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Halle Pietists in England. Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

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2. Pastoral Care of Germans in America: the Establishment of the Lutheran Church in America

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er's sermons diligently.⁶³ The main supporter of the German congregations in London, however, was Princess (Queen) Caroline. In 1718 she had printed a third edition of the German translation of the Book of Common Prayer for use in the Chapel,⁶⁴ although it is unclear how much it was actually used given Boehm's prior preference for his own "collected" prayer book and the Halle hymnal. She was also an active patron of the German Lutheran Chapel in the Savoy, providing on one occasion the £400 cost of a small house "for the keeping and maintaining of a Charity school for the Education of Children in the German Tongue".⁶⁵

Ziegenhagen's years marked the pinnacle of the German Lutheran Royal Chapel itself. After his death, the Chapel gradually slipped from prominence, although it continued throughout the nineteenth century.⁶⁶

2. Pastoral Care of Germans in America: the Establishment of the Lutheran Church in America

Pastoral Care of German Palatines

Not only were Boehm and Ziegenhagen engaged in the pastoral care of Germans in London, but these Halle Pietists also took an interest in German Lutherans in America and used their position in the Royal Chapel to work for their benefit. Francke was aware of the plight of the German (separatistic) Pietists in America and their lack of clergy, through some personal contacts and through his correspondence with Spener,⁶⁷ out of whose broad circle in Frankfurt many of the emigrants had come and an ill-fated land company for America had been founded. A few years after his chaplaincy began, Boehm tried to procure Bibles and devotional books from Germany for the Lutherans in Pennsylvania.⁶⁸ After the death of Prince George, Boehm a number of times had considered going to America himself, but with the Queen's reiterated

63 Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 17 Jan. 1724 (*Nachlaß* 30. FMZ. ii/9).

64 *Das allgemeine Gebet-Buch ... Durch Ihre Königliche Hoheit der Princesse von Wallis ... fortgesetzt* (The Hague, 1718).

65 Disposition granted by George II on 18 Apr. 1728 confirming the concessions granted to the German Lutheran Savoy congregation, quoted in: Rieger, "British Crown", p. 111.

66 The Chapel was dissolved on 1 July 1901. Cf. Rieger, "British Crown", pp. 122f.

67 See *A Contribution to Pennsylvania History; Missives to Rev. August Hermann Francke from Daniel Falckner ... and Julius Falckner*, trans. G.T. Ettinger (Lancaster, 1909); Wigers to Francke, London, 2 Jan. 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.433); Spener to Francke, Berlin, 3 & 19 Mar. 1695, printed in: Kramer, pp. 325,329.

68 Boehm to Christian Friends in Germany, London, 22 July 1707, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 27-32.

promise to allow the Chapel to continue, he saw the door to ministry still open in London and decided to remain.⁶⁹

In the light of this concern for Germans in America it is not surprising that Boehm came to the aid of 53 German Protestants from the Palatinate who arrived in London en route to America in 1708 under the leadership of Joshua Kocherthal, a Lutheran minister. When Queen Anne was made aware of the situation (probably through Boehm), she gave each emigrant a small stipend and provided them with new clothing, travel expenses to New York, and two small chests of German Bibles, New Testaments, and Arndt's *True Christianity*. Reports of the care of both Queen Anne and Boehm spread quickly in their homeland. The following April over 800 of their compatriots arrived in London and went straight to Boehm to get help for their journey to the new world.⁷⁰ Leaving their homeland because of the devastation of war, heavy taxation, a severe winter, religious quarrels (but not persecutions), the liberal advertising of William Penn and English agents, and the benevolent attitude of the British government,⁷¹ these 800 "poor Palatines" were but the first allotment of an exodus which would eventually number 10-14,000. Eventually the largest groups of these emigrants were dispersed to Ireland and New York, with smaller numbers resettling in England and many others returning to Germany. Our purpose is not to recount the events of this massive emigration,⁷² nor to examine the political wranglings in England surrounding the Palatines,⁷³ but rather to portray the pastoral care given them by the Lutheran chaplains in London. Boehm's initial involvement was limited because of a previously planned journey to Germany, so the task of ministering to them fell to the German Lutherans, Tribbeko and Ruperti, and to two Reformed ministers from Switzerland.⁷⁴

When the Earl of Sunderland first informed the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations on 4 May 1709 "that some hundreds of poor German Protestants are lately come, and that more are coming", the Board immediately ordered "some of the Lutheran ministers in the Savoy to attend". One week later both Tribbeko and Ruperti were in attendance "setting forth the

69 Boehm to G.K., London, 14 July 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 152; Newman to Mather, 31 Aug. 1722, printed in: Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, pp. 232f.

