February 1875.

With reference to the above order and orders by the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in the Gazette of the 15th February last Colonel Dalton ceased to be Commissioner of Chota Nagpore on the first of the current month.

Declaration

The conduct of Colonel E.T. Dalton, Bengal Staff Corps, has never been the subject of a Court Martial or Court of Enquiry.

Calcutta. 23rd March 1875. Signed E.T. Dalton C.S.I.
Bengal Staff Corps.

India Office Records.

Bengal Service Army List.

L/MIL/10/32 item 205

L/MIL/10/80 item 153

JAMES SNOW DAVIES

Nominated by W.I. Clark Esq., at the recommendation of J.N. Freshfield Esq. son of Samuel Davies, Bengal Medical Establishment.

1823 Born 23rd July

1840 20th January ENSIGN.

11th February Arrived at Fort William.

10th March Appointed to do duty with the 40th N.I. at Dinapore

11th March Posted to 11th N.I. at Saugour.

15th May-13th August Leave. to remain at Patna on pay and allowance

15th May Removed at his request to the 23rd N.I. at Agra

1843 3rd May LIEUTENANT

1847 April Appointed Officiating Interpreter and Quartermaster

27th August Appointed to do duty with the Ramghur Light Infantry Battalion.

1849 13th October Appointed Officiating Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent in the South West Frontier Agency.

27th November Appointed permanently to the Civil Department.

Served as Civil Officer in Chota Nagpur during the disturbances of 1857-58-59.

Mutiny Medal

1861 MAJOR

1862 14th February JUDICIAL COMMISSIONER CHOTA NAGPUR

1866 LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

1877 1st April Retired.

MAJOR GENERAL.

APPENDIX 3.

LETTERS RELATING TO GOSSNER'S MISSION TO CHOTA NAGPUR.

1. Extract of Lieutenant Tickell's letter to Major Ouseley. March 1840. p. xil
2. The German version of Gossner's letter to the C.M.S. December 4th 1857. Li
3. Bishop Cotton's letter to Dr. Büchsel. May 4th 1864. Liii
4. Dr. Büchsel's letter to Bishop Cotton. September 1st 1864. Lvii
5. Colonel Dalton's letter to the Reverend H. Burney. February 12th 1865. Lix

Extracts from Lieutenant S.R. Tickell's letter to Major J.R. Ouseley, March 1840, regarding the appointment of a missionary in the Colehan.

Reference S.P.G. Archives C. IND 1. 35

" I regret to say that I discovered accidentally that the Gooroo, whom I had been paying for the last two years to teach the Kole boys Ooria, has been teaching them all along Hinduism and instilling into them a belief in the monstrous contents of several 'Pothees' which I was foolish enough to purchase as the means of teaching the children Ooria letters, no other books having been procurable.

The Kole boys who were under him have unfortunately adopted every vile and extravagant notion taught them which were contained in those writings and so I have discharged the Gooroo and dismissed the whole school making a 'bon fin' of the 'Pathees' and I should be most unwilling ever again to meddle with the education of children except through English and Christian means.

I hope you will never lose an opportunity of applying for a missionary to come into the Colehan. The time is fast passing away, when his efforts would be crowned with success, as the best disposed of the Coles, in foresaking their former habits, and adopting the more civilised usages of the Oorias they are now obliged to mingle with - such as cleanliness, good diet and temperance, are also falling greedily into their superstitions and will end in becoming nothing more or less than a low caste marginal kind of Hindoo.

It is impossible for a European unless he has leisure to devote himself entirely to learning their language and thus gaining the means of direct communication with them, to counteract the undercurrent of delusion which the Hindoos, brought into

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the country are spreading, for one word of advice or doctrine I could give them the Ooria Brahmins, who swarm here would give them a thousand - and the effect of this in the lapse of two years and a half have become plainly visible."

From extracts

(Signed) J.H. Ouseley

A.G.G.

Gossner's Letter to C.M.S. December 4th, 1857.

The German version of this letter is contained in an account printed in the "Biene", 1864 p.85. It reads as follows :-
 "After consulting a few friends he decided to send Missionary Schatz to London to sound out the Episcopal Missionary Society. On 4th of December Gossner sent with him a letter in English to the Society as follows. He himself composed the letter in German and gave it to a friend to translate. The original is lost, but the English translation still exists, and it is from this that it is now re-translated :-

Berlin, 4th December, 1857

By the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ I have for twenty years been the humble instrument whereby a number of missionaries have been able to be sent out for the spreading of the gospel amongst the heathen. Of these, some have worked in Chota Nagpur, Ranchi, and amongst the Kols and Hindus. Enfeebled by my advanced age of 84 years and by bodily pain, I am now incapable of carrying on this blessed work any longer, and it is therefore my wish that the care of these missionaries and their native converts should be delivered into the hands of others who would be disposed to undertake this task.

