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2. The First English Mission

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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

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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.

to further the mission, especially since he had had no access to the royal household previously.[75] Newman was asked to wait on Ziegenbalg and "show him the remarkables of London".[76] The Special Committee was intending only to give Ziegenbalg free quarters while in London, until Newman reminded them that they had given twenty guineas to Plutschau.[77] So they offered Ziegenbalg the same amount "as an acknowledgement from the Society of his great Services in Propagating the Christian Religion in the East Indies and of the particular Value and Esteem they have for him".[78] After about nine months in Europe he set sail on board an East India Company ship.

The Indian climate took its usual heavy toll of missionaries and Ziegenbalg died in February, 1719, at the age of 36, leaving Grundler alone to run the mission. Three reinforcements came later that year, but Grundler died in March, 1720. William Stevenson, home from his chaplaincy in India where he was a frequent correspondent of the Society and friend to the mission, expressed the fears of many associated with the mission, "Mr. Grundler's Death is a very great Loss, and may perhaps stop the Progress of the Mission abroad".[79] Archbishop Wake was also concerned over the loss of Ziegenbalg and Grundler and told Newman,

> The Loss of these two excellent Servants of Christ will make it absolutely necessary to send a new supply, as soon as possible, thither: I think Professor Frank or some other proper person abroad, should be written to, without loss of time, about it.[80]

Just before his death Grundler had ordained Benjamin Schultze, one of the three novices, who assumed leadership of the mission. In spite of the ever-pressing need for missionaries, four years passed before three reinforcements were sent from Halle at the request of Archbishop Wake.[81] En route to Tranquebar they passed through London, where they were chosen corresponding members of the SPCK, entertained at dinner by some of its members, and introduced to the King and members of the Royal family.[82] The Society had sent books on the mission to the Royal family and had even asked the King to

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75 Boehm to Mr. de Ners., London, 12 Oct. 1717, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 484; cf. Boehm to Ziegenbalg and Grundler, 31 Dec. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 399f.

76 *SCM* (ME/m/3), 3 Jan. 1716.

77 Boehm to Neubauer, London, 2 Jan. 1716 (ArFrSt C 229:18).

78 *SCM* (ME/m/3), 6 Dec. 1715, 11 Jan. 1716.

79 W. Stevenson to Newman, Morningthorp, 26 July 1721 (ArSPCK, *EIM Pap* [ME/cr/9]).

80 Archbishop of Canterbury to Newman, Lambeth House, 5 May 1721 (ArSPCK, *Arab Bible* [CS2/1.No.8]); cf. Francke to William Wake, Halle, 4 Jan. 1722 (ArSPCK, *Original Letters* [CR2/5]); Boehm to Neubauer, London, 19 May 1721 (ArFrSt C 229:9).

81 SPCK Minutes, 22 Sept. 1724 (xi.73); Newman to Archbishop Wake, Middle Temple, 22 Sept. 1724 (ChCh, *Wake MSS* 24:110); Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 25 Sept. 1724 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/14).

82 SPCK *Minutes*, 22 Dec. 1724 and 5 Jan. 1725 (xi.95,99); Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 22 Dec. 1724 and 1, 8, & 19 Jan. 1725 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/19-22).

make a yearly allowance of £200-£300 for the missionaries,[83] but not only was the court impervious to these appeals, public support for the mission was also declining. Only within the SPCK did interest in the mission work remain strong.

Expansion in Madras

Even though Schultze earnestly desired assistance he was a very difficult and prickly character, who found it almost impossible to work with colleagues.[84] Schultze wanted to leave Tranquebar to begin his own work, so, when the new missionaries arrived, he felt free to depart; one associate wrote, "Mr. Schultze can not live collegially and for this reason he has left here".[85] Against the advice of his colleagues, Schultze went to Fort St. George at Madras, the largest English territory in southern India,[86] and obtained permission from the Governor there to establish his own mission.[87] The Mission College in Denmark, the official authority of the Tranquebar work, opposed Schultze's move and ordered him to return to Europe. But Schultze refused, sending a bitter refutation back to Denmark; Ziegenhagen intercepted this letter and dispatched in its place a shortened, less violent version.[88] Since Schultze was in Madras, he asked the SPCK if the Society was willing to take him on as their missionary.

