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CHAPTER VI "Jerusalem is being built": Expanding the SPCK's Work Beyond Britain

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CHAPTER VI

“Jerusalem is being built”: Expanding the SPCK’s Work Beyond Britain

The decision of the SPCK in 1710 to support the East India mission was a momentous one. Not only did it initiate what would become over one hundred years of work in India, but it also set in motion the processes by which the Society gradually expanded its work beyond Britain to other parts of the globe. When a £200 legacy was left for the mission in 1715 Boehm enthusiastically declared:

Thus the tiny mustard seed of the Kingdom of God is penetrating through all hindrances and Jerusalem is being built, although at a time of scarcity. The East and West Indies will at length be made fragrant with the blessed knowledge of Christ.¹

Boehm’s words proved prophetic for the SPCK, which within twenty years was involved in work that stretched literally from East to West. Our purpose in this chapter is to examine the Society’s major endeavours of the 1720s and 1730s, which, though seemingly unconnected, including as they do such unrelated interests as the publication of books in Arabic, a mission to the Jews, and the resettlement of German-speaking Protestants, have one common cord which binds them together: they were inspired by Pietists. Even as these Germans turned the attention of the Society to India, so they pointed them to opportunities in such distant venues as the Levant and the newly established colony of Georgia in America.

1. The Arabic Psalter and New Testament

Background: Ludolf and the Eastern World

English interests in the near East were well established by the late seventeenth century, due largely to the flourishing Levant trade, exemplified by the Levant Company, which was experiencing its most prosperous period.² The lucrative

1 “So dringet sich das Senf-Körnlein des Reiches Gottes durch alle Hindernissen hindurch, und Jerusalem wird gebauet, wiewol zu einer kümmerlichen Zeit. Ost- und West-Indien wird endlich mit der seligen Erkenntnis Christi, wolriechend gemacht werden.” (Boehm to Samuel Urisperger, London, 6 Dec. 1715, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 468f)

2 See A.C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford, 1935).

nature of the Eastern market had made it a cause of bitter economic rivalry, as French and English merchants after the signing of peace at Ryswick struggled for the lion's share of the trade.³ The mercantilist conflicts were given an added religious edge, for the English trading communities at Constantinople, Aleppo, and Smyrna felt insecure, surrounded as they were by the vast Muslim world and uneasy at the competition of Roman Catholicism. There was a certain interest in Anglican circles in an *entente* with the Eastern Church, which was perceived as a bastion against Roman expansionism. High Church and Nonjuring exponents of the "branch theory" of Catholicism saw in Orthodoxy a valid stem of the visible Church less militant and threatening than the Roman – perhaps because of its remoteness – and were interested in establishing relations with it. But doctrinal disparities especially over transubstantiation in the Holy Communion and Anglican suspicions of Orthodox mysticism and superstition meant that by the time of the arrival of two Orthodox dignitaries in 1714,⁴ Anglican interest in Greek Orthodoxy had subsided. Despite their mutual rejection of papal authority and their common retention of the Apostolic Succession, the main characteristic which they held in common was a mutual fear of Rome, which was not enough to keep them close together.⁵

Interest in the Eastern Church proved to be a useful point of contact between Halle and the English Church. Here again the chief instigator was H.W. Ludolf, whose missionary passion for a "universal Church" coupled with his philological interest in the Eastern languages led to a particular concern for Russian and Greek Orthodoxy. In addition to an earlier lengthy visit to Russia, he had in 1699–1700 journeyed to the Levant. Ludolf's deep concern was for the inward renewal of the Greek Orthodox Church. His reform program was in essence a globalization of Spener's eschatological "hope for better times" for the Lutheran Church. Using *ecclesiolae in ecclesia* and encouraging contacts between reborn groups and individuals, Ludolf hoped to propagate a renewal of Christendom. His goal was not proselytism to a universal Church structure, but non-sectarian spiritual renewal.⁶ Writing in 1699 to Dr. Charlett at University College, Oxford, from Constantinople,

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 119ff.

4 G. Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1868), pp. xxvi–xxx. Cf. Boehm to Francke, London, 15 Oct. 1707 (ArFrSt C 826:11); to Canstein, London, 12 Sept. 1715, printed in: ErBrief, p. 459; Chamberlayne to Archbishop Tenison, Petty France, 13 June 1713 (Lambeth MSS 930:30).

5 See J.C.S. Runciman, "The Church of England and the Orthodox Churches in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", in: *Anglican Initiatives in Christian Unity*, ed. E.G.W. Bill (London, 1967), pp. 1–18; *idem.*, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 289–319.

6 See H. Goltz, "Ecclesia Universa. Bemerkungen über die Beziehungen H.W. Ludolfs zu Rußland und zu den orientalischen Kirchen", in: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* (Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe) 28/6 (1979), pp. 21f, 26f; J. Wallmann, "Wiedergeburt und Erneuerung bei Philipp Jakob Spener", *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 3 (1976), pp. 30f.

Ludolf encouraged "a correspondence with some well disposed people of the Eastern Church".⁷ A few weeks later he described how he had met the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem and attempted to speak with him about "essential and genuine Christianity" [*essentialis und realis Christianismus*], but had found the elderly Patriarch unresponsive and anxious always to turn the conversation back towards "his antiquities and patristic traditions" [*auf seine antiquitatem et patrum traditionem*].⁸ This exchange convinced Ludolf that the renewal of the Greek Church would not come easily from its hierarchy, if all leaders were so tradition-bound: the way forward lay with the education of Greek youth in such a way that they would be freed from denominational narrowness of mind.

Such sentiments led to Ludolf's contacts with Benjamin Woodroffe, Principal of Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College), Oxford, who had a particular interest in Orthodox Christianity and in the late 1690s had actually brought into being a scheme to establish a college of boys belonging to the Greek Church at his Oxford college,⁹ where they could be instructed in the fundamentals of religion to enable them more effectively to defend the faith on their return. Both Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton of London warmly recommended a petition to William III to gain his financial support for this project to reinforce "the true primitive religion" in the Greek Church in its struggle against "the pressure of the Mohametans and the Romish impostures".¹⁰ The first youths arrived in 1699 from Smyrna. The recruitment had been carried out by Ludolf, who travelled to Smyrna and secured six Greek boys for Oxford. Archbishop Tenison himself wrote to Francke, seeking a teacher from Halle to work in Woodroffe's college.¹¹ In the end, Boehm was designated for this task, though as it transpired, he never worked at Oxford as hoped. Wigers, one of the first two teachers Francke had dispatched at Tenison's request, went to meet Woodroffe and passed on to him Francke's pedagogical method for the instruction of the youths.¹² Unfortunately, due to poor living conditions and lack of money Woodroffe's design ended in failure. However, Greek youths were later successfully incorporated in Francke's institutions, where he founded his *Collegium Orientale* in 1702; this was in part due once more to the influence of Ludolf,¹³ who in 1701 had

7 Ludolf to Charlett, Constantinople, 10 July 1699 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS* 26:83b).

8 Ludolf to Francke, Constantinople, 30 Aug. 1699 (ArFrSt D 71:20-21).

9 See undated printed broadsheet, "A Model of a College to be Settled In the University, For the Education of some Youths of the Greek Church" (Lambeth MSS 938:38); cf. E.D. Tappe, "The Greek College at Oxford, 1699-1705", *Oxoniensia* 19 (1954), pp. 92-111; C.H. Daniel and W.R. Barker, *Worcester College* (London, 1900), pp. 128-51.

10 Petition to the King, 20 May 1700, printed in: E. Bateson, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series* (London, 1737), pp. 41f.

