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THE LIFE AND LABORS OF
EDUARD RAIMUND BAIERLEIN

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Historical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Divinity

by

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June 1954

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CHAPTER I

PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THESIS

History is made by little men and great men playing their part for a brief time upon the stage of this world and departing again leaving behind them their contributions to another generation. Among these men are a few individuals who manage in a short space of time to make great contributions to their fellow men. But the great host of contributors to history are the little men who go about their daily tasks without world shaking results. They do not conquer great empires or discover new worlds; they disclose no new theories nor raise new banners, and often history knows them but as "the people." They do influence their fellowmen, for good or evil, and become the substance of which history, in the final analysis, is made. It is the purpose of this thesis to sketch the biography of one of these little known men and to tell of his contributions to his society and to his church. This man was Eduard Raimund Baierlein.

Baierlein's life spans eighty-two years of history. He was born on April 29, 1819 in Posen, Poland, and died in Clarens-Montreux, Switzerland, on October 12, 1901. At the age of twenty-one, Baierlein left the Roman Catholic Church and was converted to Lutheranism. After a period of instruction at the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission in Germany

he was scheduled to leave for India, but illness prevented his going. Instead he sailed for America and labored among the Chippewa Indians in Bethany, Michigan, from 1847 to 1853. In 1853 he left America to work among the inhabitants of India laboring in Madras, Sadras, Cuddalore, and Bangalore and retired from the mission field in 1886. Baierlein spent the latter part of his life writing a number of articles and books on his mission experiences in America and India. The most notable of these are Nach und aus Indien (1873), Die Ev.-Luth. Mission in Ostindien (1874), The Land of the Tamulians and Its Missions (1875), Von den Heiden (1888), Im Urwalde (1889), and Unter den Palmen (1890).

One cannot properly appreciate Baierlein's contributions unless one understands what has been accomplished before the missionary's arrival. Thus, besides sketching his biography, the thesis will also discuss the early Christian missions among the Chippewa Indians in Michigan and the missionary activities in India before Baierlein's arrival. Particular emphasis will be devoted to Lutheran mission work in these countries.

Primary sources have been used for the greater portion of this thesis. Among the sources most widely referred to are Der Lutheraner, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika, and Baierlein's own works. Special assistance was given the author by the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission in Germany

and by the Reverend W. Hellinger, who is at present missionary of the Leipzig Mission in India.

LEIPZIG'S VOCATIONAL YEARS

Very little is known about August Heinrich Sauerland's early life and family. He was born in Jischkowo in Posen, Poland, on April 29, 1813, at a time when Europe was still suffering the consequences from a long period of warfare and devastation. His father, Graf von Vilseck, was a wealthy Prussian nobleman in possession of huge estates in Saxony. Sauerland grew up in the dominant faith both in Saxony and in Prussia, and it is, therefore, not surprising to learn that Sauerland came from a strict Roman Catholic family.

It seems a matter of reflection in the young Sauerland, a matter which he often alludes to later in his life as brought about by a lack of inner spiritual peace and an uncertainty as to his salvation.¹ As a good Roman Catholic he sought to find peace in observing the sacraments of

¹ See Sauerland, *Die Evangelisch-lutherische Theologie*, Leipzig: J. C. Neumann, Neudamm, 1903, p. 169.

² See the letter from Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Synod dated January 14, 1904, and in the author's possession.

³ Sauerland, op. cit., p. 169.

⁴ See Sauerland's work *Die Evangelisch-lutherische Theologie*, Leipzig: J. C. Neumann, Neudamm, 1903, No. 23 (October 15, 1891), p. 77.

CHAPTER II

BAIERLEIN'S FORMATIVE YEARS

Very little is known about Eduard Raimund Baierlein's early life and family. He was born in Sierakowsky in Posen, Poland, on April 29, 1819, at a time when Europe was attempting to recuperate from a long period of warfare and bloodshed.¹ His father, Graf von Vilseck, was a wealthy Bavarian noble in possession of huge estates in Bavaria.² Roman Catholicism was the dominant faith both in Bavaria and in Poland at this time and it is, therefore, not surprising to learn that Baierlein came from a strict Roman Catholic family.³

We sense a spirit of restlessness in the young Baierlein, a restlessness which he often alludes to later in his life as brought about by a lack of inner spiritual peace and an uncertainty as to his salvation.⁴ As a good Roman Catholic he sought to find peace in observing the commandments of

¹Richard Handmann, Die Evangelisch-lutherische Tamulen-Mission in der Zeit ihrer Neubegründung (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1903), p. 169.

²Letter to the author from Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission dated January 18, 1954, and in the author's possession.

³Handmann, op. cit., p. 169.

⁴"Skizzen einer Reise nach West und Ost," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 20 (October 15, 1854), 307.

the church, but as Luther before him, he only became more disquieted. This searching of the soul became evident in his listlessness and "Wanderlust." As a young man he had left his family home and parental protection, traveling to Bremen and to Belgium and even contemplated turning his back on the Old World and sailing to the new.⁵ Instead he went to Silesia and it is here that he found his "Philip."⁶ Because of the piety and conversations of an unknown layman, Baierlein gained that inner peace for which he had been searching and renounced Roman Catholicism accepting the Lutheran faith at the age of twenty-one.⁷ He then joined the Breslauer Freikirche.⁸

Baierlein's renunciation of Roman Catholicism brought with it a rupture of his family ties. His father, a strict Roman, disowned and disinherited his son and forbade him to bear the family name. In obedience to his father's demand, Baierlein, therefore, surrendered the family name of von Vilseck and called himself "Baierlein," which means "little Bavarian." This was the only demand that Baierlein respect-

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p. 308.

⁷Handmann, op. cit., p. 169.

⁸Letter to the author by the Reverend W. Hellinger dated November 6, 1953, and in the author's possession.

ed.⁹ He refused to renounce his new faith emphasizing instead that he had now found true peace in casting off the "shackles of Rome;"¹⁰ he would rather remain obedient to the command of Christ and forsake all, even father and mother, than deny his faith.¹¹

In 1843 Baierlein offered himself to the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission.¹² The Leipzig Mission, as it became known, had been founded on August 17, 1836, having developed from a mission society that had supported the Basel Mission.¹³ In 1840 I. H. G. Cordes arrived in Madras, India, as a representative of the Leipzig Mission to investigate the mission possibilities there.¹⁴ Through his activities mission work was begun in India and the Leipzig Mission concerned itself with training men to send to the new field. It was with this purpose in mind that Baierlein

⁹Letter to the author from Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission dated January 18, 1954, and in the author's possession.

¹⁰"Skizzen einer Reise nach West und Ost," op. cit., p. 307.

¹¹Letter to the author from Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission dated January 18, 1954, and in the author's possession.

¹²Handmann, op. cit., p. 169.

¹³W. Hellinger, "The Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission," The Lutheran Enterprise in India, edited by C. H. Swavely (Madras, India: The Diocesan Press, 1952), p. 15.

¹⁴Ibid.

studied under J. B. Trautmann and Karl Graul.¹⁵

After completing the necessary training, Baierlein was commissioned to sail for India in 1846. However, two days before his departure, Baierlein became ill and could not go.¹⁶ During this same time a request had been received from Pastor Friedrich August Graemer for an assistant in his work among the Chippewa Indians in Michigan. Graemer had left Germany with a number of colonists in 1845 arriving in New York on June 8, 1845.¹⁷ Pastor Wilhelm Loehe of Neuen-dettelsau, Bavaria, had been responsible for the organization of this group of immigrants and for the selection of Graemer as their leader. It was his purpose to settle Lutheran colonists among the Indians that they, seeing the piety of their Christian neighbors and hearing the Gospel, might give up their heathenism and become converted.¹⁸ The persistent labors of Graemer enabled the small band of colonists to establish Frankenmuth, in Michigan, and brought the Gospel to the Chippewa Indians. Graemer, however, realized that he was serving in a dual capacity, namely, as

¹⁵Handmann, op. cit., p. 169.

¹⁶"Skizzen einer Reise nach West und Ost," op. cit., p. 309.

¹⁷Ludwig Ernst Fuerbringer, Persons and Events (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), p. 13.

¹⁸"Verbindung der innern und auszern Mission betreffend," Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika, No. 1 (1845), no pages listed.

pastor to the Frankenmuth congregation and as missionary to the Indians. When he saw that his ministry to the Indians was suffering, Graemer requested an assistant and since Baierlein had not gone to India, it was decided to permit him to leave for America and to serve the Indian Mission.¹⁹

On April 19, 1847, Baierlein and his wife set sail for his new post in Michigan.²⁰ Two hundred persons crowded the ship so that all available space was taken. The trip was not the most comfortable one. Added to the lack of space and the unpleasant conditions were the seasickness and other diseases which affected the majority of the immigrants. Baierlein also had his share of illness and mentions that he was oppressed by ague and by attacks of what he describes as cholera.²¹

After weeks of cramped space, sickness, and a general unwholesome atmosphere, the young missionary and his wife arrived at New York City disembarking on May 31, 1847. The young couple wasted no time in the growing city, but boarded another ship which took them up the Hudson River and west to Buffalo. While in Buffalo Baierlein and his wife had the opportunity to visit the scenic wonders of Niagara Falls.

¹⁹"Ein Neues Missionsfeld in Nordamerika," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 1 (January 1, 1847), 2.

²⁰"Skizzen einer Reise nach West und Ost," op. cit., pp. 310-11. Nowhere is Baierlein's wife named.

²¹Ibid., p. 311.

The following day another ship took them across Lake Erie to Detroit, from which point a train brought them "to the middle of Michigan."²² They reached Frankenmuth on June 10, 1847, ready and eager to begin their work among the Indians.²³

²²Ibid.

²³Charles F. Luckhard, Faith in the Forest (Sebewaing, Michigan: published privately, 1952), p. 60.

CHAPTER III

MISSIONS IN MICHIGAN BEFORE BAIERLEIN'S ARRIVAL

When the French explorers pushed into Michigan early in the seventeenth century, they found the country inhabited by Indians of the Algonquin stock. This family embraced a large number of tribes in the northeastern section of the continent, whose language apparently sprang from the same tongue. The chief tribes occupying the Michigan area were the Chippewa or Ojibwa, the Ottawa, and the Potawatomi Indians. The Chippewas inhabited the eastern part of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan and most of the Upper; the Ottawa resided in the western part of the Lower Peninsula; and the Potawatomi occupied a strip across the southwestern part.¹

The French explorers brought with them not only articles with which to trade but Roman Christianity as well. Hence, we find that in the early explorations and exploitations of the Michigan territory by these French explorers, there came a group of zealous missionaries of the Roman faith who became the first white missionaries to the Chippewa Indians. A mission station was organized in 1671 at St. Ig-

¹Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Michigan, Michigan: A Guide to the Wolverine State (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 24-5.

nace by Father Marquette and was still continuing its operations when La Salle visited it in the "Griffon" in 1679.² Another Roman mission station had been established as early as 1641 at Sault Ste. Marie when the Jesuit Fathers Raymbault and Joques were invited by approximately two thousand Chippewa Indians to preach the white man's religion.³ However, this early mission endeavor proved unsuccessful when Father Raymbault became seriously ill and died. It was not until 1668 that the mission was reopened by the energetic Father Marquette, who soon surrendered supervision of the station to Father Dablon in order to continue his missionary journeys.

Roman Catholicism was well entrenched in the nineteenth century. Such stations as St. Ignace, Mackinac, and Sault Ste. Marie had already been in existence for one hundred years. Under the administrative leadership of the Reverend T. Santelli and the Reverend Bishop Peter Paul Lefevre Romanism would expand its activities among the Chippewa Indians. Missions and schools flourished and converts continued to increase. When in 1831 the Reverend Ferdinand Baraga became Vicar Apostolic of Upper Michigan, new chapels were erected and work was expanded. He could then boast of having seven hundred Catholic Indians alone in the parish of

²Ibid., pp. 35-6.

³Ibid., p. 35.

St. Peter's at Arbre Croche.⁴ Further progress was seen at La Manistee which organized a school in 1839 under Father Santelli who could later report of the Indians that "their progress in their own tongue and in the Christian doctrine is very responsible and satisfactory. The moral, religious and civil advancement of the mission are very consolatory."⁵

The leading Protestant groups to work among the Chipewewa Indians in Michigan were the Baptists, Methodists, *Presbyterians, and Lutherans, trailing Roman work by a full century. Though they were not as extensive as those of the Roman Catholic missions, they, nevertheless, diligently endeavored to convert the Red Man to the white man's faith. The earliest mission to be established by the Baptists in Northern Michigan was located at the rapids of St. Mary's River not far from Sault Ste. Marie in the autumn of 1825. It was not until the arrival of the Reverend Abel Bingham in 1828, however, that the mission became really established. Now regular services were conducted on Sundays in which the minister would address the Indians through an interpreter. Both a Sabbath school and an adult Bible class were organized and Bingham sought to acquaint the Indians with the

⁴John Gilmary Shea, History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854 (New York: Edward Dunigan and Brothers, 1857), p. 388.

⁵"Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," Senate Documents, 1 Session, 28 Congress (November 25, 1843), p. 325.

Bible and Christian literature. Indians were received into church membership by profession of faith and baptism by immersion.⁶

Similarly, Methodism undertook at an early date to bring the Gospel to the Indian. As early as 1807, the Methodists numbered an Indian among their converts and in 1821, with the appointment by Bishop McKendree of William Capers as a missionary to the Indians, the denomination became active and within a few years had inaugurated missions among the Creeks and the Cherokees. Work began in 1816 among the Wyandottes on the borders of Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan with the Methodist convert John Stewart.⁷ In 1823 Bishop McKendree envisioned establishing a mission among the Chippewa about eighty miles from Detroit.⁸ However, actual work did not begin until the Ohio Conference of 1832 decided to appropriate \$2,500 to cover the expenses of establishing a station at Green Bay and others in the Michigan Territory.⁹

⁶ "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," Senate Documents, 1 Session, 29 Congress (November 30, 1846), pp. 337-39.

⁷ Kenneth Scott Latourette, "The Great Century," A History of the Expansion of Christianity (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1941), IV, 316-17.

⁸ Wade Crawford Barclay, "Early American Methodism 1769-1844," History of Methodist Missions (New York: The Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, 1949), I, 284.

⁹ Ibid., p. 316.

The work was initiated by the Reverend John Clark in 1833.¹⁰ From that date on Methodism acquired a firm foothold in Michigan establishing missions among the Chippewas at Little Rapids, Kewawenon on Lake Superior, and in the districts of Lapier, Genesee, and Saginaw where the first missions were organized about 1839. The Methodists were quite successful in gaining ministerial timber from among their converts and two of their outstanding Indian pastors were George Copway and Peter Marksman.

Along with these other church bodies Lutherans also sensed an awareness of their mission responsibility to the American Indian, so that when Baierlein set foot on American soil he was assured that Lutheran intent for and activity among the Chippewa Indians in Michigan had been in existence for a number of years. The earliest intent and impetus for such work was given by the Reverend F. Schmid.¹¹ The influx of Lutheran immigrants to Michigan brought Schmid to America when in 1833 he accepted a call to serve some former Wuerttenbergers who resided in Ann Arbor and the neighboring vicinity.

Though the main work of Schmid centered in serving the unchurched Lutherans and in forming congregations, he also

¹⁰ Ibid., II, 153.