70 Boehm to Francke, London, 5 Oct. 1708 (ArFrSt C 229:66); to B[aron von] C[anstein], London, 18 Nov. 1709; to J.U., London, 26 May 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 40ff, 134f; Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 6 vols. (London, 1823), vi.464.

71 W.A. Knittle, *The Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 2-31.

72 See Knittle, *Palatine Emigration*; D. Häberle, *Auswanderung und Koloniegründungen der Pfälzer im 18. Jahrhundert* (Kaiserslautern, 1909); F.R. Diffenderffer, *The German Exodus to England in 1709* ([Philadelphia], 1897); S.H. Cobb, *The Story of the Palatines* (London, 1897).

73 See H.T. Dickinson, "The poor Palatines and the parties", *The English Historical Review* 82 (1967), pp. 464-85.

74 Boehm to Canstein, 18 Nov. 1709, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 44f.

calamitous condition of those poor people". On their suggestion, £16 per day was distributed to the emigrants.⁷⁵ These ministers became intermediaries between the Board and the Palatines, dispensing the money provided by the Queen and reporting regularly to the Board. When the number of Palatines had reached 6519 and the daily amount dispersed £100, Tribbeko and Ruperti told the Board "that by reason of the great increase of the number of the poor Germans, they were no longer able, without further assistance, to take care of them, and to distribute her Majesty's bounty to them".⁷⁶ To supervise the care and settlement of the Palatines, therefore, Commissioners and Trustees were appointed,⁷⁷ whose number included Ruperti, Tribbeko, Ludolf, Sir John Philipps, Thomas Bray, Chamberlayne, and Slare.

As well as attending to the physical needs of the emigrants, the German ministers also looked to their spiritual concerns. Immediately after the first group had arrived Tribbeko and Ruperti told the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations that "we are ready to perform the divine services with 'em once or twice a week, if your Lordships would appoint a place near their dwellings in St. Catherine's where they might meet".⁷⁸ The majority of the newcomers were Reformed, though there were also significant numbers of Lutherans and even Roman Catholics. To aid in their anglicization, Tribbeko translated the Church of England catechism into German, which was printed in parallel columns of German and English.⁷⁹ Tribbeko was also involved in examining about forty Catholic emigrants who wanted to convert "into the Reformed Faith and Communion".⁸⁰ The number of Catholics who converted to Protestantism, however, was quite small; when faced with the choice of converting or returning to Germany, the vast majority of the 4,000 Catholics went home.

In addition to receiving the Sacrament from their German ministers, the Palatines heard prayers every day from a German translation of the Book of

⁷⁵ *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations from February 1708-9 to March 1714-15* (London, 1925), 4 May 1709 (p. 26), 12 May 1709 (p. 32).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 23 June 1709 (p. 47); C. Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, June 1708-1709* (London, 1922), 23 June 1709 (p. 370).

⁷⁷ *A Brief History of the Poor Palatine Refugees, Lately Arriv'd in England* (London, 1709), p. 34.

⁷⁸ Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers*, 9 May 1709 (p. 296).

⁷⁹ *Der Kirchen-Catechismus. The Church Catechism*, [trans. John Tribbeko] (London, 1709). A handwritten note on the inside cover of the copy in the Bodleian Library (Mar.229) says, "This was translated and published for the Use of the Palatine Refugees by John Tribbeko Chaplain to the late Prince George."

⁸⁰ "The Form and Manner of Receiving into the Reformed Faith and Communion, many of the Popish Palatines who publicly renounced the Errors of the Church of Rome, in the German Church in the Savoy, before the Lutheran Minister, the Reverend Mr. John Tribbeko, on several Days in Septemb. and Octob. 1709", in: *The Piety and Bounty of the Queen of Great Britain* (London, 1709), pp. 63f.

Common Prayer.⁸¹ Soon after the first Palatines arrived Thomas Bray went to the SPG and proposed that the Society provide a minister for the emigrants who could go along with them to the plantations, officiate in German, and “take Orders in the Church of England”. To support his proposal Bray sent “Considerations. Why particular Care ought to be taken that the first Company of Palatines consisting of Lutherans and Calvinists should be Invited and gently lead into an Uniformity of Worship according to the Liturgy of the Church of England”. If this had been done with the first Walloons, Bray believed that succeeding French and Walloon Protestants would have joined in following the Anglican liturgy and “not Retain’d a Form but little distant from that of the Presbyterians”. The SPG responded to Bray’s request by ordering that if no minister could be found in England “that some application may be made to Professor Frank at Hall in Germany for a fitting Minister for the said People”.⁸² However, if Francke had provided someone for the SPG to send out, that person would have had to take Anglican orders. Bray makes it clear that according to the constitution of the SPG a missionary could not be sent except “in Conformity to the Church of England”.⁸³ This was made plain by Boehm to his friends in Germany and no minister was forthcoming from Halle.⁸⁴