11 Herrnschmid to his father, Halle, 20 July 1699, printed in: Nebe, pp. 53-54; see p. 74 above.

12 Wigers to Francke, London, 12 Dec. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.428).

13 Ludolf to?, 30 Aug. 1699, cited in: E. Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt der deutschen*

informed Francke of Woodroffe's carelessness.¹⁴ The English chaplain at Smyrna, an acquaintance of Ludolf who visited Halle in 1702 or 1703, was helpful in sending the first recruits to the *Collegium Orientale*.¹⁵

In the Levant, Ludolf had been able to direct a number of English merchants towards Francke's work. One of these, Jacob Turner, an English businessman at Smyrna, sent his son to Halle,¹⁶ where he himself had visited Francke and inspected the institutions. It was Francke's devout hope that Turner and other English merchants in the East might serve as patrons and correspondents for his ever increasing commercial ventures.¹⁷

On returning from the Levant in 1700 Ludolf began vigorously to promote his proposals for renewing the Greek Church. Already in 1698 he had expressed to Charlett in Oxford his wish for a seminary which would so train chaplains serving the Anglican Church in the Levant that "they might be enabled to serve Christs Universal Church all under one".¹⁸ Next year he brought to the SPCK proposals for the "Propagating of Christian Knowledge amongst the Orientall Churches", in which he suggested a seminary for English chaplains in which Oriental languages would be taught, establishing a further college in the Levant for Greek youths, the election of a committee from within the Society which would make the Eastern Church its particular care, and the publication of a small catechism in modern Greek. The Society requested Ludolf to make extractions from seventeen catechisms which "would be most acceptable to the Orientall Christians, and likely to enlarge their Christian Knowledge".¹⁹ A few months later Ludolf presented a scheme for a short Scriptural catechism; the Society asked Bishop Williams of Chichester to draw up a paper for Greek Christians, but, sadly, despite a reminder from the Society, the Bishop did not respond and the Society laid aside Ludolf's proposals.²⁰

But Ludolf was not to be put off by the SPCK's inaction. In 1702 he and Papa [Lapas] Seraphim, a Greek priest who had come to England to help Ludolf, brought before the SPG a proposal for publishing the New Testament

Russlandkunde im 18. Jahrhundert (Berlin, 1953), pp. 32f; E. Benz, "Die Beziehungen des August-Hermann-Francke-Kreises zu den Ostslaven", in: *Festschrift für Dmytro Cyzevskij [Tschizewskij] zum 60. Geburtstag am 23. März 1954*, ed. M. Vasmer (Berlin, 1954), p. 79.

14 Ludolf to Francke, London, 10 Mar. 1701, printed in: Nebe, pp. 82f.

15 Ludolf to Francke, Constantinople, 1 May 1699, and London, 27 Feb. 1703 (ArFrSt D 71:16, D 23:126); Francke to Chishull, Halle, 24 Dec. 1703 (draft), printed in: Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, p. 339; cf. Aland, ed., "Die Annales Hallenses ecclesiastici", p. 393; Benz, "Beziehungen des August-Hermann-Francke-Kreises", pp. 92f.

16 See pp. 89f above.

17 Francke to Chishull, 24 Dec. 1703, printed in: Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, p. 340.

18 Ludolf to Charlett, Halle, 17 Feb. 1698 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS 26:81f*); cf. Ludolf to Charlett, 10 July 1699 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS 26:83f*).

19 SPCK *Minutes*, 23 & 30 Dec. 1700, printed in: McClure, pp. 99-103.

20 *Ibid.*, 17 & 24 Feb., 17 & 31 Mar. 1701, printed in: McClure, pp. 113-15, 118, 124, 126.

in "Vulgar Greek".²¹ The SPG's Committee for Receiving Proposals took up this request but rendered the cautious opinion that such a publication might appear provocative and

... that no Private Person is fitt to be Entrusted with the Care of such a Translation which shall afterwards be sent from the Society to the Gracian [*sic*] Churches, and that no such Translation be sent unless it be approv'd of by the Governour of the said Churches.²²

Ludolf remained unperturbed and began raising money to publish the New Testament. In a handwritten account he listed some of the contributors to his project: they numbered not only Anglicans – Charles Bridges, Woodward, Thomas Bray, J.E. Grabe, Dr. Slare, and Archbishop Sharp of York – but also Edmund Calamy, the most celebrated Nonconformist leader.²³ Archbishop Tenison also gave his blessing to the project.²⁴ In 1703 the New Testament was finished at a total cost of about £150²⁵ and Ludolf set about the difficult task of propagation.²⁶ His New Testament was poorly received in the Levant and ordered to be burnt by the Patriarch of Constantinople, apparently because of a Preface written by Seraphim, Ludolf's friend, who was an unfrocked Greek priest; a new edition was published in 1705 without the scandalous Preface, the contents of which are unknown.²⁷

Though in this initiative Ludolf was unsuccessful in eliciting a response from either the SPCK or the SPG, he had nonetheless planted a seed which would bear fruit two decades later.

The Arabic Psalter and New Testament

In 1720 Boehm returned to the theme, laying before the Society

... a proposal for printing the New-Testament in Arabick for the use of the Christians in the Eastern Countries, where Arabick is used, but for want of *printing*, Books of any sort and especially of the Holy Scriptures cannot be obtained but at such prices as very few can reach to.²⁸

This time the project had a very different response. In the interim, knowledge of Halle's work with the *Collegium Orientale* and Bible distribution, coupled

21 SPG Journals 1, 1 May 1702 (p. 60) (ArUSPG).

22 SPG Journal of the Committee for Receiving Proposals 1, 5 May 1702 (p. 20) (ArUSPG).

23 "Account of the Moneys received and disbursed about printing the New Testament in Vulgar Greek", n.p., n.d. (ArFrSt D 23:8-9).

24 Ludolf to Francke, London, 8 July 1702 (ArFrSt D 71:109-10).

25 T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture*, 2 vols. (London, 1911), ii.680, incorrectly state that this edition was printed at the expense of the SPG.

26 Ludolf to Mr. de Lente, n.p., 6 Feb. 1703; to Mr. Williams at Constantinople, London, 16 Apr. 1703; to Mr. Clutterbock, [Rotterdam,] 15 June 1703 (ArFrSt D 23:121f,9-10,139).

27 Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, ii.680.

28 SPCK Minutes, 24 Mar. 1720 (ix.92).

with the SPCK's experience of mission in the East Indies, had helped to produce a greater optimism in the Society, an optimism which is that much more remarkable given the generally low Anglican interest in Greek Orthodoxy at this time.²⁹ When Archbishop Wake himself urged that the SPCK "should cheerfully go on with that Design" and when the Society learned that Arabic was indeed widely read by Christians in Palestine, it agreed that printing and dispersing both the New Testament and the Psalter would "answer the pious and charitable design of the Society".³⁰

To encourage benefactions, the Society sent out a tract, transcribed and prepared for the press by Boehm, containing extracts from letters in favour of the project and a proposal for raising subscriptions.³¹ In this tract the SPCK printed letters of support, including one from Solomon Negri, a native of Damascus living in England, who drew attention to the scarcity and high cost of the New Testament among Christians in Eastern Churches and to the proselytizing efforts of Rome.³² Former Anglican chaplains in the Levant and India lent their approval, as did the Rev. Gennadius, Archimandrite of the Convent of Greeks at Alexandria, who had written enthusiastically, "I can't express to you the Joy which I felt, when I heard that such a design was beginning to be put in Execution."³³

The enterprise did indeed seem to have strong support. Writing to Henry Newman, Archbishop Wake expressed his hope that it would arouse public interest: "I think there is enough to Satisfy any reasonable man of the Charity and Usefulness (so I would rather have it, than necessity) of such a Design."³⁴ Hearty recommendations for the proposal came from Francke in Halle, Sir John Philipps, and Bishop Tylor of Llandaff, a former chaplain in India, who sent the princely sum of £100, remarking that "he could not better contribute to so Christian a Design".³⁵ Even the King promised £500, though it took four years and the intercession of Sir John Philipps, uncle to Sir Robert Walpole's wife, to extract the money from him.³⁶

29 John Covell, *Some Account of the Present Greek Orthodox Church* (Cambridge, 1722), confirmed Anglican mistrust of Orthodox superstition. Cf. Runciman, "The Church of England and the Orthodox Churches", p. 17.

30 SPCK *Minutes*, 30 June and 24 Nov. 1720 (ix.112f,127). The only detailed treatment of the Society's involvement in this project is: Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 67-71.

31 *An Extract of several Letters Relating to the Great Charity and Usefulness of Printing the New Testament and Psalter in the Arabick Language* (London, 1720); Boehm to Newman, Strand, 4 July 1720 (ArSPCK, *Arab Bible* [CS2/1.No.8:14]).

32 *Extract of several Letters*, pp. 4-6.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

34 W. Cant. to Newman, Lambeth, 10 Oct. 1720 (ArSPCK, *Arab Bible* [CS2/1. No.8:43]).

35 Francke to Archbishop Wake, Halle, 4 Jan. 1722 (ArSPCK, *Original Letters* [CR2/5:414]); Sir John Philipps to SPCK, Picton Castle, 10 Sept. 1720 (abstract); Bishop of Llandaff to SPCK, Hereford, 4 Jan. 1721 (abstract), printed in: Clement, p. 109-10.

36 SPCK *Minutes*, 6 Apr. 1721 (ix.165); Sir John Philipps to SPCK, Picton Castle, 9 Sept. 1725 (abstract), printed in: Clement, pp. 134f. Cf. Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 69f.

