FRANCKESCHE STIFTUNGEN

DFG

7. Sekundärliteratur

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

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Göttingen, 1993

1.The Arabic Psalter and New Testament

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Chapter VI

"Jerusalem is being built": Expanding the SPCK's Work Beyond Britain

The decision of the SPCK in 1710 to support the East India mission was a momentous one. Not only did it initiate what would become over one hundred years of work in India, but it also set in motion the processes by which the Society gradually expanded its work beyond Britain to other parts of the globe. When a £200 legacy was left for the mission in 1715 Boehm enthusiastically declared:

> Thus the tiny mustard seed of the Kingdom of God is penetrating through all hindrances and Jerusalem is being built, although at a time of scarcity. The East and West Indies will at length be made fragrant with the blessed knowledge of Christ.[1]

Boehm's words proved prophetic for the SPCK, which within twenty years was involved in work that stretched literally from East to West. Our purpose in this chapter is to examine the Society's major endeavours of the 1720s and 1730s, which, though seemingly unconnected, including as they do such unrelated interests as the publication of books in Arabic, a mission to the Jews, and the resettlement of German-speaking Protestants, have one common cord which binds them together: they were inspired by Pietists. Even as these Germans turned the attention of the Society to India, so they pointed them to opportunities in such distant venues as the Levant and the newly established colony of Georgia in America.

1. The Arabic Psalter and New Testament

Background: Ludolf and the Eastern World

English interests in the near East were well established by the late seventeenth century, due largely to the flourishing Levant trade, exemplified by the Levant Company, which was experiencing its most prosperous period.[2] The lucrative

1 "So dringet sich das Senf-Körnlein des Reiches GOttes durch alle Hindernissen hindurch, und Jerusalem wird gebauet, wiewol zu einer kümmerlichen Zeit. Ost- und West-Indien wird endlich mit der seligen Erkenntnis Christi, wolriechend gemacht werden." (Boehm to Samuel Urlsperger, London, 6 Dec. 1715, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 468f)

2 See A.C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford, 1935).

nature of the Eastern market had made it a cause of bitter economic rivalry, as French and English merchants after the signing of peace at Ryswick struggled for the lion's share of the trade.[3] The mercantilist conflicts were given an added religious edge, for the English trading communities at Constantinople, Aleppo, and Smyrna felt insecure, surrounded as they were by the vast Muslim world and uneasy at the competition of Roman Catholicism. There was a certain interest in Anglican circles in an *entente* with the Eastern Church, which was perceived as a bastion against Roman expansionism. High Church and Nonjuring exponents of the "branch theory" of Catholicism saw in Orthodoxy a valid stem of the visible Church less militant and threatening than the Roman – perhaps because of its remoteness – and were interested in establishing relations with it. But doctrinal disparities especially over transubstantiation in the Holy Communion and Anglican suspicions of Orthodox mysticism and superstition meant that by the time of the arrival of two Orthodox dignitaries in 1714,[4] Anglican interest in Greek Orthodoxy had subsided. Despite their mutual rejection of papal authority and their common retention of the Apostolic Succession, the main characteristic which they held in common was a mutual fear of Rome, which was not enough to keep them close together.[5]

Interest in the Eastern Church proved to be a useful point of contact between Halle and the English Church. Here again the chief instigator was H.W. Ludolf, whose missionary passion for a "universal Church" coupled with his philological interest in the Eastern languages led to a particular concern for Russian and Greek Orthodoxy. In addition to an earlier lengthy visit to Russia, he had in 1699-1700 journeyed to the Levant. Ludolf's deep concern was for the inward renewal of the Greek Orthodox Church. His reform program was in essence a globalization of Spener's eschatological "hope for better times" for the Lutheran Church. Using *ecclesiolae in ecclesia* and encouraging contacts between reborn groups and individuals, Ludolf hoped to propagate a renewal of Christendom. His goal was not proselytism to a universal Church structure, but non-sectarian spiritual renewal.[6] Writing in 1699 to Dr. Charlett at University College, Oxford, from Constantinople,

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3 *Ibid.*, pp. 119ff.

4 G. Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1868), pp. xxvi-xxx. Cf. Boehm to Francke, London, 15 Oct. 1707 (ArFrSt C 826:11); to Canstein, London, 12 Sept. 1715, printed in: ErBrief, p. 459; Chamberlayne to Archbishop Tenison, Petty France, 13 June 1713 (Lambeth MSS 930:30).

5 See. J.C.S. Runciman, "The Church of England and the Orthodox Churches in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", in: *Anglican Initiatives in Christian Unity*, ed. E.G.W. Bill (London, 1967), pp. 1-18; *idem.*, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 289-319.

