



Routledge Studies in Early Modern Religious Dissents and Radicalism

BRITISH PROTESTANT MISSIONS AND THE CONVERSION OF EUROPE, 1600–1900

Edited by
Simone Maghenzani and Stefano Villani

ROUTLEDGE



British Protestant Missions and the Conversion of Europe, 1600–1900

This book is the first account of British Protestant conversion initiatives directed towards continental Europe between 1600 and 1900.

Continental Europe was considered a missionary land – another periphery of the world, whose centre was imperial Britain. British missions to Europe were informed by religious experiments in America, Africa, and Asia, rendering these offensives against Europe a true form of “imaginary colonialism.” British Protestant missionaries often understood themselves to be at the forefront of a civilising project directed at Catholics (and sometimes even at other Protestants). Their mission was further reinforced by Britain becoming a land of compassionate refuge for European dissenters and exiles. This book engages with the myth of International Protestantism, questioning its early origins and its narrative of transnational belonging, while also interrogating Britain as an imagined Protestant land of hope and glory.

In the history of Western Christianities, “converting Europe” had a role that has not been adequately investigated. This is the story of the attempted, and ultimately failed, effort to convert a continent.

Simone Maghenzani is Dame Marilyn Strathern Lecturer in History, and Fellow and Director of Studies at Girton College, University of Cambridge.

Stefano Villani is Associate Professor at the University of Maryland, College Park.

Routledge Studies in Early Modern Religious Dissents and Radicalism

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Introduction

1. “The North Wind Spreads Every Illness”

On 20 December 1655, Christina of Sweden arrived in Rome. After a meeting with the Pope, the Queen was to be housed in the Tower of Winds in the Vatican, in the very heart of the Apostolic Palaces. The Tower had been built under Pope Gregory XIII as an astronomical observatory – it was there that the studies which led to the reform of the calendar in February 1581 had been perfected. Its main room was frescoed by Niccolò Circignani (also known as “Pomarancio”), depicting scenes of ghastly winds. Before the Queen’s arrival, Alexander VII had gone to check the arrangements. Having seen that underneath the allegory of the northern wind were painted the words: “omne malum ab Aquilone,” the Pope immediately gave the order to “cover these words with plaster” for fear that the Queen or someone in her entourage would be offended. The layer of plaster was later removed, as the inscription, meaning “the north wind spreads every illness” is once again visible on the fresco. In the mind of the commissioner, the wind “Aquilone” represented the “heretics of the north” trying “to disrupt the peace of the Holy Ship” painted on the opposite wall, with the Biblical scene of Jesus calming the tempest.¹

This image of the heretical north winds blowing towards Catholic Europe underlines how, in this confessional age, the religious contraposition was primarily perceived as a clash of contrasting forces. England was indeed an important part of this imagined “heretical north,” as Pomarancio knew all too well. In fact, he had been asked to decorate the Church of the English College in Rome with the scenes of the English martyrs who died in defence of Catholicism.²

At the time of Cristina’s visit to Rome, the European confessional map, with its multiple boundaries, had been consolidated. It was in England, at the time torn by deep religious divisions, where the question of launching a new missionary initiative towards continental Europe and its colonies began. In these same years, the Quakers promoted a new and intense activity, which would soon bring some of their missionaries to Rome with the audacious and impossible task of converting the Pope to the gospel of the inner Light.³ Further, Oliver Cromwell himself expressed the clear ambition to be at the head of the Protestant International and, at the beginning of his Protectorate, was planning the creation of a “Council for the Protestant religion” organised “in opposition to the Congregation

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de Propaganda Fide in Rome.” According to Jean-Baptiste Stoupe, a Huguenot minister who served the Lord Protector as a spy in the 1650s, the project envisaged the establishment of a Council, made up of four sections, each led by one Secretary: the first was meant to deal with France, Switzerland, and the Waldensians of Piedmont; the second with the Palatinate and its Calvinists; the third with Germany, northern Europe and (somewhat incongruously) with the Ottoman Empire. Finally, the fourth was to deal with the “East and West Indies.” Each of the Secretaries would have funds at their disposal “to keep a correspondence for all the world, which with all good designs might be protected and assisted.” The Council would be composed of six members and be based at Chelsea College, an institution founded by James I with the purpose of centralising the activity of controversial writing against Catholicism, and which was then at the centre of renewed interest after a long period of inactivity.⁴ We do not know how concrete this project was; Stoupe was an ambiguous and elusive figure. Moreover, he reported this project to Gilbert Burnet, a notoriously unreliable source. However, the wealth of detail in this story (including some information regarding the possible budget for this Council), suggests that this was a real plan. Cromwell presented himself as a supporter of the persecuted Piemontese Waldensians – an action also stemming from the idea that the advent of the Protectorate would have also brought about “the blessed alteration of all Europe” (as a treatise of 1653 for a long time attributed to John Milton suggests).⁵

