FRANCKESCHE STIFTUNGEN

DFG

7. Sekundärliteratur

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

Brunner, Daniel L.

Göttingen, 1993

2. The Salzburger Emigration

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

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).

Protestants were reading forbidden devotional books and gathering secretly for worship. Despite appeals to the *Corpus Evangelicorum* in Regensburg (Ratisbon), Firmian issued an Edict of Expulsion (*Emigrations-patent*) in November 1731, giving Protestants the option of renouncing their Lutheran faith or leaving the country. Over the next year approximately 20,000 emigrants fled Salzburg, most of whom were rescued by Frederick William I of Prussia. He sent agents to gather the refugees and march them in columns to East Prussia and Lithuania, where the previous population had been decimated by a plague. As the wayfarers went through various towns and villages they were received enthusiastically and generously by the Protestant population, many of whose leaders were amazed that the faith of these pilgrims had been kept alive in the midst of Roman Catholicism only through Luther's Bible, his Small Catechism, and a few devotional classics and without pastors or the organized Church.[82] The news of the expulsion and emigration spread quickly through Europe, exciting much sympathy.

At much the same time that these events were unfolding in Salzburg and Prussia and capturing the attention of Europe, a seemingly unrelated, less dramatic development was taking place in England. Thomas Bray and the Associates who succeeded him had devised a plan to provide employment for imprisoned debtors and Christianize the Indians in the region to the south of South Carolina in America. One of the Associates was James Oglethorpe, who became the key figure in the founding of what soon became the colony of Georgia.[83] In 1732 the English crown granted a charter to twenty-one Trustees to establish the colony. The reasons for its foundation were varied, a blend of the military and philanthropic.[84] As a general, Oglethorpe was well aware of the strategic importance of a buffer colony, which would separate South Carolina to the north from the developing Spanish power to the south. In addition, Georgia was to be a haven for the unemployed and debtors from prison. It was further advertised as a new and abundant source for raw materials, especially silk and wine.[85] Finally, it was intended as a model Christian state in which the Indians would be converted and persecuted Protestants could find refuge.[86] Into this plan the Salzburg refugees found a convenient, and some thought, a God-given place. The Earl of Egmont noted in 1733: "it seems a particular design of Providence to erect a colony at this time for an asylum to the persecuted Protestants of Saltsburg."[87]

---

82 Ward, "Power and Piety", p. 247.

83 On Oglethorpe, see P. Spalding, *Oglethorpe in America* (Chicago/London, 1977).

84 "Charter of the Colony", printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.11-26. Cf. R.C. Strickland, *Religion and the State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1939), pp. 11-19.

85 *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia* (London, 1733), pp. 5-12; *Gentleman's Magazine* 2 (1732), pp. 893f; *Egmont*, 10 May 1733 (i.373).

86 *The Weekly Miscellany*, No. 35 (11 Aug. 1733); cf. *London Magazine* 2 (1733), pp. 399f.

87 Egmont, 10 May 1733 (i.373); *London Magazine* 1 (1732), p. 198.

On 22 February 1732 Ziegenhagen laid before the Society "a Translation of an Account of the Persecuted Protestants at Saltzburg", almost certainly by Samuel Urlsperger, Senior of the Evangelical Ministry in Augsburg and corresponding member of the SPCK, who had been in London during the Palatine emigration, an experience which had not been lost on him.[88] Even though Bishop Gibson of London declined to lay the matter before the Secretaries of State, the Society ordered 3,000 impressions of *An Account of the Sufferings of Persecuted Protestants in the Archbishoprick of Saltzburg* (1732)[89] and dispersed copies among the Royal family.[90] As the word began to spread, benefactions began to pour into the Society for the persecuted Salzburgers and within months £1,000 was raised.[91]