I have no connection with any Society, but with the help of a few friends I have sent out in simple trust such young men as seem to be suitable and who through God's grace were sent to me. I trusted at the same time that the Lord, the Almighty God, would give them their daily bread; and up to now I have not been let down. My merciful Lord has most bountifully provided for all our needs, indeed to such an abundant extent that a balance of nearly 50,000 Thalers has accumulated.

Now, however, in consideration of my advance age, I am obliged to look around for other persons into whose hands this

missionary work can be given after my death, and accordingly I have consulted the missionaries who have been sent by me to India about this, and it is their wish* to see themselves linked with the missionaries of the Episcopal Church in this common enterprise.

In order to ascertain the views of this Missionary Society, whose attention is already for the most part directed towards India, I am sending to London the bearer of this letter, Missionary Schatz, who has already worked amongst the Kols for fourteen years. I have commissioned him to confer with the Committee on this matter, so that if it can be brought about, my missionaries may be placed under the care of the Episcopal Missionary Society.

In the hope that it may please the Lord to illuminate the members of the Committee so that they reach a decision which will rebound to the glory of the Lord and to the spread of His kingdom among the worthy peoples of India who do not yet know the Gospel, I await the outcome and leave the decision entirely in the hands of my gracious Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

*The reader can see that it is not Gossner who has expressed the wish to relinquish the Mission to the Church of England. The wish is expressed by his missionaries, who continually complained about the indifference and scant co-operation they found in Germany. At that time they feared that after Gossner's death this meagre support would cease entirely."

From the Bishop of Calcutta to the Right Reverend Herrn Dr. Büchsel.

Bishop's Palace, Calcutta.

4 May 1864.

Right Reverend and Dear Sir,

I must begin my letter with an excuse, since I write to you as a stranger and since I am interfering in an affair regarding which I ought not to trouble myself. I can only say that this interference on my part is not voluntary, but that I am forced to it by strong moral reasons and that the subject I wish to write about will be of paramount interest for all Christians in India.

In common with all who have relations with mission affairs I have often heard with much interest and thanksgiving of the excellent success with which God has blessed the work of the missionaries who were sent to Chota Nagpur by Pastor Gossner. But I have not seen this station myself; and although I had heard that their situation with regard to finance is less flourishing than the spiritual field I had no idea how extremely serious the situation is in fact, until I received letters about these affairs from two of their most sincere friends, Colonel Dalton, the Government Officer in Chota Nagpur, and Mr. Burney, Chaplain in Hazaribagh, who visits the English parish for official business from time to time. These two gentlemen assure me that if this mission does not receive any fixed assured support it will die. Both of them asked me to go there personally so that I might convince myself of the great importance of the work which is in such great danger. I therefore asked the Reverend Archdeacon Pratt, whose experience for many years of India and missionary matters is proved, to accompany me on the journey to Ranchi and to help me and give me advice. We arrived there on April 23rd and I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Frederick Batsch, Mr. Henry Batsch and Mr. Brandt as well as several unordained

brothers (the poor health of Mr. Brandt caused much apprehension and sympathy).

We now saw with full hearts the grand work they do due to their devoted faith and spirit of self-denial; all this produced a great impression. We were present as witnesses when 143 Kols were received by Baptism into the Church of Christ. At the services on Sundays there were about 1,200 of them and nearly 600 received the Lord's Supper. There were about 2,000 native Christians assembled in Ranchi on this occasion who bivouaced in the courtyard in front of a large 'sarai' on the mission estate. The church is a strong Gothic building with good arrangements for all purposes. The pupils were good and obedient and they seemed to be well-instructed; the singing was very lovely, simple and devotional, and increased greatly the seriousness and the solemnity of the service. The civil officers in Ranchi give as good a report of the native Christians as the Tinnevelly Christians enjoyed from their authorities. To be sure they are not without fault but we heard so many good things regarding their general behaviour, their industry, their moral, domestic life, and their sincere desire to continue in the way of piety, that it is manifest their conversion from heathendom to the Christian faith is really a change from death to life. The whole number of converts at present is about 5,000 persons.

