

7. Sekundärliteratur

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

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Expansion in Madras

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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 Territories 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

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 sogenannten schwarzen 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 Umständten 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.

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

98 "Solte nun Hn. Gründler nach Madras ziehen, und zwar bey solchen ungewissen Umständen, so könnte 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

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 outrageous, 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-

111 Newman to [Selina, Countess of Huntingdon], 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.