The task of preparing the Psalter and New Testament for the printer was turned over to Solomon Negri, a Syrian and old friend of Ludolf,³⁷ who, at Ludolf's suggestion, had travelled to Halle in 1701, where for a short time he taught Arabic at the *Collegium Orientale*.³⁸ By 1719, after itinerant wanderings over Europe, he had returned again to London with John Xeres, a Jewish convert to Christianity: both men were in such financial straits that the Society took a collection and divided it among them.³⁹ Negri had a warm recommendation from Francke:

Salomon Negri, a Man I highly respect, is a Person in my Opinion very well qualify'd to be entrusted in this laborious work and through God's assistance may bring it fair Conclusion: He for some Time ... taught the Arabick language in this University.⁴⁰

The work was to prove laborious. The *Minutes* and correspondence of the Society and its standing Committee give evidence of the many difficulties involved with this project, due in part to the "narrowness of the Fund" and the "niceties" of the Arabic script.⁴¹ It was four years before the Psalter was finished. When at last the Society printed 6,000 copies, 2,000 were immediately sent to an English merchant at Aleppo for distribution.⁴² The New Testament was an even more extensive and expensive effort. Considerable delays were incurred because of "various sharp disputes" in the Society over whether orthographical notes should be used in the New Testament in order to make it "more intelligible to the Common People".⁴³ Eventually 10,000 New Testaments and 5,000 catechisms were printed to go with the 6,000 Psalters.⁴⁴ The catechism, a short account of the chief truths of the Christian religion, was amended by Archbishop Wake before being translated into Arabic.⁴⁵ It was printed at the request of C.M. Rodde, a Lutheran pastor at Narva in Russia and corresponding member of the Society.⁴⁶ Once a prisoner in Russia for twelve years, Rodde had studied under Negri at Halle in 1716 and then returned to Narva where he worked among prisoners who spoke

37 [H.W. Ludolf,] "Nomina nonnullorum amicorum meorum", n.p., [c.1699-1700] (ArFrSt B 71a:2-4). On Negri, see G.A. Freylinghausen, ed., *Memoria Negriana* (Halle, 1764).

38 Ludolf to Francke, London, 10 Mar. 1701, printed in: Nebe, p. 83; Francke to Spener, Halle, 2 July 1701, printed in: Kramer, p. 470; cf. Jacob Turner to Francke, London, 24 Feb. 1702 (*Nachlaß* 30.X.387).

39 SPCK *Minutes*, 22 Jan. 1719 (viii.225).

40 Francke to Archbishop Wake, Halle, 4 Jan. 1722 (ArSPCK, *Original Letters* [CR2/5:414]).

41 Newman to Sherman, Middle Temple, 23 Dec. 1724 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/15:28-29]).

42 SPCK *Minutes*, 22 Dec. 1724 (xi.95).

43 "Über den druck des Arabischen N. Testaments sind unterschiedene scharffe disputen in unserer Societaet entstanden." (Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 21 July 1724 [*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/13]); Newman to Sherman, 23 Dec. 1724 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/15:28-29]).

44 *Account of the ... SPCK* (1737), p. 7.

45 SPCK *Minutes*, 10 Sept. 1728 (xii.288).

46 Ziegenhagen to G.A. Francke, London, 24 Sept. 1728 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/46).

Arabic, Turkish, or Persian.⁴⁷ During his stay at Halle he had helped with the printing of Luther's catechism in Russian.⁴⁸ Rodde became the Society's key link with Russia.⁴⁹

The final task was that of disseminating the Arabic impressions. Though the SPCK had the approval of the Archbishop of Aleppo and contacts in that city willing to offer their services, distribution did not go well in Palestine.⁵⁰ The SPCK sent copies to the missionaries in the East Indies, to Rodde for use with Persian prisoners in Russian garrisons, and to the pastor of the German Lutheran Church in St. Petersburg. Rodde reported how well the prisoners received the literature and asked for a fresh supply.⁵¹ Copies were also sent later to James Oglethorpe, founder of the Georgia colony, for distribution to Muslim slaves, the "Mohametary Africans in Carolina", and some even reached Africa, at a later date, through the Sierra Leone Company.⁵²

In the end the whole project cost the Society about £3,000. It was the largest venture of its type which the SPCK attempted and absorbed a large share of the Society's energy and correspondence. Not only was it far more expensive and time-consuming than expected, but the distribution in Palestine was poor. Ziegenhagen was frustrated because the frequent debates in the Society over the Arabic New Testament had set back interest in the East India

47 D. Tschizewskij, "Die 'Russischen Drucke' der Hallenser Pietisten", *Kynos: Vierteljahresschrift für Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte Osteuropas* 3 (1938), p. 69; Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, pp. 301f; Benz, "Beziehungen des August-Hermann-Francke-Kreises", pp. 81-84.

48 Rodde to J.H. Callenberg, Narva, 29 June 1725 (extract), printed in: Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, p. 365; Tschizewskij, "Die 'Russischen Drucke'", p. 69; *idem.*, "Zu den Beziehungen des A.H. Francke-Kreises zu den Ostslaven", *Kynos: Vierteljahresschrift für Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte Osteuropas* 4 (1939/40), pp. 297ff.

49 Ernst Benz, "Beziehungen des August-Hermann-Francke-Kreises", pp. 78-90, overstates the Society's importance in Halle-Russian relations. He misreads an abstract of a Rodde letter referring to London editions of Arndt's *True Christianity*, which Benz assumes incorrectly are Russian translations. The SPCK was not the centre which Benz claims for sending books off the Halle presses around the world. In 1731 Rodde asked the Society if it was willing to contribute towards publishing his Russian translation of Francke's catechism and part of Arndt's *True Christianity*. The Society responded that it would be glad to "if the present Demand from the Mission in the East Indies and other Branches of their Designs did not disable them from it". Later, Newman questioned G.A. Francke about the cost of this printing. Francke assumed that the Society would support this project, causing some confusion in the Society which resolved: "To inquire which Promise was made to Professor Franck that this Society would aspire in publishing Arndts True Christianity in the Russian Language." No money was sent for this design. (Rodde to SPCK, Narva, 21 June 1731 [ArSPCK, *ALB* (CR1/16: 11414)]; SPCK *Minutes*, 14 Sept. 1731 (xiv.85f); Rodde to Ziegenhagen, Narva, 6 Sept. 1733, and Newman to G.A. Francke, London, 21 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 87, 355f; G.A. Francke to SPCK, Halle, 28 July 1735, with Society response [ArSPCK, *ALB* (CR1/18:13293)])

50 Newman to Sir Gerard Conyers, Bartlet's Buildings, 9 July 1736 (ArSPCK, *Misc. Letters* [CN2/2:41]).

51 SPCK *Minutes*, 6 Feb. 1728 (xii.187); *Circular Letter* (1 May 1735); Newman to Rev. Mr. L.O. Trefurt, London, 31 May 1737 (ArSPCK, *Misc. Letters* [CN2/3:36]).

52 Newman to Oglethorpe, Bartlet's Buildings, 13 Apr. 1738 (ArSPCK, *Misc. Letters* [CN2/4:50]); *General Account of the SPCK* (1813), p. 17.

mission.⁵³ Why did the SPCK get involved in such an ambitious project as publishing the Arabic Psalter and New Testament? The impetus was largely religious, since many in the Church of England were undoubtedly concerned for the survival of the Orthodox Church against the onslaughts of Islam and Catholicism. The circulation of the Scriptures was seen – as later by the British and Foreign Bible Society – as a counter-attack against Rome, which feared the power of an “open Bible”. Boehm felt that the Jesuits would seek to undermine their efforts and defame the publication.⁵⁴ Because of “the Vigilance of the Papists to defeat the Work”, Newman said that the Psalter and New Testament should be published anonymously and dispersed quietly.⁵⁵ The project was also concerned to raise morale and the level of faith among Middle Eastern Christians, by providing religious reading for the “Poor Christians destitute of Books” in the Levant.⁵⁶

The driving force behind this particular venture was undoubtedly the vision of the Hallensians. After the SPCK had turned over its West Indies library work to the SPG, it was Halle which turned the SPCK's gaze back overseas, to the wider world, first with the East India mission work and then with the printing of the Arabic Psalter and New Testament. Boehm, Negri, and Rodde were closely associated with Francke at Halle, as was Ludolf whose care for the Greek Church was still remembered by the Society.⁵⁷ The Pietists had already put out editions of the New Testament in modern Greek and Bohemian and the Bible in Hebrew and Bohemian.⁵⁸ When the SPCK expressed interest in printing the Bible and other religious books to sustain the beleaguered Protestants in Hungary and Transylvania, it was to Francke that Archbishop Wake suggested that they should turn for advice.⁵⁹ In 1715 when Negri was in England, Boehm had expressed to Francke his hope that “the existing Turkish and Arabic versions of the New Testament would be revised by him [Negri] and issued in a more convenient edition”.⁶⁰ Although the

53 Ziegenhagen to A.H. Francke, London, 22 Feb. and 9 Dec. 1726 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/38,44).