In his request Bray noted that prayers from the Anglican liturgy were already being read daily and hoped the practice would continue as more emigrants arrived. But he also saw that there could be a problem,

... considering it may be difficult for the Lutheran Ministers with Respect to some particular Considerations of their own to Read that Service, but the Ministers of the Reformation have no difficulty upon them to Read that Service, and the far greatest part of the People will join in it. Why should not some Minister or Ministers in Holy Orders according to the Church of England Read Prayers, leaving it to some Lutheran Minister or Ministers to take the Alternative in Preaching.⁸⁵

Bray does not clarify why the Lutheran ministers in London would have had qualms reading a German translation of the Anglican liturgy, while the Reformed ministers would not. German Lutherans considered Anglicanism to be essentially an off-shoot of Calvinism with which they had certain crucial theological differences. Furthermore, these Lutheran chaplains were Halle Pietists; Francke and his friends in Berlin, particularly Baron von Canstein, were not in favour of Jablonski’s efforts to base Church union in Germany on

81 Exactly which translation was used is unclear. Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, 12 July 1709 (vi.463), said, “Ruperti is translating the liturgy of the church of England into High Dutch for the poor Palatines.” Bray, in a letter to the Committee of the SPG, 16 May 1709 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS* 48:110f), stated it was Jablonski’s translation.

82 *SPG Journals* 1 (1707-1710/11), 20 May 1709, p. 382 (ArUSPG).

83 Bray to SPG, 16 May 1709 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS* 48:111).

84 Boehm to von C[anstein], London, 29 Aug. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 160f.

85 Bray to SPG, 16 May 1709 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS* 48:110f).

the Book of Common Prayer. Their interest was in unity based on common spiritual renewal, not external union centred in official acceptance of a liturgy and episcopate. The Lutheran chaplains in London, therefore, could not acquiesce in reading a German translation of the Anglican liturgy, especially if it was Jablonski's translation.

When he returned from Germany Boehm joined in the care for the Palatines and became a friend and advocate, though his support of the wayfarers was not uncritical. From Boehm's perspective the emigration was by and large unnecessary; the worst part of the whole affair was that "the poor people are not willing to recognize that this is a time of divine judgment which must be removed not with outward flight but with the eradication of inner sinfulness".⁸⁶ It appeared to him that most of the people were unable to give an adequate explanation for the impulses which brought them.⁸⁷ In Boehm's Pietist theology affliction was not something to be avoided but endured and used for internal spiritual growth.⁸⁸

Boehm's dominant concern was for the spiritual well-being of the German emigrants. As the Palatines began to be dispersed to Ireland, New York, and other places, he hoped that even a few would want to take with them "a living foundation of truth in their souls, so that they would become salt and light in the dark corners of the earth and thereby prevent everything from falling into stench and blindness".⁸⁹ But he feared that instead they would daily fall into thicker darkness and run from sect to sect when they arrived in the new world. Boehm turned to providing Bibles and other devotional writings.⁹⁰ Through the Commissioners for the Palatines and friends in Germany he secured a number of large shipments of Bibles, New Testaments, Psalters, and devotional books, particularly Arndt's *True Christianity*.⁹¹ His dream was to open a bookshop "of genuine [i.e. spiritually edifying] books" in America and through such means to help further the salvation of the poor Germans.⁹²

86 "Das schlimmste ist, daß die armen Leute nicht erkennen wollen, daß dieses eine Zeit göttlicher Gerichte sey, so mit keiner äusern Flucht, sondern mit Ausrottung des innern Sünden-Uebels, muß aufgehoben werden." (Boehm to D.H.C., London, 14 Oct. 1709, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 39)

87 Boehm to C.R. at M., London, 20 Jan. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 75f.

88 See A.W. Boehm, *Spiritual Improvement of Temporal Afflictions: Set forth in a Sermon Preached ... On the 16th of January 1712* (London, 1712); cf. pp. 145f below.

89 "O! daß sie (oder doch nur einige) einen lebendigen Grund der Wahrheit in ihren Selen möchten mit sich nehmen, auf daß sie in den dunkeln Winckeln der Erde ein Saltz und Licht wären, und dadurch verhüteten, daß nicht alles in Stanck und Blindheit verfiere." (Boehm to Mrs. O., London, 2 Dec. 1709, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 56f)

90 See A.W. Boehm, *Ermahnungs-Schreiben an Die zerstreuten Pfälzzer und übrige Teutsche, in Pennsylvanien, New-York, Carolina, und andern Americanischen Provinzen* (London, 1710).