6 See H. Goltz, "Ecclesia Universa. Bemerkungen über die Beziehungen H.W. Ludolfs zu Rußland und zu den orientalischen Kirchen", in: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* (Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe) 28/6 (1979), pp. 21f, 26f; J. Wallmann, "Wiedergeburt und Erneuerung bei Philipp Jakob Spener", *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 3 (1976), pp. 30f.

Ludolf encouraged "a correspondence with some well disposed people of the Eastern Church".[7] A few weeks later he described how he had met the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem and attempted to speak with him about "essential and genuine Christianity" [*essentialis und realis Christianismus*], but had found the elderly Patriarch unresponsive and anxious always to turn the conversation back towards "his antiquities and patristic traditions" [*auf seine antiquitatem et patrum traditionem*].[8] This exchange convinced Ludolf that the renewal of the Greek Church would not come easily from its hierarchy, if all leaders were so tradition-bound: the way forward lay with the education of Greek youth in such a way that they would be freed from denominational narrowness of mind.

Such sentiments led to Ludolf's contacts with Benjamin Woodroffe, Principal of Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College), Oxford, who had a particular interest in Orthodox Christianity and in the late 1690s had actually brought into being a scheme to establish a college of boys belonging to the Greek Church at his Oxford college,[9] where they could be instructed in the fundamentals of religion to enable them more effectively to defend the faith on their return. Both Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton of London warmly recommended a petition to William III to gain his financial support for this project to reinforce "the true primitive religion" in the Greek Church in its struggle against "the pressure of the Mohametans and the Romish impostures".[10] The first youths arrived in 1699 from Smyrna. The recruitment had been carried out by Ludolf, who travelled to Smyrna and secured six Greek boys for Oxford. Archbishop Tenison himself wrote to Francke, seeking a teacher from Halle to work in Woodroffe's college.[11] In the end, Boehm was designated for this task, though as it transpired, he never worked at Oxford as hoped. Wigers, one of the first two teachers Francke had dispatched at Tenison's request, went to meet Woodroffe and passed on to him Francke's pedagogical method for the instruction of the youths.[12] Unfortunately, due to poor living conditions and lack of money Woodroffe's design ended in failure. However, Greek youths were later successfully incorporated in Francke's institutions, where he founded his *Collegium Orientale in* 1702; this was in part due once more to the influence of Ludolf,[13] who in 1701 had

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7 Ludolf to Charlett, Constantinople, 10 July 1699 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS* 26:83b).

8 Ludolf to Francke, Constantinople, 30 Aug. 1699 (ArFrSt D 71:20-21).

9 See undated printed broadsheet, "A Model of a College to be Settled In the University, For the Education of some Youths of the Greek Church" (Lambeth MSS 938:38); cf. E.D. Tappe, "The Greek College at Oxford, 1699-1705", *Oxoniensa* 19 (1954), pp. 92-111; C.H. Daniel and W.R. Barker, *Worcester College* (London, 1900), pp. 128-51.

10 Petition to the King, 20 May 1700, printed in: E. Bateson, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series* (London, 1737), pp. 41f.

11 Herrnschmid to his father, Halle, 20 July 1699, printed in: Nebe, pp. 53-54; see p. 74 above.

12 Wigers to Francke, London, 12 Dec. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.428).

13 Ludolf to?, 30 Aug. 1699, cited in: E. Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt der deutschen*

informed Francke of Woodroffe's carelessness.[14] The English chaplain at Smyrna, an acquaintance of Ludolf who visited Halle in 1702 or 1703, was helpful in sending the first recruits to the *Collegium Orientale*.[15]

In the Levant, Ludolf had been able to direct a number of English merchants towards Francke's work. One of these, Jacob Turner, an English businessman at Smyrna, sent his son to Halle,[16] where he himself had visited Francke and inspected the institutions. It was Francke's devout hope that Turner and other English merchants in the East might serve as patrons and correspondents for his ever increasing commercial ventures.[17]

On returning from the Levant in 1700 Ludolf began vigorously to promote his proposals for renewing the Greek Church. Already in 1698 he had expressed to Charlett in Oxford his wish for a seminary which would so train chaplains serving the Anglican Church in the Levant that "they might be enabled to serve Christs Universal Church all under one".[18] Next year he brought to the SPCK proposals for the "Propagating of Christian Knowledge amongst the Orientall Churches", in which he suggested a seminary for English chaplains in which Oriental languages would be taught, establishing a further college in the Levant for Greek youths, the election of a committee from within the Society which would make the Eastern Church its particular care, and the publication of a small catechism in modern Greek. The Society requested Ludolf to make extractions from seventeen catechisms which "would be most acceptable to the Orientall Christians, and likely to enlarge their Christian Knowledge".[19] A few months later Ludolf presented a scheme for a short Scriptural catechism; the Society asked Bishop Williams of Chichester to draw up a paper for Greek Christians, but, sadly, despite a reminder from the Society, the Bishop did not respond and the Society laid aside Ludolf's proposals.[20]

