FRANCKESCHE STIFTUNGEN

DFG

7. Sekundärliteratur

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

Brunner, Daniel L.

Göttingen, 1993

1. English Reaction to the Tranquebar Mission

Nutzungsbedingungen
Die Digitalisate des Francke-Portals sind urheberrechtlich geschützt. Sie dürfen für wissenschaftliche und private Zwecke heruntergeladen und ausgedruckt werden. Vorhandene Herkunftsbezeichnungen dürfen dabei nicht entfernt werden.
Eine kommerzielle oder institutionelle Nutzung oder Veröffentlichung dieser Inhalte ist ohne vorheriges schriftliches Einverständnis des Studienzentrums August Hermann Francke der Franckeschen Stiftungen nicht gestattet, das ggf. auf weitere Institutionen als Rechteinhaber verweist. Für die Veröffentlichung der Digitalisate können gemäß der Gebührenordnung der Franckeschen Stiftungen Entgelte erhoben werden.
Zur Erteilung einer Veröffentlichungsgenehmigung wenden Sie sich bitte an die Leiterin des Studienzentrums, Frau Dr. Britta Klosterberg, Franckeplatz 1, Haus 22-24, 06110 Halle (studienzentrum@francke-halle.de)

Terms of use
All digital documents of the Francke-Portal are protected by copyright. They may be downloaded and printed only for non-commercial educational, research and private purposes. Attached provenance marks may not be removed.
Commercial or institutional use or publication of these digital documents in printed or digital form is not allowed without obtaining prior written permission by the Study Center August Hermann Francke of the Francke Foundations which can refer to other institutions as right holders. If digital documents are published, the Study Center is entitled to charge a fee in accordance with the scale of charges of the Francke Foundations.
For reproduction requests and permissions, please contact the head of the Study Center, Frau Dr. Britta Klosterberg, Franckeplatz 1, Haus 22-24, 06110 Halle (studienzentrum@francke-halle.de)

Visual Library

1. English Reaction to the Tranquebar Mission

Historical Background

The road to Protestant missionary work in the eighteenth century was opened by King Frederick IV of Denmark. Following the example of Roman Catholic Sovereigns and the doctrine of *cujus regio, ejus religio*, he felt responsible not only for the civil but also the religious affairs of all Danish possessions, including the trading colony of Tranquebar on the eastern coast of southern India.[3] It is possible that Frederick may also have known of the work of the SPG in the West Indies through his uncle, Prince George of Denmark, and was induced to imitate it in the East Indies.[4] In 1704 his court chaplain found two former students of Francke who were willing to go to Tranquebar as missionaries, Heinrich Plutschau and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg. They were ordained at Copenhagen by a Lutheran bishop and landed at Tranquebar on 9 July 1706, thus beginning the first Protestant mission work in India.

In typical Pietist fashion the missionaries concentrated on two main strategies.[5] First, they learned the local languages, Portuguese and Tamil, in order to communicate with the native people and translate the Scriptures into the local tongue. Ziegenbalg, a brilliant linguist who promptly established himself as the head of the mission, learned Tamil quickly and started putting out Tamil works, which, for lack of a printing press, were transcribed by hired Tamils.[6] In less than two and a half years he finished translating the New Testament into Tamil and then began work on the Old Testament.[7] Meanwhile he was also engaged in a careful study of Indian native religion on which he became an early authority.[8] The second major emphasis of the early missionaries was education. While these early missionaries did not neglect direct pastoral care and evangelism, the primary interpretation of their calling

---

3 See map on p. 100

4 So declared an abstract of the SPG's proceedings from 1711 attached to White Kennett's sermon, *The Lets and Impediments in Planting and Propagating the Gospel of Christ. A Sermon Preach'd ... on Friday the 15th of February*, 1711-12 (London, 1712), p. 47.

5 Although Roman Catholic missionaries had been in India since the mid-sixteenth century and Ziegenbalg appreciated their missionary methods, one need not look past the theological training at Halle to understand the motivation behind the methodology of the Hallensians, which saw education and the translation and distribution of the Scriptures as the chief agency of conversion. Cf. H. Grafe, "The Relation between the Tranquebar Lutherans and the Tanjore Catholics in the First Half of the 18th Century", *Indian Church History Review* 1 (1967), 41-58; A. Meersman, "The Catholic Church in Tranquebar and Tanjore During the Formative Years of the Lutheran Mission", *Indian Church History Review* 1 (1967), 93-112.