91 *Brief History of Palatine Refugees*, pp. 32f; Boehm to Mr. K[oherthal?] in New York, London, 14 Nov. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 174; to Francke, London, 17 Aug. 1711 (ArFrSt C 229:44).

92 "... so ist mir eingefallen, ob es nicht thunlich sey, in America einen aus realen Büchern bestehenden Buchladen, aufzurichten."

Boehm was well aware of the efforts of Bray, the SPG, and other concerned individuals to establish libraries in the American plantations,

... however, this [project] has not so much as its purpose general edification as the fortification and enlarging of their [own] Church; on the contrary, that [project, i.e. his bookshop] should be fixed upon a completely different footing and be managed from general principles; that is, that it should have as its purpose not the propagation of sects but true Christianity.⁹³

His opposition here is not so much to the Church of England and the SPG as to any efforts, whether Anglican, Lutheran, or Reformed, to propagate one party solely. As a Lutheran Pietist, his interest was in promoting a non-sectarian "true Christianity", a cryptic reference to Johann Arndt, whose spiritual and practical Christianity was to Boehm the one best suited to the American wilderness.

Among the scattered Germans in America, without ministers to conduct worship and perform pastoral duties, Boehm chose to cultivate a personal and family-centred Christianity through devotional literature and the Scriptures. Although scarcely one book per family could be provided and most of the books were found in the hands of Germans around the city of New York, Boehm saw this literature as the only remaining way to further any kind of awakening.⁹⁴ Henry Muhlenberg, the patriarch of the American Lutheran Church, provides testimony in his journals that Boehm's labours were not wholly in vain. In 1759 he visited an elderly German Palatine on his deathbed, who, though he had not attended public services for many years, still had "a sound knowledge of the order of salvation". Muhlenberg commented:

The late Mr. Böhm, court preacher in England, and other benefactors bestowed tremendous benefits upon the poor Germans who came to this country in the times of Queen Anne when they generously donated and provided these people with Bibles and copies of Arndt's *True Christianity* and the late Professor Francke's devotional writings. They will enjoy unceasingly the reward and the sweet fruits thereof in glad eternity.⁹⁵

The involvement of the German Lutheran ministers in London with the Palatine emigration was painstaking and time-consuming. Other projects had to be postponed because of the Palatine affair.⁹⁶ Initially, Ruperti and Tribbe-

93 "Allein dieses hat nicht so wol die allgemeine Erbauung, als die Befestigung und Grosmachung ihrer Kirche zum Zweck: dahingegen jenes auf einen gantz andern Fus gesetzet, und aus algemeinen Principiis solte geführet werden; also, daß es nicht Propagationem Sectae, sondern Veri Christianismi zum Zweck habe." (Boehm to Mr. S. in Pennsylvania, London, 10 Feb. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 86-88)

94 Boehm to [Francke?], London, 22 Aug. 1721 (copy) (ArErSt A 144:871-75).

95 *Muhl Journ.*, 19 Sept. 1759 (i.414f); cf. 21 July 1751 (i.297); Report of Muhlenberg, Brunholtz, and Handschuh to Ziegenhagen, G.A. Francke, and Fresenius, Philadelphia, 9 July 1754, printed in: *Muhl Korres.*, ii.172f.

96 Boehm to P[rof.] F[rancke], London, 19 May 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 108.

ko bore the brunt of the task. An eyewitness account of the emigration published in 1711 singles out Tribbeko for special praise: "It would be hard to say how much the court preacher, now an inspector at Magdeburg, John Tribbeko, spent in behalf of the Germans."⁹⁷ When Boehm returned from Germany he brought with him Samuel Urlsperger, a student from Halle who served as an assistant for two years at the Savoy German Lutheran Chapel.⁹⁸ The effect of the sufferings of the Palatines on this young man's life should not be under-estimated; twenty years later it would bear fruit in his efforts for the Salzburger.⁹⁹ Boehm, too, was remembered for his deeds for the Palatines. At his death in 1722 one London newspaper said of him: "The poor Palatines found a Father in him."¹⁰⁰

The 1709 emigration of Palatines was not the last; the British government settled 400 Palatines in the Bahamas in 1717.¹⁰¹ As soon as these new Palatines arrived in England Boehm tried to raise a yearly subscription of £50 to provide a minister for them.¹⁰² Though his endeavours were apparently unsuccessful,¹⁰³ a few years later he was able to send a packet of books to the Palatines in the Bahamas through the SPCK. Henry Newman told the British Governor that the books were

