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Struggles in Tranquebar

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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.