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SPCK Charity and the Emigration to Georgia

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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

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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:

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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

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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

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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

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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.