¹¹ Albert Keiser, Lutheran Mission Work among the American Indians (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1922), p. 55.

showed a keen interest in extending his work to the Indians. Writing to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1840, Frederick Schmid "expressed his joy concerning his labors in the missionary field and makes many proposals which may be calculated to promote the missionary work and to awaken the missionary spirit."¹² As a result of such communications a missionary society was organized in 1842 and an Indian mission was established at Sebewaing in Huron County, Michigan.

At this time Wilhelm Loehe, pastor of the village church at Neuendettelsau, Bavaria, became acquainted with the need of sending missionaries to America for the unchurched Germans and the Chippewa Indians. Through an Appeal for the Support of the German Protestant Church in North America by Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken and printed by a Hanover Society in 1841, Loehe became interested in the American missions and, after a personal conference with Wyneken, decided to raise funds and send men to this new field in America.¹³ One of the men whom Loehe had sent to America was W. Hattstaedt who was given the following instructions:

You are requested to gain detailed information concerning the missionaries of different denominations who are laboring among the heathen Indians and to investigate what our brethren of the household of faith have done for those tribes, and how we ourselves might cooperate with already established Indian missions. One might

¹²Ibid.

¹³Walter A. Baepler, A Century of Grace (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), pp. 65-8.

perhaps learn considerably from the Moravian missions, to which you will kindly direct your attention.¹⁴

In the beginning Loehe had planned to open a seminary for the training of missionaries, but this idea was abandoned. He decided to settle a Lutheran colony among the Indians. It was Loehe's plan to utilize these mission colonies as points of contact with the Indians whereby the Indians would hear and see the influence that Christianity can have upon the lives of men. The Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod noted this novel plan when it informed its members that:

this mission endeavor was of a peculiar sort. Here the missionary does not go alone among the heathens, but is accompanied by a multitude of Christian countrymen and professionals, who by means of their life and behavior present a picture of true Christians to the heathen Indians and thus reinforce the verbal proclamation of the missionary.¹⁵

Most of the members who were to compose the colony had received their spiritual instruction from Loehe. During *1844 and 1845 careful plans were laid and a leader, Friedrich August Graemer, was chosen. On April 20, 1845, the group sailed from Bremerhaven, Germany, for America on the ship

¹⁴Keiser, op. cit., p. 59.

¹⁵"Missionenachrichten," Der Lutheraner, I (July 12, 1845), 90.

"Caroline," under Captain Volkmann.¹⁶ The journey was a difficult one and the voyagers encountered six heavy storms, as well as a collision with another ship in the darkness.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the company of immigrants reached New York safely on June 8, 1845, after a journey of fifty days.¹⁸ On June 10, Craemer and Dorothea Benthien were married and two days later the colonists boarded a steamer for Albany. The group reached Monroe, Michigan on June 17, 1845, but only after a narrow escape in a train wreck.¹⁹ A location for the colony was selected by Schmid and by the Reverend J. F. Auch. It was 135 miles north of Monroe and fifteen miles from Saginaw. Here they founded Frankenmuth, the heartbeat of Lutheran missionary activities to the Chippewa Indians.²⁰ Here Baierlein came to assist Craemer and extend the area of missionary operations.

While the people busied themselves erecting log cabins, Craemer commenced his work and having obtained the services

¹⁶"Glueck Auf," Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika, No. 5 (1845), no pages listed. Albert Keiser incorrectly dates the month as May. See Keiser, op. cit., p. 61.

¹⁷Theodore Graebner, Church Bells in the Forest (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1944), p. 34.

¹⁸"Neueste Nachrichten von unsern jenseitigen Freunden," Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika, No. 7 (1845), no pages listed.

¹⁹Ibid., No. 9 and 10 (1845), no pages listed.

²⁰Ibid.

of James Gruett, a half-blooded French Canadian, as interpreter, he visited numerous Indian settlements on the Kaw-kawlin, Swan, Chippewa, Pine, and Bell Rivers.²¹ Two of the settlements, separated by 24 miles of forest and seventy miles distant from Frankenmuth, were ruled by tribal chiefs who became interested in Craemer's work. One chief was Bemassike living with his tribe near the Pine River, and the other was Sauaban whose tribe lived near Swan Creek. An Indian medicine man, Olkskim, desired his two children and two grandchildren to receive an education. Craemer, therefore, started a day school for Indian children where they were taught in the German, English and Chippewa languages. In 1846, Craemer's school could boast of thirty children.²² The first fruits of Craemer's work were an Indian boy about seventeen, his sisters Magdalene, age thirteen, and Anna, age seven. Their baptism occurred the day after the dedication of the chapel in 1846.²³

Frankenmuth as well as the other Lutheran mission stations in Michigan had been under the supervision of the Michigan Synod until 1846. In that year Craemer, Hattstaedt, *and other Loehe missionaries severed their relationship with the Michigan Synod, which was organized by F. Schmid in

²¹Keiser, op. cit., p. 63.

²²Ibid., p. 64.

²³Graebner, op. cit., p. 39.

1846, and offered their services to the nascent Missouri Synod. They came to this decision after Pastor Simon Dumsor, who had been trained at the Basel Mission Institute and had been called to serve the Indian mission at Sebewaling, refused to subscribe to the Lutheran Confessions. Craemer and his colleagues demanded that Dumsor take the proper ordination oath or be dismissed and that the Michigan Synod discontinue its unorthodox practise of serving heterodox congregations with Word and Sacraments. When the Michigan Synod met in June 1846, Dumsor refused to comply with their requests and the Michigan Synod refused to take any action against him. Craemer, Trautmann, Lochner, and Mattataedt terminated their relationship with the synod and with Pastor Schmid and made overtures for membership to C. F. W. Walther in the new synod that was being organized.²⁴

With the organization of the Missouri Synod in 1847, the Indian mission stations in Michigan were transferred to the new synod which supervised them through a special mission committee. When Baierlein arrived in Michigan to work among the Indians, he found himself serving a newly organized synod operating a number of missions in existence prior to the formation of the synod itself.

²⁴"Die Synode Michigan und ihre Heidenmission," Der Lutheraner, II (August 8, 1846), 98-100.

CHAPTER IV

BAIERLEIN, MISSIONARY TO THE CHIPPEWAS

The arrival of Baierlein at Frankenmuth on June 10, 1847, was a response to a deep felt need on the part of Craemer and the young mission colony.¹ Work had increased considerably and Craemer found it difficult to look after the wants of both the members of the congregation and of the Indian mission. If the stated purpose of the Frankenmuth colony were to be realized, if the congregation were to be a pivot point from which would radiate the Gospel message to the Chippewa, it was imperative that further assistance be had. Baierlein's arrival provided that assistance. Now Craemer could give more time to the needs of his colony and need not divide his activities between white man and red man. Baierlein would spend his utmost energy evangelizing the aborigines without the additional concerns offered by an established congregation. *

At Frankenmuth Baierlein assumed the duties as Lutheran pastor to the Indians who inhabited the surrounding area.² He built a log cabin and received the Indian boys into his

¹Charles F. Luckhard, Faith in the Forest (Sebewaing, Michigan: published privately, 1952), p. 60.

²Little is known about Baierlein's activities with Craemer in Frankenmuth.

new home.³ Furthermore, he continued instructing the Indian children already initiated by Craemer. [The children were instructed in the principals of the Christian religion as well as in the three R's. With the aid of an Indian interpreter he preached to the Indians every Sunday, though he soon realized that to be effective he must learn the Chippewa language.⁴ The necessity of direct communication with the Indians was essential for establishing the proper rapport between Indian and white man and Baierlein discovered this early in his ministry. He began to study the difficult Chippewa tongue and was able to master it in a few years.⁵ *

The efforts of Baierlein and Craemer were not without success.⁶ On July 8, 1847 three Indian children were baptized and on July 26 an Indian boy and girl arrived in order to receive Christian instruction. On the following day the mother of these children came offering several other children for instruction. Further encouragement came with the arrival on the 28th on an Indian chief and his wife. They desired to inquire into the nature of the Lutheran

³Theodore Graebner, Church Bells in the Forest (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1944), p. 66.

⁴"Missionsnachrichten," Der Lutheraner, IV (September 20, 1847), 15.

⁵Graebner, op. cit., p. 66.

⁶"Unsere Mission in Nordamerika," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 23 (December 1, 1847), 354-55.

faith.⁷ Both spoke with Craemer and Baierlein and indicated that they would speak in turn to their tribe about Christianity and might offer themselves to be baptized once having become convinced of the truth of Christianity. In a letter to the Leipzig Mission in March of the following year Baierlein could report that six Indians had been baptized, four being between the ages of ten and sixteen, and two but a few weeks old. He wrote of the continued progress of the children who were attending the school, though one must not think of these children as model students or as Christians.⁸ Only patient love coupled with diligent instruction can bring success.

In order to gain the greatest number of converts as well as to inform the neighboring tribes of the purpose of the Frankenmuth establishment, the missionary made a number of important journeys into the interior, one of which led to the founding of the mission station of Bethany. During the * spring of 1848, Baierlein determined to visit a number of

⁷It is quite likely that this was the Indian Chief Bemassike and his wife.

⁸"Erfreuliches und Unerfreuliches aus unserer Mission unter den nordamerikanischen Indianern," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 14 (July 15, 1848), 209.

Indian tribes, especially that of Chief Bemassike.⁹ He had previously visited the chief and Bemassike had been at the colony indicating at the time his interest in having his people instructed in the faith and invited one of the missionaries to settle among his people at Pine River.¹⁰ Together with his interpreter, Baierlein arrived at the village. They found the chief in deep mourning over the death of his young nephew. The boy had been killed accidentally when he fell into the fire as he and others were making sugar. Bemassike mourned the death of his nephew in usual Indian fashion having blackened his face and placed an American flag over the boy's grave. Upon being invited into the chief's home, Baierlein spoke to him about Christ and the coming judgment reminding Bemassike and the other Indians, who had by now gathered about him, that Christ alone could bring peace. Bemassike answered the missionary confessing that what he had said was true and that he would respond to the missionary's admonition even if his own people refused to do so. After comforting the bereaved Indian, Baierlein departed, telling him that he would return to speak to his

⁹"Baierleins Reise zu dem Hauptling Remassike," Evang-
gelisches Missionsblatt, No. 21 (November 1, 1848), 322-30. The spelling of the Indian chief's name occurs with either a P or a B as the first letter in his name. The latter has been adopted throughout this thesis. Remassike is a misspelling of the name.

¹⁰Graebner, op. cit., p. 66. See also footnote number seven in this chapter.

people and gain their assent in having him settle among them.¹¹

After a day's journey Baierlein reached another Indian settlement and determined to address them about their spiritual welfare. But here the missionary was ill received. Upon inquiring as to their hope of a future life, one Indian replied that he knew nothing about a heaven or hell and that he cared even less. Having admonished them Baierlein returned home only to learn that the Methodists had sought to estrange the Indians from their Lutheran faith.¹² The Methodists told the Indians that if they would continue to refuse to accept the Methodist faith, the government would seize their land and move them to the far West. Baierlein had often encountered such machinations and told the Indians that if they would refuse Christian baptism, they would take up their abode not across the Mississippi but in hell.

[Once again Baierlein visited Bemassike's people and discussed with them the possibility of settling within their midst.] He wanted to leave Frankenmuth earlier but could not due to an injured arm which he sustained when his horse and wagon tumbled down a hill. Nevertheless, after a two weeks'

¹¹"Baierleins Reise zu dem Hauptling Remassike," op. cit., pp. 325-28.

¹²Ibid., pp. 323-24. It is difficult to ascertain whether or not Baierlein returned to Frankenmuth at this time or encamped in the wilderness.

rest, Baierlein decided he would make the trip and, therefore, left Frankenmuth on May 30, 1848. In three days he reached the Pine River and the village of thirty Indian huts. Baierlein had hoped to be able to address the entire village on the day of his arrival. Instead, he found an Indian drinking party in progress. Several Indian adults did welcome him at Bamassike's hut giving Baierlein the opportunity to address them on the importance of his mission. Since it was Ascension day, Baierlein spoke to them and the chief of the significance of this day for the Christian Church.¹³

On the following day the entire village congregated at the chief's hut to discuss the suggestion that Baierlein live among them to instruct them and their children in the Word of God. Baierlein furnishes an interesting description of the character and dress of the Chippewas as they gathered about him. The Indians presented a picturesque sight as they approached the missionary. Many were dressed in their best costumes, how poor they might be, and both men and women wore red embroidered stockings. Several of the Indians were mourning a departed member of their family and had painted their faces black. Others had colored their faces with red paint, a sign of great joy. The women carried their babies or led their children by the hand, while the men walked stoically alongside smoking their pipes. Seated on

¹³Ibid., pp. 325-26.

fallen logs or kneeling upon the ground, they awaited the appearance of Baierlein and Chief Bamassike.¹⁴

The missionary, seeing that the Indians had now readied themselves for the discussion, left the hut and approached them. He told them that he had come to make known to them the Great Spirit, who not only created all things, as they already knew, but who had loved them and all men in that He sent to them His Son, Jesus Christ. This Jesus came in order to free them from their sins and had accomplished this when He died and rose again for them. Baierlein went on to tell them that even as one could only reach the right destination of a town or city by traveling upon the right way, so one could only enter heaven if he followed the way that leads to heaven -- if he believes in Christ as his Savior from sin. Baierlein had come to them to teach them that way. He stated that he wished to preach to the adults and to erect a school for the young wherein the latter would learn both God's Word and the rudiments of learning. Baierlein added that he would not compel them to accept his proposition and that it was up to them to decide whether or not they would want him to dwell among them and to be their pastor and teacher.¹⁵

A long period of silence ensued broken only when the

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 326-27.

chief arose to speak. As far as he was concerned, Baierlein should take up his abode with them and teach them the Word. Soon other Indians chimed in saying that it would be a good idea to have a school in their midst for the children since the school at Frankenmuth was too far away for their children to attend. The chief considered the matter settled and shook the missionary's hand. Baierlein again addressed the group because he wanted them to be certain that his mission was not one of mere teacher, but that he was first and foremost a preacher of the Gospel and the Gospel was his primary concern. They will have a teacher of their children only if they accept him as a preacher to all. To this end the adults must promise to attend the church services and not only to send the children to school. The matter being settled Baierlein informed the Indians that he would return to them in fourteen days and that in the meantime they should erect two huts, one for himself and the other for the interpreter. After some concluding remarks Baierlein departed for a visit to Sauaban's tribe.¹⁶

Sauaban and his tribe were located at Swan Creek.¹⁷ Before Baierlein's arrival in America Sauaban had shown an interest in the Frankenmuth endeavor by sending five child-

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 327-28.

¹⁷"Missionsnachrichten," op. cit., p. 14.

ren to the Lutheran school.¹⁸ Hence, Baierlein sought to strengthen this relationship when he and his interpreter journeyed to Swan Creek. Arriving at the village Baierlein saw a number of the Indians drunk and noticed an attitude of hostility. Locating the chief he informed him of his earlier visit when the tribe had been away hunting and then told of his willingness to preach to him Christ. But Sauaban replied:

I have already told you and Craemer that I wish to have nothing to do with Christianity. I have no desire to be in heaven but want to be where my fathers now reside.¹⁹

Though Sauaban himself refused to become a Christian, he did not forbid his people to listen to Baierlein and to follow him. He added that if the people chose Christianity, it would be better to follow Baierlein than the Methodists, since the Lutherans gave better instruction.²⁰ Baierlein addressed the people telling them of their sins and of God's grace in Jesus narrating to them the life of Christ. Several young men heeded these words and declared that they would follow Christ. Thereupon Baierlein departed and returned to Frankenmuth.