The money collected by the Society was sent to Urlsperger in Augsburg who was entrusted with its distribution among the exiled Protestants. He was given some freedom in the use of these funds; all that was asked was that none of the Salzburger money go towards Roman Catholic proselytes unless they declared themselves Protestant.[92] What the Society knew of the Salzburgers basically came through Urlsperger, who provided them with dramatic accounts of Catholic vindictiveness and Protestant heroism and fidelity. He described how the Salzburgers bore their sufferings with patience and contentedness; how thousands had marched through Augsburg singing hymns and accepted charity with humility and gratefulness.[93]

Though applauding the principle of charity for the exiled Salzburgers, the members of the SPCK thought something more permanent remained to be done. To the Trustees of Georgia they proposed that some of the Salzburgers be settled in Georgia. The Trustees approved the proposal.[94] The Society

---

88 SPCK *Minutes* (xiv.135f); Urlsperger, Introduction to *Reports*, i.4. On Urlsperger, see H. Baier, "Die evangelische Kirche zwischen Pietismus, Orthodoxie and Aufklärung" in: *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg*, ed. G. Gottlieb et al. (Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 524-27.

89 The SPCK later printed 2000 extracts of an Urlsperger letter (SPCK *Minutes*, 1 Aug. 1732 [xiv.188]) and *A Further Account of the Sufferings of the Persecuted Protestants* (London, 1733), which consisted of extracts of examinations of particular Salzburgers testifying to their sound Protestant faith.

90 SPCK *Minutes*, 14 & 28 Mar. and 20 June 1732 (xiv.145,149,174f).

91 E.g. SPCK *Minutes*, 27 June, 4 July, 29 Aug. and 10 Oct. 1732 (xiv.176-77,198f, xv.2). Due largely to the Salzburgers, the Georgia Trust became a favourite object of charity for English churches. Cf. E.M. Coulter, "When John Wesley Preached in Georgia", *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 9 (1925), pp. 317f.

92 SPCK *Minutes*, 29 Aug. 1732 (xiv.198); Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 8 Sept. 1732, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 26-27.

93 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 1 Sept. 1732, printed in: Letterbook, p. 241.

94 SPCK *Minutes*, 29 Sept. 1732 (xiv.208); *Minutes* of Georgia Trustees, 12 Oct. 1732, printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.77; Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 13 Oct. 1732, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 28-30. Note, though, that for an unknown reason the 12 Oct. 1732 *Minutes* of the Georgia Trustees were later expunged. (24 May 1733, printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.119)

accordingly set up an "Extraordinary Committee for Saltzburgers", among whose members were Sir John Philipps, James Vernon, Ziegenhagen, and J.C. Martini, the reader at the Royal Chapel.[95] Urlsperger was commissioned to make the arrangements to send a large group of about 300 persons to Georgia by the following spring. Once arrived, the emigrants were promised free land (50 acres per family), a Lutheran minister in their own language, a free passage, financial support in Georgia for one year, together with all the rights and privileges of English subjects. The Trustees received a generous grant of £10,000 from Parliament to aid in the emigration.[96] As the spring and summer of 1733 wore on, however, Urlsperger found it difficult recruiting emigrants.[97] By this time the exiles were only trickling through Augsburg; the main emigration from Salzburg had already occurred, a year earlier. Urlsperger was only able to gather a band of 41 emigrants in Augsburg, but it was nonetheless decided to send them, the Trustees "being assured that their Reception in Georgia will encourage others to follow them".[98]

While Urlsperger was preparing the expedition, he was trying to obtain from Halle a minister and a catechist for the emigrants, requesting from the Society "full power to do in this Affair what is just and right before God".[99] When the group reached Rotterdam it was joined by its two ministers, Johann Martin Boltzius and Israel Christian Gronau, who had gone from Halle to Wernigerode, where they had been ordained in the Lutheran Church.[100] At Dover they were met by Christopher Ortmann, a schoolmaster provided for the refugees,[101] by Henry A. Butjenter (Ziegenhagen's associate chaplain at the Royal Chapel who went at the request of the SPCK), and by Thomas Coram, who had been sent by the Trustees.[102] Newman told Coram:

---

95 SPCK *Minutes*, 24 & 28 Oct. 1732 (xv.7). Vernon, a commissioner of the excise and earlier envoy to the King of Denmark, was the most consistent worker of the Georgia Trustees and one its most dominant members. He was the key link between the Trustees and the SPCK, although clergy like Samuel Smith were also active. (See J.L. McCain, *Georgia as a Proprietary Province* [Boston, 1917], pp. 28-56) Later, Urlsperger was made a corresponding member of the Georgia Trustees to help with the Salzburgers. (*Minutes* of Georgia Trustees, 19 Mar. 1747, printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.499)

96 *Egmont*, 10-17 May 1733 (i.372-77); Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 29 Dec. 1732 and 18 May 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 35-37,42-43.

97 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 10 Aug. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 305-07.

98 *Minutes* of Georgia Trustees, 26 Sept. 1733, printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.139f.

99 Urlsperger to Ziegenhagen, Augsburg, 16 Mar. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 297.

100 The Society received reports from Urlsperger and from G.A. Francke on the character of these ministers. Boltzius, who had been in Halle seven years, and Gronau, who had been there five, had convinced Francke "by several instances that among our whole Society none could be found more fit for the purpose than these whom the Divine Providence directed me to make choice of". (Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 9 Nov. 1733; G.A. Francke to Newman, Halle, 19 Nov. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 352-53,398-99)

101 Ortmann had kept a German charity school in London. (H.W. Guerdes to Newman, London, 11 Sept. 1733; Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 16 Oct. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 59f,61-62)

102 On Coram, see R.K. McClure, *Coram's Children* (New Haven/London, 1981).

I hope God will Direct Mr. Butjenter and You to concert matters so as may result in his Glory and the Comfort of these pious Confessors who tho' they are but few in number their good or ill report of the Treatment they meet with here will animate or discourage a considerable number to follow them next Spring.[103]

To Butjenter Newman emphasized that special treatment should be given to the ministers because "it is from these Gentlemen that the good usage of the Saltzburgers will be made known to their friends in Germany".[104]

Butjenter was given particular responsibilities among the Salzburgers. When the exiles arrived at Dover, he assured them of the good will of the SPCK and the Trustees, took them ashore, and rented a house where they could stay while their ship was being prepared for its voyage. The next day they went to a specially prepared dinner, at which, Butjenter emotionally recorded,

Mr. [Philipp] De Reck led 'em they following in two Companies with their Children in their Arms and Singing Psalms while I with the other Ministers closed the Procession. I could scarce forbear Tears at this Sight.[105]

Newman described the "abundance of the Neighbouring Gentry resorting to partake of the Pleasure of this new Sight".[106] Butjenter's important final task was to give pastoral instructions to the ministers.[107] His message was clear and firm:

Their publick Worship as near as may be will be conformable to the Church of England to which End I delivered to 'em German Books in which are the forms of prayer, Baptismal Rites, The Lord's Supper, Matrimony and Burial etc.[108]

Exactly which books these were is unclear, but Boltzius was probably given those used in the Royal Chapel, since a few months later he wrote, "We arranged our preparation and confession largely after the agenda of the German Lutheran court chapel in London."[109] If these included the prayer book Boehm had edited in 1707, then they were not exactly conformable to the Anglican liturgy. Evidence that this was the case is provided by Thomas Wilson, who recorded in his diary that at a meeting of the SPG in 1735 he "moved for some German Prayer Books for the Saltsburghers at Georgia"; but this proposal was objected to by Bishop Gibson of London, a stickler for

---

103 Newman to Coram, Bartlet's Buildings, 11 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 79-80.

104 Newman to Butjenter, Bartlet's Buildings, 29 Nov. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 74-75.

105 Mr. Butjenter's Journal at Dover, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 455.

106 Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 18 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 84.

107 Earlier Ziegenhagen had offered "some instructions regarding our future church establishment." (Boltzius' diary, 22 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Reports*, i.33); cf. Boltzius' diary, 24 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Reports*, iii.292.