6 Ziegenbalg to?, Tranquebar, 16 Sept. 1706, and Plutschau and Ziegenbalg to?, Tranquebar, 16 Oct. 1706, printed in: *PGE I* (1710), p. 26f.

7 I.H. Victor, "Tamil Translations of the Bible by the Danish-Halle Mission during the Eighteenth Century", *Indian Church History Review* 16 (1982), pp. 73-79.

8 H.W. Gensichen, "'Abominable Heathenism': A Rediscovered Tract by Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg", *Indian Church History Review* 1 (1967), p. 38.

was scholastic. Besides catechetical work, they established charity schools for Tamil (or, Malabarian) and Portuguese children. Ziegenbalg considered these children the nursery or stock for the future church; with pride he wrote after a few years in Tranquebar: "Above all things, I must tell you, that what taketh me most, is the *Education of the Malabar Children* here."[9]

Slowly, through education and long catechetical instruction, the missionaries raised a small church among the native population. They believed that the church could have been even larger but for the opposition they faced from Tranquebar's secular and religious leaders. Not much love was lost initially between Danish Lutherans and the German Pietist missionaries; the Danish chaplains painted the missionaries from the pulpit as false prophets and on one occasion the governor jailed Ziegenbalg for over four months.[10] In 1711 Plutschau left Tranquebar for Germany, hoping to remove some of the hindrances to the mission.[11]

Early SPCK Involvement

From the beginning the missionaries sent letters home to Germany and Denmark, but the Tranquebar mission remained basically unknown in England.[12] The person responsible for translating and publishing these letters and the first promoter of the East India mission in England was Boehm.[13] He published the letters early in 1709 under the title, *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*,[14] dedicating the volume to the SPG and its president, Archbishop Tenison. Besides translations of ten missionary letters, it included "A Preliminary Discourse concerning the Character of a Missionary", in which Boehm drew attention to "the sad Fate of the Eastern Churches" in the Levant, of whom St. John had written in Revelation ii-iii, and warned the European Churches that it was of little avail "to have the Name and Form of an Orthodox Communion, without the Life and Power which should attend it". He emphasized that missionaries needed a spirit of impartial love, an ability to distinguish between the essential and accessory parts of religion, a conversation conformable to doctrine, and a spirit of martyrdom.[15] By 1718 *Propagation of*

---

9 [Ziegenbalg] to a Friend at London [Boehm], Madras, 17 Jan. 1710, printed in: *PGE II* (1710), pp. 28f.

10 Ziegenbalg to Francke, Tranquebar, 1 Oct. 1709, printed in: *Alte Briefe*, p. 109.

11 Plutschau to Boehm, Cape of Good Hope, 3 Jan. and 6 Feb. 1712, printed in: *PGE III* (1718), p. 203.

12 Some of the missionary letters were published in Germany: *Merckwürdige Nachricht aus Ost-Indien* (Leipzig/Frankfurt, 1708).

13 See J.F. Foster, "The Ecumenical Significance of A.W. Boehm, 'The Propagation of the Gospel in the East'", *Oecumenica: Jahrbuch für ökumenische Forschung* 1968, pp. 117-32.

14 Boehm to Francke, London, 25 Feb. 1709 (ArFrSt C 229:64).

15 [Boehm], "A Preliminary Discourse concerning the Character of a Missionary", in: *PGE I* (1709), pp. i-xxxi.

the Gospel in the East had been published in three parts and had gone through three editions.[16]

Boehm dedicated the book to the SPG hoping that the Society would assist the mission. The SPG ordered 500 copies of *Propagation of the Gospel in the East* "to be distributed by and among the Missionaries in the Plantations and here in England";[17] however, as the secretary of the SPCK later explains, the SPG's charter "in the opinion of the Attorney General limited them to the English Plantations in America",[18] a situation which did not prevent individual members of the SPG from contributing to the support of the mission.[19] With the SPG unable to help, Boehm turned to the SPCK. In recommending the mission to Chamberlayne, he told him that since the missionaries were erecting charity schools "this work agreed all the more with the main purpose with which our Society has already been occupied for many years".[20] One week later, on 7 September 1710, the Society decided to admit Ziegenbalg and Plutschau as corresponding members and to open a subscription for the Tranquebar mission.[21] Of these developments Boehm said,