54 Boehm to [Halle], London, 29 Dec. 1721 (extract) (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/15a).

55 Newman to Rev. Mr. Bedford, Middle Temple, 2 Jan. 1724 (ArSPCK, Soc Lett [CS2/14]).

56 Salomon Negri to [Boehm], n.p., 28 Mar. 1720 (copy) (ArSPCK, *Arab Bible* [CS2/1.No.8:1]). One of Ludolf's major frustrations was that the ruling Ottoman power would not allow printing in the Orthodox Church. (Ludolf to Francke, 30 Aug. 1699 [ArFrSt D 71:20–21])

57 Henry Hoare had £10 left from Ludolf's legacy and asked the Society if the Arabic Psalter and New Testament “would not, in their Opinion, be conformable to the Inclination of the late Mr. Ludolf”, to which the Society agreed. (SPCK *Minutes*, 18 Dec. 1722 [x.113])

58 K. Aland, “Der deutsche Pietismus als Wegbereiter für die Arbeit der Bibelgesellschaften”, in: *On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida*, ed. M. Black and W.A. Smalley (The Hague/Paris, 1974), pp. 3–21; cf. idem., “Bibel und Bibeltext”, pp. 119–27.

59 SPCK *Minutes*, 15 Jan. 1723 (x.122).

60 “... daß die verhandene [*sic*] Türkische und Arabische Versiones des Neuen Testaments, durch ihn revidiret, und in einer bequemen Edition, zum Druck ausgefertigt würden.” (Boehm to Francke, London, 14 June 1715, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 429)

Society had previously committed itself to Bible distribution, having prepared the Portuguese New Testament for the East India mission – at the suggestion of Boehm – and having subscribed in 1714 for 100 copies of the Welsh Bible,⁶¹ the Arabic Psalter and New Testament was a scheme far outside the scope of its normal *modus operandi*. The mainspring of this venture came from Boehm and Negri, who persuaded the SPCK to take on and pay for a project designed in Halle.

Epilogue: Callenberg's Judaico Institute

Shortly after the completion of the Arabic impressions the SPCK took an interest in another Halle project: J.H. Callenberg's mission to the Jews. The idea of the conversion of the Jews – “God's ancient people” – was one which periodically troubled missionary-minded Christians, especially those who saw it as one of the prophesied preliminaries to Christ's millennial reign.⁶² The orthodox Christian mind oscillated between dislike of the Jews as aliens and outsiders, and recognition that they possessed a role in the redemptive processes set out in the Scriptures. P.J. Spener's own chiliastic eschatology had stirred up hope for the conversion of the Jews within German Pietism.⁶³ At Halle in 1727, Johann H. Callenberg (1694–1760), who was taught Arabic at Halle by Solomon Negri⁶⁴ and later became Professor of Oriental Languages at the University, initiated a mission to the Jews, or Judaico Institute. The design was simple: using his own printing press at the *Waisenhaus*, Callenberg issued books in Yiddish for the conversion of the Jews and works in Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Hindostani for the conversion of the Muslims. Travelling candidates in theology at the University would distribute these books in their various journeys around Europe.⁶⁵ It was largely through Sir John Philipps that the SPCK took an interest in this enterprise.⁶⁶ In 1731 Ziegenhagen had a letter from Callenberg translated and read before the Society, which approved it sufficiently to have fifty copies made and disseminated in England.⁶⁷ In the

61 Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 203.

62 See M. Vereté, “The Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought 1790–1840”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 8 (1972), pp. 18f.

63 Wallmann, *Spener und die Anfänge*, pp. 307, 316ff.

64 F.T. Adler, *Mittheilungen aus Johann Heinrich Callenberg's Briefen* (Halle, 1898), pp. 11–16.

65 Förster, *Uebersicht der Geschichte der Universität zu Halle*, pp. 112f. See J.H. Callenberg's *Short Account of an Essay to Bring the Jewish Nation to the Knowledge & Practice of the Truth of the Gospel & his Endeavor to Promote the Conversion of the Mohammadans to Christianity . . . done into English* (n.p., 1751). Unfortunately, since the only extant copies of this work of which I am aware are in Philadelphia, I have been unable to consult it.

66 Sir John Philipps to [Halle], n.p., 16 Mar. 1731 (copy) (ArFrSt K 21:239); cf. Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, London, 13 Aug. 1731, and Kensington, 30 Aug. 1734 (ArFrSt K 7:240; K 19:24).

67 Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, London, 23 Apr. 1731 (ArFrSt K 6:273–74); cf. Ziegenhagen to G.A. Francke, London, 24 Sept. 1728 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/46); to G.A. Francke, London, 5 Nov. and 10 Dec. 1728 (ArFrSt K 2:136, 150).

letter, Callenberg offered the SPCK copies of a treatise published at Halle for the conversion of the Jews called "Light in the Evening". Optimistically, he compared his infant Jewish ministry with the small beginnings of the Halle orphanage and suggested that the Society might consider sending some support to what could grow into a significant enterprise.⁶⁸ In response, the Society set up a committee to discuss the idea and ordered 100 copies of "Light in the Evening".⁶⁹

In the autumn of 1734 two students from the Judaico Institute arrived in England, J.A. Manitius and Mr. Widmann.⁷⁰ They had already travelled through Europe, distributing books and conversing with Jews.⁷¹ Widmann soon returned to the Continent, but Manitius stayed in London over the winter, improving his English and receiving some theological instruction from Ziegenhagen.⁷² Before leaving England he thanked the SPCK "for all the undeserved Kindness, shew'd to me in a favourable Reception", though he could report but twelve converts from his work in London.⁷³ The Society, praising the work of these two envoys, made them corresponding members and decided to publish an appendix to the charity school sermon of 1735, in which it gave a short account of the Judaico Institute, expressing the wish "that some proper Means for these Ends [the conversion of the Jews] maybe attempted in *Great Britain*".⁷⁴ In spite of continued interest in the Institute by individuals like Philipps, Sir John Thorold, and Isaac Hollis,⁷⁵ the SPCK took no further action in support of the mission to the Jews, though its initial interest foreshadowed the later work of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, founded in 1809.⁷⁶

There was no clear consensus on the necessity of a mission to the Jews. The expense involved and the small harvest in converts dissuaded many from supporting Callenberg's mission. He was told that the prophetic hour for the conversion of the Jews was still far distant.⁷⁷ Isaac Watts informed him,

68 Callenberg to Ziegenhagen, Halle, 14 Mar. 1731 (copy) (Bodl., *Bishop Edmund Gibson MSS Dep C 233:39*).

69 SPCK to Ziegenhagen, London, 15 June 1731 (ArSPCK, *ALB* [CR1/16:14509]); SPCK *Minutes*, 5 Aug. 1731 (xiv.75); Newman to Callenberg, London, 6 Apr. 1732 (ArFrSt K 10:52-53).

70 Manitius to Callenberg, Westminster, 21 Oct. 1734 (ArFrSt K 19:131-33).

71 Callenberg to Newman, Halle, 16 Feb. 1735 (ArFrSt K 22:92-102).

72 Manitius to Widmann, London, 22 Mar. 1735 (ArFrSt K 21:220-21).

73 Manitius to Newman, London, 29 Apr. 1735 (copy) (ArFrSt K 22:169-71).

74 "An Account of the Origin and Designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge", appended to: Zachary Pearce, *A Sermon Preach'd ... April the 17th, 1735* (London, 1735), pp. 9-10; Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, Kensington, 9 May 1735 and 3 Mar. 1736 (ArFrSt K 22:213-14; K 25:69-70); Newman to Callenberg, London, 6 June 1735; Newman to Widdman [sic] and Manitius, London, 16 Aug. 1735 (ArFrSt K 22:262; K 80:30-31).

75 Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, 3 Mar. 1736 (ArFrSt K 25:69-70).