108 Butjenter's Journal, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 456.

109 Boltzius' diary, 19 Mar. 1734, printed in: *Reports*, i.64.

rubrical orthodoxy, since they were "not exactly the same with the English Prayer Book".[110] Both the Trustees and the SPCK accepted the fact that Boltzius and Gronau were Lutherans; indeed, the Trustees officially gave Boltzius the authority and power

> ... to do and perform all Religious and Ecclesiastical offices in the German Tongue, that shall be necessary for the better Establishing and Promoting the Christian Religion in the said Colonie, ... agreeable to the Confession of Augsburg and the Tenor of our Charter.[111]

With these preparations finished, they left Dover for Georgia.

With the Salzburgers dispatched, efforts were made to bring together a second company of Salzburgers. A group of 54 was assembled by Urlsperger, who told the Society, "I earnestly beg of You that good care may be taken of them, and that the promises made to them be fully made good; for I have engaged my word for the due performance thereof."[112] These promises came back to haunt him. He had been helped in his recruiting efforts by favourable letters and journals from the first travellers; he later published them to raise a "universal Joy among the Protestants here in this town", though taking care to edit all adverse information out of the printed reports, while also suppressing every complaint from the Salzburgers, lest the enterprise gain unfavourable publicity.[113]

Arrangements for the second Salzburger expedition were similar to the first, save that the Society agreed to pay all their expenses, including supporting them for one year in Georgia, after the Trustees had met most of the expenses for the first group.[114] To achieve maximum visibility, the Salzburgers' ship by-passed Gravesend and went up river, to give the people of London the opportunity to meet the refugees.[115] *The Weekly Miscellany*, a High Church periodical, provides an account of what happened after the Salzburgers arrived. Since the emigrants were "desirous to return Almighty God Thanks for their Deliverance from Popish Persecution to the free Exercise of the Gospel", the Lord Mayor of London ordered boats to bring them ashore and had them

---

110 C.L.S. Linnell, ed., *The Diaries of Thomas Wilson, D.D. 1731-37 and 1750* (London, 1964), 21 Nov. 1735 (pp. 141f). The SPG *Minutes* make no mention of this proposal.

111 "A Power to the Reverend Mr. John Martin Boltzius", 21 Nov. 1733 (copy) (MArFrSt 5 C 4:19).

112 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 20 Sept. 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 482.

113 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 8 Feb. and 15 July 1734; to J. Vat, Augsburg, 14 Oct. 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 420, 466-67,494. The first of eight volumes of reports came out in 1735, dedicated to the Trustees and the SPCK. Urlsperger censored every volume, but copies of the originals were kept in the Halle archives; in the English edition, the parts suppressed have been added. See G.F. Jones *et al.*, trans. and ed., *Detailed Reports* (Athens, Georgia, 1968-85).

114 *An Account of the Money Receiv'd and Disburs'd by the Trustees for receiving Benefactions for the poor Salzburg Emigrants* (London, 1736).

115 Newman to Mr. Symonds and Vat, Bartlet's Buildings, 18 Oct. 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 132; Linnell, ed., *Diaries of Thomas Wilson*, 24 Sept. 1734 (p. 120).

conducted by the City Marshall and other officers in procession to the Lutheran Church in Trinity Lane where they received Communion and heard a sermon by a German pastor, "which drew Tears from their Eyes, and those of the whole Auditory". Afterwards they were entertained at dinner, being served by some of the Trustees for Georgia and members of the SPCK. Throughout the day the Salzburgers "were attended by Numbers of People of different Ranks and Conditions, who seem'd to express a Tenderness for the Sufferings of these poor People".[116] A few days later they left for Georgia.