> A God-inspired mind will recognize also here the finger of God and take delight in it. Though the whole work is yet an embryo and tiny seed, from which one cannot quickly harvest ripe fruits, it already serves that by such approval of eminent people the project could be commended to others rather better and more forcibly and be made known in the whole land.[22]

A few months later Boehm reported that Archbishop Tenison himself had contributed 30 guineas and "because he is the head of the moderate party he has set thereby a good example for it".[23]

---

16 Part II came out in 1710; the second editions of Parts I and II were published in 1711. In 1714 the third part was published at the request of the SPCK, consisting of abstracts of missionary letters put together by Boehm, though later the title "Part III" was dropped. (*SCM* [ME/m/3], 5 Sept. 1713, 1 Mar. 1714) The 1718 and final publication saw the third editions of Parts I and II plus a Part III completely different from the 1714 edition with thirty-seven new letters.

17 *SPG Journals*, 20 May 1709 (p. 381f) (ArUSPG). Because of this large purchase the publisher, Joseph Downing, asked Boehm to prepare another edition. (Boehm to Francke, London, 13 Oct. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 169)

18 [Newman] to Isaac Hollis, Bartlet's Buildings, 10 May 1728 (copy) (ArSPCK, *File* 7 [Original Letters:3]).

19 SPCK, *Circular Letter* (11 Aug. 1711) (Camb., *Baumgartner Papers* 6.III.III.No.433).

20 "... so halte ich davor, daß dieses Werck destomehr übereinkomt mit dem Haupt-Zweck, damit unsere Societaet schon viele Jahre her beschäftiget gewesen." (Boehm to Chamberlayne, London, 31 Aug. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 161-62)

21 SPCK *Minutes* (v.126).

22 "Ein göttlich einfältig Gemüth wird auch hierin den Finger GOttes erkennen, und sich darüber freuen können. Denn obzwar das gantze Werck noch ein Embryo und kleiner Saame ist, davon man nicht flugs reiffe Früchte erndten kan, so dienet es doch schon dazu, daß durch eine solche Approbation ansehnlicher Leute das Project andern desto besser und nachdrücklicher könne angepriesen und im gantzen Lande bekant gemacht werden." (Boehm to Francke, London, 19 Sept. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 164-66)

23 "... und weil er das Haupt der moderaten Partei ist, hat er dadurch derselben ein gutes

The SPCK appointed a Special Committee for the Mission which directed SPCK involvement.[24] From the minutes of this Committee's frequent meetings the full extent of SPCK action is made clear. Some of the most faithful attenders included Sir John Philipps, Boehm, Slare, Ludolf, Henry Hoare, the treasurer, and Henry Newman. Boehm's influence on the Committee is apparent from the start. At the end of the 1710 edition of *Propagation of the Gospel* in the East he had appended "A Proposal for Printing the New-Testament in Portuguese". The Committee made printing this New Testament its first task and, after some delays, brought out 1250 copies for use by the Tranquebar missionaries.[25] The other major goal of the Committee was sending a printing press and printer to Tranquebar, since the missionaries had to transcribe all their translated works. Jonas Fincke, the schoolmaster at G.A. Ruperti's German school in London, was willing to go to Tranquebar as the printer, so the Committee placed him with Downing, "in order to be instructed by him in the Art of Printing".[26] Josiah Woodward, chaplain to the East India Company in London, asked the Company to grant free passage to Fincke, the press, paper, and supplies. The Company allowed the freight to be shipped free of charge and the owners of the ship granted free passage for Fincke.[27] Woodward seems to have been deeply impressed with the mission reports from East India. Even before he requested free passage for Fincke and the freight, he had already sent a letter to the directors of the East India Company, laying before them the work to bring the Gospel to the East Indies, and asking, "And on what can we lay out the Riches of this World, which will not long continue in our Hands, to such Advantage; as in handing to perishing Souls the Light of Eternal Salvation?" He proposed that "the Hundredth Part of their Gains should be appropriated to this sacred Purpose", following the example of the Dutch East India Company, and closed by saying,

> I shall therefore confide in the Candour of this Honourable Committy, to bear with Me in this sincere Discharge of my Conscience; not only recommending but pressing this most sure and profitable sort of Merchandice.[28]

After such a suggestion Woodward's request for free shipping for the cargo probably seemed insignificant to the directors. Their approval set a precedent followed by the Company for years to come.