But Ludolf was not to be put off by the SPCK's inaction. In 1702 he and Papa [Lapas] Seraphim, a Greek priest who had come to England to help Ludolf, brought before the SPG a proposal for publishing the New Testament

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Russlandkunde im 18. Jahrhundert (Berlin, 1953), pp. 32f; E. Benz, "Die Beziehungen des August-Hermann-Francke-Kreises zu den Ostslaven", in: *Festschrift für Dmytro Cyzevskyj [Tschizewskij] zum 60. Geburtstag am 23. März 1954*, ed. M. Vasmer (Berlin, 1954), p. 79.

14 Ludolf to Francke, London, 10 Mar. 1701, printed in: Nebe, pp. 82f.

15 Ludolf to Francke, Constantinople, 1 May 1699, and London, 27 Feb. 1703 (ArFrSt D 71:16, D 23:126); Francke to Chishull, Halle, 24 Dec. 1703 (draft), printed in: Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, p. 339; cf. Aland, ed., "Die Annales Hallenses ecclesiastici", p. 393; Benz, "Beziehungen des August-Hermann-Francke-Kreises", pp. 92f.

16 See pp. 89f above.

17 *Francke* to Chishull, 24 Dec. 1703, printed in: Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, p. 340.

18 Ludolf to Charlett, Halle, 17 Feb. 1698 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS* 26:81f); cf. Ludolf to Charlett, 10 July 1699 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS* 26:83f).

19 SPCK *Minutes*, 23 & 30 Dec. 1700, printed in: McClure, pp. 99-103.

20 *Ibid.*, 17 & 24 Feb., 17 & 31 Mar. 1701, printed in: McClure, pp. 113-15,118,124,126.

in "Vulgar Greek".[21] The SPG's Committee for Receiving Proposals took up this request but rendered the cautious opinion that such a publication might appear provocative and

> ... that no Private Person is fitt to be Entrusted with the Care of such a Translation which shall afterwards be sent from the Society to the Gracian *[sic]* Churches, and that no such Translation be sent unless it be approv'd of by the Governour of the said Churches.[22]

Ludolf remained unperturbed and began raising money to publish the New Testament. In a handwritten account he listed some of the contributors to his project: they numbered not only Anglicans – Charles Bridges, Woodward, Thomas Bray, J.E. Grabe, Dr. Slare, and Archbishop Sharp of York – but also Edmund Calamy, the most celebrated Nonconformist leader.[23] Archbishop Tenison also gave his blessing to the project.[24] In 1703 the New Testament was finished at a total cost of about £150[25] and Ludolf set about the difficult task of propagation.[26] His New Testament was poorly received in the Levant and ordered to be burnt by the Patriarch of Constantinople, apparently because of a Preface written by Seraphim, Ludolf's friend, who was an unfrocked Greek priest; a new edition was published in 1705 without the scandalous Preface, the contents of which are unknown.[27]

Though in this initiative Ludolf was unsuccessful in eliciting a response from either the SPCK or the SPG, he had nonetheless planted a seed which would bear fruit two decades later.

The Arabic Psalter and New Testament

In 1720 Boehm returned to the theme, laying before the Society

> ... a proposal for printing the New-Testament in Arabick for the use of the Christians in the Eastern Countries, where Arabick is used, but for want of *printing*, Books of any sort and especially of the Holy Scriptures cannot be obtained but at such prices as very few can reach to.[28]

This time the project had a very different response. In the interim, knowledge of Halle's work with the *Collegium Orientale* and Bible distribution, coupled

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21 SPG *Journals* 1, 1 May 1702 (p. 60) (ArUSPG).

22 SPG *Journal of the Committee for Receiving Proposals* 1, 5 May 1702 (p. 20) (ArUSPG).

23 "Account of the Moneys received and disbursed about printing the New Testament in Vulgar Greek", n.p., n.d. (ArFrSt D 23:8-9).

24 Ludolf to Francke, London, 8 July 1702 (ArFrSt D 71:109-10).

25 T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture*, 2 vols. (London, 1911), ii.680, incorrectly state that this edition was printed at the expense of the SPG.