These facts seem to prove sufficiently that an interruption of this work would be a real calamity - an incident which was bound to pain and embarrass every believer. But to continue further - I say, the work should not be interrupted, it must still be allowed to expand. There is no doubt the Word of Life has sounded out to the hill people in Chota Nagpur and many force their way into the Kingdom of God. But the missionaries cannot do this work in default of funds. Their own salary must be assured to them in such a way that they may be free from this

anxiety. The number of missionaries must be increased since Mr. Brandt must return to Europe because of his health now. The whole work humanly speaking depends on the health of Mr. Frederick Batsch. A catechist school is necessary. Since my return from Ranchi the Governor of Bengal has written to me saying that he is quite ready to help with considerable support from government to expand further school instruction in Chota Nagpur. Meanwhile Mr. Batsch can barely maintain the existing work let alone plan for extension.

The main purpose of my letter is to urgently request the Committee which has inherited the work from Pastor Gossner to send help as soon as possible - both money and missionaries for the dear Brethren in Ranchi. If this does not happen I cannot say what evil consequences there might be. It is too much for those who work with such industry and self-denial to also be in daily fear and anxiety for their work and for their support. Therefore I hope you will be able to give them firm assurance for their salary, for the continuity of the work and for the school. If you can do this then all will be well. There is no need for me to say anything else and all that remains is for me to trust in the Lord who has blessed the work in the past and continues to bless it now. If this cannot happen and if the bond between India and Prussia is weak or charity in Prussia is already under such demands from other causes that you are not able to give assurance regarding the position of your missionaries and the expansion of the work, then I venture to recall to your attention, supported by Arch-deacon Pratt, the intention and wish of Pastor Gossner; the work should be continued by and in communion with the Missionary Society of the English Church. We are not proselytizers wishing to disturb other Christian congregations in order to gain advantage for our church in this way; nor do we wish to build on the ground of any other when the whole of India is spread out before us.

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I am not writing to you after consultation with the agents of the Church Missionary Society in England, rather I am writing on my own responsibility not knowing if the Society accepts the responsibility, although I am confident that it will do so and I shall urge this personally. My main purpose in writing is only the continuity of this work in Chota Nagpur and should it be for any special reason beyond your power I am of the opinion that it should be entrusted to a Society directly united with the rulers of the country and with the most important Church in India which can offer the greatest security under the help of God.

I therefore hope that after further mature deliberation, should you not be able to give further support to this mission, you will send a friendly communication to the Rev. H. Venn or to one of the other Secretaries in London requesting that they once again consider the last wishes of Pastor Gossner.

In conclusion I note that Colonel Dalton agrees with all that I have said.

I remain, Right Reverend Sir, your sincere friend and brother 'in Christo'.

G.E.L. Calcutta.

Translated from the German version in 'Biene' September 1864 p.82.

To the Right Reverend the Bishop of Calcutta.

Berlin, 1st September 1864.

Right Reverend Sir!

The most honoured letter of your Reverence has filled the Members of the Board of Trustees of the Gossner Mission with great joy, and I have the commission to thank you therefore most sincerely. We have of course received exact and full reports about the spread of the gospel among the Kols and about the work of our missionaries which has been so richly blessed by the Lord; but it is very pleasing for us to have such an impressive confirmation of those things we already knew from our missionaries which recognises this. We have to say however that the Mission to the Kols is in urgent need of greater and more vigorous support than they have had until now. Gossner of blessed memory did not like to publish his needs and in his efforts to spread the Gospel amongst the heathen he was not supported by very many friends, while the Society (the Berlin Missionary Society) which had sent its missionaries to South Africa collected in the Eastern Provinces of Prussia supporters for the Mission around it and formed numerous Auxiliaries, and therefore could have at its disposal large sums of money. When the blessed Gossner towards the end of his life felt that he would soon die he was induced by the highly gifted missionary Schatz, who had led the mission to the Kols for a long time, to get in touch with a Missionary Society in London and to speak with them about the continuation of the blessed undertaking. Later on he dropped this opinion again, and in some of his remarks you can see that his intention was to conduct the Mission further from here. The blessed Gossner was so eccentric and odd a man that it was not possible to find anyone to continue his work in exactly the same way as he did. So in the first place variation and uncertainty set in, but the Missionaries in India went on working faithfully and

diligently. He did not promise them a situation free from external care, but he required that they should serve the Lord in poverty and self-denial. It was also not possible for us to support them as much as we would certainly have liked to do. Our first endeavours have been to send out new missionaries; the education, outfitting and care of the children of the older missionaries have laid claims on our slender resources and when your welcome letter arrived we had already prepared to send a number of young men to help our elder brothers, among these there is a pastor who has already served the Church in his Fatherland but who wishes to resign his Office and his Pastorate and go to the Kols.