Exempel gestellet." (Boehm to Francke, London, 5 Jan. 1711, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 178); Boehm to Mr. de Ners., London, 2 Feb. 1711, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 196; to Francke, London, 29 May 1711 (ArFrSt C 229:47).

24 SPCK *Minutes*, 23 Nov. 1710 (v.144).

25 *SCM* (ME/m/1), 28 Nov., 1 & 5 Dec. 1710, 16 & 22 Feb. 1711.

26 *SCM* (ME/m/1), 24 Nov. 1710.

27 *SCM* (ME/m/1), 5, 15, & 23 Dec. 1710. Woodward also gave his support to the printing of the Portuguese New Testament. (Woodward to Newman, Poplar, 30 Sept. 1710 [BL, Add.4276:209])

28 Josiah Woodward to the Secretary of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, Popler, 21 Nov. 1710 (India Office Library and Records, *Home Misc. Series* 59/9).

A few months after he set sail Fincke sent a letter to Boehm from Brazil.[29] The ship had been plundered and all the people taken captive by a French admiral. Joseph Collet, who was bound for India to serve the East India Company, ransomed the ship, including Fincke and the printing press, for £3500, giving up his son as a hostage until the money was paid. Collet's cost for the press, utensils, books, etc. was £300, but he lowered his charge to £150 out of regard for the mission and the SPCK, who later paid this part of the total ransom.[30] Tragically, Boehm later informed the Committee that Fincke had apparently fallen overboard and drowned two days after leaving the coast of Brazil.[31]

Sending books, money (£130), a printer, a printing press, and paper was not the full extent of the SPCK's involvement. A short prayer had been composed for the missionaries in India to be used at the SPCK general meetings.[32] The Society was also actively endeavouring to send English missionaries to India. In 1712 Sir John Philipps recommended "Griffith Jones of Carmarthenshire in Wales as one extraordinarily qualified to be sent upon the Protestant Mission to the East Indies".[33] The Committee concurred with Philipps' assessment and invited Jones to go to India. Jones considered the request seriously and sought some advice.[34] One of those asked to counsel Jones was Boehm,[35] who told him that God alone must convince him "by a Divine Impression" and not by "Human Persuasions"; for evidence, Boehm related the manner of his own decision in coming to England.[36] He told the missionaries at Tranquebar about Griffith Jones and the plans for the English mission in India, hoping that after a few weeks Jones could visit them.[37] But, to the disappointment of Boehm and the SPCK, Griffith Jones declined the Society's offer because of his responsibilities in Wales and thereby missed the opportunity to become England's first missionary to India.[38] Certainly Wales benefited from his decision, since later he earned himself a place in his nation's history through his successful system of circulating schools, as an early biogra-

---

29 Fincke to Boehm, St. Sebastian, 20 Oct. 1711, printed in: *PGE III* (1718), pp. 1-15; cf. Boehm to Francke, London, 16 Feb. 1711 and 21 Mar. 1712, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 203,219f.

30 *SCM* (ME/m/1), 29 Feb., 4 Mar., and 13 May 1712. The SPCK actually remitted only £128.11.6 of the £150 ransom, because later, when Collet's son was released, one-seventh of the total ransom was not paid. (6 May 1713)

31 *SCM* (ME/m/1), 27 June 1712; "Account by Michael Smith of Mr. Finck's Life and Death", 13 July 1712 (ArSPCK, *Letters from India* [ME/CR1]).

32 Sir John Phillips to SPCK, Picton Castle, 20 Nov. 1712, printed in: Clement, p. 53.

33 *SCM* (ME/m/1), 11 Nov. 1712; on Philipps' relationship to Jones, see Shankland, "Sir John Philipps", pp. 87-93.

34 *SCM* (ME/m/1), 13 & 21 July 1713

35 *SCM* (ME/m/3), 18 Sept. 1713.