... for the Use of the Palatines and other Germans settled under Your Government, and he [Boehm] requests at the same time Your Protection of those poor People, who have Travelled so far, that they and their Posterity may enjoy the Priviledges of Englishmen.¹⁰⁴

Although the SPG was prohibited by constitution from sending anyone other than an ordained Anglican as a missionary to the West Indies, Boehm almost succeeded in working through Newman and the SPCK to obtain money for a missionary or schoolmaster for the Palatines in New York. Newman knew of a yearly pension of £60 originally intended to provide a minister to the Vaudois Churches;¹⁰⁵ when no candidate could be found Newman submitted to the Bishop Robinson of London

97 *Das verlangte / nicht erlangte Canaan bey den Lust-Gräbern* (Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1711), p. 108; quoted from translation in: Diffenderffer, *German Exodus*, p. 395.

98 Boehm to Mr. E. in Moscow, London, 20 Apr. 1711, printed in: ErBrief, p. 207; Canstein to Francke, Dalwitz, 25 Oct. 1712, printed in: Schicketanz, pp. 544f.

99 See pp. 167–76 below; cf. Boehm to Francke, London, 25 July 1712 (ArFrSt C 229:38).

100 Quoted in: Rambach, *Memoirs of Boehm*, p. 38; cf. Newman to Mather, 31 Aug. 1722, printed in: Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 232.

101 Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, August 1717-Dec. 1718* (London, 1930), 6 Sept. 1717 (p. 29).

102 Boehm to Mr. de Ners., London, 7 May 1717, printed in: ErBrief, p. 481.

103 A note in Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, 1717–18*, 6 Sept. 1717 (p. 29), says, "There is a person in London who will procure £50 per annum for a minister and £30 per annum for a schoolmaster for them." But there is no evidence either of these persons was sent.

104 Newman to Gov. Finley and Thomas Walker in the Bahamas, 14 Apr. 1722 (ArSPCK, *Special Letters, 1708–1732* [CS3/2, p. 182]).

105 On Newman and the Vaudois situation, see Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 132ff.

... the case of a number of Poor Palatines who are now Subjects of Great Britain under the New York Government but in a deplorable condition with respect to any provision for the maintenance of Religion among them as Your Lordship will be inform'd by the Letter enclosed, sent to me by the Revd. Mr. Boehm.¹⁰⁶

But the following year Newman told the Bishop that the project to send someone to the Palatines

... which Your Lordship was pleas'd to approve of as a good Method of applying that Pension seems to be at an End at least for the present by reason of the death of the late Revd Mr. Boehm who undertook for recommending proper persons for the Service to Your Lordship.¹⁰⁷

If Boehm was the one responsible for recommending a missionary or schoolmaster for the Palatines in New York, the candidate would undoubtedly have been a German Lutheran from Halle. Bishop Robinson's approval of such an arrangement is interesting, especially in light of repeated refusals by the SPG to support German ministers in Carolina, Virginia, and New York.¹⁰⁸ The cases of Joshua Kocherthal, the Lutheran minister in charge of the original 53 emigrants, and J.H. Hager, a former Reformed minister who went with the large transport of Palatines to New York, provide a fascinating comparison. When Kocherthal applied to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations for a yearly salary, the Board reported that there was no precedence in the books "of her Majesty's having settled a salary upon any foreign clergyman in the Plantations".¹⁰⁹ But after some deliberation,

... as the said Kocherthal is very poor and the Lutherans, who go over with him, are not in a condition to make him any allowance, we humbly offer that Lord Lovelace have directions to grant him a reasonable portion of land for a glebe etc., and that he be allowed £20 for his voyage.¹¹⁰

From this glebe the New York governor paid Kocherthal a yearly salary of £50.¹¹¹ Hager, on the other hand, had been (re)ordained by Bishop Compton of London and was sent by the SPG also with a £50 salary.¹¹² Though separated, the two groups of settlers were well aware of each other and of the

106 Newman to Bishop of London, Middle Temple, 23 Oct. 1721 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/11]).

107 Newman to Bishop of London, Middle Temple, 23 June 1722 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/12]).

108 Boehm to SPG, 30 June 1711 (ArUSPG A6:89); John Sharpe to SPG, New York, 23 June 1712 (ArUSPG A7:214-17); Boehm to Chamberlayne, Strand, 19 Aug. 1714 (ArUSPG A9:21); "The Case of Thirty two Protestant German Families Settled in Virginia" (1720) (ArUSPG A14:21-22).