With the second company of Salzburgers safely away, the Society again turned to Urlsperger for yet a third. After many letters of negotiation and much uncertainty, a third group of 20 Salzburgers and 16 other Austrians eventually left Augsburg.[117] Newman and the Society had rushed the travellers along so that the *London Merchant*, on which they would sail to Georgia, could travel from Gravesend with Oglethorpe's vessel, the *Simmonds*, which carried a number of English travellers, including John and Charles Wesley, and a group of Moravian Brethren under their leader, A.G. Spangenberg.[118] It was on this passage that Wesley, who was carrying some books from Newman for Boltzius and Gronau,[119] had his momentous encounter with the Moravians. One wonders whether his experience would have been the same had he gone on the *London Merchant* instead of the *Simmonds*.

The third expedition was the last which the SPCK officially sponsored. Early in 1737 the Society sent £40 to Urlsperger to add to the £10 he already had "as a final discharge of the Society from any further expence [*sic*] for Emigrants from Germany".[120] Newman himself kept in close contact with Salzburger affairs and was personally instrumental in arranging the fourth and last group of Salzburgers which arrived in Georgia in 1741.[121]

Suffering and Pietism at Ebenezer

On 5 March 1734 the original group of Salzburgers made landfall at Charleston, South Carolina, where it was greeted by Oglethorpe, who postponed his journey home in order to help settle the new arrivals. Oglethorpe led them to a place on a small river northwest of Savannah, which the settlers named Ebenezer. Soon afterwards he returned to England with glowing reports of the

---

116 Extract of a letter dated London, 28 Oct. 1734, printed in: *The Weekly Miscellany*, by Richard Hooker, No. 99 (2 Nov. 1734); cf. Urlsperger, Introduction to *Reports*, i.14–16.

117 The Society paid the costs to Georgia only for the Salzburgers. (Newman to J. Vat, Bartlet's Buildings, 2 Aug. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 167)

118 Newman to Philipp von Reck, Bartlet's Buildings, 12 Aug. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 169.

119 Newman to John Wesley, Bartlet's Buildings, 13 Oct. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 178–79.

120 Newman to Urlsperger, London, 1 Feb. 1737, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 198–99.

121 Newman to Oglethorpe, London, 14 July 1739, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 220–21.

whole enterprise, and particularly of the fertility of the land. These reports and the optimism of the ministers led to the sending of the second band of colonists. However, when this second group arrived in Ebenezer less than a year later they were swiftly disillusioned. The leader dispatched an alarming letter to London, contradicting the previous descriptions which had been given. The land was barren and swampy. The people were "exceedingly struck down and disheartened" by the fact that eleven from the first party and two from the second were already dead.[122] A second letter three months later continued the tragic news: eight more people had died, a second crop had failed, and, worst of all, the people had not been given the land they had been promised:

> And in this the Reputation of the Reverend Mr. Senior Urlsperger and some of the chief Magistrates at Augsburg is highly concerned, for it was upon their publickly appearing in the Affair, that these innocent people ventured their all.[123]

Boltzius, their pastor, placed the blame for unfulfilled promises first on Urlsperger, but then on the Trustees and the English in general:

> We still hope that the Salzburgers will enjoy the rights and liberties of Englishmen as free colonists. *It appears to me* and to others that the Salzburgers and the Germans in general are a thorn in the eyes of the Englishmen, who would like to assign them land that no one else wants and on which they will have to do slavish work.[124]

Despite these reports, the full extent of these difficulties and problems was unknown in England – except probably by Ziegenhagen – and can only be reconstructed through secret diaries and the information which Urlsperger expunged from his reports. When writing to the Society, the letters of Boltzius and Gronau were filled with thanks to their benefactors, their devout hopes for a Christian mission to the Indians, and descriptions of the pious behaviour and worship of the Salzburgers. These were obviously intended for public consumption.[125] For its part, the SPCK responded with attempts to help meet the physical needs of the Salzburgers and their ministers. It regularly provided the salaries for the two ministers and the schoolmaster and often sent extra gifts.[126] In March, 1736, the SPCK reported that almost £8,000 had been received in benefactions for the Salzburgers, a part of which had been invested in New South Sea Annuities as a standing fund to pay the salaries of the ministers and

---

122 Vat to Newman, Ebenezer, 10 Feb. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 538-42.

123 Vat to Newman, Ebenezer, 30 May 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 578-83.

124 G.F. Jones, trans. and ed., "The Secret Diary of Pastor Johann Martin Boltzius", *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 53 (1969), 17 Feb. 1736 (p. 92).