36 Boehm to Griffith Jones, n.p., 22 Sept. 1713, printed in: Clement, pp. 330-33.

37 Boehm to J.E. Grundler, London, 23 Jan. 1713, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 234.

38 Griffith Jones to SPCK, Laugharne, 22 Nov. 1713, printed in: Clement, p. 62.

phy of Jones declared: "Wales was not to be deprived of so eminent a Minister, who proved so great a Blessing to it."[39]

"Sectarian Lutheranism"

The SPCK could not find any Anglican clergy who had the qualities of the German Lutheran missionaries. In his influential *Address to Persons of Quality* Robert Nelson wished the work of the missionaries "would excite a Spirit of Zeal and Emulation in our Universities, and especially in the younger Students of Divinity, to offer themselves to be sent forth on this glorious Expedition",[40] but his call fell on deaf ears. Newman envied the zeal of the Lutherans from Halle and called it "a reproach to the English Nation"; with no English missionaries he acknowledged that "those that are well disposed in Britain for Propagating the Gospell among the Heathen must be content to come in as Auxiliaries to other Nations since they have forfeited the Honour of being Principals".[41]

Archbishop Tenison in 1713 first raised the delicate issue of the propriety of an Anglican society providing support to a Lutheran mission. He took particular offence at the omission in the Tranquebar catechism of the second Commandment in the Decalogue against false images, which appears in the Anglican and Reformed but not the Lutheran and Catholic catechisms. This omission was brought to the attention of the Special Committee in letters from Chamberlayne and Boehm.[42] Newman told Chamberlayne that, because of the matter's importance, the Committee had sent it to the Society where a long debate ensued.

> The major part [of the Society] seemed to wish the matter had never come in Question before them. ... The Members who have solicited for charities to this Mission have thought it their prudence and Charity to avoid as much as they could putting it into the heads of the Benefactors that the Missionarys were Lutherans or Ministers not episcopally ordained, etc. because Mankind are too apt to catch at objections to save their Purses. ... They considered that, though they unfeignedly wish'd to see the Gospel in its purity propagated without any bias to the sects or opinions that unhappily divide Christians, yet that it is rather to be conniv'd at that the heathen should be Lutheran *Christians* rather than no *Christians*.[43]

The members of the SPCK were aware that these were ordained Lutheran missionaries, but evidently few of them had mentioned it when they had sought to raise subscriptions for the work. With the battles raging in the Church of England at this time over lay baptism and the validity of non-

39 *A Sketch of the Life and Character of ... Griffith Jones* (London, 1762), p. 5.

40 *An Address to Persons of Quality*, p. 132.

41 Newman to Jennings, Lewis, Stevenson, and Long, Whitehall, 22 Dec. 1713 (ArSPCK, *Letters from India* [ME/CR/1]).

42 *SCM* (ME/m/3), 16 Dec. 1713

43 Newman to Chamberlyne, Whitehall, 19 Dec. 1713 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/3]).

episcopal orders, the Society was anxious to avoid such debates, which would only harm the more important task of mission.

But an angry Archbishop could not be ignored. The Special Committee asked the missionaries in Tranquebar to conform their catechism to one prepared by Plutschau when he had been in England, in which "the second Commandment is set down in the manner used by the Church of England",[44] though, as if to show that they themselves held no malice, the Committee gave £70 to the mission, "considering the great zeal of the Danish Missionaries in India to promote the Protestant Mission".[45] According to Newman, the Society viewed the omission as "one of the Raggs of Popery that has been unfortunately handed down among the Lutheran Reformers".[46] When sending a copy of Newman's letter about the proceedings in the Society to Tenison, Chamberlayne added:

> If the inclos'd from Mr. Newman about the Malabar Mission should not appear altogether as satisfactory to your Grace as it does to me, yet I hope it will appease in some measure your just Resentments of the Proceedings of the wel-meaning Men at Tranquebar, and suspend the Effects of it, til your Grace has what further satisfaction you please which I assure you our Society is entirely dispos'd to give your Lordship.[47]

Chamberlayne reported that the Archbishop was satisfied with the steps taken by the Society;[48] however, a year later, when the Archbishop received further Portuguese books from Tranquebar, he "complained of the Lutheranism in them" and said the missionaries "seem to go on in promoting the way of their Party".[49]

Because of the importance of this affair the Special Committee asked Boehm to write a letter to the missionaries, acquainting them "with much respect and Christian Tenderness of the offence that has been taken by some Gentlemen, their Benefactors at the omission, and particularly by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury".[50] Either this letter or another personal one sent by Boehm shortly thereafter has been preserved in Boehm's printed letters;[51] because of its significance in showing the tightrope which Boehm tried to walk in England between Lutheran Pietism and the Anglican Church we will deal

---

44 Early in 1713, before it received the Portuguese catechisms printed at Tranquebar (*SCM* [ME/m/3], 28 July 1713), the SPCK had had Plutschau's Portuguese catechism printed at its own costs and had sent a large number of them to Tranquebar. (Boehm to P[lutschau], London, 9 June 1713, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 246)

45 *SCM* (ME/m/1,3), 14 & 20 Nov. 1712, 22 & 24 Dec. 1713.