Baierlein now prepared to dwell among Bemassike's

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹"Baierleins Reise zu dem Hauptling Remassike," op. cit., pp. 329-30.

²⁰Ibid.

people at Pine River. In order to reach this Indian encampment from Frankenmuth one had to travel northwest up the Tittabawassee River for twenty-one miles until it meets the Chippewa River. The traveler would come across a number of log cabins about a mile up the Chippewa River. Two miles from this point is the junction of the Pine and Chippewa Rivers. Bamassike's village would finally be reached after crossing the Chippewa and following a path on the shore of the Pine and going in a southwesterly direction.²¹

On July 19, 1848, Baierlein and six Franconians started for the Indian village. When they arrived at the camp, most likely on the 22nd, they beheld a distressing sight. The Indians were starving. Seeing the missionary and his companions, they hastened to them and begged for food. Baierlein could not aid them for he had only enough for his own necessities. The scene was one of such abject poverty that he named the new mission "Bethany," that is, "House of Poverty."²² Meanwhile his companions began to erect a log cabin for Baierlein and his young wife, who arrived at its completion. It was used for the school as well. Baierlein at first, however, lived in an Indian dwelling which proved to be uncomfortable as well as inadequate for his studies.

²¹"Einiges ueber die Ureinwohner dieses Landes und was von der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche fuer sie gethan wird," Der Lutheraner, V (July 24, 1849), 187.

²²Ibid.

Often he found himself holding an umbrella in one hand to shield himself from the rain while his other hand held a Bible.²³

The inhospitable surroundings were not the only hindrances which plagued Baierlein as he began his labors among the Chippewas. Characteristic of all Indians the Chippewas of Bemassike's tribe were suspicious of all white men and Baierlein was no exception. The fact that the young missionary was unable to supply their physical needs may have contributed to their distrustfulness. When he began his school only eight children attended. They were the guinea pigs for the other Indian children. If they survived the first weeks of school, the Indians would send the other children to the white man's institution. The Indians soon learned to trust the missionary and the other children were given to his care. Baierlein instructed them every day in their own language as well as in German and in English. The children studied the familiar Bible stories and memorized several hymns and Catechism selections. By the beginning of 1849, Baierlein had nineteen enrolled in his day school. In addition, he inaugurated an orphan school for children who had lost one or both parents and who could not be supported by their relatives. Several of these children Baierlein fed,

²³Eduard Baierlein, Im Urwalde (Dresden, Germany: Justus Naumann's Buchhandlung, 1889), p. 33.

clothed, and sheltered in his own small home. In return for these services, the children did manual chores in the home and in the fields.²⁴

It is not surprising that Baierlein's first converts were children. They had been exposed to the New Testament faith in their daily instructions and soon trusted both the missionary and the missionary's faith. The approaching Christmas season put both children and missionary into a spirit of joy as well as hopeful expectation. Preparations had been made to bring the spirit and customs of Christmas into the wilderness. The children busied themselves learning Martin Luther's Christmas hymn From Heaven Above to Earth I Come, which Baierlein and his interpreter had translated into the Chippewa language. Mrs. Baierlein made jackets, trousers, shirts, skirts, and other articles of clothing for the Indian children.²⁵ On Christmas Eve approximately forty persons assembled in the small log cabin. Baierlein read Isaiah 9 as well as the nativity story and spoke to the Indians about the meaning of Christmas. At the completion of the service the Indians with their children gathered about the Christmas tree and received their gifts.²⁶

²⁴"Bethanien am Pine River," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 9 (May 1, 1849), 131-32.

²⁵Baierlein, op. cit., pp. 66-7.

²⁶"Bethanien am Pine River," op. cit., p. 132.

Nineteen plates had been placed below the tree each one containing some bread and apples, which were also distributed among the children.²⁷ It certainly was a most memorable occasion for all, for the Christmas story was strange to most of the Indians and the Christmas tree and gifts stranger still.

Ten Indian children soon requested baptism. These children had been studying the doctrine of baptism in school and, therefore, asked the missionary to baptize them.²⁸ Most of the children were sons, daughters, or nephews of the old Indian chief Bemassike. Baierlein invited Craemer to perform the baptismal rite since he was not, as yet, ordained and so, just after the new year, the children were baptized and received Christian names.²⁹ Prior to the baptism, Baierlein's wife gave birth to her first child, a daughter, who was baptized with the Indian children.³⁰ She had been named Theodosia. Two other daughters were born to the Baierlein family while they worked among the Chippewas

²⁷At this time nineteen Indian children were enrolled in the school and hence the nineteen plates.

²⁸"Bethanien am Pine River," op. cit., p. 129.

²⁹"Die lutherischen Missionstationen unter den rothen Indianern in Michigan," Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika, No. 4 (1850), 30. Craemer ordained Baierlein on September 6, 1850. See Vierter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen evangel.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten vom Jahre 1850, p. 11.

³⁰Baierlein, op. cit., pp. 70-2.

in Michigan. Theophile was born on September 20, 1850 and Ulrike was born on May 7, 1852.³¹

We have already alluded to the fact that the adult Chippewas were not at first amiable to the missionary's message; that they were suspicious of sending their children to Baierlein's school. Drunkenness, spiritual indifference, and haphazard church attendance contributed to the young missionary's difficulties.³² Excessive drinking was perhaps the worst obstacle. It was common among all Indian tribes and had been a result of their contact with white traders who were always anxious to sell their ware among the unsuspecting Indians. They often charged exorbitant prices and diluted the whiskey with large quantities of water. Bethany had its share of drunkenness brought about by such white intercourse for two traders were established nearby and distributed whiskey to both children and adults including some of Baierlein's pupils. One of these traders was so incensed at Baierlein that he openly threatened him, though the threat was not carried out.³³ A year before this, Baier-

³¹Letter to the author from the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission dated January 18, 1954, and in the author's possession. Theophile was married in Erlangen, Germany on October 18, 1870. Ulrike was confirmed in Hohenstaedt, Germany, on June 17, 1866.

³²"Aus einem Briefe des Miss. Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 22 (November 15, 1849), 337.

³³Ibid., No. 21 (November 1, 1850), 329.

lein's life had been threatened by a number of drunken Indians who disliked the missionary. However, no harm came to him, though Baierlein was quite concerned.³⁴ The influence of these whiskey vendors was so strong that even Baierlein's interpreter succumbed and became a "drunkard and a trader."³⁵ Baierlein often complained about the pernicious influence of the white man in general and the trader in particular. Not only were the traders a menace to Indian society, but other white men including those in governmental positions often had a negative influence upon the Indian. They cared little about the Indian's material welfare and less for the Indian's spiritual and moral condition. Bemassike, the Indian chief, also saw the damage that was being done among his people by the unscrupulous whites and, therefore, wrote a letter in 1849 to the President of the United States complaining of the unwholesome conditions brought about by the sale and consumption of whiskey.³⁶ He writes:

You told me that you would take care of me, that my children would be clothed and that I would hardly recognize my wife in her fine clothes and jewels. But as often as I look about me, things appear the same. I see no fine clothes and jewels, and my wife appears the same. You have taken my land and I have received nothing in return. Now I am old and you can no longer do anything for me. But you can do something for my son.

³⁴"Bethanien am Pine River," op. cit., p. 131.

³⁵"Aus einem Briefe des Miss. Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 21 (November 1, 1850), 329.

³⁶The president at this time was Zachary Taylor.

Do not forget it!³⁷

Not only the immoral character of the traders and the administrators played havoc with the missionary's spiritual ministrations, but churchmen of other denominations contributed to Baierlein's difficulties and the Indian's confusion. Both the Roman Catholics and Methodists sought to create suspicion and hostility among the Chippewas toward their pastor. In a letter written on August 1, 1849, Baierlein mentions the activities of the Romanists and Methodists, adding that such competitions on the part of different denominations for the Indians' souls causes them to think of the missionaries as mere vendors of religions who peddle their spiritual goods from village to village.³⁸ The Methodists were, perhaps, the most aggressive and Baierlein as well as Craemer constantly remarked about their deceitfulness and obnoxious slanders.³⁹ Many Methodists were located near the Pine River and sought to gain converts from among the Chippewas at Bethany. They told the Indians that they would find the "Germans" to be deceivers and untrustworthy and warned them not to associate with them. Unable, however, to make any great inroads into the Bethany mission the Metho-

³⁷Baierlein, op. cit., pp. 108-09.

³⁸"Aus einem Briefe des Miss. Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 22 (November 15, 1849), 338.

³⁹"Frankenmuth, Cass River, Michigan im August 1848," Der Lutheraner, V (September 12, 1848), 4.

dists in 1850 left Pine River and moved to another river from whence they continued their proselytism.⁴⁰ The Methodists received encouragement to continue their activities when in 1852 the new Indian agent to be appointed was a Methodist as well.⁴¹ This unnamed layman actively supported the Methodist cause conducting religious meetings among the Indians whom he visited. With the continuous incursions into the Lutheran mission, it was only natural that some Indians defected to the Methodist camp. In January 1852, Baierlein was compelled to mention that though the congregation had grown to forty-one souls, two women left to join the Methodist Church, having married husbands affiliated with that communion.⁴² On another occasion a number of Methodists attempted to prevent a four year old Indian girl from being baptized by Baierlein. They employed the girl's two older brothers as spokesmen of the Methodist cause but were unsuccessful in deterring the young child. She was baptized by Baierlein in spite of the protests.⁴³

Baierlein's work was not limited to the Bethany Indians

⁴⁰I have made a careful study of the Congressional Reports (1847-1855) and the Annual Reports of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1847-1853) and fail to find any references to Baierlein, Bethany, Lutherans, and proselytism.

⁴¹"Aus einem Briefe des Miss. Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 15 (August 1, 1852), 225.

⁴²Ibid., No. 7 (April 1, 1852), 107.

⁴³Ibid., No. 24 (December 15, 1851), 371.

alone but the missionary, using Bethany as his point of operation, visited surrounding tribes in the hope of winning some of the Indians for the Gospel. Here, among the unconverted Indians, denominational competition was at its height.

* The Methodists would accuse the Romans of interfering in their area of work while Baierlein would likewise accuse the Methodists of undermining his message. Baierlein's missionary trips were a great disappointment and failure. Except for a few Indians, the missionary's efforts failed to result in any mass conversions. He made several trips to the Indian settlement at Swan River sixty miles from Bethany in the hope of converting the tribe or at least some of the Indians. These attempts also failed. He had already visited this tribe in 1848 as we have noted. Then Sauaban the chief gave Baierlein some encouragement when he told the missionary that he would never under any circumstances become a Methodist.⁴⁴ Naturally, Baierlein was greatly surprised when, upon a return visit, he learned that Sauaban had become a Methodist. He asked the chief what had caused him to change his mind to which Sauaban replied:

As you can see I have not yet grown any wings with which I can fly to heaven as the Methodists always do. But because they never gave me a second's rest and constantly pestered me, I decided to permit them to baptize me, so that they might leave me some peace in my

⁴⁴ "Einiges ueber die Ureinwohner dieses Landes und was von der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche fuer sie gethan wird," Der Lutheraner, VI (January 8, 1850), 74-6.

old age.⁴⁵

Nor did Baierlein have any more success with any of the other tribes he visited. Half of a tribe of Indians living thirty miles from Bethany near the Tittabawasse River became Methodists, while half of another band of Indians dwelling near the Maple River forty miles from Bethany adopted the Roman Catholic faith.⁴⁶

Though the Bethany Indians may have been suspicious and in some cases even hostile to Baierlein, they, nevertheless, kept their word and not only sent their children to school but also attended the divine services. These first services were held every Sunday morning in the log cabin school house before the erection of the new church in 1851. Here the Indians, young and old, assembled to hear Baierlein preach the Gospel. On these occasions the Indians would not hesitate to converse with their neighbors or interrupt the preacher to inject their own thoughts. The children played on the floor while the men smoked their pipes. Baierlein did all he could to continue the service and to impress upon the Indians the need for a proper devotional attitude and decorum.⁴⁷

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶"Aus einem Briefe des Miss. Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 22 (November 15, 1849), 340.

⁴⁷Baierlein, op. cit., pp. 56-7.

At first the missionary's sermons were translated for the assembled Indians but later, after Baierlein had learned the difficult Chippewa language, he could dispense with the use of an interpreter and address the Indians in their own tongue. It is uncertain as to when the language was mastered by Baierlein.⁴⁸ The problem of interpretation and communication was always a difficult one and all the missionaries worked together in order to overcome this barrier. Missionaries Craemer and Auch translated Martin Luther's Small Catechism and Baierlein translated several German hymns and portions of Isaiah and the Psalter. He also revised the New Testament which seems to have been a Roman Catholic translation.⁴⁹ In addition to these translations, Baierlein wrote a textbook for his pupils which was divided into two parts, the first part being a speller while the second part was a reader. The missionary had to travel 150 miles to Detroit to supervise its printing.⁵⁰

Through the continued preaching of the Gospel and the patient pastoral care of the missionary, the adult Indians followed in the footsteps of their children receiving Chris-

⁴⁸ Luckhard, op. cit., p. 63.

⁴⁹ "Aus einem Briefe des Miss. Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 7 (April 1, 1851), 97-8. Luckhard mistakenly attributes the translation of Luther's Small Catechism to Baierlein. See Luckhard, op. cit., p. 61.

⁵⁰ Baierlein, op. cit., pp. 128-29.

tian instruction and accepting baptism. In February 1850, Baierlein's congregation numbered but fifteen souls, most of them being children.⁵¹ In October of the same year the missionary could report an increase of eleven souls, seven adults and four children.⁵² Not only were more of the Indian adults submitting to baptism, but those who were church members withstood the temptations of their heathen neighbors. Thus, Baierlein mentions that one young Indian woman refused to obey her heathen husband's commands that she deny her faith. Another Indian woman was threatened by her half breed husband, but she replied that she must obey God rather than man.⁵³ On November 17, 1850, Baierlein baptized a hundred year old blind Indian woman whose name was Sarah.⁵⁴ She proved to be one of the missionary's most faithful converts. Even though she was totally blind and often plagued with pain, she never failed to worship her Lord and Baierlein visited her every day when he would read to her a portion of the Scriptures and pray with her. Other converts were brought into the church and Baierlein could report a total of

⁵¹"Aus einem Briefe des Miss. Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 11 (June 1, 1850), 171.

⁵²Ibid., No. 6 (March 15, 1851), 81-2.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid., No. 7 (April 1, 1851), 98.

forty-one souls in December, 1851, among whom was the widow of the old Indian chief Bemassike. He had died the year before without being baptized.⁵⁵ Before Bemassike's widow was baptized she offered her sick child for baptism. The child was baptized, but died two days later. Baierlein feared that the child's death might be blamed on the baptismal rite and a Methodist tried to convey that idea, but Bemassike's widow did not succumb. Instead she was received into church membership after Christmas, especially requesting that it be after Christmas lest it be construed that she permitted herself to be baptized Christmas Day in order to receive the annual Christmas gifts which Baierlein distributed to the members. Upon being baptized she received the Christian name Salome.⁵⁶

As early as August 1850, after returning from a trip to the Indian mission station at Shebahyark where a new church was dedicated, Baierlein thought of erecting a church of his own.⁵⁷ With the increased number of conversions and the rising church attendance, a new church became imperative. Baierlein, therefore, in 1851 decided to erect a log church, but did not wish to utilize the funds of the mission commit-

⁵⁵ "Aus einem Briefe des Miss. Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 21 (November 1, 1850), 329.

⁵⁶ "Missionsnachricht," Der Lutheraner, VIII (March 16, 1852), 119.