125 Boltzius and Gronau to Newman, Ebenezer, 6 Feb. 1735 and 2 Apr. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 535-37,583-85. The first letter was published in *The Weekly Miscellany*, No. 124 (26 Apr. 1735).

126 Boltzius' annual salary was £50, Gronau's £30, and Ortmann's £10. (Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 11 June 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 106-07)

the schoolmaster.[127] The Society served as a forwarding agent for other money raised by Ziegenhagen[128] and dispatched books, medicines, corn mills, tools, tubs, and any other items necessary for survival, including, as Newman explained, "twelve dozen of Vidonia Madeira" because of "the Fatigues you daily undergo".[129] The Society displayed a remarkable non-sectarian generosity towards the refugees.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the SPCK, the first years in Ebenezer are best expressed in an old German proverb: "Death for the first, hardship for the second, bread for the third."[130] The years of worst hardship for the Salzburgers were 1734–1735, for by the end of 1736 Ebenezer was moved to a more fertile location. The year 1737 was the calm after the storm, a change reflected in Boltzius' journals, which are now filled with spiritual and religious matters having previously been concerned overwhelmingly with the brute struggle for survival.

Not all the threats to the Salzburgers were material. For the Salzburgers were not the only German-speaking refugee settlers in Georgia. In 1734, when the envoy of the first band of Salzburgers returned to Germany, he began an exuberant recruiting campaign and informed the SPCK that Zinzendorf wished to send some of his people to Georgia.[131] In 1736 a group of Moravian Brethren colonists arrived in Georgia under the leadership of Spangenberg,[132] the very person who in 1732 had been the central figure in breaking open the division between Halle and Herrnhut.[133] Both Ziegenhagen and Urlsperger had tried to warn the SPCK about them before they left for Georgia and Ziegenhagen had used his influence to spread unfavourable reports about the Moravians, but the Trustees disregarded their warnings. To the British, the differences between Salzburgers and Moravians seemed of marginal importance. Newman tried to reassure Urlsperger "that these People differ with the Lutherans only in point of Discipline".[134] This claim fell on deaf ears. For a Halle Pietist like Boltzius, the teachings of someone like Spangenberg were "very much disliked to every one that loves truth, peace and the conservation of our holy doctrine".[135] The Brethren might warmly recommend themselves to Britons like Oglethorpe and Wesley (particularly since

---

127 *An Account of the Money Receiv'd and Disburs'd.*

128 E.g. 17 Feb., 23 Mar., and 4 Sept. 1736, printed in: Reports, iii.46,91,206.

129 E.g. Invoice of Goods, London, 21 Oct. 1734; Newman to Boltzius and Gronau, Bartlet's Buildings, 13 May 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 136-39,161.

130 "Dem Ersten, Tod – dem Zweiten, Not – dem Dritten, Brot." (Quoted in: G.F. Jones, Introduction to *Reports*, i.xv)

131 Philipp von Reck to Newman, Augsburg, 4 Oct. 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 488-89.

132 See A.L. Fries, *The Moravians in Georgia* (Raleigh, 1905).

133 See pp. 39f above.

134 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 30 Dec. 1734; Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 21 Jan. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 152-53, 525-28.