46 Newman to Chamberlayne, 19 Dec. 1713 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/3]).

47 Chamberlayne to Archbishop Tenison, Petty France Westminster, 21 Dec. 1713 (Lambeth MSS 953:102).

48 *SCM* (ME/m/3), 26 Dec. 1713.

49 White Kennett to Chamberlayne, 17 Aug. 1714, and Archbishop of Canterbury to Chamberlayne, 19 Aug. 1714 (copy) (ArSPCK, *Letters from India* [ME/CR1]).

50 *SCM* (ME/m/3), 22 Dec. 1713.

51 Boehm to Ziegenbalg and Grundler, London, 8 Jan. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 288–309.

with it at length. In it, Boehm informed Ziegenbalg and J.E. Grundler, his closest associate, that he had been working hard in England to further interest in the Tranquebar mission and that "my weak efforts have not been without all blessings. Many see the possibility of such an undertaking right before their eyes and are truly applying themselves to assist the workers."[52] Since the missionaries were the first in such a work they had a responsibility to use divine wisdom and set a good example, especially now, since Tenison had taken particular offence at their catechetical omission:

> You can easily see, that through this unexpected objection (especially since it was made by one of the most noble theologians in the whole land) much disruption and animosity has developed, though indeed I spared no effort from my side to pacify minds and to forestall further damaging results. The Archbishop went so far that he informed the Society that he would advise the clergy strongly against taking up in the least bit further or assisting in any way such a mission which aimed at planting sectarian Lutheranism.[53]

Having no idea such a stir would be caused by a trifle [*Kleinigkeit*], he testified that Tenison was a well-intentioned and honest man who had been a friend and supporter of the mission. The missionaries could see, though, how much caution they needed in the performance of their office if they wanted other nations to support the work.

Boehm then offered some advice. The second commandment must be included in the Decalogue of the next edition of the Catechism and he suggested printing it as in Exodus xx, with no numbers, which is what he had done in the prayer book used in the Royal Chapel.[54] Urging the missionaries to forgo all human and party names, he could see no need to call the catechism Luther's as they had done on the title page, since Luther's name would have no authority with Indian natives. Every effort should be used to bring the affair back into good standing. In their future letters to the Society he counselled against speaking of the matter in particulars and urged that they should in a friendly manner offer to conform themselves to the Society's reminders. Then,

---

52 "Mein schwaches Bemühen ist nicht ohne allen Seegen gewesen. Viele sehen die Möglichkeit eines solchen Unternehmens gleichsam vor Augen, und legen wircklich Hand an, den Arbeitern beyzuspringen."

53 "Ihr könnet leicht erraten, daß durch diesen unvermutheten Einwurf, (zumal da selbiger von dem vornemsten Theologo im gantzen Lande gemacht wurde,) viele Zerrüttung und Widerspruch entstund, ob ich zwar an meiner Seite keinen Fleis sparete, die Gemüther zu besänftigen, und ferneren schädlichen Folgen vorzukommen. Der Erz-Bischof gieng so weit, daß er der Societaet entbiethen ließ, er wolle der Clerisey mit Macht widerrathen, sich solcher Mission, welche auf Fortpflantzung des Sectirischen Lutheranismi abziele, ferner im geringsten anzunehmen, oder selbiger einigen Vorschub zu thun."