76 W.T. Gidney, *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews* (London, 1908), pp. 10-12.

77 Callenberg to Newman, 16 Feb. 1735 (ArFrSt K 22:92-102).

I am persuaded, whensoever the appointed Season is arrived for the Conversion of the Jews, there will be a glorious Powring [*sic*] down of the Spirit from above to render their Return to God very conspicuous and extensive ... If these two Gentlemen [Manitius and Widmann] you speak of shall be the happy Instruments in the hand of God for such a Purpose I shall rejoice. I hear their Success hitherto has been but small.⁷⁸

It is unlikely, though, that eschatological convictions of this sort discouraged the SPCK from offering whole-hearted support to Callenberg's Institute: logistics were more important. As Ziegenhagen had realized already, the SPCK's heavy involvement with the Salzburger did not allow it to respond as fully as it might like to Callenberg's plea.⁷⁹

2. The Salzburger Emigration

Not only did the range of the SPCK's activity stretch from East India to the Levant, but in the 1730s it also reached from Salzburg to the fledgling colony of Georgia in America, where the Society was soon engaged in a heavy philanthropic and religious colonial commitment. Here, at least, the agents of the Society could pursue their philanthropic designs under the British flag, with a degree of operational security.

Background: Salzburg and Georgia

Despite the slow extension of religious toleration in the German-speaking world after the Thirty Years War, vast numbers of Protestants were still left unprotected in Catholic states, and were particularly vulnerable under certain Bishops of the Roman Church.⁸⁰ Such a place was Salzburg, where Archbishops had sporadically sought to clear their terrain of heresy, but in the mountains of Gastein around the city had allowed Protestantism an uneasy existence.

Archbishop Firmian, elected to the see of Salzburg in 1727, decided to purge his state of heretics and commissioned Jesuits to go into the mountains and report on the spread of Protestantism.⁸¹ They found evidence that

78 Watts to Callenberg, Newington, 30 Oct. 1734 (ArFrSt K 19:186-87). Watts also sent some books to Manitius, including one on preaching, and wished him every blessing in his labour. (Watts to Manitius, Newington, 28 Apr. 1735 [ArFrSt K 22:178-79])

79 Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, Kensington, 23 Aug. 1734 (ArFrSt K 19:8-9).

80 W.R. Ward, "Power and Piety", pp. 237ff.

81 On the Salzburger emigration, see G. Florey, *Geschichte der Salzburger Protestanten und ihrer Emigration 1731/32* (Vienna, 1977); idem., "Die 'Große Emigration'", in: *Reformation – Emigration* (Salzburg, 1981); G.F. Jones, *The Salzburger Saga* (Athens, Georgia, 1984), pp. 4-8. For an extensive bibliography, see A. Ehmer, *Das Schrifttum zur Salzburger Emigration 1731/33* (Hamburg, 1975).

Protestants were reading forbidden devotional books and gathering secretly for worship. Despite appeals to the *Corpus Evangelicorum* in Regensburg (Ratisbon), Firmian issued an Edict of Expulsion (*Emigrations-patent*) in November 1731, giving Protestants the option of renouncing their Lutheran faith or leaving the country. Over the next year approximately 20,000 emigrants fled Salzburg, most of whom were rescued by Frederick William I of Prussia. He sent agents to gather the refugees and march them in columns to East Prussia and Lithuania, where the previous population had been decimated by a plague. As the wayfarers went through various towns and villages they were received enthusiastically and generously by the Protestant population, many of whose leaders were amazed that the faith of these pilgrims had been kept alive in the midst of Roman Catholicism only through Luther's Bible, his Small Catechism, and a few devotional classics and without pastors or the organized Church.⁸² The news of the expulsion and emigration spread quickly through Europe, exciting much sympathy.

At much the same time that these events were unfolding in Salzburg and Prussia and capturing the attention of Europe, a seemingly unrelated, less dramatic development was taking place in England. Thomas Bray and the Associates who succeeded him had devised a plan to provide employment for imprisoned debtors and Christianize the Indians in the region to the south of South Carolina in America. One of the Associates was James Oglethorpe, who became the key figure in the founding of what soon became the colony of Georgia.⁸³ In 1732 the English crown granted a charter to twenty-one Trustees to establish the colony. The reasons for its foundation were varied, a blend of the military and philanthropic.⁸⁴ As a general, Oglethorpe was well aware of the strategic importance of a buffer colony, which would separate South Carolina to the north from the developing Spanish power to the south. In addition, Georgia was to be a haven for the unemployed and debtors from prison. It was further advertised as a new and abundant source for raw materials, especially silk and wine.⁸⁵ Finally, it was intended as a model Christian state in which the Indians would be converted and persecuted Protestants could find refuge.⁸⁶ Into this plan the Salzburg refugees found a convenient, and some thought, a God-given place. The Earl of Egmont noted in 1733: "it seems a particular design of Providence to erect a colony at this time for an asylum to the persecuted Protestants of Saltsburg."⁸⁷

82 Ward, "Power and Piety", p. 247.

83 On Oglethorpe, see P. Spalding, *Oglethorpe in America* (Chicago/London, 1977).

84 "Charter of the Colony", printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.11-26. Cf. R.C. Strickland, *Religion and the State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1939), pp. 11-19.

85 *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia* (London, 1733), pp. 5-12; *Gentleman's Magazine* 2 (1732), pp. 893f; Egmont, 10 May 1733 (i.373).

86 *The Weekly Miscellany*, No. 35 (11 Aug. 1733); cf. *London Magazine* 2 (1733), pp. 399f.

87 Egmont, 10 May 1733 (i.373); *London Magazine* 1 (1732), p. 198.

On 22 February 1732 Ziegenhagen laid before the Society "a Translation of an Account of the Persecuted Protestants at Saltzburg", almost certainly by Samuel Urlsperger, Senior of the Evangelical Ministry in Augsburg and corresponding member of the SPCK, who had been in London during the Palatine emigration, an experience which had not been lost on him.⁸⁸ Even though Bishop Gibson of London declined to lay the matter before the Secretaries of State, the Society ordered 3,000 impressions of *An Account of the Sufferings of Persecuted Protestants in the Archbishoprick of Saltzburg* (1732)⁸⁹ and dispersed copies among the Royal family.⁹⁰ As the word began to spread, benefactions began to pour into the Society for the persecuted Salzburger and within months £1,000 was raised.⁹¹

The money collected by the Society was sent to Urlsperger in Augsburg who was entrusted with its distribution among the exiled Protestants. He was given some freedom in the use of these funds; all that was asked was that none of the Salzburger money go towards Roman Catholic proselytes unless they declared themselves Protestant.⁹² What the Society knew of the Salzburger basically came through Urlsperger, who provided them with dramatic accounts of Catholic vindictiveness and Protestant heroism and fidelity. He described how the Salzburger bore their sufferings with patience and contentedness; how thousands had marched through Augsburg singing hymns and accepted charity with humility and gratefulness.⁹³

Though applauding the principle of charity for the exiled Salzburger, the members of the SPCK thought something more permanent remained to be done. To the Trustees of Georgia they proposed that some of the Salzburger be settled in Georgia. The Trustees approved the proposal.⁹⁴ The Society

88 SPCK *Minutes* (xiv.135f); Urlsperger, Introduction to *Reports*, i.4. On Urlsperger, see H. Baier, "Die evangelische Kirche zwischen Pietismus, Orthodoxie und Aufklärung" in: *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg*, ed. G. Gottlieb et al. (Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 524-27.

89 The SPCK later printed 2000 extracts of an Urlsperger letter (SPCK *Minutes*, 1 Aug. 1732 [xiv.188]) and *A Further Account of the Sufferings of the Persecuted Protestants* (London, 1733), which consisted of extracts of examinations of particular Salzburger testifying to their sound Protestant faith.

90 SPCK *Minutes*, 14 & 28 Mar. and 20 June 1732 (xiv.145, 149, 174f).

91 E.g. SPCK *Minutes*, 27 June, 4 July, 29 Aug. and 10 Oct. 1732 (xiv.176-77, 198f, xv.2). Due largely to the Salzburger, the Georgia Trust became a favourite object of charity for English churches. Cf. E.M. Coulter, "When John Wesley Preached in Georgia", *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 9 (1925), pp. 317f.

92 SPCK *Minutes*, 29 Aug. 1732 (xiv.198); Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 8 Sept. 1732, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 26-27.

93 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 1 Sept. 1732, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 241.

