

## 7. Sekundärliteratur

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

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#### Suffering and Pietism at Ebenezer

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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 Salzburger "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".<sup>116</sup> A few days later they left for Georgia.

With the second company of Salzburger 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 Salzburger and 16 other Austrians eventually left Augsburg.<sup>117</sup> 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.<sup>118</sup> It was on this passage that Wesley, who was carrying some books from Newman for Boltzius and Gronau,<sup>119</sup> 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".<sup>120</sup> Newman himself kept in close contact with Salzburger affairs and was personally instrumental in arranging the fourth and last group of Salzburger which arrived in Georgia in 1741.<sup>121</sup>

#### *Suffering and Pietism at Ebenezer*

On 5 March 1734 the original group of Salzburger 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 Salzburger. (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.<sup>122</sup> 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 publicly appearing in the Affair, that these innocent people ventured their all.<sup>123</sup>

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.<sup>124</sup>

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.<sup>125</sup> 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.<sup>126</sup> 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.<sup>127</sup> The Society served as a forwarding agent for other money raised by Ziegenhagen<sup>128</sup> 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".<sup>129</sup> 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."<sup>130</sup> The years of worst hardship for the Salzburger 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 Salzburger were material. For the Salzburger were not the only German-speaking refugee settlers in Georgia. In 1734, when the envoy of the first band of Salzburger returned to Germany, he began an exuberant recruiting campaign and informed the SPCK that Zinzendorf wished to send some of his people to Georgia.<sup>131</sup> In 1736 a group of Moravian Brethren colonists arrived in Georgia under the leadership of Spangenberg,<sup>132</sup> the very person who in 1732 had been the central figure in breaking open the division between Halle and Herrnhut.<sup>133</sup> 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 Salzburger and Moravians seemed of marginal importance. Newman tried to reassure Urlsperger "that these People differ with the Lutherans only in point of Discipline".<sup>134</sup> 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".<sup>135</sup> 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.<sup>136</sup>

The religious standards of the English community did not impress the Salzburger – 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”.<sup>137</sup> 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”.<sup>138</sup> 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,<sup>139</sup> he remained more open to the influence of the Moravians, a fact which needled Boltzius.<sup>140</sup> 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!”<sup>141</sup> Boltzius continued to correspond with Wesley for another decade.<sup>142</sup>

Ebenezer was above all a religious community. Every evening, after the work was finished, all the people would gather for instruction and teaching.<sup>143</sup> There, in the Francke-Halle tradition, the Salzburger 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.<sup>144</sup> 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.<sup>145</sup> Thereafter his relations with the Salzburger 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."<sup>146</sup> Though the two men later met and discussed the doctrine, it was to no avail; Whitefield now fell from the favour of Halle Pietists,<sup>147</sup> 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.<sup>148</sup>

The Salzburger 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.<sup>149</sup> Because the Salzburger 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".<sup>150</sup> Matters were not helped when the Trustees held up Ebenezer as a shining example against the troublesome English freeholders, noting that the Salzburger "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 Jour.*, 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".<sup>151</sup> 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.

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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)