26 Ludolf to Mr. de Lente, n.p., 6 Feb. 1703; to Mr. Williams at Constantinople, London, 16 Apr. 1703; to Mr. Clutterbock, [Rotterdam,] 15 June 1703 (ArFrSt D 23:121f,9-10,139).

27 Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, ii.680.

28 SPCK *Minutes*, 24 Mar. 1720 (ix.92).

with the SPCK's experience of mission in the East Indies, had helped to produce a greater optimism in the Society, an optimism which is that much more remarkable given the generally low Anglican interest in Greek Orthodoxy at this time.[29] When Archbishop Wake himself urged that the SPCK "should cheerfully go on with that Design" and when the Society learned that Arabic was indeed widely read by Christians in Palestine, it agreed that printing and dispersing both the New Testament and the Psalter would "answer the pious and charitable design of the Society".[30]

To encourage benefactions, the Society sent out a tract, transcribed and prepared for the press by Boehm, containing extracts from letters in favour of the project and a proposal for raising subscriptions.[31] In this tract the SPCK printed letters of support, including one from Solomon Negri, a native of Damascus living in England, who drew attention to the scarcity and high cost of the New Testament among Christians in Eastern Churches and to the proselytizing efforts of Rome.[32] Former Anglican chaplains in the Levant and India lent their approval, as did the Rev. Gennadius, Archimandrite of the Convent of Greeks at Alexandria, who had written enthusiastically, "I can't express to you the Joy which I felt, when I heard that such a design was beginning to be put in Execution."[33]

The enterprise did indeed seem to have strong support. Writing to Henry Newman, Archbishop Wake expressed his hope that it would arouse public interest: "I think there is enough to Satisfy any reasonable man of the Charity and Usefulness (so I would rather have it, than necessity) of such a Design."[34] Hearty recommendations for the proposal came from Francke in Halle, Sir John Philipps, and Bishop Tylor of Llandaff, a former chaplain in India, who sent the princely sum of £100, remarking that "he could not better contribute to so Christian a Design".[35] Even the King promised £500, though it took four years and the intercession of Sir John Philipps, uncle to Sir Robert Walpole's wife, to extract the money from him.[36]

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29 John Covell, *Some Account of the Present Greek Orthodox Church* (Cambridge, 1722), confirmed Anglican mistrust of Orthodox superstition. Cf. Runciman, "The Church of England and the Orthodox Churches", p. 17.

30 SPCK *Minutes*, 30 June and 24 Nov. 1720 (ix.112f,127). The only detailed treatment of the Society's involvement in this project is: Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 67-71.

31 *An Extract of several Letters Relating to the Great Charity and Usefulness of Printing the New Testament and Psalter in the Arabick Language* (London, 1720); Boehm to Newman, Strand, 4 July 1720 (ArSPCK, *Arab Bible* [CS2/1.No.8:14]).

32 *Extract of several Letters*, pp. 4-6.

33 Ibid., p. 18.

34 W. Cant. to Newman, Lambeth, 10 Oct. 1720 (ArSPCK, *Arab Bible* [CS2/1. No.8:43]).

35 Francke to Archbishop Wake, Halle, 4 Jan. 1722 (ArSPCK, *Original Letters* [CR2/5:414]); Sir John Philipps to SPCK, Picton Castle, 10 Sept. 1720 (abstract); Bishop of Llandaff to SPCK, Hereford, 4 Jan. 1721 (abstract), printed in: Clement, p. 109-10.

36 SPCK *Minutes*, 6 Apr. 1721 (ix.165); Sir John Philipps to SPCK, Picton Castle, 9 Sept. 1725 (abstract), printed in: Clement, pp. 134f. Cf. Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 69f.

The task of preparing the Psalter and New Testament for the printer was turned over to Solomon Negri, a Syrian and old friend of Ludolf,[37] who, at Ludolf's suggestion, had travelled to Halle in 1701, where for a short time he taught Arabic at the *Collegium Orientale*.[38] By 1719, after itinerant wanderings over Europe, he had returned again to London with John Xeres, a Jewish convert to Christianity: both men were in such financial straits that the Society took a collection and divided it among them.[39] Negri had a warm recommendation from Francke:

> Salomon Negri, a Man I highly respect, is a Person in my Opinion very well qualify'd to be entrusted in this laborious work and through God's assistance may bring it fair Conclusion: He for some Time ... taught the Arabick language in this University.[40]