We hope then, by the Grace of God and in the strength of His promises to continue this blessed work and we have a deep trust in our beloved missionaries that they also will under various kinds of self-denial continue to work in the service of the Lord who will give His servants the reward of faithfulness.

We do not wish to conceal from you that your letter was an urgent admonition to continue that work with increasing zeal which has been committed to us. We shall go on praying to the Lord that He will give us the means and show us the ways to do what redounds to His Glory in this great, important and holy task for the extention of His Kingdom. We add the petition that you also, Right Reverend Sir, will help us in the future by your influence and support for the Gossner Mission which the Lord has manifestly recognised.

With grateful and sincere respects,

Your Reverend, most obedient Servant,

Dr. Büschel,
General-Superintendent.

Letter of Colonel Dalton to the Reverend H. Burney.

Reference C.M.S. Archives C.I. 1/08/5/1.

Ranchi 12th February 1865.

My dear Sir,

I am very glad indeed to find that my appeal to the Bishop has met with such attention from his Lordship and that it will probably lead to the desired result. I think for many reasons it is desirable that Cheybassa should be taken up by one of our Missionary Societies. It is geographically quite distinct from Chota Nagpur proper in which are the Headquarters of the Lutheran mission and the latter could not without too much weakening their force there take it up, but its inhabitants are by descent connected with the Moondari (Cole) race of Chota Nagpore from which so many proselytes have been obtained. The Cheybassa missionaries will become acquainted with the race and thus be prepared to labour here as well as in Singhbhoom should the Lutheran Committee find themselves compelled to yield the field. The prospects of the missionaries here are not bright. They are assured of nothing but their salaries from Berlin and the miscellaneous expenses of their mission are rapidly increasing. They have just laid the foundation stone of the new training and boarding school, in faith as Mr. Batsch says - for money they have not got.

There are two routes by which Cheybassa may be reached. One by steamer which will land the missionary somewhere near Midnapore and his dak can be laid from the landing place to Cheybassa by writing in time to the Deputy Commissioner of Singhbhoom and the magistrate of Midnapore. I have not myself seen that route but I know that there is a very decent road all the way - but the route most generally adopted is via Ranigunge - Purulia. There is no necessity for going to Bancoorah but if

Mr. Stern starts from there he will find no difficulty in getting from thence to Purulia. If this route is preferred the gentleman must write in time to the Deputy Magistrate at Ranigunge, the Deputy Commissioner at Purulia and the Deputy Commissioner at Cheyhassa to lay the dak. I presume they will travel by palkee dak not march at Purulia.

They will be gladly received and accommodated by the Deputy Commissioner, Lieutenant Money, if he be there, or in his absence by the Assistant Commissioner, and I know that Doctor Hayes, the Deputy Commissioner at Cheybassa, or Mr. Thompson, the District Superintendent of Police will be very glad to receive them at Cheybassa and give them every facility for seeing the people, the school and the country.

The Reverend Gentlemen will find that their Bengalee will take them through a great part of Singhbhoom. It is the language of that part of the district which borders on Midnapore but the Lurka Coles generally can only converse in their own language. In the Government school instruction is given in Hindi to some 150 boys of the tribe and as that is the language used by the Lutheran missionaries it would probably be of more use to the Cheybassa missionaries than Bengalee but I am not quite sure on this point. To make an impression on the Lurkas the missionaries will have to learn to address them in their own language (Moondari). It was different here (in Ranchi) because the great majority of the enquiries ^{et-5} could speak Hindi and because they belonged to two distinct tribes, speaking totally different tongues, the Moondari and the Ooraons, and Hindi was adopted as the best common language, but the Lurkas, as I have said before, are a Moondari family and dominant in their own country and it is the Hindoos who have acquired their language, rather than that the Lurkas have acquired Hindee.

The question of language will be one for grave consideration.

We might teach them the Roman and have books in their own language printed in that character. It would be a move in the right direction of separation from Hindooism and proximation to ourselves.

I regret very much that I was away when you visited Ranchee.

Believe me to remain,

Yours truly,

E.T. Dalton.

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C/AL 16.

The letter of Colonel Dalton to Bishop Cotton is contained in the North India papers, reference:- C I 1/08/5/1.

UNITED SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL

The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 15 Tufton Street, London S.W.1.