135 Boltzius and Gronau to Newman, 2 Apr. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 584.

they claimed an episcopate which possessed the apostolic succession), but in Boltzius, as his journals show, they aroused violent distrust and fear.[136]

The religious standards of the English community did not impress the Salzburgers – nor, for that matter, the Anglican clergy who tended them. Samuel Quincy, Anglican minister in Savannah under the SPG, had informed the Society that the "Publick Worship of God is very much neglected and Vice and Immorality are very open and flagrant amongst us".[137] Like Quincy, Wesley struggled with the Georgian Anglicans. The motley band of debtors and speculators did not appreciate his attempts to force ecclesiastical discipline upon them: he was, they complained, trying to impose "a new kind of Tyranny".[138] Though Wesley had frequent contacts with Boltzius and Gronau during his sojourn in Georgia and was much impressed with the "industry" of the people and the "hospitality, openness, and piety" of their pastors,[139] he remained more open to the influence of the Moravians, a fact which needled Boltzius.[140] Nevertheless, Boltzius kept up his friendship with Wesley even though in 1737 Wesley had refused him Holy Communion because at that time he considered him not baptized – "that is, not baptized by a minister who had been episcopally ordained". Later Wesley commented on his own action, "Can any one carry High Church zeal higher than this? And how well have I been since beaten with mine own staff!"[141] Boltzius continued to correspond with Wesley for another decade.[142]

Ebenezer was above all a religious community. Every evening, after the work was finished, all the people would gather for instruction and teaching.[143] There, in the Francke-Halle tradition, the Salzburgers built an orphanage for children and homeless adults, the first in America and together with Francke's *Waisenhaus*, the model for George Whitefield's more famous orphanage at Bethesda.[144] Once a month, when Boltzius or Gronau would offer Holy

---

136 Boltzius' journal, 2 Oct. 1738, printed in: *Reports*, v.224-26. Urlsperger deleted any references to the Moravians from Boltzius' reports. Boltzius wrote in his secret diary, "The Count [Zinzendorf] and his church establishment are said to stand in very well with Mr. Oglethorpe because, as he says, their dogma comes closer to that of the English Episcopal Church than the Evangelical Lutheran Church, for they too have bishops." (Jones, ed., "Secret Diary", 25 Feb. 1736 [p. 95])

137 Quincy to Newman, Savannah, 15 Jan. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 529.

138 P. Tailfer *et al.*, *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia* (Charleston, 1741), pp. 41-50.

139 *Wes Journ*, 1 Aug. 1737 (i.375).

140 Boltzius' journal, 28 & 29 June 1737, printed in: *Reports*, iv.117-19.

141 *Wes Journ*, 17 July 1737 (i.370) and 30 Sept. 1749 (iii.434); Wesley to James Hutton, Oxford, 26 Nov. 1738, printed in: *Wes Lett*, i.272f.

142 See Boltzius to Wesley, Ebenezer, 25 July 1749, printed in: *Wes Journ*, 30 Sept. 1749 (iii.433f).

143 Boltzius and Gronau to Newman, 6 Feb. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 536f.

144 See L.L. Tresp, "The Salzburger Orphanage at Ebenezer in the Colony of Georgia", *Americana-Austriaca, Beiträge zur Amerikakunde* 3 (1974), pp. 190-234.

Communion in Savannah, they met Whitefield and took "sweet council together". In 1738 Whitefield visited Ebenezer and the orphanage; after meeting the orphans he wrote lyrically in his Journal, "the little lambs came and shook me by the hand, one by one, and so we parted, and I scarce was ever better pleased in my life". He too was impressed with the Ebenezer community and promised Francke that he would raise money for a church: he continued to send gifts through 1741.[145] Thereafter his relations with the Salzburgers cooled. Boltzius confided in his Journal for January of that year that he was "very much distressed" to learn that Whitefield had adopted the doctrine of predestination from Presbyterians in New England, who had "drawn his mind to this clearly disgraceful theory against the very essence of love and the definite clear evidence of the Holy Scripture". Boltzius added, "I have no confidence in Mr. Whitefield any more."[146] Though the two men later met and discussed the doctrine, it was to no avail; Whitefield now fell from the favour of Halle Pietists,[147] though Boltzius still publicly praised Whitefield and curried his favour because of his benefactions for Ebenezer. It is doubtful whether Whitefield knew he was out of Halle's good graces.[148]