The work was to prove laborious. The *Minutes* and correspondence of the Society and its standing Committee give evidence of the many difficulties involved with this project, due in part to the "narrowness of the Fund" and the "niceties" of the Arabic script.[41] It was four years before the Psalter was finished. When at last the Society printed 6,000 copies, 2,000 were immediately sent to an English merchant at Aleppo for distribution.[42] The New Testament was an even more extensive and expensive effort. Considerable delays were incurred because of "various sharp disputes" in the Society over whether orthographical notes should be used in the New Testament in order to make it "more intelligible to the Common People".[43] Eventually 10,000 New Testaments and 5,000 catechisms were printed to go with the 6,000 Psalters.[44] The catechism, a short account of the chief truths of the Christian religion, was amended by Archbishop Wake before being translated into Arabic.[45] It was printed at the request of C.M. Rodde, a Lutheran pastor at Narva in Russia and corresponding member of the Society.[46] Once a prisoner in Russia for twelve years, Rodde had studied under Negri at Halle in 1716 and then returned to Narva where he worked among prisoners who spoke

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37 [H.W. Ludolf,] "Nomina nonnullorum amicorum meorum", n.p., [c.1699-1700] (ArFrSt B 71a:2-4). On Negri, see G.A. Freylinghausen, ed., *Memoria Negriana* (Halle, 1764).

38 Ludolf to Francke, London, 10 Mar. 1701, printed in: Nebe, p. 83; Francke to Spener, Halle, 2 July 1701, printed in: Kramer, p. 470; cf. Jacob Turner to Francke, London, 24 Feb. 1702 (*Nachlaß* 30.X.387).

39 SPCK *Minutes*, 22 Jan. 1719 (viii.225).

40 Francke to Archbishop Wake, Halle, 4 Jan. 1722 (ArSPCK, *Original Letters* [CR2/5:414])

41 Newman to Sherman, Middle Temple, 23 Dec. 1724 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/15:28-29]).

42 SPCK *Minutes*, 22 Dec. 1724 (xi.95).

43 "Uber den druck des Arabischen N. Testaments sind unterschiedene scharffe disputen in unserer Societaet entstanden." (Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 21 July 1724 [*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/13]); Newman to Sherman, 23 Dec. 1724 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/15:28-29]).

44 *Account of the ... SPCK* (1737), p. 7.

45 SPCK *Minutes*, 10 Sept. 1728 (xii.288).

46 Ziegenhagen to G.A. Francke, London, 24 Sept. 1728 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/46).

Arabic, Turkish, or Persian.[47] During his stay at Halle he had helped with the printing of Luther's catechism in Russian.[48] Rodde became the Society's key link with Russia.[49]

The final task was that of disseminating the Arabic impressions. Though the SPCK had the approval of the Archbishop of Aleppo and contacts in that city willing to offer their services, distribution did not go well in Palestine.[50] The SPCK sent copies to the missionaries in the East Indies, to Rodde for use with Persian prisoners in Russian garrisons, and to the pastor of the German Lutheran Church in St. Petersburg. Rodde reported how well the prisoners received the literature and asked for a fresh supply.[51] Copies were also sent later to James Oglethorpe, founder of the Georgia colony, for distribution to Muslim slaves, the "Mohametary Africans in Carolina", and some even reached Africa, at a later date, through the Sierra Leone Company.[52]

In the end the whole project cost the Society about £3,000. It was the largest venture of its type which the SPCK attempted and absorbed a large share of the Society's energy and correspondence. Not only was it far more expensive and time-consuming than expected, but the distribution in Palestine was poor. Ziegenhagen was frustrated because the frequent debates in the Society over the Arabic New Testament had set back interest in the East India

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47 D. Tschizewskij, "Die 'Russischen Drucke' der Hallenser Pietisten", *Kyrios: Vierteljahresschrift für Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte Osteuropas* 3 (1938), p. 69; Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, pp. 301f; Benz, "Beziehungen des August-Hermann-Francke-Kreises", pp. 81-84.

48 Rodde to J.H. Callenberg, Narva, 29 June 1725 (extract), printed in: Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, p. 365; Tschizewskij, "Die 'Russischen Drucke'", p. 69; *idem.*, "Zu den Beziehungen des A.H. Francke-Kreises zu den Ostslaven", *Kyrios: Vierteljahresschrift für Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte Osteuropas* 4 (1939/40), pp. 297ff.