109 *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations* (London, 1720), 8 July 1708 (p. 524).

110 C. Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, June 1708-1709* (London, 1922), 13 July 1708 (p. 34). The salary was to be based on "a grant of glebe-land not exceeding 500 acres". (10 Aug. 1708 [p. 61])

111 Joshua Kocherthal to SPG, New York, 15 Nov. 1710 (ArUSPG A6:45).

112 Petition of Jeremiah Long for J.F. Hager (1721) (ArUSPG A15:27f).

differences in the ordinations of their ministers. One correspondent informed the SPG that the members of Hager's congregation were upset because they had to conform to the Anglican liturgy while the Lutherans under Kocherthal did not.¹¹³ A shrewd man, Kocherthal explained to the SPG:

I have several times this summer sounded our Lutheran Palatins to know how they were disposed towards a Union with the Church of England, but find most of them averse to it by degrees at least so far as relates to the Ceremonials thereof; and hope that the Society will be sensible of the trouble I have therein.¹¹⁴

In spite of such assurances Kocherthal was not really interested in Church union but in financial security; the SPG, however, would not support him, even when his salary was later withdrawn.¹¹⁵ Ironically, for unknown reasons the SPG suspended the salary of Hager in 1718, even though his congregation conformed to the Anglican liturgy and despite a petition stating that he had served the Palatines constantly since 1710 and that the poor people could not afford to pay him.¹¹⁶ The unwillingness of the SPG to compromise on questions of Anglican ordination stands in stark contrast to Newman's and Boehm's efforts to secure a minister for the poor Palatines and especially to the SPCK's sending of German Lutheran missionaries to East India.¹¹⁷

One final aspect of Boehm's efforts for the Palatines deserves mention. In 1720 Johann Bernhard van Dieren, a German tailor who had experienced a spiritual conversion, offered to serve the German Palatines in New York, so Boehm sent him to New York to erect a school and through his own private life and conversation to further an awakening among the people. The people received him openly and called him as their pastor. Boehm was unsure if other Lutheran pastors in America had ordained van Dieren, but even if they had not, Boehm was convinced his life would not be without blessing.¹¹⁸ Ten years later, there were conflicts among the American Lutheran churches over the ordination status of van Dieren and one Caspar Leutbecker, both of whom claimed to have been ordained by Boehm.¹¹⁹ Since Boehm himself was not ordained, obviously he did not ordain either van Dieren or Leutbecker, though in the case of van Dieren he was not opposed to his being ordained in America.¹²⁰ Still, that the two men should claim Boehm's authority shows the respect with which he was held in the American German community.

113 Col. Lewis Morris to SPG, New York, 25 July 1710 (ArUSPG A5: 143).

114 Kocherthal to SPG, 15 Nov. 1710 (ArUSPG A6:45).

115 Cf. Kocherthal to SPG, New York, 12 June 1713 (ArUSPG A9:104).

116 Petition of Jeremiah Long (1721) (ArUSPG A15:27f).

117 See Chapter IV.

118 Boehm to Neubauer, London, 22 Aug. 1721 (copy) (ArFrSt D111: 28a); Boehm to [A.H. Francke?], London, 22 Aug. 1721 (copy) (ArFrSt A144:871-75).

119 E.g. *Muhl Journ*, 6-7 July 1742 (i.170); cf. T.E. Schmauk, *A History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania (1638-1820)* (Philadelphia, 1903), pp. 447-59, 473-85.

120 Ziegenhagen says that he was ordained in New York. (Ziegenhagen to A.H. Francke, London, 27 Oct. 1724 [Nachlaß 30.FMZ.ii/16]).

Support for Daughter Churches in America

Unlike the Netherlands, Sweden, and England, no colony was ever established in America by a government in Germany; although large numbers of Germans, seeking a land "flowing with milk and honey", settled in America, especially on English colonial territory, they had no official support from home – as, for example, the early Swedish Lutheran settlers had – and were forced in religious matters to fend for themselves.¹²¹ As time went on German Lutherans in the American colonies regarded the German ministers in London as intermediaries between themselves and Germany. Ziegenhagen took Boehm's place as the key contact for Germans in North America. As the need for Lutheran clergy became more apparent, colonists sent letters and representatives to London and Germany to secure pastors and much needed financial support. The first requests Ziegenhagen received came from Spotsylvania in Virginia where three colonies of Germans had settled between 1714 and 1719.¹²² These Lutheran families had sent Ziegenhagen "very moving letters", imploring that a Lutheran minister be sent to them.¹²³ In 1724 two of the Germans told Governor Spotswood of Virginia: "Wee design to go to England and from thence to germany to bring in a Minister for us high Germans who are here."¹²⁴ It was over two years before the two deputies from Virginia, ragged and lacking both money and letters of identification, appeared in London. When they asked for a pastor and promised as compensation land which would yield £30 worth of tobacco every year, Ziegenhagen, thinking this an unsuitable trade for a minister, told Francke that if he would provide a student Ziegenhagen would take a yearly collection in the Royal Chapel for support.¹²⁵ Princess Caroline met the two German envoys and gave them each a guinea, while the King offered them each two guineas because they had cared for an animal which Governor Spotswood had sent to the King (the men assured the anxious court preacher that there were no man-eating animals in Virginia which might devour a Hallensian pastor).¹²⁶ In spite of Ziegenhagen's hope that Francke would soon find them a minister, they returned empty-handed.¹²⁷