The Society had long desired to have a mission in English-controlled Madras. Indeed, at the end of the 1711 edition of *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, Boehm, at the request of the Special Committee, enlarged the "Proposal for Printing the New-Testament in Portuguese" to include the possibility of mission work in English holdings (or factories).[89] The Society had written to the English authorities in Madras about making attempts to propagate Chris-

83 *SCM* (ME/m/3), 20 & 27 Sept. 1715; "To the King's most Excellent Majesty, The Petition of several Gentlemen at London in behalf of the Protestant Danish Missionaries in the East Indies", n.d. (ArSPCK, *EIM Pap* [ME/cr/9]); SPCK to the Earl of Sunderland, n.p., n.d. (copy) (ChCh, *Wake MSS* 24:131).

84 See A. Norgaard's thorough account of Schultze's years in Tranquebar based on original sources in the Halle archives: "Missionar Benjamin Schultze als Leiter der Tranquebarmission (1720-26)", *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 33 (1977), pp. 181-201.

85 "Herr Schultze kann nicht kollegialisch leben, und eben deswegen hat er sich von hier weg begeben." (Walther to G.A. Francke, Tranquebar, 15 Oct. 1726, quoted in: Norgaard, "Schultze", p. 198)

86 See map on p. 128.

87 Benjamin Shooltze [sic] to George Morten Pitt, Fort St. George, 7 Jan. 1731 (printed) (ArSPCK, *EIM Pap* [ME/cr/9:63]).

88 Schultze to Missions College, Madras, 31 Jan. 1729, cited in: Norgaard, "Schultze", p. 198; Ziegenhagen to Schultze, London, 26 Jan. 1730, printed in part in: Germann, *Fabricius*, pp. 119f.

89 [Boehm,] "A Proposal for Printing the New Testament in Portuguese", in: *PGE II* (1711), p. 3; *SCM* (ME/m/1), 15 Dec. 1710 and 20 Mar. 1711.

tianity "in the British Territoryes in India".[90] In 1713, when Griffith Jones was weighing the opportunity to go to India, Boehm, who himself had frequently expressed the hope that the English would send out their own missionaries,[91] told Halle that because of the success of the Tranquebar mission the SPCK had made application to the East India Company for permission to begin a work at Madras.[92]

Some insight into Boehm's perceptions of the SPCK's ability to establish its own mission in English factories is gained from an unpublished 1720 letter to Neubauer in Halle. Grundler in Tranquebar had sent a letter (probably to Boehm), requesting

> ... that one ought to recommend him to the Society [SPCK] to be called to Madras and thus in the English territory. He wanted thereafter to work among the heathen as an English missionary in the so-called black city of Madras, etc. He is also inclined to come to England to confer with the Society thoroughly over this matter.[93]

Boehm added,

> I have not presented such a request to the Society, nor will I present it. The reason is that the matter is not at all practical, because of the circumstances of the present time and the condition of Grundler.[94]

He provided three reasons why such a suggestion was impractical. First, the SPCK did not have the authority to dispatch a missionary, only the East India Company did. Second, the Society lacked a financial basis from which it could support a missionary – providing further evidence of dwindling public support: "everything by which the mission has hitherto been seconded is an incidental contribution, since sometimes a lot, sometimes a little comes in, but nothing certain is available."[95] Third and most importantly, even if these other difficulties were overcome, one must still consider "that the local High Church clergy would in time insist that Grundler fully conform to the Church of England".[96] This would result in all sorts of problems. Perhaps Grundler

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90 SPCK to Governor and Council at Fort St. George, London, 2 Feb. 1712 (copy) (ChCh, *Wake MSS* 28:12).

91 E.g. Boehm to A.H. Francke, 5 Jan. 1711, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 178.

92 Boehm to Neubauer, [London], 22 May 1713 (copy) (ArFrSt C 229:31).

93 "... daß man ihn der Societät recommendiren möchte, umb nach Madras und also in das Engelsche Territorium beruffen zu werden. Er wolte sodann als ein Engelscher Missionarius in der sogenandten schwartzen Stadt zu Madras unter den Heyden arbeiten, &c. Er sey auch geneigt nach England zu kommen, umb mit der Societät außführlich auß der Sache zu conferiren."

94 "... daß ich solches begehren der Societät nicht vorgetragen habe, auch nicht vortragen werde. Die Ursach ist, weil nach der Umbständen der jetzigen Zeit, und beschaffenheit des Gründler, die Sache gantz nicht practicable ist."

95 "Alles das womit die Mission bishero secondiret worden, ist ein zufälliger Beytrag, da bald viel, bald wenig einkommt, aber nichts gewisses verhanden ist."