⁵⁷ "Aus einem Briefe des Miss. Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 3 (February 1, 1851), 35-6.

tee of the Missouri Synod. He used instead the money that was at hand.⁵⁸ An English merchant also loaned Baierlein two hundred dollars without interest.⁵⁹ Baierlein hired another man and together they erected the church building. It was built alongside the log cabin which Baierlein now used as a sacristy. The church building had six high windows as well as a tower which contained a bell ordered from Chicago. The interior of the church had two rows of pews, pulpit and the altar. Friends from Dresden, Germany, donated altar vestments and the Graf von Einsiedel presented the congregation with a beautiful crucifix.⁶⁰ The church was completed some time in the fall of 1851, and regular services were held in it by November of the same year. It was during this time that Ernst Gustav Hermann Miessler arrived in Bethany having been sent by the Leipzig Mission Society to assist Baierlein.⁶¹ He mentions that upon his arrival the new church with its tower and church bell "stood as a worthy

⁵⁸Ibid., No. 7 (April 1, 1852), 109. The Bethany Mission came under the jurisdiction of the Missouri Synod in 1849. See "Documents and Resolutions Pertaining to the Lutheran Missions among the Indians in Michigan, 1844-1869," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, II (January, 1930), 101-03.

⁵⁹"Aus einem Briefe des Miss. Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 7 (April 1, 1852), 109.

⁶⁰Baierlein, op. cit., pp. 152-55.

⁶¹"Missionsnachricht," op. cit., p. 119. Miessler arrived in Bethany on November 8, 1851.

decoration for the entire colony."⁶²

Before Baierlein undertook to erect a church he was determined to convince the Chippewas to settle permanently in Bethany and to farm the land. The Indian's dependence upon the hunt for food coupled with his migratory nature had been the great stumbling block to the establishment of any permanent mission in their midst. Baierlein frequently complained that his school and church services were poorly attended, since the Indians would be absent from Bethany hunting in the forests or making sugar. Hence, as early as 1848, Baierlein attempted to induce the Indians to accept a more permanent abode, but whenever he would mention some suggestion to the Indians they would merely reply, "Yes, we know that it is true and we'll do it whenever we have some time" and there the matter would rest.⁶³ Nevertheless, an old medicine man promised to build himself a log cabin and became the first Indian to erect a permanent home.⁶⁴ With the death of Bemassike, in the spring of 1850, the Indian men turned to Baierlein for advice. They came to him asking

⁶²"Aus einem Briefe des Miss. Mieszler," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 6 (March 15, 1852), 88-9.

⁶³"Aus einem Briefe des Miss. Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 22 (November 22, 1849), 338.

⁶⁴"Aus einem Schreiben des Missionar Baierlein an den Verwaltungsausschusz des protestantischen Central-Missions-Vereins fuer Bayern in Nuernberg, datirt von Bethanien am Pine River den 1. Oct. 1848," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 10 (May 15, 1849), 150.

him how they could improve their material welfare. Every spring the Indians experienced a season of starvation, sickness and often death. The missionary advised them to erect log cabins and to farm the soil planting potatoes and other vegetables. But the Indians would have none of it. Their fathers had dwelt in tents and they could not bring themselves to break with the past. At another meeting with the men he promised the first one who would build a log cabin home free nails and free materials for windows. But no one accepted this offer. For a long time nothing happened until one day the chief's daughter, a Christian widow, volunteered to erect the first home. When the men beheld the new log cabin, they immediately decided to do the same and besieged the missionary with requests for nails and materials for the windows. Bethany now took on the appearance of a regular village. Though the Indians did not give up the hunt, they did not remain dependent on it for their subsistence but began to till the soil and to raise various crops. Winter and spring no longer brought starvation and since the Indians busied themselves with their fields, they no longer left Bethany as often as they had in the past but remained at home. Hence, both school and church attendance became more regular and the mission became permanent.⁶⁵

We have already noted that the Leipzig Mission Society

⁶⁵Baierlein, op. cit., pp. 135-41.

had determined to send Baierlein to India but illness and the needs of Graemer brought Baierlein to America instead. The missionary, once in America, determined to remain among the Indians permanently. He never thought that he would receive his former call and sail for India. Nevertheless, the missionary never lost his interest in the mission activities of his brethren in India and sought to awaken a similar interest among his co-workers in America. To this end he contributed a number of articles for Der Lutheraner telling his readers about the early Lutheran missions in India and the present work of the Leipzig Mission.⁶⁶ While the missionary informed his readers of the wonderful mission opportunities in India, the Leipzig Mission Society, faced with a serious shortage of men, decided to call Baierlein to India. In a letter written on July 17, 1852, and addressed to the Mission Committee of the Missouri Synod, the Leipzig Mission Society informed the Missouri Synod of their plight and formally requested them to release Baierlein of his work in Bethany and, if possible, permit him to depart for Germany "in this same year."⁶⁷ Baierlein received the call to India at this same time. He states that it was not the first time he considered forsaking his beloved Indians. Earlier he had

⁶⁶ "Lutherische Missionsnachrichten," Der Lutheraner, VII (October 1, 1850), 21-2.

⁶⁷ "Die Indianer-Mission betreffend," Der Lutheraner, IX (October 26, 1852), 38-9.

thought of returning to Germany because of his health, having been ill quite frequently. But now it was a call to another land which would bring about his separation from Bethany. Though he had come to love his Indians and they in turn honored him, he, nevertheless, resolved to heed the mission call. He says that there could be no question as to whether or not he would accept the call. His life's vocation was to be a missionary and as a missionary he must be ready to go anywhere at any time.⁶⁸ For Baierlein the matter was decided; as soon as possible he would sail for Germany and from there to India.

Baierlein now had to inform his Indians that he would leave them in order to serve the church in India. He chose to tell his Indians during a regular divine service. His text for that Sunday was in Acts 20 which treats of the apostle Paul's farewell address to the elders of the church at Ephesus. At the conclusion of the sermon Baierlein informed the Indians of his coming departure. He said:

Now, my dear friends, I have always loved you and have loved to dwell in your midst. And as you accepted the Word of God, which alone can sanctify our souls, I loved you even more. I had thought that I would spend my last remaining days among you, and when God would call me home, to sleep among you until the resurrection of the dead. I never considered any other separation from you except death. But you know, as I often have told you, that God's thoughts and God's ways are not our ways. Often we do not understand His leadership, but it is always holy, wise, just, and good. Now, God,

⁶⁸Baierlein, op. cit., pp. 167-68.

my Lord, has called me from out of your midst to another people who live far across the sea and do not know God's name. The Lord has called me and I must heed His call. I must and will go.⁶⁹

The days before their departure were ones of sadness for the Indians and the missionary. Quite frequently Indians came to visit the missionary's family and bid them all farewell. The old blind Sarah visited Baierlein twice a day and another Indian convert, Pemagojin, visited the missionary every day. He would sit silently and every time just before he departed again, he would say to Baierlein: "I shall not witness your departure, I cannot witness your departure, and do not want to see it."⁷⁰ A day before this departure Pemagojin came again to Baierlein as he was busy packing his belongings. He again sat silently watching his pastor's every move. Suddenly, however, he arose and embracing Baierlein, kissed him. When he had performed his last act of love, he hastened out of the house. He kept his word and was not present at Baierlein's departure.

Baierlein, his wife and three small daughters left Bethany together with their maid on May 19, 1853.⁷¹ The canoe in which they were to travel had been prepared for the trip. The Indians who were to accompany the group brought

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 170-71.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 173.

⁷¹"Skizzen einer Reise nach West und Ost," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 20 (October 15, 1854), 319.

their canoes alongside. Also present at this occasion were Pastor G. E. C. F. Sievers, the president of the Mission Committee, and his wife. They came to bid the Baierleins farewell and to exhort the Indians to remain faithful to the Word which Baierlein had brought them. Everything was ready for their voyage, but the missionary remained in the chapel which he had built praying that God would safely keep "his red children."⁷² As he was about to leave the chapel and board his canoe, Sievers approached him and offered the thanks of the Mission Committee for all he had done. Baierlein then entered his canoe and escorted by many canoes, they left Bethany. As they departed Sievers and the Indians sang the German hymn, Allein Gott in der Hoeh sei Ehr und Dank fuer seine Gnade.⁷³ Around midnight they reached the home of a German family where they spent the night. The next morning Baierlein baptized an infant and then continued the trip downstream on the Pine River, reaching Saginaw the next day. From here they traveled by wagon to Pontiac where they boarded a train which took them to Detroit.⁷⁴ From Detroit they sailed to Buffalo, a trip which took twelve hours. In Buffalo Baierlein visited the Buffalo Synod which

⁷²Baierlein, op. cit., p. 174.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 174-75.

⁷⁴"Skizzen einer Reise nach West und Ost," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 21 (November 1, 1854), 326-27.

was meeting in convention and also traveled to Cleveland where the Missouri Synod held its convention.⁷⁵ After leaving his colleagues and friends, Baierlein and his family proceeded to Albany by train, then by ship down the Hudson to New York City. On June 28, 1853, they boarded the "Patria" and set sail for Germany reaching Bremen on July 25.⁷⁶

Baierlein offered a number of suggestions for the improvement of the mission at Bethany before he sailed to Germany. In 1850 he had written that the best thing that could happen to Bethany was to have a settlement of Christian people living with the Indians similar to the Frankenmuth colony.⁷⁷ However, as we have seen, nothing materialized although a few white settlers lived nearby but in most cases they were not Lutherans. In January, 1853, Baierlein addressed an interesting letter to the Mission Committee of the Missouri Synod in which he commented on the work of the committee and offered some suggestions to improve both the committee and the mission. He begins by saying that the

⁷⁵The Synod loaned Baierlein one hundred dollars for his traveling expenses which he later repaid. See Siebenter Synodal-Bericht der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten von 1853, p. 33.

⁷⁶"Skizzen einer Reise nach West und Ost," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 21 (November 1, 1854), 331-35.

⁷⁷"Die deutsch-lutherischen Colonieen in Michigan und ihr Verhaeltnis zur aeuszern und innern Mission," Kirchliche-Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika, No. 5 (1850), 38.

might of heathenism is completely broken and that there remains only one heathen family living in Bethany. However, the same cannot be said for the might of Methodism which remains a constant source of anxiety and "are the cause why any Indian still remains a heathen."⁷⁸ Baierlein now proceeds

to give advice to the committee. First of all he tells them "not to fail to take seriously the reports of your missionaries and write them frequently encouraging them in their work."⁷⁹ He says that Bethany has never received any communications from them by which the laborers were encouraged and that the relationship to the committee strengthened.

"It is in behalf of future missionaries and the Indian congregation," says Baierlein, "that I make this petition."⁸⁰

Secondly, he urges the mission committee to visit the Indian mission either personally or through a representative. At the same time the committee should visit the school encouraging the Indian children by word and example. Baierlein offers two other suggestions. He tells them that it could serve the Indian mission program more effectively if the committee would reside near the place of operation and would be acquainted with the mission needs at first hand. He sug-

⁷⁸"An die Verehrliche Missions-Commission der evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Missouri," Der Lutheraner, IX (March 29, 1853), 100.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 101.

⁸⁰Ibid.

gests that the mission committee be allowed to act on matters related to the mission stations immediately and not be forced to delay their action until a synodical convention. Finally, in one of his last articles, Baierlein appealed to the readers of Der Lutheraner to give their full support to their missions and missionaries.⁸¹ In order to underscore his appeal, he reminds the readers what the German Lutherans had accomplished for missions and what the Indians themselves had done. "Surely," concludes Baierlein, "if these German and Indian Christians can give so generously of their material wealth to the missions of the church, then the Lutheran reader will, yea, must do likewise."⁸²

Baierlein had labored approximately six years among the Chippewa Indians in Michigan, five years of which he lived with the Indians at Bethany. When he came to Bethany he found only spiritual and material poverty, suspicion, and even hostility. But after five years of tireless devotion he left behind an organized congregation of fifty-eight souls and had erected both a church and school building.⁸³ Furthermore, the Indians had settled down building homes and

⁸¹"Fuer und ueber Mission," Der Lutheraner, IX (April 12, 1853), 107 f.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³"Aus Miss. Baierleins Bericht an die Synode von Ohio," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 12 (June 15, 1853), 177.

farming the land. They began to form a well knit community in which the church was the center of activity. But most important of all, Baierlein gave to the Indians a faith. This was his main reason for coming to America and settling among the heathen in the wilderness. This he accomplished as he preached the Gospel and administered the sacraments. True, there were no mass conversions. In many cases the old and the young, the poor and the sick had harkened to the white man's message and had accepted the white man's God, but what mattered to the missionary was that there were some who came to Christ even though they were but few. They were his spiritual children and he was their spiritual father. Now he turned to a new continent and a new people. Here he would labor thirty-three years before his retirement and death. It is to this period of his life which we wish to turn.

CHAPTER V

MISSIONS IN INDIA BEFORE BAIERLEIN'S ARRIVAL

Christianity had an early beginning in India. In the sixth century merchants and refugees from Persia carried the Gospel to India; for a traveler, Cosmas Indicopleustes, found churches in Ceylon, on the Malabar coast, and in Calcutta.¹ As early as the fourth century a missionary, Theophilus of Diu, found a number of Christian churches in India.² For the most part the Christians who first brought the Gospel to the Asian continent were of the Nestorian persuasion. However, in the ninth century, Europeans became interested in India and Alfred the Great is said to have dispatched an embassy under Sighelm, Bishop of Shireburn, to the grave of Saint Thomas in the land of Tamila and that this embassy worshipped at the grave of the famous apostle.³ Tradition states that the Apostle Thomas began mission work in India during the first century.

It was not until the great maritime discoveries of the fifteenth century, which were made principally under the

¹George Park Fisher, History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), p. 98.

²Ibid., p. 45.

³Eduard Baierlein, The Land of the Tamulians and Its ong, translated from the German by J. D. B. Gribble (London: Botham and Co., 1875), p. 96.

auspices of Portugal and Spain, that Christian missions to India began in earnest. The Portuguese, who now began to settle in India, sought to bring the heathen and Christian inhabitants under the subaission of Rome. The Archbishop of Goa, Menezes, traveled through the various Christian districts distributing many alms in order to cause the Thomas Christians, as the aborigines were called, to accept the Roman Catholic faith. Backed up by his purchased heathen help and accompanied by Portuguese soldiers he did all he could to establish the Western faith. Nevertheless, the people remained loyal to their ancient traditions. It was not until June 20, 1599, that a Synod was summoned and the Syriac priests met with Menezes and effected a union. The Syrians recognized the Pope and denounced the Patriarch of Babylon. However, they were permitted to retain the Syrian language in their liturgies instead of the Latin.⁴

The most famous and perhaps the most successful of the Jesuit missionaries was Francis Xavier, who carried Christianity to India and the Far East. He was a roommate and one of the earliest disciples of Ignatius Loyola. In obedience to the King of Portugal, Xavier, as pope apostolic nuncio for India, sailed from Lisbon and landed at Goa on May 6, 1542.⁵ At Goa he commenced his work traveling at

⁴Ibid., pp. 98-9.

⁵Fisher, op. cit., p. 452.

first along the coast towards the South and there baptized thousands of fishermen. His labors were extended to Molacca, the Moluccas, and other islands of the Eastern archipelago and in Travancore he claimed to have baptized ten thousand in one month until "in consequence of the exertion in baptizing, his hands became utterly exhausted."⁶ After seven years of labor in India, Xavier sailed for Japan in order to establish a new mission field.