The Salzburgers seldom became involved in the secular affairs of Georgia. Early in the 1740s many land holders in Georgia grew frustrated with the restrictions imposed by the Trustees and petitioned the Trustees for changes, including the use of slaves.[149] Because the Salzburgers remained aloof from these issues, they were not popular with the land holders, who complained that the Germans, who "never commix or associate with Strangers", have been "*hitherto* liberally supported both from *Germany* and *England*, and their Rights and Privileges have been much more extensive than any others in the Colony".[150] Matters were not helped when the Trustees held up Ebenezer as a shining example against the troublesome English freeholders, noting that the Salzburgers "are in so thriving a Condition, that not one Person has abandoned his Settlement, or sent over the least Complaint about the Tenures or the Want

145 *Whit Journ*, 11 July 1738, 9 Jan. 1739, 25 June 1740 (pp. 159f,198, 437); Whitefield to [G.A. Francke], n.p., [1738], printed in: G.F. Jones, trans. and ed., "Two 'Salzburger' letters from George Whitefield and Theobald Kiefer II", *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 62 (1978), pp. 51-52; Boltzius' journal, 11 July and 28 & 29 Aug. 1738, 10 Mar. 1741, printed in: *Reports*, v.152,195-96, viii.93f.

146 Boltzius' journal, 9 Jan. 1741, printed in: *Reports*, viii.12.

147 *Ibid.*, 1 Mar. 1741, printed in: *Reports*, viii.82f. Urlsperger deleted any references to Whitefield from the printed reports in Germany.

148 *The Weekly History*, No. 37 (19 Dec. 1741), pp. 3-4, published a letter from Boltzius to Whitefield dated Ebenezer, 6 Apr. 1741 – i.e. *after* their discussions over the much disliked doctrine – filled with praises for Whitefield and requests for more money. On Whitefield's relationship to Halle, see pp. 188, 193f below.

149 See R.M. Miller, "The Failure of the Colony of Georgia Under the Trustees", *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 53 (1969), pp. 1-17.

150 Tailfer *et al.*, Historical Narrative, p. 102.

of Negroes".[151] Through diligent and humble industry, the leadership of Boltzius, and the support of the SPCK and friends in Germany, Ebenezer had become the most prosperous settlement in Georgia and alone fulfilled the hopes of the Trustees.

Why did the SPCK become involved with the difficult task of settling in Georgia only some 150 out of 20,000 Salzburger refugees? Many of its reasons coincided with those for the founding of Georgia: philanthropic, colonial, humanitarian, and especially religious, because of the desire within the Society to rescue humble Protestants from "Popish Persecution". It should not be overlooked, however, that the SPCK probably would not have taken an active interest in these homely farmers apart from the instigation of Ziegenhagen and Urlsperger. These Pietists turned to the SPCK and not to the SPG because of the history of the close connections between the Society and Halle.

Our purpose in this chapter has been to examine the major enterprises of the SPCK in the 1720s and 1730s. The publication of the Arabic Psalter and New Testament, built upon the foundation of English interest in Greek Orthodoxy and Ludolf's earlier efforts, when combined with the resettlement of Salzburger refugees in Georgia, provide the final pieces in SPCK-Halle relations. Pietists like Ludolf, Boehm, Ziegenhagen, and Urlsperger encouraged the extension of the sphere of the Society's correspondence and involvements beyond the borders of Britain to India, Palestine, Russia, Germany, and Georgia. One of A.H. Francke's dreams was to effect a world-wide betterment of Church and society; it is no coincidence that during the first four decades of the SPCK's existence, every major project which involved the Society in a work outside Britain – other than its early interest in planting libraries in the West Indies – was directly instigated by Halle Pietists. In the chapter that follows we look more closely at the reasons for the rise and the decline of Halle-SPCK cooperation.

---

151 [Trustees of Georgia, B. Martyn, secretary,] *An Account Shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America* (London, 1741), pp. 35f. The Trustees added a favourable letter from the inhabitants of Ebenezer dated 13 Mar. 1739, testifying to the fruitfulness of the land. (pp. 66-69)