Letters of the Alphabet are used to designate collections of MSS as follows :-

| | | | |
|--------------|----|------|--------------------------------------|
| 18th Century | A. | MSS. | Contemporary Copies. |
| | B. | MSS. | Originals |
| 1801-1850 | C. | MSS. | Originals not yet bound |
| 1851-1892 | D. | MSS. | Original letters bound. 105 Volumes. |

1. Unbound original letters.

These are contained in boxes under general heading. Each letter is enclosed in a folder giving a brief summary of the subject matter together with the names of the writer and the recipient.

Major Ouseley's letter to Bishop Wilson is indexed as follows:-

C. India Box 1. No. 35

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| | | | |
|--------|--------------------------|---|---------------------------|
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| vol.10 | IOR/L/MIL/10/29 | - | Samuel Richard Tickell |
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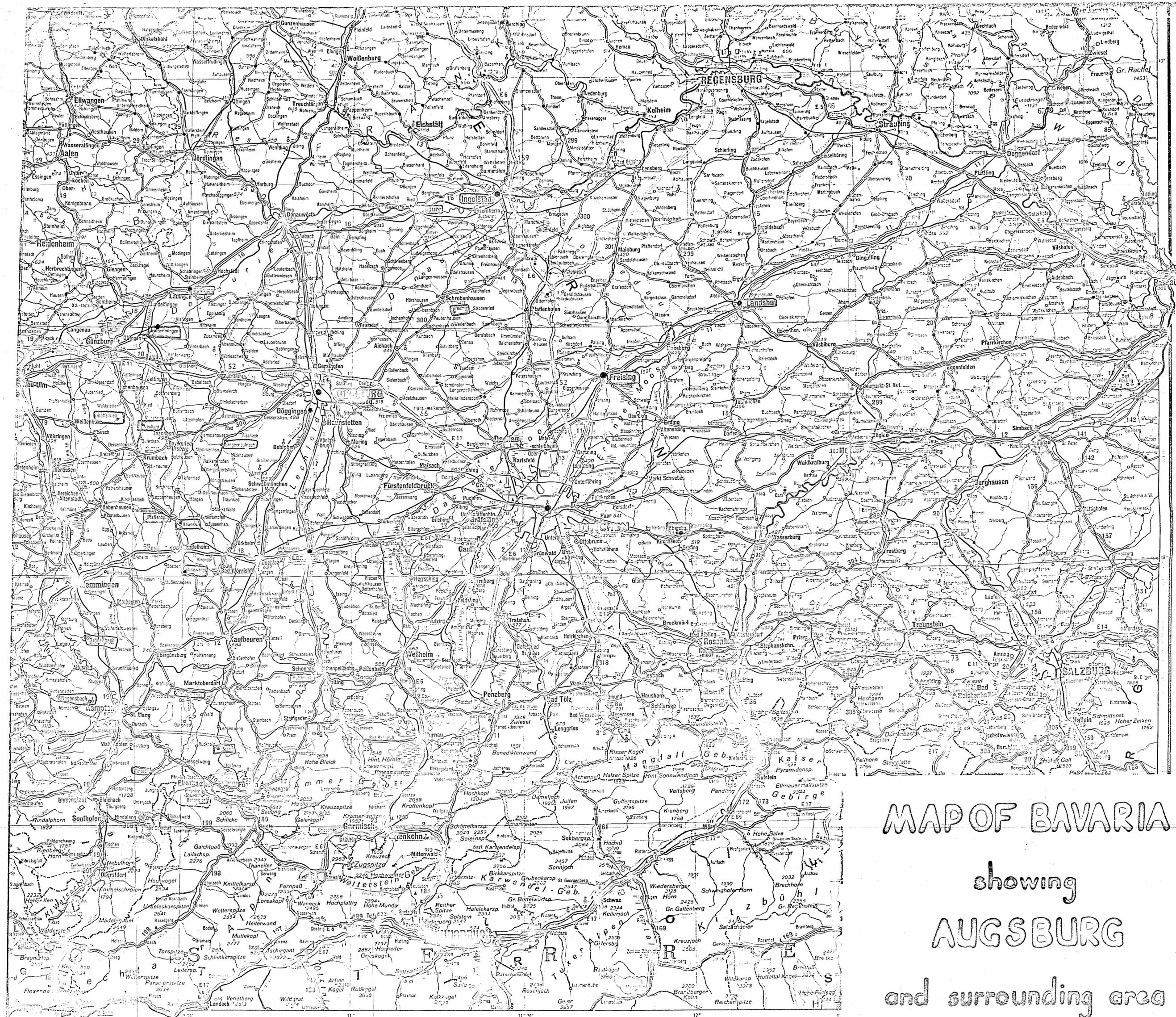
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MAP OF BAVARIA
showing
AUGSBURG
and surrounding area