Among many missions established in India the one located at Madura was one of the most famous. To this station came Robert de Nobili, a relative of Cardinal Bellarmin. As a Jesuit he employed all his talents and powers to convert the inhabitants to Roman Catholicism. Seeing the impracticability of forcing upon a people artificial forms peculiar to the habits and cultivation of a foreign race, he sought to overcome this difficulty by appearing before the inhabitants in their own customs and traditions. He lived and clothed himself like a Brahmin eating the same food and abstaining from the same enjoyments of life. Surrounded only by Brahmins he went silently every morning to his ablutions and proclaiming to his disciples the fourth Veda. In this way he was able to indoctrinate his followers in the tenets of the Christian religion. Many believed and accepted his new faith. The new converts could continue to observe their

⁶Baierlein, op. cit., pp. 110 f.

old customs wearing the hair lock and the Brahminical thread, though the latter had to be sprinkled with holy water. When de Novill retired in 1648, he was feeble with age and was almost blind. As long as he had remained in Madura, his work fared well, but five years after his departure and while he was still living in Mylapore it collapsed. His disciples reverted to their old religion and at Baierlein's arrival only two hundred souls remained faithful in Madura.⁷

Besides the Jesuits, other Roman Catholic orders worked zealously to convert the people of India. Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites, Oratorians, and Capucins labored in southern India. French priests had settled in Pondicherry, which became so powerful that a bishopric was established. At times discord hindered the work of the Roman Church in India, especially in the Malabar district. In spite of this, the church gained thousands of converts. Thus, in the year 1870 the Diocese of Madras counted fifty-seven priests and 31,030 Christians; the Diocese of Pondicherry, including Christians belonging to Goa, numbered 1,29,844 sic souls in addition to 118 churches, eighty-two chapels, two seminaries for priests, and several convents; and the Bishopric of Coimbatore had twenty priests and some eighteen thousand Catholics. The Jesuits during this time were very strong in

⁷Ibid., pp. 113-18.

the Diocese of Madura. Here in 1870 were 1,69,500 sic Roman Catholic Christians worshipping in 163 churches and chapels under the guidance of sixty-five priests.⁸

On November 29, 1705, Henry Pluetschau and Bartholomew Ziegenbalg left Copenhagen to establish the first Protestant mission in India.⁹ They had been sent to India by the Danish king Frederik IV. He had been influenced by his German chaplain, Dr. F. J. Luetkens, who had come in contact with the Lutheran pietists Spener and Francke. The two Lutheran missionaries arrived in India on July 9, 1706, the date marking the birth of Protestant missions in India.¹⁰ Though ill received by the civil authorities in Tranquebar, the two men labored diligently learning the Portuguese and Tamil languages. After less than one year, the first convert was baptized and soon the "New Jerusalem Church" was built (June to August, 1707).¹¹ For selfish reasons both the Danish clergy, the Governor of Tranquebar, and others attempted to undermine the young mission. The missionaries were often imprisoned. It was not until Pluetschau arrived in Denmark in 1713 that the missionaries could present their case and

⁸Ibid., pp. 120 f.

⁹Sigfrid Estborn, "The Tranquebar Mission," The Lutheran Enterprise in India, edited by C. H. Swavely (Madras, India: The Diocesan Press, 1952), p. 1.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 2.

¹¹Ibid., p. 3.

the situation was somewhat alleviated. Ziegenbalg worked six more years preaching the Gospel to the Indians and Portuguese, but died in 1719 in the prime of youth.¹² Other men tried to continue the work of Ziegenbalg and the labors of J. Fabricius were particularly noteworthy. The interest toward missions was on the decline by the end of the eighteenth century. As a result the last of the Tranquebar missionaries, Caemmerer, in 1820, handed over the mission along with 1,300 Christians, eleven catechists, and eleven small churches to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.¹³ In 1845, Denmark sold its colony, Tranquebar, to England on the condition that the congregation remain Lutheran.¹⁴

Other Protestant groups became interested in the great mission opportunities in India. In 1784, a memorial was drawn up by an association of Baptist ministers at Nottingham, England urging the people to more earnest prayers for the outpouring of God's Spirit on both churches and pastors, and adding: "the spread of the Gospel to the most distant parts of the habitable globe" should "be the object of your

¹²Ibid., p. 7.

¹³Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 16. Sigfrid Estborn dates the sale in 1844. See page 14; Latourette, however, dates it in 1845. See Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1944), VI, 128.

fervent requests.¹⁵ These prayers were answered with the coming of William Carey to India in 1793. In India Carey, with the aid of the Baptist Mission Society, founded the mission of Serampore. Carey was assisted in his work by William Ward, a trained printer, and by Joshua Marshman, a self-educated schoolmaster. Both arrived in 1799. At Serampore a printing press was set up, preaching to the heathen was undertaken, and a school for the children of Europeans opened.¹⁶

Besides the Baptists, other groups sent missionaries to India to preach the gospel to the heathen. In 1798, the London Missionary Society sent Nathaniel Forsyth to India. He labored in Bengal until his death in 1816.¹⁷ The Church of England strengthened its work in India when Thomas Fanshaw Middleton (1769-1822) was appointed to the new see at Calcutta. He was followed by Reginald Heber (1783-1826) and Daniel Wilson (1778-1858).¹⁸ American churchmen saw the opportunities in India and in 1812 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent its first missionaries to Calcutta.¹⁹ Other denominations, either working with or

¹⁵Fisher, op. cit., p. 585.

¹⁶Latourette, op. cit., pp. 104 f.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 108.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 109 f.

¹⁹Fisher, op. cit., p. 588.

independently of the American Board, augmented the Protestant missionaries in various parts of India so that by 1851 there were 91,092 Protestant Christians in India.²⁰

The Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission, with which Baierlein was affiliated, was founded on August 17, 1836, having developed from a mission which mainly supported the Basel Mission.²¹ Once organized, they decided to reopen the old Tranquebar mission. For this reason I. H. C. Cordes arrived in Madras on December 27, 1840 and on March 20, 1841, he came to Tranquebar where the ailing Danish Pastor Kundson welcomed him. Cordes was followed by C. E. C. Ochs in 1842 and by J. M. N. Schwartz in 1843.²² The number of new stations increased rapidly. The Mission Society added a new station in Mayavaram in 1845; in Vepery, Madras, which received C. F. Kremmer in 1848; and stations in Pudukottah which the Leipzig Mission Society received for the American Mission in Madura in 1848. Tanjore was added in 1851.²³ Because of the tremendous increase of stations and the beckoning opportunities from other areas, the Leipzig Mission found itself in desperate need of additional men. It is for this

²⁰Latourette, op. cit., p. 129.

²¹Estborn, op. cit., p. 15.

²²Ibid., pp. 15 f. Hellinger incorrectly states Schwartz's name as T. M. N. Schwartz.

²³Ibid., pp. 16 f.

reason that it decided to call Eduard Baierlein from his work among the Chippewa Indians in Michigan and send him to India. He accepted this call realizing the extreme shortage of men which confronted the Leipzig Mission Society in India.

July 25, 1853. They disembarked in Bremen and remained with some friends for two days before continuing on their journey, which took them to various parts of Germany and Poland.¹ During the three months' visit to their homeland, old friendships and acquaintances were renewed. Baierlein took this occasion to visit Wilhelm Leube, the founder of the Frankenthal colony in Michigan. Leube had terminated his relationship with the Missouri Synod due to doctrinal difficulties and had decided to establish a new colony of Lutherans in Iowa.² Asking Baierlein what he thought of settling a colony of Lutherans in Iowa, Baierlein agreed that this idea was a good one.³ The Lutherans who had, therefore, left Michigan for Iowa in the fall of 1853 were augmented in July of the following year when reinforcements arrived from Hesse-Darmstadt in the persons of Pastor August Fritschel, Candidate W. Scheidler, August Duerr, and a nun-

¹ "Baierlein's Reise nach Iowa und Ost.," Evangelisches Missionarische Mittheilungsbuch, Vol. 21 (November 1, 1853), 130.

² Walter A. Duesler, A History of Iowa (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1897), 37, 100-101.

³ "Iowa," Evangelisches Missionarische Mittheilungsbuch, Vol. 21 (1853), 130.

CHAPTER VI

BAIERLEIN, MISSIONARY TO INDIA

Eduard Baierlein and his family reached Germany on July 25, 1853. They disembarked in Bremen and remained with some friends for two days before continuing on their journey, which took them to various parts of Germany and Poland.¹ During the three months' visit to their homeland, old friendships and acquaintances were renewed. Baierlein took this occasion to visit Wilhelm Loehle, the founder of the Frankenmuth colony in Michigan. Loehle had terminated his relationship with the Missouri Synod due to doctrinal difficulties and had decided to establish a new colony of Lutherans in Iowa.² Asking Baierlein what he thought of settling a colony of Lutherans in Iowa, Baierlein agreed that this idea was a good one.³ The Lutherans who had, therefore, left Michigan for Iowa in the fall of 1853 were augmented in July of the following year when reinforcements arrived from Neuendettelsau in the persons of Pastor Sigmund Fritschel, Candidate M. Scheuller, Student Duerr, and a num-

¹"Skizzen einer Reise nach West und Ost," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 21 (November 1, 1854), 334.

²Walter A. Baepfer, A Century of Grace (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), pp. 144-46.

³"Iowa," Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika, No. 3 (1854), 22.

ber of immigrants.⁴

One month after Baierlein's return to Germany, he was invited to address the annual Dresden Mission Festival. On this occasion he told the assembly of his work among the Chippewa Indians in Michigan and described to his German audience the character of the American Indian. Bethany had changed completely since his arrival in 1848. No longer can one hear the beat of the tom-tom calling Indians, either to heathen rites or drinking bouts. Only the ring of the church bell can be heard in the forest. Nor do the Indians dwell in dirty tents or huts but in log cabins. Civilization and Christianity have come to Bethany and have transformed it from a village of squalor to a respectable community, though Baierlein adds that there still is much room for Christian growth.⁵ The missionary concluded his address by imploring the people to remember him as he prepared to leave for India and to pray for the work of missions, closing his remarks with "with might of ours can naught be done."

On August 30, 1853, Baierlein and Meischel were com-

⁴P. H. Buehring, The Spirit of the American Lutheran Church (Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1940), pp. 38 f.

⁵"Ansprache des Missionars Baierlein beim Dresdener Missionsfeste," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 17 (September 1, 1853), 252-56.

missioned by M. Schneider in Leipzig for service in India.⁶ Soon Baierlein and his wife said farewell to their friends, leaving their daughters with friends in Germany but bringing their new born son, Theodosius, with them. They traveled through Bohemia and Austria and reached Trieste where on November 10, 1853 they boarded the ship, "Haus von Holz," which took them to India.⁷ While traveling to the Adriatic, Baierlein and his wife became seriously ill in Carniola and were afraid they they would be unable to continue to India.⁸ The passenger list consisted of several Englishmen, a German merchant who was returning to Bombay, two Basel missionaries who were going to India, two young women who were going to serve the mission in India, and several others. After a two day journey, the ship anchored off Corfu to take on coal.⁹ They left Corfu and reached Alexandria, Egypt on November 15, five days after they had left the European continent.¹⁰ Here they were able to rest a day and to take in

⁶"Abordnung der Missionare Baierlein und Meischel nach Ostindien am 30. Aug. 1853, durch den Herrn Diac. M. Schneider in Leipzig," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 20 (October 15, 1853), 296-301.

⁷Letter to the author from the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission dated January 18, 1954, and in the author's possession.

⁸"Skizzen einer Reise nach West und Ost," op. cit., p. 335.

⁹Ibid., p. 336.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 338.

the historic sights. Baierlein mentions seeing Cleopatra's Needle, Pompey's columns, and other interesting remnants of another age, as well as a slave market. While in Cairo Baierlein, in the company of other sightseers, visited the pyramids. Leaving Cairo by train they reached Suez and on November 22 sailed down the Red Sea to Aden where the ship refueled.¹¹ Half way between India and Arabia the ship stopped to bury the body of a young Englishman who had died at sea.¹² They reached the Maldiv Islands on December 10, and three days later anchored off Ceylon. Finally, on December 17, 1853, they reached Madras, India.¹³ Baierlein had arrived safely at his destination, having traveled six thousand miles.

Since Madras had no port to accommodate the large ship, Baierlein's boat dropped anchor over a mile off shore. Native boats called "Kattumaram" sailed out to greet the foreign vessel and soon other boats arrived to take the passengers to shore. The travelers were lowered to these boats on chairs. No one was on hand to greet the Baierleins, since no one had expected them to arrive at that early date.¹⁴

¹¹Ibid., p. 342.

¹²Ibid., p. 349.

¹³Ibid., p. 350.

¹⁴"Briefe aus Indien," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 2 (January 15, 1857), 22-8.

The Baierleins went to the home of Missionary C. F. Kremmer in Vepery, a suburb of Madras, and were carried there in a palanquin. Here they remained until they learned where they would be stationed. Meanwhile Baierlein acquainted himself with Kremmer's work among the Tamils. On the following Sunday Baierlein attended his first Tamil service, though he was unable to understand the language. In February Kremmer and Baierlein attended the annual mission conference at Tranquebar where it was decided to send the new missionary to Sadras.¹⁵

Baierlein, together with his family, arrived in Sadras in the latter part of July, 1854, spending the greater part of the year learning the Tamil language.¹⁶ Sadras, with a population of 2,500 souls at that time, is located 42 miles south of Madras on the Indian coast. The city, once occupied by the Dutch, contained numerous ruins of these former European inhabitants and the homes of the natives were no better than these Dutch ruins. It was only with difficulty that Baierlein found a habitable dwelling in the home of a Portuguese man. Heathenism was dominant among the people, who, in the course of time, had erected thirty-five temples.

¹⁵ "Mittheilungen aus einem Briefe des Missionars Baierlein an unsern allgemeinen Praeses," Der Lutheraner, XI (October 24, 1854), 37. In this same letter Baierlein requests his old friends to send him Der Lutheraner.

¹⁶ The letter from Leipzig Mission states that Baierlein's daughter remained in Germany.

With all its poverty Sadras, nevertheless, had a fairly healthy climate and the sea breezes made the area more bearable in the heat of the sun. Furthermore, the town contained healthy drinking water, something not too prevalent in most Indian towns. Though meat and bread had to be imported from another town twenty miles away, Sadras had a small market place where the Baierleins could purchase fish, crabmeat, rice, and other necessities. Sadras also boasted of a small inn where European travelers could spend the night.¹⁷

The congregation in Sadras was newly organized and at the missionary's arrival numbered forty souls, who were of the lowest and poorest caste. The poverty of the congregation asserted itself soon after Baierlein came. A six year old lame orphan presented herself to Baierlein and not having a home of her own was taken in by the Baierleins. It was the beginning of his orphanage, for other children were soon added.¹⁸ Once a three week old baby was received from a dying heathen mother. The child was baptized and named Moses.¹⁹ By December, 1854, Baierlein took care of nine

¹⁷E. R. Baierlein, Unter den Palmen (Leipzig: Justus Naumann, 1890), pp. 26-9.

¹⁸"Sadras," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 5 (March 1, 1855), 66-7.