94 SPCK *Minutes*, 29 Sept. 1732 (xiv.208); *Minutes* of Georgia Trustees, 12 Oct. 1732, printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.77; Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 13 Oct. 1732, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 28-30. Note, though, that for an unknown reason the 12 Oct. 1732 *Minutes* of the Georgia Trustees were later expunged. (24 May 1733, printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.119)

accordingly set up an "Extraordinary Committee for Saltzburger", among whose members were Sir John Philipps, James Vernon, Ziegenhagen, and J.C. Martini, the reader at the Royal Chapel.⁹⁵ Urlsperger was commissioned to make the arrangements to send a large group of about 300 persons to Georgia by the following spring. Once arrived, the emigrants were promised free land (50 acres per family), a Lutheran minister in their own language, a free passage, financial support in Georgia for one year, together with all the rights and privileges of English subjects. The Trustees received a generous grant of £10,000 from Parliament to aid in the emigration.⁹⁶ As the spring and summer of 1733 wore on, however, Urlsperger found it difficult recruiting emigrants.⁹⁷ By this time the exiles were only trickling through Augsburg; the main emigration from Salzburg had already occurred, a year earlier. Urlsperger was only able to gather a band of 41 emigrants in Augsburg, but it was nonetheless decided to send them, the Trustees "being assured that their Reception in Georgia will encourage others to follow them".⁹⁸

While Urlsperger was preparing the expedition, he was trying to obtain from Halle a minister and a catechist for the emigrants, requesting from the Society "full power to do in this Affair what is just and right before God".⁹⁹ When the group reached Rotterdam it was joined by its two ministers, Johann Martin Boltzius and Israel Christian Gronau, who had gone from Halle to Wernigerode, where they had been ordained in the Lutheran Church.¹⁰⁰ At Dover they were met by Christopher Ortmann, a schoolmaster provided for the refugees,¹⁰¹ by Henry A. Butjenter (Ziegenhagen's associate chaplain at the Royal Chapel who went at the request of the SPCK), and by Thomas Coram, who had been sent by the Trustees.¹⁰² Newman told Coram:

95 SPCK *Minutes*, 24 & 28 Oct. 1732 (xv.7). Vernon, a commissioner of the excise and earlier envoy to the King of Denmark, was the most consistent worker of the Georgia Trustees and one its most dominant members. He was the key link between the Trustees and the SPCK, although clergy like Samuel Smith were also active. (See J.L. McCain, *Georgia as a Proprietary Province* [Boston, 1917], pp. 28-56) Later, Urlsperger was made a corresponding member of the Georgia Trustees to help with the Salzburger. (*Minutes of Georgia Trustees*, 19 Mar. 1747, printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.499)

96 *Egmont*, 10-17 May 1733 (i.372-77); Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 29 Dec. 1732 and 18 May 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 35-37, 42-43.

97 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 10 Aug. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 305-07.

98 *Minutes of Georgia Trustees*, 26 Sept. 1733, printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.139f.

99 Urlsperger to Ziegenhagen, Augsburg, 16 Mar. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 297.

100 The Society received reports from Urlsperger and from G.A. Francke on the character of these ministers. Boltzius, who had been in Halle seven years, and Gronau, who had been there five, had convinced Francke "by several instances that among our whole Society none could be found more fit for the purpose than these whom the Divine Providence directed me to make choice of". (Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 9 Nov. 1733; G.A. Francke to Newman, Halle, 19 Nov. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 352-53, 398-99)

101 Ortmann had kept a German charity school in London. (H.W. Guerdes to Newman, London, 11 Sept. 1733; Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 16 Oct. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 59f, 61-62)

102 On Coram, see R.K. McClure, *Coram's Children* (New Haven/London, 1981).

I hope God will Direct Mr. Butjenter and You to concert matters so as may result in his Glory and the Comfort of these pious Confessors who tho' they are but few in number their good or ill report of the Treatment they meet with here will animate or discourage a considerable number to follow them next Spring.¹⁰³

To Butjenter Newman emphasized that special treatment should be given to the ministers because "it is from these Gentlemen that the good usage of the Saltzburgers will be made known to their friends in Germany".¹⁰⁴

Butjenter was given particular responsibilities among the Saltzburgers. When the exiles arrived at Dover, he assured them of the good will of the SPCK and the Trustees, took them ashore, and rented a house where they could stay while their ship was being prepared for its voyage. The next day they went to a specially prepared dinner, at which, Butjenter emotionally recorded,

Mr. [Philipp] De Reck led 'em they following in two Companies with their Children in their Arms and Singing Psalms while I with the other Ministers closed the Procession. I could scarce forbear Tears at this Sight.¹⁰⁵

Newman described the "abundance of the Neighbouring Gentry resorting to partake of the Pleasure of this new Sight".¹⁰⁶ Butjenter's important final task was to give pastoral instructions to the ministers.¹⁰⁷ His message was clear and firm:

Their publick Worship as near as may be will be conformable to the Church of England to which End I delivered to 'em German Books in which are the forms of prayer, Baptismal Rites, The Lord's Supper, Matrimony and Burial etc.¹⁰⁸

Exactly which books these were is unclear, but Boltzius was probably given those used in the Royal Chapel, since a few months later he wrote, "We arranged our preparation and confession largely after the agenda of the German Lutheran court chapel in London."¹⁰⁹ If these included the prayer book Boehm had edited in 1707, then they were not exactly conformable to the Anglican liturgy. Evidence that this was the case is provided by Thomas Wilson, who recorded in his diary that at a meeting of the SPG in 1735 he "moved for some German Prayer Books for the Saltsburghers at Georgia"; but this proposal was objected to by Bishop Gibson of London, a stickler for

103 Newman to Coram, Bartlet's Buildings, 11 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 79–80.

104 Newman to Butjenter, Bartlet's Buildings, 29 Nov. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 74–75.

105 Mr. Butjenter's Journal at Dover, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 455.

106 Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 18 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 84.

107 Earlier Ziegenhagen had offered "some instructions regarding our future church establishment." (Boltzius' diary, 22 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Reports*, i.33); cf. Boltzius' diary, 24 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Reports*, iii.292.

108 Butjenter's Journal, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 456.

109 Boltzius' diary, 19 Mar. 1734, printed in: *Reports*, i.64.

rubrical orthodoxy, since they were "not exactly the same with the English Prayer Book".¹¹⁰ Both the Trustees and the SPCK accepted the fact that Boltzius and Gronau were Lutherans; indeed, the Trustees officially gave Boltzius the authority and power

... to do and perform all Religious and Ecclesiastical offices in the German Tongue, that shall be necessary for the better Establishing and Promoting the Christian Religion in the said Colonie, ... agreeable to the Confession of Augsburg and the Tenor of our Charter.¹¹¹

With these preparations finished, they left Dover for Georgia.

With the Salzburger dispatched, efforts were made to bring together a second company of Salzburger. A group of 54 was assembled by Urlsperger, who told the Society, "I earnestly beg of You that good care may be taken of them, and that the promises made to them be fully made good; for I have engaged my word for the due performance thereof."¹¹² These promises came back to haunt him. He had been helped in his recruiting efforts by favourable letters and journals from the first travellers; he later published them to raise a "universal Joy among the Protestants here in this town", though taking care to edit all adverse information out of the printed reports, while also suppressing every complaint from the Salzburger, lest the enterprise gain unfavourable publicity.¹¹³

Arrangements for the second Salzburger expedition were similar to the first, save that the Society agreed to pay all their expenses, including supporting them for one year in Georgia, after the Trustees had met most of the expenses for the first group.¹¹⁴ To achieve maximum visibility, the Salzburger's ship bypassed Gravesend and went up river, to give the people of London the opportunity to meet the refugees.¹¹⁵ *The Weekly Miscellany*, a High Church periodical, provides an account of what happened after the Salzburger arrived. Since the emigrants were "desirous to return Almighty God Thanks for their Deliverance from Popish Persecution to the free Exercise of the Gospel", the Lord Mayor of London ordered boats to bring them ashore and had them

110 C.L.S. Linnell, ed., *The Diaries of Thomas Wilson, D.D. 1731-37 and 1750* (London, 1964), 21 Nov. 1735 (pp. 141f). The SPG *Minutes* make no mention of this proposal.

111 "A Power to the Reverend Mr. John Martin Boltzius", 21 Nov. 1733 (copy) (MARFrSt 5 C 4:19).

112 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 20 Sept. 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 482.

113 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 8 Feb. and 15 July 1734; to J. Vat, Augsburg, 14 Oct. 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 420, 466-67, 494. The first of eight volumes of reports came out in 1735, dedicated to the Trustees and the SPCK. Urlsperger censored every volume, but copies of the originals were kept in the Halle archives; in the English edition, the parts suppressed have been added. See G.F. Jones *et al.*, trans. and ed., *Detailed Reports* (Athens, Georgia, 1968-85).