54 Although the text from Ex. xx was used in the prayer book, including the prohibition against false images, the commandments were not exactly unnumbered. They were written as a litany and the ten responses of the congregation corresponded to the Lutheran numbering. (Boehm, ed., *Gebeth-Büchlein*, pp. 44-47)

slowly, things would be forgotten. He assured the missionaries that the members of the SPCK had such a high esteem for their work in East India

> ... that they would have no qualms sending their own missionaries to you in order to watch first your whole conduct, methods, and teaching-style among the heathen, before they themselves set their hand to the matter.[55]

But Boehm did not wish the missionaries to misunderstand his advice:

> With all this business, dear brothers, is it in no way my opinion that you should go over to another party or by any chance introduce the liturgy or confession of another Church; because I would be truly opposed to such a case, whereby bad would become worse, and would rather let everything fall apart and sink as consent to such a dangerous mixture.[56]

He hoped that the missionaries would take a middle way by which they remained Lutheran but did not employ the name. The doctrine in the Lutheran Church was as pure as any Protestant Church and especially "when we practise it in such an order as it has been expounded in recent years by Dr. Spener",[57] but Boehm would identify it only as Christian, not Lutheran.

To ensure that the missionaries grasped the gravity of the matter Boehm suggested that Francke or others give the missionaries some "further advice ... to carry on the work with proper theological prudence".[58] Eventually the message got through; the Anglican/Reformed second commandment was added as a clarification to the first commandment in the second edition of the catechism.[59] The missionaries told the SPCK, "As to what relates to Party-Names, or Distinctions, the divine Wisdom, which is without Partiality, has taught us to abhor them. Our Scholars [students] know not so much as the bare Name of Luther or Calvin."[60]

Despite the growing toleration in Europe this kind of cooperative venture did not come about easily; the SPCK, Halle, and Copenhagen were pioneers, an insight recognized in 1713 by Francke: "Posterity shall learn ... how one Nation can help the other in the common Cause of Propagating the Christian

---

55 "... daß sie kein Bedencken tragen würden, ihre eigene Missionarios zu euch zuschicken, um euren gantzen Wandel, Methode und Lehr-Art unter den Heiden erst zusehen, ehe sie selbst die Sache angreiffen."

56 "Bey alle diesem Handel gel. Br. ist die Meinung keinesweges, als ob ihr zu einer andern Partei treten, und etwa einer andern Kirche Liturgie oder Confession einführen soltet: denn in solchem Fal, wodurch übel ärger werden müste, würde ich getrost widersprechen, und lieber alles fallen und sincken lassen, als in ein solches gefährliches Gemenge willigen."

57 "... wenn wir sie in solcher Ordnung treiben, wie sie in diesen letzern Jahren von Hr. D. Spenern vorgetragen worden."

58 "... ferneren Raht ... mit rechter Theologischer Prudence das Werck zutreiben." (Boehm to G.H. Neubauer, London, 22 Jan. 1714 [ArFrSt C 229:29])

59 W. Germann, *Johann Philipp Fabricius* (Erlangen, 1865), p. 131.

60 Ziegenbalg and Grundler to SPCK, Tranquebar, 27 Sept. 1714, printed in: *PGE III* (1718), pp. 115f.

Religion, finding that the *German* Nation assisted the *Danes*, as the *English* do both."[61] Despite Francke's optimism the situation was a delicate one, as C.B. Michaelis at Halle made clear in a 1719 letter to the missionaries:

> One has to make every effort to treat the English nation with respect and to behave towards them moderately and wisely, that they may not find the least reason to go back on their affection and good will. However, on the other hand, you should also take care not to do something trying to please everyone which would bring vile gossip in Denmark and in the Lutheran Church.[62]

As long as the cooperation took place on a material or external plane conflicts were minimalized; but when theological or doctrinal questions were raised problems were unavoidable. Not only was the SPCK Anglican and the Danish authorities and Halle Lutheran, but the Lutherans in Denmark were Orthodox and those in Halle Pietist. Boehm was familiar with these tensions and wanted for the sake of the mission to avoid theological disagreement as much as possible, so he advised the missionaries to keep a low theological profile. The mission should remain solidly Lutheran and Pietist in doctrine, but not in name.

Because of the concern among some in England that the missionaries were spreading sectarian Lutheranism Boehm feared that enthusiasm for the mission might decline.[63] One of the ways in which he hoped to awaken anew support for the mission was through publishing a third part of *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*.[64] After the yearly charity school sermon in 1714, fifty copies of this new edition were distributed among the people there, by which Boehm hoped to renew or awaken awareness of the mission.[65] Even as Boehm was the catalyst for the initial involvement of the SPCK in the mission, it was largely due to his efforts that the Society's interest continued unabated after the affair with Tenison.