96 "... daß die hiesige Hoch-Kirchliche Clerisey mit der Zeit drauf dringen dörffe, daß Hn. Gründler sich völlig zu der Kirche von England conformiren müsse."

would have to come to England to receive ordination by a bishop, since his existing ordination would be considered null and void. Nor would it help if he received ordination by a Danish Lutheran bishop, because "the local [English] bishops do not recognize the Danish bishops as orthodox, at least as far as ordination, but they regard them as mere superintendents, as in Germany".[97] Boehm concluded that "should now Grundler move to Madras, especially under such uncertain circumstances, he could easily fall between two stools and make himself useless",[98] while if he remained in Tranquebar he would still receive the best assistance from England.[99]

Even though Boehm had actively given his assistance in obtaining English missionaries for English territories, he had no particular interest in German missionaries going to English territories. Though willing to encourage English support for the mission, he would not allow Lutheran missionaries to become Anglican. Because of the influence of High Church clergy in England, he felt that there would be no way to carry on the Lutheran Pietist nature of the mission if it should come under English control. But Boehm's attempts to keep Grundler's proposals from the SPCK were unsuccessful, because the Tranquebar missionary had also written the Countess of Portland, governess to the princesses, who had passed the letter on to the SPCK. The Society sent £50 to Madras to be kept for a future missionary,[100] but its efforts were in vain because Grundler had died about a year earlier. Since ships only travelled between India and England once a year and took six to eight months each way to make the journey, communication was slow and difficult.

Thus, the request from Schultze was the Society's first since that from Grundler. Before accepting Schultze the Society sought permission from the East India Company.[101] The Company ordered:

> That if any of the Danish missionaries shall visit or reside at Places under the Company's Jurisdiction, our Governors and Officers may give them their Protection; We hereby consent thereunto, upon supposition that they behave themselves respectfully and suitable to the Rules of the Place.[102]

The Mission College in Denmark, however, was opposed to Schultze's move, directing Ziegenhagen to ask the Society not to take Schultze into its service.

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97 "... daß die hiesigen Bischöffe die dänischen am wenigsten quoad ordinationem, nicht für orthodox erkennen, sondern sie als blosse Superintendenten, als in Teutschland regardiren."

98 "Solte nun Hn. Gründler nach Madras ziehen, und zwar bey solchen ungewissen Umbständen, so könte er sich leicht zwischen zweien Stühlen niedersetzen, und sich unbrauchbar machen."

99 Boehm to Neubauer, London, 16 Aug. 1720 (ArFrSt C 229:12).

100 Boehm to C.B. Michaelis, London, 2 Mar. 1721 (ArFrSt C 229:11).

101 Newman to the Directors of the East India Company, Middle Temple, 19 Dec. 1727 (ArSPCK, *Letters to India* [ME/CS2]).

102 *General Letter from the Hon. Directors of the East India Co. to the Governors and Officers within the Company's Jurisdiction*, 1727, para. 93, printed in: SPCK *Minutes*, 13 Feb. 1728 (xii.190).

Ziegenhagen kept this request from the SPCK,[103] so the Society accepted Schultze as its first missionary, making Madras its first mission field. Although English chaplains had worked in India since the mid-seventeenth century, the SPCK's station at Madras was the first one dedicated to working with the native population.[104]

In 1728 Schultze formally received orders from the SPCK "to settle a Protestant Mission" in Madras.[105] It is interesting that the Society decided to take Schultze into its service, because at the same time Stevenson, the former English chaplain at Madras, was raising queries about the methods of the missionaries. He had seen one of the journals which Schultze had regularly sent from India, comparing it with what he knew of Ziegenbalg and Grundler. Besides the fact that the missionaries divided the Decalogue according to the "popish way", Stevenson found their theological exercises "excessively tedious", their catechetical instructions "obscure and unedifying", and their Pietist "Order of Salvation", in which the conversion process was laid out in distinct stages, confusing.[106] When Ziegenhagen heard about the "disputes" occasioned by Stevenson's letter, he asked to see it.[107] Newman tried unsuccessfully to bring Stevenson and Ziegenhagen together; nonetheless, nothing more seems to have come from Stevenson's letter and Schultze was accepted into the Society's service.

Initially, the SPCK had hoped that James Christian, an Englishman recommended by Bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man, would be willing to go to India as an assistant to Schultze in 1729, but the Society and he could not agree on "the Terms of his Salary, and the time of his Continuance at Fort St. George".[108] The chaplains to the East India Company received £100 yearly instead of the £60 given to Schultze and were only asked to make a three-year commitment; Newman told Bishop Wilson that the Society had decided not to send his candidate.[109] Instead, Halle rushed J.A. Sartorius, an inspector at the Orphanage, to London in order to dispatch him to Madras. Later J.E. Geister was sent by the Society from Halle to work with Schultze and Sartorius in Madras.[110] Both Sartorius and Geister were sent directly by the SPCK and

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103 Ziegenhagen to Schultze, 26 Jan. 1730, cited in: Norgaard, "Schultze", p. 200; cf. Germann, *Fabricius*, pp. 119f.