121 T.G. Tappert, "The Church's Infancy", in: *The Lutherans in North America*, 2nd edn., ed. E.C. Nelson (Philadelphia, 1980 [1975]), p. 21.

122 "The Germans in Madison County, VA. Documents Bearing on their History", trans. and ed. W.J. Hinke, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 14 (1907), pp. 136f.

123 "... einige Luthersche Familien die in America und zwar in Spotsylvanien leben, sehr bewegliche brieffe haben anhero geschrieben." (Ziegenhagen to A.H. Francke, London, 24 Nov. 1724 [*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/17])

124 From the Virginia State Archives [23 Apr. 1724], printed in: "Complaint by Germans Against Governor Spotswood", *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 6 (1899), pp. 385–86.

125 Ziegenhagen to A.H. Francke, London, 20 Sept. 1726 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/42).

126 Ziegenhagen to A.H. Francke, London, 4 Nov. 1726 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/43).

127 "Report of J.C. Stoeve, Sr., 1737", printed in: "Germans in Madison County", ed. Hinke, p. 148.

The Virginian delegation was the first that Ziegenhagen encountered, but it has drawn little mention from scholars. Much more attention has been devoted to the deputation in 1734 of three German Lutherans from the Pennsylvania congregations at Philadelphia, Neu Hannover, and Providence.¹²⁸ These men travelled to London, Holland, and Germany to collect money for their homeland churches, without which many would either wander to other sects or live totally without worship.¹²⁹ Ziegenhagen had received many letters of complaint (*Klag-Briefe*) that the Sacraments were not being ministered and the Word was not being preached and taught, but he did not know how to help the people.¹³⁰ But the journey of the three men to Halle had reaped some benefit, for G.A. Francke, the elder Francke's son who had taken over leadership of the *Waisenhaus* at his father's death in 1727, was prepared to help. He determined that the *Waisenhaus* in Halle and the Royal Chapel in London should act as parents to the daughter congregations in America.¹³¹ Yet the search for a candidate in Halle proved futile; besides, Ziegenhagen had problems gaining financial assurances from the American congregations, who even asked Ziegenhagen to approach "the local Society [SPG]" to obtain maintenance for a pastor for a few years.¹³²

Over seven years later Francke approached H.M. Muhlenberg about a three-year call to America, which was to be issued through Ziegenhagen since he had been commissioned by the Pennsylvanian congregations.¹³³ On the way there Muhlenberg spent nine weeks with Ziegenhagen, conferring with him "as often as time and circumstances would allow".¹³⁴ His journals and letters testify to Ziegenhagen's influence. At the end of his sojourn in London, Muhlenberg told Francke:

The man [Ziegenhagen] has such a power in exegesis, especially in the New Testament, that one is astonished. If I did not have the present call, I would have wished to become his amanuensis, in order to profit from his exegesis and dogmatic

128 See esp. M. Schmidt, "Die Anfänge der deutschsprachigen evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche in Nordamerika nach archivalischen Quellen", *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsischen Kirchengeschichte* 75 (1977), pp. 181ff.

129 "Nachrichten die von denen drey Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinden zu Philadelphia, Neu Hannover und Providence in Pennsylvanien suchende Collecte zur Erbauung von Kirchen und Schulen wie auch deren Versorgung mit einigen tüchtigen Predigern und Schul-Leuten betreffende" (1734) (MARFrSt IV A 1:3); cf. Schmidt, "Anfänge in Nordamerika", pp. 181f.

130 Ziegenhagen to a preacher in Hanover, Kensington, 28 Jan. 1734 (MARFrSt IV B 1:2).

131 G.A. Francke to Ziegenhagen, Halle, 31 May 1734 (abstract) (MARFrSt IV A 1:9); cf. Schmidt, "Anfänge in Nordamerika", pp. 183f.