49 Ernst Benz, "Beziehungen des August-Hermann-Francke-Kreises", pp. 78-90, overstates the Society's importance in Halle-Russian relations. He misreads an abstract of a Rodde letter referring to London editions of Arndt's *True Christianity*, which Benz assumes incorrectly are Russian translations. The SPCK was not the centre which Benz claims for sending books off the Halle presses around the world. In 1731 Rodde asked the Society if it was willing to contribute towards publishing his Russian translation of Francke's catechism and part of Arndt's *True Christianity*. The Society responded that it would be glad to "if the present Demand from the Mission in the East Indies and other Branches of their Designs did not disable them from it". Later, Newman questioned G.A. Francke about the cost of this printing. Francke assumed that the Society would support this project, causing some confusion in the Society which resolved: "To inquire which Promise was made to Professor Franck that this Society would aspire in publishing Arndts True Christianity in the Russian Language." No money was sent for this design. (Rodde to SPCK, Narva, 21 June 1731 [ArSPCK, *ALB* (CR1/16: 11414)]; SPCK *Minutes*, 14 Sept. 1731 (xiv.85f); Rodde to Ziegenhagen, Narva, 6 Sept. 1733, and Newman to G.A. Francke, London, 21 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 87, 355f; G.A. Francke to SPCK, Halle, 28 July 1735, with Society response [ArSPCK, *ALB* (CR1/18:13293)])

50 Newman to Sir Gerard Conyers, Bartlet's Buildings, 9 July 1736 (ArSPCK, *Misc. Letters* [CN2/2:41]).

51 SPCK *Minutes*, 6 Feb. 1728 (xii.187); *Circular Letter* (1 May 1735); Newman to Rev. Mr. L.O. Trefurt, London, 31 May 1737 (ArSPCK, *Misc. Letters* [CN2/3:36]).

52 Newman to Oglethorpe, Bartlet's Buildings, 13 Apr. 1738 (ArSPCK, *Misc. Letters* [CN2/4:50]); *General Account of the SPCK* (1813), p. 17.

mission.[53] Why did the SPCK get involved in such an ambitious project as publishing the Arabic Psalter and New Testament? The impetus was largely religious, since many in the Church of England were undoubtedly concerned for the survival of the Orthodox Church against the onslaughts of Islam and Catholicism. The circulation of the Scriptures was seen – as later by the British and Foreign Bible Society – as a counter-attack against Rome, which feared the power of an "open Bible". Boehm felt that the Jesuits would seek to undermine their efforts and defame the publication.[54] Because of "the Vigilance of the Papists to defeat the Work", Newman said that the Psalter and New Testament should be published anonymously and dispersed quietly.[55] The project was also concerned to raise morale and the level of faith among Middle Eastern Christians, by providing religious reading for the "Poor Christians destitute of Books" in the Levant.[56]

The driving force behind this particular venture was undoubtedly the vision of the Hallensians. After the SPCK had turned over its West Indies library work to the SPG, it was Halle which turned the SPCK's gaze back overseas, to the wider world, first with the East India mission work and then with the printing of the Arabic Psalter and New Testament. Boehm, Negri, and Rodde were closely associated with Francke at Halle, as was Ludolf whose care for the Greek Church was still remembered by the Society.[57] The Pietists had already put out editions of the New Testament in modern Greek and Bohemian and the Bible in Hebrew and Bohemian.[58] When the SPCK expressed interest in printing the Bible and other religious books to sustain the beleaguered Protestants in Hungary and Transylvania, it was to Francke that Archbishop Wake suggested that they should turn for advice.[59] In 1715 when Negri was in England, Boehm had expressed to Francke his hope that "the existing Turkish and Arabic versions of the New Testament would be revised by him [Negri] and issued in a more convenient edition".[60] Although the

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53 Ziegenhagen to A.H. Francke, London, 22 Feb. and 9 Dec. 1726 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/38,44).

54 Boehm to [Halle], London, 29 Dec. 1721 (extract) (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/15a).

55 Newman to Rev. Mr. Bedford, Middle Temple, 2 Jan. 1724 (ArSPCK, Soc Lett [CS2/14]).

56 Salomon Negri to [Boehm], n.p., 28 Mar. 1720 (copy) (ArSPCK, *Arab Bible* [CS2/1.No.8:1]). One of Ludolf's major frustrations was that the ruling Ottoman power would not allow printing in the Orthodox Church. (Ludolf to Francke, 30 Aug. 1699 [ArFrSt D 71:20-21])

57 Henry Hoare had £10 left from Ludolf's legacy and asked the Society if the Arabic Psalter and New Testament "would not, in their Opinion, be conformable to the Inclination of the late Mr. Ludolf", to which the Society agreed. (SPCK *Minutes*, 18 Dec. 1722 [x.113])

58 K. Aland, "Der deutsche Pietismus als Wegbereiter für die Arbeit der Bibelgesellschaften", in: *On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida*, ed. M. Black and W.A. Smalley (The Hague/Paris, 1974), pp. 3-21; cf. idem., "Bibel und Bibeltext", pp. 119-27.