114 *An Account of the Money Receiv'd and Disburs'd by the Trustees for receiving Benefactions for the poor Salzburg Emigrants* (London, 1736).

115 Newman to Mr. Symonds and Vat, Bartlet's Buildings, 18 Oct. 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 132; Linnell, ed., *Diaries of Thomas Wilson*, 24 Sept. 1734 (p. 120).

conducted by the City Marshall and other officers in procession to the Lutheran Church in Trinity Lane where they received Communion and heard a sermon by a German pastor, "which drew Tears from their Eyes, and those of the whole Auditory". Afterwards they were entertained at dinner, being served by some of the Trustees for Georgia and members of the SPCK. Throughout the day the Salzburger "were attended by Numbers of People of different Ranks and Conditions, who seem'd to express a Tenderness for the Sufferings of these poor People".¹¹⁶ A few days later they left for Georgia.

With the second company of Salzburger safely away, the Society again turned to Urlsperger for yet a third. After many letters of negotiation and much uncertainty, a third group of 20 Salzburger and 16 other Austrians eventually left Augsburg.¹¹⁷ Newman and the Society had rushed the travellers along so that the *London Merchant*, on which they would sail to Georgia, could travel from Gravesend with Oglethorpe's vessel, the *Simmonds*, which carried a number of English travellers, including John and Charles Wesley, and a group of Moravian Brethren under their leader, A.G. Spangenberg.¹¹⁸ It was on this passage that Wesley, who was carrying some books from Newman for Boltzius and Gronau,¹¹⁹ had his momentous encounter with the Moravians. One wonders whether his experience would have been the same had he gone on the *London Merchant* instead of the *Simmonds*.

The third expedition was the last which the SPCK officially sponsored. Early in 1737 the Society sent £40 to Urlsperger to add to the £10 he already had "as a final discharge of the Society from any further expence [*sic*] for Emigrants from Germany".¹²⁰ Newman himself kept in close contact with Salzburger affairs and was personally instrumental in arranging the fourth and last group of Salzburger which arrived in Georgia in 1741.¹²¹

Suffering and Pietism at Ebenezer

On 5 March 1734 the original group of Salzburger made landfall at Charleston, South Carolina, where it was greeted by Oglethorpe, who postponed his journey home in order to help settle the new arrivals. Oglethorpe led them to a place on a small river northwest of Savannah, which the settlers named Ebenezer. Soon afterwards he returned to England with glowing reports of the

116 Extract of a letter dated London, 28 Oct. 1734, printed in: *The Weekly Miscellany*, by Richard Hooker, No. 99 (2 Nov. 1734); cf. Urlsperger, Introduction to *Reports*, i.14-16.

117 The Society paid the costs to Georgia only for the Salzburger. (Newman to J. Vat, Bartlet's Buildings, 2 Aug. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 167)

118 Newman to Philipp von Reck, Bartlet's Buildings, 12 Aug. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 169.

119 Newman to John Wesley, Bartlet's Buildings, 13 Oct. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 178-79.

120 Newman to Urlsperger, London, 1 Feb. 1737, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 198-99.

121 Newman to Oglethorpe, London, 14 July 1739, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 220-21.

whole enterprise, and particularly of the fertility of the land. These reports and the optimism of the ministers led to the sending of the second band of colonists. However, when this second group arrived in Ebenezer less than a year later they were swiftly disillusioned. The leader dispatched an alarming letter to London, contradicting the previous descriptions which had been given. The land was barren and swampy. The people were "exceedingly struck down and disheartened" by the fact that eleven from the first party and two from the second were already dead.¹²² A second letter three months later continued the tragic news: eight more people had died, a second crop had failed, and, worst of all, the people had not been given the land they had been promised:

And in this the Reputation of the Reverend Mr. Senior Urlsperger and some of the chief Magistrates at Augsburg is highly concerned, for it was upon their publicly appearing in the Affair, that these innocent people ventured their all.¹²³

Boltzius, their pastor, placed the blame for unfulfilled promises first on Urlsperger, but then on the Trustees and the English in general:

We still hope that the Salzburgers will enjoy the rights and liberties of Englishmen as free colonists. *It appears to me* and to others that the Salzburgers and the Germans in general are a thorn in the eyes of the Englishmen, who would like to assign them land that no one else wants and on which they will have to do slavish work.¹²⁴

Despite these reports, the full extent of these difficulties and problems was unknown in England – except probably by Ziegenhagen – and can only be reconstructed through secret diaries and the information which Urlsperger expunged from his reports. When writing to the Society, the letters of Boltzius and Gronau were filled with thanks to their benefactors, their devout hopes for a Christian mission to the Indians, and descriptions of the pious behaviour and worship of the Salzburgers. These were obviously intended for public consumption.¹²⁵ For its part, the SPCK responded with attempts to help meet the physical needs of the Salzburgers and their ministers. It regularly provided the salaries for the two ministers and the schoolmaster and often sent extra gifts.¹²⁶ In March, 1736, the SPCK reported that almost £8,000 had been received in benefactions for the Salzburgers, a part of which had been invested in New South Sea Annuities as a standing fund to pay the salaries of the ministers and

122 Vat to Newman, Ebenezer, 10 Feb. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 538–42.

123 Vat to Newman, Ebenezer, 30 May 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 578–83.

124 G.F. Jones, trans. and ed., "The Secret Diary of Pastor Johann Martin Boltzius", *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 53 (1969), 17 Feb. 1736 (p. 92).

125 Boltzius and Gronau to Newman, Ebenezer, 6 Feb. 1735 and 2 Apr. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 535–37, 583–85. The first letter was published in *The Weekly Miscellany*, No. 124 (26 Apr. 1735).

126 Boltzius' annual salary was £50, Gronau's £30, and Ortmann's £10. (Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 11 June 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 106–07)

the schoolmaster.¹²⁷ The Society served as a forwarding agent for other money raised by Ziegenhagen¹²⁸ and dispatched books, medicines, corn mills, tools, tubs, and any other items necessary for survival, including, as Newman explained, "twelve dozen of Vidonia Madeira" because of "the Fatigues you daily undergo".¹²⁹ The Society displayed a remarkable non-sectarian generosity towards the refugees.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the SPCK, the first years in Ebenezer are best expressed in an old German proverb: "Death for the first, hardship for the second, bread for the third."¹³⁰ The years of worst hardship for the Salzburger were 1734–1735, for by the end of 1736 Ebenezer was moved to a more fertile location. The year 1737 was the calm after the storm, a change reflected in Boltzius' journals, which are now filled with spiritual and religious matters having previously been concerned overwhelmingly with the brute struggle for survival.

Not all the threats to the Salzburger were material. For the Salzburger were not the only German-speaking refugee settlers in Georgia. In 1734, when the envoy of the first band of Salzburger returned to Germany, he began an exuberant recruiting campaign and informed the SPCK that Zinzendorf wished to send some of his people to Georgia.¹³¹ In 1736 a group of Moravian Brethren colonists arrived in Georgia under the leadership of Spangenberg,¹³² the very person who in 1732 had been the central figure in breaking open the division between Halle and Herrnhut.¹³³ Both Ziegenhagen and Urlsperger had tried to warn the SPCK about them before they left for Georgia and Ziegenhagen had used his influence to spread unfavourable reports about the Moravians, but the Trustees disregarded their warnings. To the British, the differences between Salzburger and Moravians seemed of marginal importance. Newman tried to reassure Urlsperger "that these People differ with the Lutherans only in point of Discipline".¹³⁴ This claim fell on deaf ears. For a Halle Pietist like Boltzius, the teachings of someone like Spangenberg were "very much disliked to every one that loves truth, peace and the conservation of our holy doctrine".¹³⁵ The Brethren might warmly recommend themselves to Britons like Oglethorpe and Wesley (particularly since

127 *An Account of the Money Receiv'd and Disburs'd*.

128 E.g. 17 Feb., 23 Mar., and 4 Sept. 1736, printed in: Reports, iii.46,91,206.

129 E.g. Invoice of Goods, London, 21 Oct. 1734; Newman to Boltzius and Gronau, Bartlet's Buildings, 13 May 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 136–39,161.

130 "Dem Ersten, Tod – dem Zweiten, Not – dem Dritten, Brot." (Quoted in: G.F. Jones, Introduction to *Reports*, i.xv)

131 Philipp von Reck to Newman, Augsburg, 4 Oct. 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 488–89.

132 See A.L. Fries, *The Moravians in Georgia* (Raleigh, 1905).

133 See pp. 39f above.

134 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 30 Dec. 1734; Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 21 Jan. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 152–53, 525–28.