¹⁹Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, p. 45.

children.²⁰ Though they had a school, they had no school building and the fourteen children met with their teacher on the veranda of his home. The school and orphanage often received gifts from friends in Germany and America.²¹

With the increase of both the congregation and the school, Baierlein decided to erect a permanent church building. There was a suitable piece of property between the town hall and the sea which belonged to the city. Baierlein contacted the British official in charge of the district and exactly one month after his arrival in Sadras received a favorable reply. On November 13, Sadras received a visit by the most important native official in the district. Known as the "Tahsildar," he arrived in great pomp and circumstance accompanied by a special police force and servants and preceded by a man who heralded the "Tahsildar's" arrival by blowing a horn every two minutes. At noon he visited Baierlein to discuss the property which Baierlein had proposed for the new church building. The two went to the lot and surveyed the land. Having reached a decision to erect the church for his congregation,²² Baierlein's task now was

²⁰ "Sadras," op. cit., p. 67.

²¹ "Bescheinigung," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 9 (May 1, 1855), 160.

²² Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, pp. 31 f.

to acquire building materials. One Indian suggested that Baierlein use the building blocks which remained of the former Dutch settlement. Again he wrote to the British official for permission to utilize these blocks and received an affirmative reply. Wood for the new church had to be brought forty-two miles. The church building was fifty feet long and twenty-two feet wide, with a flat roof because of the storms, and a veranda in the front of the building.²³ The eight windows, which were of Gothic design, proved quite an obstacle for the native builder, since he had never seen a Gothic window before. Baierlein had to show him how it was done. Above the entrance of the church were placed the words of Mark 1:15 in the native language, namely, "The time is fulfilled and the Kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye, and believe the Gospel."²⁴

On July 29, 1855, the eighth Sunday after Trinity, Baierlein dedicated the new church. Since the sacrament would be celebrated on dedication day, Baierlein called the congregation together on the Friday before the service to admonish them concerning the sacrament. On Sunday the peo-

²³Missionary Kremmer says that the church building was forty feet long. See "Aus einem Schreiben des Missionars Kremmer vom 6. August 1855," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 21 (November 1, 1855), 324.

²⁴"Kalam nireiveri, parabarenudeija iratschiam samibamai serndadhe; gunappadtu suwiseschattel wesuwasi jungel." See Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, p. 34.

ple entered the church, the women sitting on the right side and the men on the left. The lections were taken from Psalm 136, Luke 19:1-10, and Rev. 21:1-5. Missionary Kremmer preached the main sermon basing his message on Psalm 84. After the sermon they celebrated the Sacrament and thirty-five communicants received Holy Communion, including Baierlein and his wife. In the afternoon Baierlein preached his first sermon in the Tamil language. From that time on he preached in the native tongue every Sunday.

A dinner was served after the services. Baierlein had ordered rice and four sheep, but the sheep did not arrive and instead they ate goat meat.²⁵ It was a joyous occasion for all except the Baierleins, who had buried their little son, Theodosius, who died of cholera on March 8, 1855.²⁶ Theodosius was born in Germany some time in the fall of 1853 shortly before they sailed for India. The little boy had been the joy of both parents and natives and often at the invitation of a native friend, had ridden on an elephant.

We have already noted the dire poverty of the Christians in Baierlein's congregation. Most of the Christians were fishermen, but when there was a scarcity of fish, they

²⁵"Aus einem Schreiben des Missionars Kremmer vom 6. August 1855," op. cit., pp. 324-26.

²⁶Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, pp. 46 f.

sought work elsewhere, if any was available.²⁷ What the congregation lacked in the material things of life it made up in spiritual riches. The children of the day school progressed in their studies and grew in their faith. On the Monday following the dedication of the new church, Baierlein examined the children in their studies. In the first class, one boy and one girl had studied the Bible stories from the Creation to Joseph, as well as parts of the Small Catechism. Similarly, the second class performed their work well studying sections of the Catechism. The third class was adept in spelling.²⁸ The adults also made strides in their faith and on January 3, 1856, the missionary could write that "the congregation is attentive at divine services and harkens to the Word more and more."²⁹ The congregation increased when nineteen souls joined the church, most of them former heathen. Some of the heathen in Sadras were openly hostile to the missionary and to Christianity and began to rebuild their temples. However, other heathen were friendly toward Baierlein. Thirty-seven of them petitioned the missionary to begin a school for the

²⁷Ibid., p. 38.

²⁸"Aus einem Briefe des Missionars Kremmer vom 6. August 1866," op. cit., p. 328.

²⁹"Aus einem Schreiben des Miss. Baierlein vom 3. Januar 1856," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 6 (March 15, 1856), 81.

heathen children, but he declined,³⁰ since they had no interest in Christianity.

Baierlein never lost interest in his friends at the Bethany mission in Michigan nor in his friends of the Missouri Synod. In February, 1856, Ferdinand Sievers read a letter to the Indians from Baierlein in which he exhorted them to remain fervent in the faith and true to Miessler, who was missionary to the Indians at this time.³¹ Nor did the Missouri Synod forget their former co-worker, but often sent him money and other gifts for his work in India. Not all the associations with America were friendly ones, however. In an article written by F. Winkler in his Kirchliches Informatorium in August, 1856, he said that Baierlein made the statement that it was the duty of the Missouri Synod to destroy the Buffalo Synod, regardless of the cost. Baierlein vigorously denied ever making such a statement. In a letter written in April, 1857, he underscored his statement with an unequivocal "no."³²

On January 4, 1856, Baierlein became seriously ill with what he describes as "jungle-fever." Actually he suffered

³⁰ Ibid., p. 82.

³¹ "Reise nach Bethanien," Der Lutheraner, XII (June 17, 1856), 174.

³² "Aus Ostindien," Der Lutheraner, XIII (July 28, 1857), 197.

from severe heat prostration.³³ The missionary became so ill that he was unable to care for himself any longer. For a while Baierlein was under the care of a native doctor at Mayavaram, but when his health grew worse he moved to Tranquebar. Here a European doctor gave him fifty-eight grains of calomel and ninety-nine grains of quinine for a period of five days. The fever soon left him, but he was not well. The doctor, therefore, advised him to leave the area and to have a long rest in Ootacamund on the Blue Mountains in southwest India. Baierlein and his wife left for Ootacamund in February, riding in an oxcart, a trip which took them twenty days.³⁴ Here the Baierleins stayed for about one year and during this time Baierlein's wife gave birth to her fifth child, a daughter named Peregrina.³⁵ During his absence, Missionary Krenmer ministered to the needs of the Sadras Christians.³⁶

While Baierlein was recuperating at Ootacamund, the missionaries held their annual conference at Tranquebar and decided to combine the Sadras mission with the new mission

³³"Aus einem Schreiben des Miss. Baierlein aus Utakamund, Ende April," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 19 (October 1, 1856), 289.

³⁴Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, p. 50.

³⁵"Nachricht von Miss. Baierlein," Der Lutheraner, XIII (October 7, 1856), 31.

³⁶"Aus einem Schreiben des Miss. Baierlein aus Utakamund, Ende April," op. cit., p. 291.

at Cuddalore.³⁷ Baierlein was assigned to serve the new mission area, which contained one and three-fourths million heathen who had never heard the Gospel. He was to decide where he would live and from where he would make his many missionary trips. Baierlein chose to move to Cuddalore, though reluctantly since his little son had been buried in Sadras. Baierlein left his mountain retreat some time in December, 1856, reaching Cuddalore on December 10, 1856, in a fierce storm.³⁸ The missionary remained for a short time staying long enough to seek living quarters for a temporary residence until the time when he would make Cuddalore his permanent abode. Leaving Cuddalore, Baierlein passed through Pondicherry and Alambarei preaching to the natives in the latter place. Here he conducted religious services with a number of Christians and heathen and admonished them on the basis of Phil. 2:5-11 to "bow the knee before Christ."³⁹ Finally, late in the evening of December 15, he arrived in Sadras.⁴⁰ Learning that the missionary had arrived, the orphans hastened to greet him. A whole year had gone by since they had seen their beloved friend. They, as well as the

³⁷Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, pp. 66 f.

³⁸"Aus Miss. Baierleins Tagebuche," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 7 (April 1, 1857), 93.

³⁹Ibid., p. 95.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 96.

others, were glad that he had returned and had recovered his health.

Baierlein did not take up his permanent residence in Cuddalore immediately. Since he was still responsible for the Sadras congregation, he sought to strengthen his Christians in Sadras and to visit the various towns and cities between Cuddalore and Sadras preaching the Gospel to the heathen and strengthening at the same time the faith of the Christians. He visited his friend Kremmer in Madras. While returning from Madras Baierlein again became ill. It is difficult to ascertain the nature of his illness, though it may have been a recurrence of his former ailment or some other malady. Upon reaching Sadras alone on Christmas eve he spent a restless night, weakened by sickness and plagued by thoughts of death. Should he die, he instructed his catechist to bury him near his son. Though his illness taxed his physical strength and distressed his soul, he managed to preach to the congregation on Christmas day and to distribute the gifts of clothing that had been sent by his German friends. The next day Baierlein examined the school children and was happy to find them well instructed in the fundamentals of the Christian faith. Besides studying the Old and New Testaments and Luther's Small Catechism, they also gave a good account of themselves in reading.

writing, and in the understanding of Tamil grammar.⁴¹

Baierlein's illness, though severe, was of short duration. Feeling better, he decided on another journey to Cuddalore and the villages between it and Sadras. On December 29 he left for this southern missionary journey.⁴² The time was not most conducive for such a trip since a terrible storm had caused floods in many places. That night his wagon accidentally sank in a flooded area and it was only with great difficulty that Baierlein, with the aid of ten other men, was able to extract it again. His personal belongings were soaked and his pet dog drowned. The party now continued their journey reaching the outskirts of Pondicherry at midnight on December 31. The exposure to the rain and the unhealthy conditions caused by the storm and the flood resulted in another attack of fever for Baierlein and he could rarely leave his wagon. The missionary and his party reached Cuddalore on January 2, 1857.⁴³

The news from the congregation in Cuddalore did in no way contribute to Baierlein's recovery. The catechist of the congregation informed him that internal dissension had weakened the members and that attendance at divine services

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 97-9.

⁴²"Aus Miss. Baierlein's Tagebuche, 2. Febr. 1857," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 9 (May 1, 1857), 125.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 125 f.

was at a low ebb, for often only five persons were present and never more than fifteen. Furthermore, two families had arrayed themselves against the catechist and had refused to attend the services until the catechist was removed. They kept their word and had not worshiped in the church for five months. One of the families even threatened to join the Roman Catholic Church.⁴⁴ Somewhat recovered from his fever, Baierlein sought out a number of heathen in Cuddalore and preached to them. Seeing some Brahmans, he engaged them in a religious discussion questioning them about their idols. When they admitted that their idols would neither talk nor hear, he told them of the coming judgment. To Baierlein's surprise, the Brahmans listened attentively to his message interpreting his words to those nearby. On the following day Baierlein conducted religious services for the Christians and the catechist's words were confirmed when only fifteen adults and children attended. The missionary realized that much work must be done if the congregation would ever grow in sanctification. He then left Cuddalore for the annual mission conference preaching in a number of towns en route.⁴⁵

After the mission conference Baierlein returned to Sad-

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 126. Sources do not reveal the result of the controversy.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 127 f.

ras arriving there on February 28.⁴⁶ The time had come to leave Sadras and to take up his residence in Cuddalore. Baierlein's family was not living in Cuddalore. He bade farewell to his friends, both heathen and Christian, and together with the orphans began their journey to Cuddalore. During this stay in Sadras a church bell arrived from Germany which was a gift to the Sadras congregation from several women in Germany. While he had been absent from Sadras three of the orphans had died and now only eleven children remained, five boys and six girls. The group was accompanied out of the city by twenty men and a grandmother, who had entrusted three orphaned grandchildren to his care.⁴⁷ The missionary and his orphans arrived in Cuddalore on March 9, 1857, which marks the beginning of his ministry to the young mission.⁴⁸

Cuddalore is located south of Sadras in the district of the same name and was the capital of the district.⁴⁹ Its population at that time numbered fifty thousand, as compared with three thousand in the city of Sadras. Unlike the pov-

⁴⁶ "Aus Miss. Baierleins Tagebuche," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 11 (June 1, 1857), 169 f.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 171 f.

⁴⁸ "Aus Miss. Baierleins Tagebuche," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 14 (August 1, 1857), 215.

⁴⁹ Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, p. 85. The district is also known as South Arcot.

erty of Sadras, Cuddalore could boast of fruitful regions and both large and small rice patties. One of the first things the missionary did upon his arrival was to visit the Collector, the Regent of the Cuddalore district. He was an elderly man whose family remained in England while he administered the affairs of his government. The meeting of these two men was stiff and formal, for the Collector did not care to have missionaries in his district, much less in his vicinity.⁵⁰ One of the first questions asked of Baierlein was why he had come to Cuddalore. Baierlein retorted by stating that he was in the city for the same reason that he, the Collector, was there, namely, because he had been sent.⁵¹ Shortly thereafter the missionary chanced to meet the English chaplain who candidly told Baierlein that he did not know whether he could extend to him the right hand of fellowship, since he had probably come to overturn the English mission and to steal his members. Baierlein, however, expressed his pleasure at such candor and replied:

Allow me to give you the same answer, as under similar circumstances, I was in the habit of giving to the wild Indians of North America. It was this: wait and see.⁵²

In order to prevent the appearance of wanting to steal

⁵⁰ Eduard Baierlein, The Land of the Tamulians and Its Missions (Higgenbotham and Co., 1875), p. 170.

⁵¹ Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, pp. 87 f.

⁵² Baierlein, The Land of the Tamulians and Its Missions, p. 170.

members from the English mission, Baierlein rented a house in the new section of the town, three miles distant from the old town, and here went quietly to work. It was Baierlein's task to minister to 160 Christians scattered in nine different localities including Cuddalore and points as far as seventy-five miles away.⁵³ Using Cuddalore as his base of operation, the missionary visited the surrounding area strengthening the Christians and preaching to the heathen. Thus, in the spring of 1857 he visited Tuckanampakam eight miles away. At first the heathen refused to listen to him, but the missionary was able to quiet the crowd and to tell them of Christ. On June 16, 1857, Baierlein set out on a trip that took him as far as Sadras. Passing through Pondicherry and Sindivanam, he took every opportunity to address groups of heathen as they went about their work or stood near their temples. In Pondicherry he addressed a group of Brahmans, one of whom admitted that he did not believe in the idols whom he served but was merely a priest in order to gain a livelihood. Baierlein remained eight days in Sadras administering to the needs of the congregation. On Sunday he received a former Roman Catholic into church membership, married a couple, preached, and catechised. He returned to Cuddalore on July 5, after a month of active traveling and

⁵³"Station Sadras-Cuddalore (1856)," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 15 (August 1, 1857), 229.

preaching.⁵⁴

Baierlein's work in Cuddalore was interrupted for several months when in December, 1857, he was transferred to Tranquebar administering to the six hundred souls of the Jerusalem congregation until the return of Missionary I. H. G. Cordes, who had left for Germany.⁵⁵ It was a time of uncertainty and grave peril for all foreigners for the native soldiers of the British army, known as sepoy, had mutined. The proportion of the sepoy in the army was high in 1857 because British units had been withdrawn for service in the Crimean War and for action in China. The Indians in the army and outside of it became restless due to the British policy of replacing native rulers with men more favorable toward British rule. Furthermore, British interference in the religious practices of Moslems and Hindus only heightened the tension between the natives and the foreigners. When the propaganda circulating among the sepoy announced to the Moslem soldiers that newly issued cartridges were greased with the fat of a pig, and to the Hindu that the same cartridges were greased with the fat of a cow, the sepoy rebelled. The Hindu considered the cow sacred and

⁵⁴ "Aus dem Tagebuche des Miss. Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 20 (October 15, 1857), 302-07.