132 Ziegenhagen to [G.A. Francke?], London, 17 Oct. 1735 (extract) (MARFrSt IV B 3:9).

133 K. Aland, ed., "Ecclesia Plantanda. Die ersten brieflichen Dokumente zur Wirksamkeit H.M. Mühlens in den Vereinigten Staaten", in: *Der Pietismus in Gestalten und Wirkungen. Martin Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Bornkamm, F. Heyer, A. Schindler (Bielefeld, 1975), pp. 12f.

134 *Muhl Journ.*, 17 Apr. 1742 (i.18).

theology ... Now God be eternally praised, who has not only so gloriously revived me in Halle and Göttingen, but has also strengthened me here!¹³⁵

The lasting effect of Ziegenhagen on Muhlenberg during his stay in London should not be under-valued. Over twenty years later Muhlenberg recalled some of the Court preacher's exegetical insights;¹³⁶ more importantly, it marked the beginning of an enduring friendship.

Ziegenhagen's influence in America stretched beyond Muhlenberg. Every Hallensian designated for work in either the West or East Indies passed through London and met personally with the Court preacher. His long life meant that many pastors benefitted from his pastoral care, exegetical insights, and spiritual strengthening.¹³⁷ He kept up a regular correspondence with the German Lutheran Church in America and was regarded as a spiritual father. F.W. Pasche, a lector at the Royal Chapel, informed Muhlenberg of Ziegenhagen's death:

What a great loss this will be for the dear United Evangelical Lutheran congregations and their preachers in Pennsylvania I need not set forth here. You will know much better than I, and you will have a sufficiently painful sense of your loss.

Muhlenberg's response reinforces Pasche's assessment and shows the depth of his personal feeling for Ziegenhagen:

This unexpected and important news, which affected my heart and spirit, would have caused my end if His Reverence Mr. Pasche had not been pleased in his wisdom to invest and accompany it with grounds of divine promises and comfort ... To lose such a spiritual father, counselor, benefactor, intercessor, guide, etc. in these very critical and dangerous times is no small thing either for the whole or for its smallest part.¹³⁸

The significance of the Lutheran ministers in London for the development of the infant German Lutheran Church in America has been underestimated. If, as has been suggested, Pietism was the dominant influence in the early years of the American Lutheran Church,¹³⁹ then the contributions of ministers like Boehm and Ziegenhagen deserve greater appreciation. They became the key contact point of Lutherans in America and provided important pastoral care

135 "Der Mann hat eine solche force in der Exegesi, besonders im N.T. daß man erstaunen muß. Wenn ich den gegenwärtige Beruf nicht gehabt, so hätte gewünscht sein Amanuensis zuwerden um von seiner Exegesi und Theologia dogmatica zu profitiren ... Nun Gott sey ewig gelobet, der mich nicht allein in Halle und Göttingen so herrlich erquicket, sondern auch hier gestärket hat!" (Muhlenberg to G.A. Francke, Kensington, 22 June 1742, printed in: *Muhl Korres*, i.32f)

136 *Muhl Journ*, 12 Apr. 1764 (ii.64).

137 E.g. J.A. Krug and J. Voigt to G.A. Francke, Kensington, 9 Dec. 1763 (MArFrSt IV A 5:14) and J.C. Kunze to [Fabricius], London, 28 July 1770 (MArFrSt IV A 8:4).

138 *Muhl Journ*, 20 Mar. 1777 (iii.24ff).

139 T.G. Tappert, "The Church's Infancy", pp. 62-64; P.P. Kuenning, *The Rise and Fall of American Lutheran Pietism* (Macon, Georgia, 1988), pp. 33-51.

through their procurement of Bibles and devotional books, their written spiritual counsel and admonition, and their preparation of clergy en route to the new world.

Not only did the Royal chaplains in London care for German expatriates in England and the new world and, as will be seen, for the German missionaries in India, but they also had a pastoral ministry with some English friends. Boehm commented on one occasion that during his ministry he had held "all kinds of spiritual exercises on the Scriptures among Englishmen";¹⁴⁰ at his death, Dr. Slare commented on how much three "Good Societys" that Boehm had initiated would miss him.¹⁴¹ Despite these wider pastoral connections it was primarily within the SPCK and the related charity school movement that Halle Pietists found an Anglican home.

140 "... ich bishero unter den Engländern allerley geistliche Uebungen über die Schrift gehalten habe." (Boehm, "Historischer Bericht", in: *ErSchrift*, iii.548)

141 Slare to Francke, [Bath.] [1722] (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.319).