135 Boltzius and Gronau to Newman, 2 Apr. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 584.

they claimed an episcopate which possessed the apostolic succession), but in Boltzius, as his journals show, they aroused violent distrust and fear.¹³⁶

The religious standards of the English community did not impress the Salzburger – nor, for that matter, the Anglican clergy who tended them. Samuel Quincy, Anglican minister in Savannah under the SPG, had informed the Society that the “Publick Worship of God is very much neglected and Vice and Immorality are very open and flagrant amongst us”.¹³⁷ Like Quincy, Wesley struggled with the Georgian Anglicans. The motley band of debtors and speculators did not appreciate his attempts to force ecclesiastical discipline upon them: he was, they complained, trying to impose “a new kind of Tyranny”.¹³⁸ Though Wesley had frequent contacts with Boltzius and Gronau during his sojourn in Georgia and was much impressed with the “industry” of the people and the “hospitality, openness, and piety” of their pastors,¹³⁹ he remained more open to the influence of the Moravians, a fact which needled Boltzius.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Boltzius kept up his friendship with Wesley even though in 1737 Wesley had refused him Holy Communion because at that time he considered him not baptized – “that is, not baptized by a minister who had been episcopally ordained”. Later Wesley commented on his own action, “Can any one carry High Church zeal higher than this? And how well have I been since beaten with mine own staff!”¹⁴¹ Boltzius continued to correspond with Wesley for another decade.¹⁴²

Ebenezer was above all a religious community. Every evening, after the work was finished, all the people would gather for instruction and teaching.¹⁴³ There, in the Francke-Halle tradition, the Salzburger built an orphanage for children and homeless adults, the first in America and together with Francke’s *Waisenhaus*, the model for George Whitefield’s more famous orphanage at Bethesda.¹⁴⁴ Once a month, when Boltzius or Gronau would offer Holy

136 Boltzius’ journal, 2 Oct. 1738, printed in: *Reports*, v.224–26. Urlsperger deleted any references to the Moravians from Boltzius’ reports. Boltzius wrote in his secret diary, “The Count [Zinzendorf] and his church establishment are said to stand in very well with Mr. Oglethorpe because, as he says, their dogma comes closer to that of the English Episcopal Church than the Evangelical Lutheran Church, for they too have bishops.” (Jones, ed., “Secret Diary”, 25 Feb. 1736 [p. 95])

137 Quincy to Newman, Savannah, 15 Jan. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 529.

138 P. Tailfer et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia* (Charleston, 1741), pp. 41–50.

139 *Wes Journ*, 1 Aug. 1737 (i.375).

140 Boltzius’ journal, 28 & 29 June 1737, printed in: *Reports*, iv.117–19.

141 *Wes Journ*, 17 July 1737 (i.370) and 30 Sept. 1749 (iii.434); Wesley to James Hutton, Oxford, 26 Nov. 1738, printed in: *Wes Lett*, i.272f.

142 See Boltzius to Wesley, Ebenezer, 25 July 1749, printed in: *Wes Journ*, 30 Sept. 1749 (iii.433f).

143 Boltzius and Gronau to Newman, 6 Feb. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 536f.

144 See L.L. Tresp, “The Salzburger Orphanage at Ebenezer in the Colony of Georgia”, *Americana-Austriaca, Beiträge zur Amerikakunde* 3 (1974), pp. 190–234.

Communion in Savannah, they met Whitefield and took "sweet council together". In 1738 Whitefield visited Ebenezer and the orphanage; after meeting the orphans he wrote lyrically in his Journal, "the little lambs came and shook me by the hand, one by one, and so we parted, and I scarce was ever better pleased in my life". He too was impressed with the Ebenezer community and promised Francke that he would raise money for a church: he continued to send gifts through 1741.¹⁴⁵ Thereafter his relations with the Salzburger cooled. Boltzius confided in his Journal for January of that year that he was "very much distressed" to learn that Whitefield had adopted the doctrine of predestination from Presbyterians in New England, who had "drawn his mind to this clearly disgraceful theory against the very essence of love and the definite clear evidence of the Holy Scripture". Boltzius added, "I have no confidence in Mr. Whitefield any more."¹⁴⁶ Though the two men later met and discussed the doctrine, it was to no avail; Whitefield now fell from the favour of Halle Pietists,¹⁴⁷ though Boltzius still publicly praised Whitefield and curried his favour because of his benefactions for Ebenezer. It is doubtful whether Whitefield knew he was out of Halle's good graces.¹⁴⁸

The Salzburger seldom became involved in the secular affairs of Georgia. Early in the 1740s many land holders in Georgia grew frustrated with the restrictions imposed by the Trustees and petitioned the Trustees for changes, including the use of slaves.¹⁴⁹ Because the Salzburger remained aloof from these issues, they were not popular with the land holders, who complained that the Germans, who "never commix or associate with Strangers", have been "hitherto liberally supported both from *Germany* and *England*, and their Rights and Privileges have been much more extensive than any others in the Colony".¹⁵⁰ Matters were not helped when the Trustees held up Ebenezer as a shining example against the troublesome English freeholders, noting that the Salzburger "are in so thriving a Condition, that not one Person has abandoned his Settlement, or sent over the least Complaint about the Tenures or the Want

145 *Whit Jour.*, 11 July 1738, 9 Jan. 1739, 25 June 1740 (pp. 159f, 198, 437); Whitefield to [G.A. Francke], n.p., [1738], printed in: G.F. Jones, trans. and ed., "Two 'Salzburger' letters from George Whitefield and Theobald Kiefer II", *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 62 (1978), pp. 51-52; Boltzius' journal, 11 July and 28 & 29 Aug. 1738, 10 Mar. 1741, printed in: *Reports*, v. 152, 195-96, viii.93f.

146 Boltzius' journal, 9 Jan. 1741, printed in: *Reports*, viii.12.

147 *Ibid.*, 1 Mar. 1741, printed in: *Reports*, viii.82f. Urlsperger deleted any references to Whitefield from the printed reports in Germany.

148 *The Weekly History*, No. 37 (19 Dec. 1741), pp. 3-4, published a letter from Boltzius to Whitefield dated Ebenezer, 6 Apr. 1741 – i.e. after their discussions over the much disliked doctrine – filled with praises for Whitefield and requests for more money. On Whitefield's relationship to Halle, see pp. 188, 193f below.

149 See R.M. Miller, "The Failure of the Colony of Georgia Under the Trustees", *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 53 (1969), pp. 1-17.

150 Tailfer et al., *Historical Narrative*, p. 102.

of Negroes".¹⁵¹ Through diligent and humble industry, the leadership of Boltzius, and the support of the SPCK and friends in Germany, Ebenezer had become the most prosperous settlement in Georgia and alone fulfilled the hopes of the Trustees.

Why did the SPCK become involved with the difficult task of settling in Georgia only some 150 out of 20,000 Salzburger refugees? Many of its reasons coincided with those for the founding of Georgia: philanthropic, colonial, humanitarian, and especially religious, because of the desire within the Society to rescue humble Protestants from "Popish Persecution". It should not be overlooked, however, that the SPCK probably would not have taken an active interest in these homely farmers apart from the instigation of Ziegenhagen and Urlsperger. These Pietists turned to the SPCK and not to the SPG because of the history of the close connections between the Society and Halle.

Our purpose in this chapter has been to examine the major enterprises of the SPCK in the 1720s and 1730s. The publication of the Arabic Psalter and New Testament, built upon the foundation of English interest in Greek Orthodoxy and Ludolf's earlier efforts, when combined with the resettlement of Salzburger refugees in Georgia, provide the final pieces in SPCK-Halle relations. Pietists like Ludolf, Boehm, Ziegenhagen, and Urlsperger encouraged the extension of the sphere of the Society's correspondence and involvements beyond the borders of Britain to India, Palestine, Russia, Germany, and Georgia. One of A.H. Francke's dreams was to effect a world-wide betterment of Church and society; it is no coincidence that during the first four decades of the SPCK's existence, every major project which involved the Society in a work outside Britain – other than its early interest in planting libraries in the West Indies – was directly instigated by Halle Pietists. In the chapter that follows we look more closely at the reasons for the rise and the decline of Halle-SPCK cooperation.

151 [Trustees of Georgia, B. Martyn, secretary,] *An Account Shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America* (London, 1741), pp. 35f. The Trustees added a favourable letter from the inhabitants of Ebenezer dated 13 Mar. 1739, testifying to the fruitfulness of the land. (pp. 66–69)