104 On English mission work in India, see F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904-22); E. Chatterton, *A History of the Church of England in India* (London, 1924); M.E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India 1600-1970* (New Delhi, 1972).

105 Shooltze [sic] to Pitt, 7 Jan. 1731 (ArSPCK, *EIM Pap* [ME/cr/9:63]); cf. SPCK *Minutes*, 12 Dec. 1727 (xii.172).

106 Stevenson to Newman, Colwall, 7 Feb. 1727 (ArSPCK, *EIM Pap* [ME/cr/9: 31]).

107 Ziegenhagen to Newman, St. James's Place, 10 Jan. 1727 (ArSPCK, *EIM Pap* [ME/cr/9:30]); to SPCK, London, 24 Jan. 1727 (ArSPCK, *ALB* [CR1/13: 9126]).

108 SPCK *Minutes*, 5 Feb. 1730 (xiii.149f).

109 Newman to Bishop Wilson, Bartlet's Buildings, 7 Mar. 1730 (ArSPCK, *Letters to India* [ME/CS2]).

110 G.A. Francke to Newman, Halle, 22 Dec. 1731 (ArSPCK, *ALB* [CR1/16: 11525]).

were not under the authority of the Mission College in Denmark. Every new missionary undertaking outside Tranquebar was thus taken on and supported by the SPCK, although all the missionaries themselves, whether bound for Tranquebar or an English mission, received their training exclusively at Halle, a place, according to Newman, "that seems by Providence pointed out and remarkably supported to qualify Persons for this [missionary service]".[111]

Dissension in Madras

It was not long before conflicts arose between the missionaries, for Schultze again showed his inability to work with others by excluding his partners from decision-making in the mission. This crisis in Madras rapidly became a crisis in the SPCK. Already in 1733 Newman began receiving letters through Ziegenhagen from all three missionaries spelling out their grievances. Keeping the letters to himself, Newman tried to work out the differences on his own, though he did show the letters to Isaac Hollis, a liberal benefactor. When the Special Committee learned about his actions they chastised Newman and ordered him never to conceal any such information from them again. But Newman explained:

> I doubt not but Mr. Ziegenhagen who cannot be suspected to want Zeal for the Mission, will be so just as to excuse to the Society my keeping my promise to him of not exposing those letters which he implanted to me, on condition I would not let the Contents be known, and that he will convince the Society that it was much against my inclination to conceal them though neither he nor I could see which way the Grievances complain'd of could be redress'd by the Society any more than they could dethrone the Great Mogul. He thought the exposing of them would exasperate the Enemies of the Mission and make them more outragious, as an indiscreet publication of them would undoubtedly have done.[112]

Having borne the brunt of the Society's discipline, Newman wished that Ziegenhagen had "taken some share of the severe (I won't say unjust) blame I am under".[113] He was only doing what the Pietists considered normal, withholding adverse information which would fuel the enmity to the mission. Conflicts among missionaries were a recurring problem, though the European public knew little of them, since in their regular mission reports the Halle Pietists repressed any unsavoury material.[114] On one occasion Boehm for-

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111 Newman to [Selina, Countess of Huntington], Bartlet's Buildings, 17 Dec. 1730 (Hunt Lib, HA 9593).

112 Newman to James Vernon, Bartlet's Buildings, 6 Jan. 1735 (ArSPCK, *Private Letters* [CN4/6])

113 Newman to Ziegenhagen, Bartlet's Buildings, 4 Jan. 1735 (ArSPCK, *Private Letters* [CN4/6]).

114 *Der Königl. Dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandter ausführlichen Berichten*, 9 vols. (Halle, 1708-72). These reports were accurate in what they said, but since they did not include anything which might be interpreted unfavourably they yield a false picture of the mission. Cf. Norgaard, "Schultze", p. 181; Fengar, *History of Tranquebar Mission*, pp. 193f.

warded to Halle an angry letter from a Tranquebar missionary suggesting "that care be taken that the hateful things which he writes be suppressed as much as possible, since their publication can be of no advantage, but can well do great damage".[115]