⁵⁵ "Aus Privatschreiben des Miss. Baierlein, vom 9. December 1857," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 3 (February 1, 1858), 45.

the Moslems were not permitted to touch pork. The mutinee confined itself to the Ganges Valley and did not penetrate southern and western India.⁵⁶ Baierlein often alludes to the tension which existed at Tranquebar at this time, though no fighting took place in this area. He and other foreigners were issued weapons with which to defend themselves should they be attacked, but fortunately the weapons were not needed.⁵⁷

Some time in the middle of 1858 Baierlein returned to Cuddalore only to learn that he could not acquire a residence in this city. Stranded in Cuddalore with his family and orphans, the missionary sought refuge with a Roman Catholic priest, who, however, refused to take him in fearing his bishop. Finally, living quarters were found in the home of an English minister who permitted Baierlein to remain provided he would find his own quarters in six weeks, which he did.⁵⁸ Once in Cuddalore, work was resumed among his people and those of the other towns. At Tukanampakam he had to admonish one of the members who had put away his wife, taking to himself a heathen woman, while in Tiruvicary Baierlein

⁵⁶R. R. Palmer, A History of the Modern World (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 644-46.

⁵⁷"Aus einem Schreiben des Miss. Baierlein vom 8. Januar 1858," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 9 (May 1, 1858), 129.

⁵⁸Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, pp. 132-34.

spoke to a large native audience telling them not to put their trust in stone idols but in the living God. Here one of the Brahmans told him that he served idols for his stomach's sake.⁵⁹

Much more work remained to be done among the Christians in Cuddalore, who were particularly weak in sanctification. The old fight with the catechist had flared up again. A number of families resented his presence because he had married the daughter of a man who had renounced his caste upon becoming a Lutheran.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, prayers continued and converts were won both at Cuddalore and other stations. In January, 1859, he could report that nine former Roman Catholics and thirteen heathen had joined the church while several Romans visited him when he was in Sadras. The school was still flourishing with twenty-four orphan children receiving Christian instruction. At Tukanampakam the missionary had his largest school with ten Christian and thirty heathen children attending instruction regularly. The school at Sadras, however, had a setback when the teacher died at

⁵⁹ "Aus einem Tagebuche des Miss. Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 20 (October 15, 1858), 305 f.

⁶⁰ Ibid., No. 19 (October 1, 1858), 299.

the age of thirty.⁶¹ With the increase in church membership and with an influx of orphans, Baierlein decided to erect a home for himself, a school for his orphans, and a church. His home was forty-four feet square and had a roof made of coconut leaves and straw. The school house was also used as living quarters for the orphans.⁶² Shortly after the completion of the two dwellings in the summer of 1859, Baierlein proceeded to erect a church which was built with bricks. The church was dedicated on Christmas day, 1859, and 120 souls were present and fifty received communion. During the service five heathen were baptized.⁶³

A serious controversy developed in the ranks of the missionaries of the Leipzig Mission in which Baierlein became involved. The controversy centered about the policy which should be followed regarding the caste system in India. A group of Lutheran missionaries led by the fiery C. E. Ochs demanded that the Leipzig Mission refuse to acknowledge the existence of the caste system within its churches and root out all members who refused to surrender their al-

⁶¹"Bericht des Miss. Baierlein vom 10. Januar 1859," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 8 (April 15, 1859), 117-21.

⁶²"Aus einem Schreiben des Miss. Baierlein, 9. Juni 1859," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 22 (November 15, 1859), 340 f.

⁶³"Aus einem Schreiben des Miss. Baierlein vom 4. Jan. 1860," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 7 (April 1, 1860), 97 f.

legiance to their castes. Things came to a head when candidate Nallatambe was to be ordained in 1854. Ochs, supported by some other missionaries, demanded that he either eat a meal or drink a cup of tea prepared by a person of a different caste under another missionary's supervision, demonstrating thereby that he would not acknowledge caste differences. When Nallatambe declined, a serious crisis ensued.⁶⁴ Baierlein had long complained about the caste system in India and its inconsistency with the Gospel. In a letter written to a friend in America and printed in Der Lutheraner he said that the caste system was so bad that the converts refused to eat with one another, sit with one another in church, or kneel near one another at the Communion rail.⁶⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, to find Baierlein supporting the group that demanded abolition of the caste system in Lutheran churches. His support took on a tangible form when in 1858 he served the congregation at Tranquebar. Here he greatly disturbed the congregation by his preaching.⁶⁶ In August of the same year Baierlein demanded that

⁶⁴W. Hellinger, "The Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission," The Lutheran Enterprise in India, edited by C. H. Swavelly (Madras, India: The Diocesan Press, 1952), pp. 24 f.

⁶⁵"Aus einem Briefe des Missionar Baierlein," Der Lutheraner, XVI (March 6, 1860), 117.

⁶⁶Richard Handmann, Die Evangelisch-lutherische Tamuln-Mission in der Zeit ihrer Neubegründung (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1903), p. 328.

he be permitted to initiate his own reform, threatening at the same time that he would return to his American Indians should they attempt to prohibit him. Finally, Baierlein and two other men informed the Leipzig Mission Society in Germany that they desired to terminate their relationship with them. The request was refused and in an effort to win the obstinate brethren, a letter was addressed to them on November 20, 1858, giving them permission to solve the caste problem themselves but with the proviso that they exercise love and patience. The letter induced Baierlein to remain and to continue serving the Leipzig Mission.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, four missionaries, among them Ochs, severed their connections with the Mission Society.⁶⁸ When reflecting upon the caste controversy many years later, Baierlein stated that one cannot solve the problem with force but only with the Word of God.⁶⁹ It is interesting to note in connection with this controversy that the Missouri Synod never supported Ochs and his party, but instead denounced him as "being a Carlstadt."⁷⁰

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 338 f.

⁶⁸Hellinger, op. cit., p. 25.

⁶⁹"Noch ein Wort ueber Kaste von Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 14 (July 15, 1872), 217-20.

⁷⁰"Der Saechsische Haupt-Missionsverein," Der Lutheraner, XVII (January 8, 1861), 87.

In 1860 Baierlein made a lengthy trip to Gingi reaching this city by means of a wagon drawn by a pair of oxen. Gingi or Gingeer was located fifty-eight miles northwest of Cuddalore. Here Baierlein spent a number of days in the company of a friend, an English engineer, visiting several famous heathen temples. Here also he received a number of heathen idols which his friend had discovered among the ruins. Baierlein later took them to Germany and gave one of them to King Johann of Saxony.⁷¹ In March of the same year Baierlein made another trip visiting Christians in Eijempetta and in Wiruttasalam, which were located south of Cuddalore. Wherever he went he would speak to the heathen admonishing them to turn from their idols to Christ. Returning from this trip he was stricken with a fever, and upon seeking the advice of a doctor, was ordered to return to Germany for a complete rest. Accompanied by many faithful Christians, Baierlein and his wife boarded a ship at Pondicherry and departed for Germany on July 12, 1860.⁷² The trip was a miserable one. Both Baierlein and his wife became seasick while their youngest child's eyes were infected. Peregrina contracted the eye disease from her sis-

⁷¹Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, p. 167.

⁷²Ibid., p. 180. The sickness was called "Dschangelfieber." It is difficult to determine what this may have been, though Baierlein may have been suffering from frequent attacks of malaria.

ter.⁷³ During the course of the journey Baierlein was invited by the captain of the ship to conduct religious services. After six weeks of sailing, they saw on August 27 the mountains surrounding Algoa Bay in South Africa. On September 15 they passed the Cape of Good Hope and on November 20 the Azores.⁷⁴ They set foot on German soil on January 17, 1861, after a journey of five months.⁷⁵ Eagerly they beheld their children whom they had not seen in seven years, and as much as Baierlein longed to be with his spiritual children in India, he was, nevertheless, thankful to be able to return to his beloved Germany and to behold the faces of his children whom God had preserved during these many years of absence.

In Germany Baierlein contacted the Leipzig Mission authorities and told them that he had completely disavowed Ochs and his approach to the caste question. Baierlein's position regarding the controversy was now exonerated and he was cleared of any charges which might have been brought against him.⁷⁶ During their furlough their daughter Pere-

⁷³"Die Heimkehr des Miss. Baierlein," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 4 and 5 (March 1, 1861), 55. Neither the name of their sixth child nor the date of her birth is anywhere mentioned.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 59.

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 68-70.

⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 50 f.

grina died.⁷⁷ Little more is known about his stay in Germany. One can merely say in a general way that he visited his friends and relatives and recovered his health and soon was ready to sail again for India. On July 24, 1862, the Baierleins said farewell to their friends and leaving their four remaining children in Germany went to Munich on the first part of their journey.⁷⁸ Passing through Milan they reached Trieste and from there set sail on August 9, 1862.⁷⁹ Through the kindness of a friend Baierlein and his wife were enabled to visit Jerusalem, a city Baierlein had desired to see since his youth.⁸⁰ First they stopped at Athens and Constantinople and from there passed through Smyrna, Beirut, and Damascus. They entered the Holy Land and visited Jerusalem and the many scenes connected with Christ's life. They also saw Jericho, Bethlehem, and other famous Biblical cities. After visiting Palestine, they journeyed to Egypt and then sailed to India arriving in Madras at the end of November, 1862.⁸¹

⁷⁷ "Kurze Nachricht ueber die Wirksamkeit des Missionar E. Baierlein in Ostindien," Der Lutheraner, XXV (August 1, 1869), 178.

⁷⁸ Eduard Baierlein, Nach und aus Indien (Leipzig: Justus Naumann, 1873), p. 2.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 7.

⁸⁰ Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, p. 182.

⁸¹ Baierlein, Nach und aus Indien, p. 208.

Soon after arriving in India Baierlein departed for Cuddalore. Not having traveled by foot since he had departed for Germany, Baierlein's body could not immediately respond to such rigorous conditions. Overheated he became ill and was compelled to take to his bed for two days in the city of Tindivanam and when he arrived in Cuddalore he was quite sick. He was greatly disappointed to find that his home was in ruins with the roof completely demolished. Since his illness prevented him from doing any work, he remained at the home of a friend who nursed him back to health. For a while his condition was so serious that all expected him to die. A number of friends came to him to pay their last respects and to ask him if there might be anything they might do for him. Again he requested that they bury him beside his son in Sadras. To the great surprise of everyone, including Baierlein himself, the night brought relief and recovery. After a period of rest the missionary began to reorganize the mission at Cuddalore.⁸²

One of the first things that had to be done was to rebuild the missionary's home. Instead of repairing the building which had originally been erected with mud walls, Baierlein decided to rebuild the entire structure using brick which would make the home more habitable and at the same

⁸²Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, pp. 183 f. It seems that Baierlein's wife did not at first accompany him to Cuddalore.

time sturdier.⁸³ While they were in the process of rebuilding the home, they also busied themselves in altering the church which at this time received a bell tower. The front of the tower had the same inscription which was found above the entrance of the Sadras congregation, namely the quotation from Mark 1:15: "The time is fulfilled and the Kingdom of God is at hand, repent ye and believe the Gospel."⁸⁴ Along with the external improvements Baierlein was compelled to take drastic measures for the internal edification of the congregation. When the missionary had come to Cuddalore he found that his former co-laborers no longer were present. Instead a new teacher and catechist were instructing the members of the church. Furthermore, they were not punctual in conducting either the church services or the school hours. Baierlein reinstated the six o'clock morning services and demanded that his teacher meet his class at the proper time. When he refused, Baierlein had to relieve him.⁸⁵

Though the missionary had encountered some difficulties at his return to Cuddalore, the spiritual successes more than made up for the earlier disappointments. The heathen population in and around Cuddalore literally flocked to hear Baierlein preach the Gospel coming to him singly and in

⁸³Ibid., p. 185.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 186.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 185.

groups of forty and fifty to be instructed and baptized.⁸⁶ While the missionary was still ill, a number of heathen families visited him requesting baptism. Unable to instruct them, he asked his catechist to teach them the fundamentals of the Christian faith. These new converts told others about their new found faith and still more arrived for instruction and baptism. They often came from a distance of thirty miles camping near the church in order to receive instruction.⁸⁷ Thus, in the second quarter of 1863, Baierlein could report a total of eighty new converts having been added to the church, thirty-eight of this number being former heathen and forty-two being former Roman Catholics.⁸⁸

With such a great interest in the Christian religion on the part of the heathen population living outside of Gudalore, Baierlein naturally determined to visit these people and bring them the Gospel. He also decided to establish a number of central points from which he could evangelize the surrounding area and where he could erect a small hut in which to stay. Later he would add a church and school. With this in mind he visited Temur, Llangambur, and Chellambram

⁸⁶ Baierlein, The Land of the Tamuliens and Its Missions, p. 172.

⁸⁷ Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, pp. 202 f.

⁸⁸ "Bericht des Miss. Baierlein ueber das zweite Viertel des Jahres 1863," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 23 (December 1, 1863), 353 f.

and there built a small hut where he might stay for a few days during his mission excursions, as well as a protection from the heat of the day. Through such trips Baierlein was able to bring the Gospel to many heathen baptizing 110 in the year 1864 alone, and to organize a number of schools and churches. By the end of 1864 Baierlein had begun serving twenty-four separate communities besides his congregation at Cuddalore.⁸⁹ But these trips, though tremendously fruitful, were not without difficulty. Besides being beset with ill health, Baierlein had to combat the hostility of some of the heathen population and particularly the civic leaders. Such was the case in Llangambur, a small village ten miles distant from Chellambram. When his Christian friends wanted to erect a hut of leaves for him, the heathen told them to put it up in a cattle path. Baierlein, therefore, decided to see the Munsif in Llangambur, though his friends feared that he might come to some harm. Nevertheless, he was determined to go and leaving Chellambram rode ten miles before sunrise, arriving in the village at daybreak and informing the Munsif of his arrival. After a brief delay, the haughty Munsif came walking slowly and majestically. Baierlein gained the old Munsif's friendship and acquired two pieces of land instead of one upon which he was able to erect a church and a

⁸⁹ "Rueckblick am Jahres Schlusz 1864," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 9 (May 1, 1865), 129 f.

school.⁹⁰

The greatest success was achieved in Chellambram, a small town with broad streets about thirty miles south of Guddalore that had an enormous pagoda in the center of the town.⁹¹ The mission was organized in 1863 when a number of heathen approached Baierlein requesting baptism. Since the town had no shelter for travelers the missionary resolved to travel part of the distance meeting them at a place where there was such a shelter. Here thirty-six souls came, twenty-six were heathen and ten were Roman Catholics. On the first day Baierlein examined them and on the second the heathen were baptized and the former Roman Catholics professed their faith. A brief service was held though no hymns were sung since the people did not know any. Two men in the group were bigamists, but Baierlein did not compel them to surrender one of their wives considering it more important that they believe the Gospel.⁹² Finally, it was decided to acquire some land in Chellambram. The heathen attempted to prevent such a purchase, but a Moslem offered his home to Baierlein. Here the congregation met worshipping and

⁹⁰ Baierlein, The Land of the Tamulians and Its Missions, pp. 172 f.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 202.

⁹² "Bericht des Miss. Baierlein ueber das erste Viertel des Jahres 1863," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 18 (September 15, 1863), 282 f.

receiving instruction from a catechist.⁹³ In time a great number of converts were gathered so that Baierlein could report a total of five hundred Christians, fifty of whom lived in the village and the remaining living nearby. These Christians had still much to learn, for Baierlein states that many of them were still superstitious believing that pictures of Christ would drive away the devil and evil dreams.⁹⁴ Since the congregation had grown so marvelously, it decided to call its own missionary. Their wish was granted and in the middle of March, 1866, the mission was taken over by Missionary A. F. Wolff.⁹⁵ At his death on November 13, 1884, the congregation numbered 893 souls in sixty-nine villages.⁹⁶

Similar progress continued in Cuddalore. Here Baierlein continued to preach to the people and his catechists instructed them in the truths of the Christian religion. On the average of thirty-five children were daily instructed in the orphan school and when the inspector of the district schools visited Baierlein's school for the first time he was

⁹³Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, p. 206.