Through regular publications Boehm kept the East India mission before benefactors and the public. The final volume of *Propagation of the Gospel in the East* came out in 1718. In 1720 Boehm also published some correspondence between George I and the missionaries in Tranquebar, together with a letter from Francke. In the "Advertisement" which prefaced these letters Boehm wrote that this work was to be an "earnest" on a fourth volume of letters.[66]

---

61 Francke to Newman, Halle, 26 Feb. 1713, printed in: *PGE III* (1718), p. 61.

62 "Man hat die englische Nation mit allem Fleiß zu schonen und sich dergestalt gegen sie zu bescheiden und weislich zu verhalten, daß sie keine wenigstens gegründete Ursach finden, mit ihrer Neigung und Willigkeit zurückzugehen. Jedoch werden Sie auch andrerseits sich vorsehen, daß Sie nicht etwa aus Menschengefälligkeit etwas thun, welches in Dänemark und bei der evangelischen Kirche eine üble Nachrede machen könnte." (C.B. Michaelis to [Ziegenbalg and Grundler], [Halle,] 27 Nov. 1719, quoted in: Germann, *Fabricius*, p. 131)

63 Boehm to Ziegenbalg and Grundler, London, 31 Dec. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 397f.

64 Boehm to Ziegenbalg and Grundler, 8 Jan. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 308.

65 Boehm to Mr. P[lutschau], London, 30 June 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 349f.

66 [Boehm,] Advertisement to *Several Letters relating to the Protestant Danish Mission at*

One year later a letter from William Stevenson, English chaplain at Madras, appeared in print, in which he appealed for missionaries on English settlements in India.[67] This letter was the last work published for the general English readership; the fourth volume to which Boehm referred never appeared. The reason for the abrupt end is that Boehm died in 1722 and Ziegenhagen, his successor, was unable to find someone qualified to translate the fourth volume.[68] Newman told Archbishop Wake that by Boehm's death "the Society, the missionaries in the East Indies, Professor Franck, and the College of Copenhagen have a very great loss, he being the grand cement of all their Interests".[69] From 1709 to 1721 it was Boehm alone who kept the East India mission before the English public; he was the prime mover for SPCK involvement and for English interest in the Tranquebar mission.

2. The First English Mission

Struggles in Tranquebar

When Plutschau returned to Europe in 1712, he was unsuccessful in removing the difficulties with the Danish government in Tranquebar, so Ziegenbalg decided to go to the homeland.[70] In Denmark he obtained assurances that the mission would be set on a better foundation with the government at Tranquebar.[71] From there he journeyed to Halle and then crossed the Channel with his new wife to London, where he was received warmly by the SPCK. William Nichols, rector of Stockport, offered a congratulatory speech in Latin; Ziegenbalg responded in Tamil and Newman read a Latin translation.[72] During his stay in London Ziegenbalg went with Boehm and Sir John Philipps to give George I an oral account of the whole mission undertaking,[73] while Lady Mary Philipps, Sir John's wife, introduced Ziegenbalg's wife to the Princess of Wales.[74] This exchange gave Boehm some hope that the Court would begin

---

Tranquebar in the East-Indies (London, 1720), n.p. Newman asked Archbishop Wake in 1721 for letters to be included in the fourth volume. (Newman to Archbishop Wake, Middle Temple, 5 Oct. 1721 [ChCh, *Wake MSS* 24:109])

67 *A Letter from Fort St. George in the East-Indies* (London, 1721).

68 Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 18 Dec. 1724 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/18).

69 Newman to Wake, Middle Temple, 28 May 1722 (ChCh, *Wake MSS* 24:121).

70 Ziegenbalg to SPCK, Cape of Good Hope, 15 Jan. 1715, printed in: *PGE III* (1718), pp. 144f.

71 Ziegenbalg to Boehm, Halle, 20 Oct. 1715, printed in: *PGE III* (1718), p. 158.

72 SPCK Minutes, 29 Dec. 1715 (vii.101); see *Orationes Duae* (London, 1716); repr. in: *PGE III* (1718), pp. 219-230.

73 *SCM* (ME/m/3), 7 Feb. 1716; cf. Ziegenbalg and Grundler to George I, Tranquebar, 2 Jan. 1717, printed in: *Several Letters relating to the Protestant Danish Mission at Tranquebar in the East-Indies* (London, 1720), p. 6.

74 Ziegenbalg to Francke, London, 6 Jan. 1716, printed in: *Alte Briefe*, p. 448.