The Society sent numerous letters to India but was unsuccessful in effecting reconciliation between the contending parties. Sartorius had asked to have the opportunity to establish a new mission work at Fort St. David in Cuddalore, another English-controlled territory between Tranquebar and Madras.[116] But the Society thought Schultze should begin the new work because of his age and experience.[117] Schultze, however, looked upon this order as a disgrace and a "Sentence of Banishment", to which Newman responded, "What have the Society ever done to provoke You to think and speak of them in such a manner?" In order to separate the missionaries and secure a large gift which had been promised to the mission if the problems in Madras could be resolved, the Society insisted that Schultze go to Cuddalore:

> They [the Society] have carried you all already beyond the Bounds of duty, reason and common decency ...You have, good Sir, we believe, as few failings as any Missionary in India and as warm a Zeal to promote the glory of God. Do what you can to sacrifice your chiefest failing to this Zeal; to mortify the least degree of pride that can tempt you to a Superiority or Rule over your Fellow Labourers.[118]

But Schultze refused to leave Madras, so in 1737 Sartorius and Geister, unable to endure Schultze any longer, went to Cuddalore, once again leaving Schultze alone. The two Cuddalore missionaries were given permission by the SPCK to instruct and to baptize, but were to consider themselves "as entering upon a new Tryal".[119]

Under these circumstances the SPCK entered into its own foreign mission work, an involvement which required a large commitment of time and money. The Society sent annual shipments of money and goods both to its own stations and to Tranquebar. Boehm and Ziegenhagen would also give money, books, medicines, etc. to Newman to be shipped to the missionaries. By the 1730s the SPCK was spending £360 per year on the East India mission. Yearly benefactions amounted to only £150, so the Society had to rely on

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115 "Mein Wunsch ist, daß man sorge, daß die verhaßten Dinge die er schreibet, so viel als möglich, supprimiret werden, indem deren publication keinen Vortheil, wohl a[ber] grossen Schaden thun kann." (Boehm to Neubauer, 19 May 1721 [ArFrSt C 229:9])

116 See map on p. 100.

117 Newman to Schultze, Sartorius, and Geister, London, 26 Nov. 1734 (ArSPCK, *Letters to India* [ME/CS2]).

118 Newman to Schultze, London, 25 Jan. 1737; to Wynch, Howard, Fowke, Morse, Torriano, Rous, and Johnson, Corresponding Members at Fort St. George, Bartlet's Buildings, 11 Jan. 1737 (ArSPCK, *Letters to India* [ME/CS2]).

119 Newman to Sartorius and Geister, London, 26 Jan. 1739 (ArSPCK, *Letters to India* [ME/CS2]).

money from Halle, special gifts from the generous Isaac Hollis, and two earmarked legacies to meet the balance.[120]

3. Analysis and Ramifications

Reasons for SPCK Involvement

Why did the SPCK get involved in the East India Mission? It was unprecedented that an Anglican Society, which had hitherto focused almost exclusively on charity schools and the distribution of literature, should support Denmark's effort to send out Lutheran missionaries from Halle. One modern historian, at least, has depicted it as an act of tentative ecclesiastical imperialism by the Church of England. Because Archbishop Tenison expressed suspicion of sectarian Lutheranism, E.A. Lehmann, in his 1955 history of the Tranquebar mission, suggests the possibility that the SPCK became involved in order one day to bring the whole enterprise under Anglican control.[121] This is highly unlikely. Even though in the nineteenth century all mission stations except Tranquebar itself eventually came under Anglican authority, none of the early minutes or records of the SPCK give any evidence to support Lehmann's conjecture. Certainly the Society wished to send Anglican missionaries, but when none were forthcoming, the Society was large-hearted enough to feel (if Newman's description is accurate) "that the heathen should be Lutheran Christians rather than no Christians".[122]

Julius Richter, writing in the first decade of this century, suggested that the mission was "thrust" upon the SPCK which "had no real heart" for the work.[123] However, this is hardly compatible with the fact that the SPCK continued its support for over a century and from the beginning made a significant commitment both in time and money. There was a close correlation in aim between the work of the SPCK in Britain and the mission it subsidized in India. One can see strong similarities between Ziegenbalg's stress in Tranquebar on the need for Church extension by means of education and publication, and the emphases of the SPCK in Britain. In essence the SPCK diverted some of its educational and publishing activity from Britain to India.

Another possible reason for SPCK involvement is that in the colonialist spirit of the times the English Society did not want to be left behind the Danes in christianizing India. Boehm told the Missions College in Copenhagen in

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120 *An Account of the Origin and Designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London, 1737), p. 6.

121 Lehmann, *It Began in Tranquebar*, p. 99.

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

123 J. Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, trans. S.H. Moore (Edinburgh/London, 1908), p. 164.