59 SPCK *Minutes*, 15 Jan. 1723 (x.122).

60 "... daß die verhandene [*sic*] Türckische und Arabische Versiones des Neuen Testaments, durch ihn revidiret, und in einer bequemen Edition, zum Druck ausgefertiget würden." (Boehm to Francke, London, 14 June 1715, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 429)

Society had previously committed itself to Bible distribution, having prepared the Portuguese New Testament for the East India mission – at the suggestion of Boehm – and having subscribed in 1714 for 100 copies of the Welsh Bible,[61] the Arabic Psalter and New Testament was a scheme far outside the scope of its normal *modus operandi*. The mainspring of this venture came from Boehm and Negri, who persuaded the SPCK to take on and pay for a project designed in Halle.

Epilogue: Callenberg's Judaico Institute

Shortly after the completion of the Arabic impressions the SPCK took an interest in another Halle project: J.H. Callenberg's mission to the Jews. The idea of the conversion of the Jews – "God's ancient people" – was one which periodically troubled missionary-minded Christians, especially those who saw it as one of the prophesied preliminaries to Christ's millennial reign.[62] The orthodox Christian mind oscillated between dislike of the Jews as aliens and outsiders, and recognition that they possessed a role in the redemptive processes set out in the Scriptures. P.J. Spener's own chiliastic eschatology had stirred up hope for the conversion of the Jews within German Pietism.[63] At Halle in 1727, Johann H. Callenberg (1694-1760), who was taught Arabic at Halle by Solomon Negri[64] and later became Professor of Oriental Languages at the University, initiated a mission to the Jews, or Judaico Institute. The design was simple: using his own printing press at the *Waisenhaus*, Callenberg issued books in Yiddish for the conversion of the Jews and works in Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Hindostani for the conversion of the Muslims. Travelling candidates in theology at the University would distribute these books in their various journeys around Europe.[65] It was largely through Sir John Philipps that the SPCK took an interest in this enterprise.[66] In 1731 Ziegenhagen had a letter from Callenberg translated and read before the Society, which approved it sufficiently to have fifty copies made and disseminated in England.[67] In the

61 Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 203.

62 See M. Vereté, "The Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought 1790-1840", *Middle Eastern Studies* 8 (1972), pp. 18f.

63 Wallmann, *Spener und die Anfänge*, pp. 307,316ff.

64 F.T. Adler, *Mittheilungen aus Johann Heinrich Callenberg's Briefen* (Halle, 1898), pp. 11-16.

65 Förster, *Uebersicht der Geschichte der Universität zu Halle*, pp. 112f. See J.H. Callenberg's *Short Account of an Essay to Bring the Jewish Nation to the Knowledge & Practice of the Truth of the Gospel & his Endeaver to Promote the Conversion of the Mohammadans to Christianity .... done into English* (n.p., 1751). Unfortunately, since the only extant copies of this work of which I am aware are in Philadelphia, I have been unable to consult it.

66 Sir John Philipps to [Halle], n.p., 16 Mar. 1731 (copy) (ArFrSt K 21:239); cf. Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, London, 13 Aug. 1731, and Kensington, 30 Aug. 1734 (ArFrSt K 7:240; K 19:24).

67 Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, London, 23 Apr. 1731 (ArFrSt K 6:273-74); cf. Ziegenhagen to G.A. Francke, London, 24 Sept. 1728 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/46); to G.A. Francke, London, 5 Nov. and 10 Dec. 1728 (ArFrSt K 2:136,150).

letter, Callenberg offered the SPCK copies of a treatise published at Halle for the conversion of the Jews called "Light in the Evening". Optimistically, he compared his infant Jewish ministry with the small beginnings of the Halle orphanage and suggested that the Society might consider sending some support to what could grow into a significant enterprise.[68] In response, the Society set up a committee to discuss the idea and ordered 100 copies of "Light in the Evening".[69]

In the autumn of 1734 two students from the Judaico Institute arrived in England, J.A. Manitius and Mr. Widmann.[70] They had already travelled through Europe, distributing books and conversing with Jews.[71] Widmann soon returned to the Continent, but Manitius stayed in London over the winter, improving his English and receiving some theological instruction from Ziegenhagen.[72] Before leaving England he thanked the SPCK "for all the undeserved Kindness, shew'd to me in a favourable Reception", though he could report but twelve converts from his work in London.[73] The Society, praising the work of these two envoys, made them corresponding members and decided to publish an appendix to the charity school sermon of 1735, in which it gave a short account of the Judaico Institute, expressing the wish "that some proper Means for these Ends [the conversion of the Jews] maybe attempted in *Great Britain*".[74] In spite of continued interest in the Institute by individuals like Philipps, Sir John Thorold, and Isaac Hollis,[75] the SPCK took no further action in support of the mission to the Jews, though its initial interest foreshadowed the later work of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, founded in 1809.[76]

There was no clear consensus on the necessity of a mission to the Jews. The expense involved and the small harvest in converts dissuaded many from supporting Callenberg's mission. He was told that the prophetical hour for the conversion of the Jews was still far distant.[77] Isaac Watts informed him,

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68 Callenberg to Ziegenhagen, Halle, 14 Mar. 1731 (copy) (Bodl., *Bishop Edmund Gibson MSS* Dep C 233:39).