⁹⁴"Rueckblick auf das Jahr 1865," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 14 (July 15, 1866), 218.

⁹⁵"Miss. Wolffs Antritt in Chellambram," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 17 (September 1, 1866), 257.

⁹⁶D. Paul Fleisch, Hundert Jahre lutherischer Mission (Leipzig: Evangelisch-lutherischer Mission, 1936), p. 184.

greatly pleased praising both teachers and students. The children learned the alphabet by writing in the sand studying also reading, writing, arithmetic, catechism, Bible stories, geography, and Tamil poetry. In order to support the school the children were required to work in the garden. Baierlein established a day school for heathen children where Bible stories and the first three parts of the Catechism were taught. This school was attended by about forty pupils.⁹⁷ When the director of the Leipzig Mission Society, J. Hardeland, visited Cuddalore in February, 1868, he was quite favorably impressed with the condition of the church and school. Special church services were held and Hardeland witnessed the instruction of the children both in the orphan and heathen schools. He could report a healthy congregation with well over 210 souls.⁹⁸

The climate and incessant labors in behalf of the Lutheran mission began to tell on the health of Baierlein and his wife. Baierlein's wife became so ill that she was compelled to return to Germany alone in the beginning of 1870.⁹⁹ Shortly before this time their oldest daughter arrived in

⁹⁷ "Die Waisenschule zu Cuddalore," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 10 (May 15, 1868), 157 f.

⁹⁸ "Die Visitation in Cuddalore," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 11 (June 1, 1868), 161-70.

⁹⁹ "Die 12. Synode zu Frankebar vom 6. bis 13. Februar 1870," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 11 (June 1, 1870), 167.

India and married Mr. Gribble, an Englishman educated in Germany and employed by the British civil service. The couple moved to North Arcot, a four days' journey from Cuddalore.¹⁰⁰ Alone, Baierlein continued his work assisted by two native teachers, who also served him as catechists, one assistant catechist, and several other native co-laborers. He visited some of the neighboring villages where congregations had been established, particularly in Tukanampakam, where a hut had been erected to serve one hundred Christians.¹⁰¹ In Nallalam, forty miles northwest of Cuddalore, Baierlein organized a congregation of fifty souls and acquired land for a future church building.¹⁰² Baierlein could not continue the constant exertions his ministry demanded. Plagued by frequent headaches and weakened in body, he was forced to return to Germany. In March, 1871, he left Cuddalore boarding a ship in Bombay from whence he sailed to Italy. Here he traveled over land to Germany and by July, 1871 could write his friends in America from Erlangen, Ger-

¹⁰⁰"Aus einem Briefe des Missionars Baierlein," Der Lutheraner, XXVIII (May 1, 1872), 115. He is most likely the same Gribble who translated Baierlein's The Land of the Tamulians and Its Missions into English.

¹⁰¹"Cuddalore im Jahre 1870," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 7 (April 1, 1871), 102.

¹⁰²Ibid., No. 8 (April 15, 1871), 121-24.

many, informing them of his safe arrival.¹⁰³ His place at Cuddalore was taken by a missionary from Sweden.¹⁰⁴

After a two year furlough in Germany of which nothing is known, Baierlein and his wife left for India, taking their children with them. Leaving Leipzig they traveled to Genoa where, after a delay of four days, they set sail for India on November 25, 1872.¹⁰⁵ Traveling in the same company with several American missionaries, a British major general, and others, they reached Bombay on December 19, 1872. After a delay of three days, during which time the Baierleins gathered their luggage, they arrived in Madras meeting here their old friend Missionary Kremmer. Here he left his wife and children and traveled to Bangalore in order to open an entirely new mission and to find living quarters for the family.¹⁰⁶

Bangalore, situated in Mysore Province, is one of the largest cities in South India and is fifty miles west of Madras having at that time a population of 150,000.¹⁰⁷ In 1865 interest was expressed as to beginning a mission there

¹⁰³"Aus einem Briefe des Missionars Baierlein," Der Lutheraner, XXVIII (May 1, 1872), 115 f.

¹⁰⁴Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, p. 279.

¹⁰⁵"Eine neue Station," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 5 (March 1, 1874), 65 f.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., pp. 66-8.

¹⁰⁷Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, p. 284.

when a Methodist layman visited Baierlein in Cuddalore and requested that he visit Bangalore and start a mission. At that time nothing could be done. His pleas were again addressed to Baierlein when the mission director, Hardeland, visited Cuddalore in 1868. Baierlein and Hardeland together with Cordes visited the city but again could not begin a mission because no men were available.¹⁰⁸ It was not until Baierlein arrived in India in December of 1872 that a mission could be established at Bangalore. A number of Christians had settled there and during Baierlein's furlough in Germany were served by the missions in Madras and Coimbatore. Baierlein arrived in Bangalore on January 1, 1873, and on the fourth found some living quarters. The next day he conducted his first service but only he and his catechist were present.¹⁰⁹ His wife and children arrived on January 6. Services again were held on the following Sunday and this time both families of the missionary and the catechist were present as well as a widow and a boy. Baierlein purchased a small native home on January 18 which cost 550 rupees. Mr. Jordan, the Methodist layman, paid five hundred rupees and Baierlein's son-in-law paid the remaining

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 279-81.

¹⁰⁹ "Das erste Jahr in Bangalore," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 6 (March 15, 1874), 81.

fifty.¹¹⁰

Baierlein now began to preach to the inhabitants who were a mixture of Moslems, Tamils, Telugus, and Kanarenes. He addressed the crowds mainly in Tamil though at times he utilized English since many of the inhabitants spoke the language. From the very beginning Baierlein encountered hostility. The Moslem population refused to accept the missionary's message considering Christ merely to be "Isa-nabi," Jesus the Prophet.¹¹¹ Furthermore, both the English Methodists and the Roman Catholics opposed him and the English newspaper carried an article against those "bad Lutherans," which Mr. Jordan answered stating why the Lutherans had come to Bangalore and what they hoped to accomplish.¹¹² Nevertheless, the first year in Bangalore was a successful one and the missionary could report eighty souls with a church attendance of fifty to sixty.¹¹³ On August 23, 1874, a church was dedicated.¹¹⁴ Baierlein could not be present for the dedication since he was quite ill at the time and the service was conducted by Missionary Johannes Michail Nikolaus Schwarz. Above the entrance was inscribed the passage from

¹¹⁰"Eine neue Station," op. cit., pp. 68-9.

¹¹¹Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, pp. 299-300.

¹¹²"Das erste Jahr in Bangalore," op. cit., p. 82.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 83.

¹¹⁴Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, p. 282.

Mark 1:15, the same text which Baierlein used for the churches at Sadras and Cuddalore, while above the altar were inscribed the words of Matt. 11:28: "Come unto Me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest."¹¹⁵ Pastor Doederlein presented the congregation with altar vestments, communion ware, and a baptismal font. Left of the church was a small school where Baierlein's teacher taught twenty-five to thirty children. They learned four languages, namely, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, and English.¹¹⁶

As was his custom, Baierlein visited the towns and villages which surrounded Bangalore. Traversing the region southeast of Bangalore, he entered the village of Rajacottah. Baierlein visited the owner of the village who also owned thirty other small towns in the surrounding neighborhood. The eighty year old man heartily greeted the missionary, apologizing for the fact that he was unable to leave his bed. Soon they were engrossed in a deep religious discussion with Baierlein making the point that all men are sinners and, hence, are under the wrath of God. However, this same God provided for all men a Savior, whose name is Jesus Christ. Departing, he returned to the inn where he met the old man's

¹¹⁵Ibid., pp. 282-83. Matt. 11:28 in Tamil reads: "Pirajasaputtu param sumandawargolachia ningelellarum jennandeiku warungol, nan ungelei musipatuwen."

¹¹⁶"Bangalore im Anfang 1875," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 9 (May 1, 1875), 130-31.

son accompanied by a learned friend. The three men also became engaged in a religious discussion. When the son demanded that the missionary visibly reveal his God, Baierlein replied that the blind men can not see him but only faith can grasp him.¹¹⁷

Another town frequently visited by the missionary was Ussur, twenty-four miles southeast of Bangalore. While in the local inn five natives came to him, four of whom were teachers. Discussing the relative merits of Christianity and the heathen religions, the men admitted that their religion in many respects was a false one since it did not take sin seriously. Baierlein then told them that though all men are sinners God sent a Savior from sin who alone could bring men forgiveness. When the men learned that Baierlein was a Lutheran, they asked him to tell them about Luther and his rediscovery of the Gospel.¹¹⁸

While Baierlein was at Bangalore two calamities struck sections of India, Bangalore included. In 1875, a cholera epidemic broke out in Bangalore taking a large toll of the Moslem population. Daily six to eight Moslem corpses passed the Baierlein home. The heathen population thought that the gods were especially angry at them because they had shown

¹¹⁷Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, pp. 286-90.

¹¹⁸Ibid., pp. 293-99.

disrespect to the prince of Mysore Province.¹¹⁹ The cholera epidemic caused the death of seven Christians in Baierlein's congregation and most of them were children. At this same time twenty-three souls were added by Holy Baptism.¹²⁰ In 1877 another calamity visited India when thousands of people starved to death. Starvation also gripped the inhabitants of Bangalore. Ten to twenty bodies were gathered from the streets every day. In August eight hundred bodies were collected in the city and by September the number reached one thousand. Of the entire population of Mysore Province which numbered five million, 500,000 persons lost their lives due to the lack of food.¹²¹ Baierlein's congregation did not escape for he reported that every thirteenth member had died. In order to meet the needs of the starving population, Bangalore was divided into a number of districts which were in charge of two Protestant missionaries, two Roman Catholic priests, two Moslems and two heathen. These men were responsible for the distribution of food and clothing to the destitute population. Baierlein himself helped clothe ninety-eight men, 757 women, and 762 children.¹²²

¹¹⁹ "Bangalore im Jahre 1875," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 10 (May 15, 1876), 145-46.

¹²⁰ Ibid., No. 11 (June 1, 1876), 167-68.

¹²¹ Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, p. 321.

¹²² "Bangalur im Jahre 1877," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 10 (May 15, 1878), 145-50.

The last years of Baierlein's work in India are obscure. His congregation continued to increase and in 1876 it numbered 130 souls.¹²³ Two years later he informed the Leipzig Mission Society that 148 heathen and forty-eight former Roman Catholics were received into church membership. The spiritual life of the congregation increased as was evidenced in the way one of his members had died, one of whom cried, "Jesus, Jesus" as she lay dying.¹²⁴ At the annual mission conference in Tranquebar in 1879, Baierlein and Missionary Ouchterlong celebrated their twenty-fifth anniversary as missionaries to India and were each presented with a beautiful album containing mementos of India.¹²⁵ That same year 140 souls were added to the congregation at Bangalore and the catechist had to be replaced since "he failed to guard his own life."¹²⁶ It was during this time that Baierlein's youngest daughter married Dr. Forchhammer.¹²⁷

During his last years in India Baierlein was constant-

¹²³ "Gesamtbericht ueber die evang.-luth. Mission in Indien waehrend des Jahres 1876," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 18 (September 15, 1877), 285.

¹²⁴ "Bangalur im Jahre 1878," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 7 (April 1, 1879), 97-9.

¹²⁵ "Die 20. Synode in Trankebar," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 16 (August 15, 1879), 249.

¹²⁶ "Gesamtbericht ueber die ev.-luth. Mission in Indien waehrend des Jahres 1878," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 19 (October 1, 1879), 297.

¹²⁷ Baierlein, Unter den Palmen, p. 328.

ly ill and, when he suffered a heart attack in the beginning of 1886, his doctor ordered him to return to Germany. The congregation gathered and, in the light of many torches, said farewell. They presented him with fruit and flowers and an expensive cane, asking Baierlein that wherever he might travel he should not forget them.¹²⁸ Baierlein and his wife responded telling them they would in turn never forget them and in April, 1868, left India. He was replaced by Missionary Herre.¹²⁹

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 321. No material is available for Baierlein's remaining six years in India.

¹²⁹"Station Bangalur," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 17 (September 1, 1886), 268-69.

CHAPTER VII

BAIERLEIN'S RETIREMENT AND DEATH

After forty years of service in the mission field, a service which brought Baierlein to two continents, the aged missionary returned to Germany. Many things had occurred in Europe to alter its map since Baierlein landed in America in 1847. Under the leadership of Otto von Bismark, Germany had evolved as a powerful nation having destroyed Austria's strangle hold in the decisive battle of Koeniggraetz on July 3, 1866, and humiliating France in the Franco-Prussian War. Italy had also effected unification through the efforts of such men as Garibaldi and Cavour. The nations of Europe were well advanced in an era which would eventually plunge the world into its first great catastrophe. Baierlein reached his homeland and things had changed, had changed for good and for evil.

The years of Baierlein's retirement, from 1886 to the time of his death in 1901, are shrouded in obscurity. He did not want to retire but hoped that, having recovered from his illness, he could return to India and the mission he loved so well. His doctors forbade him from venturing another trip and instead he was pensioned.¹ He spent some time in Dres-

¹"Jahresbericht," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt, No. 13 and 14 (July 1 and 15, 1887), 207.

den, but it is difficult to determine how long he may have remained here. During the years of his retirement he continued to have an active interest in the mission program of the Leipzig Mission Society and wrote a number of articles and books in order to stimulate a similar interest among his fellow Christians in Germany. To this end he wrote the book, Von den Heiden, which was published in 1888. In it he discussed past and present heathen and the Christian's challenge to bring the Gospel to these people who were without the knowledge of Christ. Similarly, he gathered together his mission reports which he had written in America and in India and published them under the titles, Im Urwalde (1889), which describes his work among the American Indians, and Unter den Palmen (1890), which depicts his labors in Sadras, Cuddalore, and Bangalore, India. His work came to an end when on October 12, 1901, he died in Clarens-Montreux, Switzerland at the age of eighty-two.² Whether or not his wife survived him is unknown, since nothing is available which would indicate the place and date of her death.³

Eduard Raimund Baierlein had been a restless soul as he

²"Ausland," Der Lutheraner, LVII (November 12, 1901), 360. Charles F. Luckhard, Faith in the Forest (Sebewaing, Mich.: published privately, 1952), p. 63, incorrectly states that Baierlein died in France, and the Concordia Cyclopedia mistakenly places his death in Germany.

³Nowhere have I been able to discover Mrs. Baierlein's maiden or first name, nor have I found any reference made to her family, place and date of birth, etc.

wandered from place to place seeking to find himself and God. Through God's grace he received God's peace and Christ's commission to announce that peace to thousands of restless souls. In losing his life he had found it and in finding it he put it at the disposal of his Lord. Looking back over forty years of service to that Lord, he could only repeat the words recorded in Luke 17:10: "We are unprofitable servants. We have done that which was our duty to do."⁴ Baierlein may not have been one of the great men of history, but he was God's man actively at work among the children of men.

⁴Baierlein, Unter den Palmen (Leipzig: Justus Naumann, 1890), p. 332. Baierlein incorrectly cites the text as Luke 17:14.

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