69 SPCK to Ziegenhagen, London, 15 June 1731 (ArSPCK, *ALB* [CR1/16:14509]); SPCK *Minutes*, 5 Aug. 1731 (xiv.75); Newman to Callenberg, London, 6 Apr. 1732 (ArFrSt K 10:52-53).

70 Manitius to Callenberg, Westminster, 21 Oct. 1734 (ArFrSt K 19:131-33).

71 Callenberg to Newman, Halle, 16 Feb. 1735 (ArFrSt K 22:92-102).

72 Manitius to Widmann, London, 22 Mar. 1735 (ArFrSt K 21:220-21).

73 Manitius to Newman, London, 29 Apr. 1735 (copy) (ArFrSt K 22:169-71).

74 "An Account of the Origin and Designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge", appended to: Zachary Pearce, *A Sermon Preach'd ... April the 17th, 1735* (London, 1735), pp. 9-10; Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, Kensington, 9 May 1735 and 3 Mar. 1736 (ArFrSt K 22:213-14; K 25:69-70); Newman to Callenberg, London, 6 June 1735; Newman to Widdman [sic] and Manitius, London, 16 Aug. 1735 (ArFrSt K 22:262; K 80:30-31).

75 Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, 3 Mar. 1736 (ArFrSt K 25:69-70).

76 W.T. Gidney, *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews* (London, 1908), pp. 10-12.

77 Callenberg to Newman, 16 Feb. 1735 (ArFrSt K 22:92-102).

I am persuaded, whensoever the appointed Season is arrived for the Conversion of the Jews, there will be a glorious Powring *[sic]* down of the Spirit from above to render their Return to God very conspicuous and extensive … .If these two Gentlemen [Manitius and Widmann] you speak of shall be the happy Instruments in the hand of God for such a Purpose I shall rejoice. I hear their Success hitherto has been but small.[78]

It is unlikely, though, that eschatological convictions of this sort discouraged the SPCK from offering whole-hearted support to Callenberg's Institute: logistics were more important. As Ziegenhagen had realized already, the SPCK's heavy involvement with the Salzburgers did not allow it to respond as fully as it might like to Callenberg's plea.[79]

2. The Salzburger Emigration

Not only did the range of the SPCK's activity stretch from East India to the Levant, but in the 1730s it also reached from Salzburg to the fledgling colony of Georgia in America, where the Society was soon engaged in a heavy philanthropic and religious colonial commitment. Here, at least, the agents of the Society could pursue their philanthropic designs under the British flag, with a degree of operational security.

Background: Salzburg and Georgia

Despite the slow extension of religious toleration in the German-speaking world after the Thirty Years War, vast numbers of Protestants were still left unprotected in Catholic states, and were particularly vulnerable under certain Bishops of the Roman Church.[80] Such a place was Salzburg, where Archbishops had sporadically sought to clear their terrain of heresy, but in the mountains of Gastein around the city had allowed Protestantism an uneasy existence.

Archbishop Firmian, elected to the see of Salzburg in 1727, decided to purge his state of heretics and commissioned Jesuits to go into the mountains and report on the spread of Protestantism.[81] They found evidence that

78 Watts to Callenberg, Newington, 30 Oct. 1734 (ArFrSt K 19:186-87). Watts also sent some books to Manitius, including one on preaching, and wished him every blessing in his labour. (Watts to Manitius, Newington, 28 Apr. 1735 [ArFrSt K 22:178-79])

79 Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, Kensington, 23 Aug. 1734 (ArFrSt K 19:8-9).

80 W.R. Ward, "Power and Piety", pp. 237ff.

81 On the Salzburger emigration, see G. Florey, *Geschichte der Salzburger Protestanten und ihrer Emigration 1731/32* (Vienna, 1977); idem., "Die 'Große Emigration'", in: *Reformation – Emigration* (Salzburg, 1981); G.F. Jones, *The Salzburger Saga* (Athens, Georgia, 1984), pp. 4-8. For an extensive bibliography, see A. Ehmer, *Das Schrifttum zur Salzburger Emigration 1731/33* (Hamburg, 1975).