This English (and later British) interest in the “conversion” of Europe, however, has even earlier origins than the Quaker missionary activity, or the idea of a possible Cromwellian “Council for the Protestant religion.” For example, already at the beginning of the seventeenth century, during the reign of James I, England engaged its diplomatic and intellectual resources to encourage the Republic of Venice to join the European Protestant powers in a project that saw the concrete and active involvement of Paolo Sarpi.⁶

These episodes represent, to some extent, the pre-history of British missionary commitment to continental Europe. The creation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1698 marks the beginning of direct institutional involvement by the Church of England in missionary activity abroad, and a new season of proselytism. In 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was also founded, aimed especially at missionary activity in the American colonies. The organisation’s seal was approved at its second meeting:

A ship under sail, making towards a point of Land, upon the Prow standing a Minister with an open Bible in his hand, People standing on the shore in a Posture of Expectation, and using these words: *Transiens Adjuva Nos*.⁷

The motto, “Come over and help us” (the same used by the Massachusetts Bay Colony in their seal), referenced the appeal that the Macedonians had sent to the Apostle Paul in Acts 16:9. In the image on the seal, the men who waited to be enlightened by the Bible were clearly identifiable as people of colour: the connection between Empire and the evangelising mission could not be expressed

more clearly. At the core of this project was the idea that as the Roman empire had favoured the spread of Christianity, the British empire would accomplish the conquest of the whole world for Christ. The providential alignment of cheap print with British maritime domination represented a clear sign of the mission entrusted to England.⁸

A few years later, starting in the 1730s, Britain witnessed the explosion of a religious revival which led to the development of Methodism and the birth of a new missionary season. This religious awakening and imperial expansion nourished a new evangelising impulse between the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, with the birth of numerous Anglican, nonconformist, and inter-denominational missionary organisations. Among them are included the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), the London Missionary Society (1795), the Anglican Church Missionary Society (1795), the Scottish Missionary Society (1799), the Society for Missions to Africa and the East (1799; from 1812 the Church Missionary Society), the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), the London Society for the Propagation of Christianity among the Jews (1809), the Prayer Book and Homily Society (1812), and the Wesleyan Missionary Society (1813).⁹

With the end of the Napoleonic War in 1815, during the height of millenarian feelings, missionary initiatives multiplied. The religious initiative was often portrayed as a tool in the civilising role of the Empire, especially in regard to Africa and Asia.¹⁰ But the British missionary commitment was not only directed towards colonial spaces, but also towards continental Europe. In some High Church circles, the conviction that Roman Catholicism could be reformed in an anti-papal direction (nevertheless keeping a strong episcopalian system, for which the Anglican Church could offer a perfect model) was strong. Others believed that the papacy should be brought down for its anti-Christian and heretical character, an idea that was most popular in non-conformist circles. The theological differences and competition between “Anglo-Catholics” and “Evangelicals” also reverberated in their approaches to mission. On the one hand, the Anglo-Catholics privileged the spread of theological texts and the reprint and translation of the *Book of Common Prayer*; on the other, the Evangelicals promoted the birth of Protestant congregations, encouraging proselytism, and the printing of copies of the Bible.

Spain and Italy, at the centre of this British missionary attention (mostly as symbols of Roman Catholicism), saw the presence of different competing organisations, often in conflict with each other. In this European missionary work the Plymouth Brethren were, for example, particularly active, being moved by their strong eschatological urgency.¹¹ It was also to counteract this non-conformist and evangelical activism that specific missions for continental Europe were organised by High Church men. Among those, the Anglo-Continental Society can be mentioned as an example.

This organisation, born in 1853 on the initiative of the Anglican priest Frederick Meyrick, had the aim of making the principles of the Church of England known to Catholic Europe through the publication and dissemination of theological treatises. From the beginning, Spain and Italy were its most important fields

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of activity. According to the Society, by showing the possibility of what was presented as a non-papal Catholicism, the internal reform of the European National Churches would be ingenerated. The goal of the Anglo-Continental Society – to promote a transformation of the Catholic Church on the model of the Anglican *via media* – proved to be deeply unrealistic. Because of this lack of success, the Society progressively distanced itself from this initial vision, then favouring the birth of small churches, later often connected with the Old-Catholic movement. Also, most of them had no more than an ephemeral life.¹²

The Church of England, especially after 1815, could rely for its activity in Europe on a large number of chaplaincies, created to meet the spiritual needs of the English abroad, mostly tourists and businessmen, but without any real missionary aims. From a survey of continental chaplaincies published in 1845 by the Anglican priest George Biber, it appears that at the time there were twenty-five English congregations in France; eighteen in Germany; eleven in Italy; nine in Belgium; seven in Russia (including Poland); four in Switzerland; three in the Netherlands; two apiece in the Ionian Islands, Portugal, and Turkey; and one in Greece.¹³ Malta gradually became the most important Mediterranean Anglican centre. But as there was already a Roman Catholic bishop in Valletta, to avoid an explicit contrast with the Church of Rome, it was decided that the Anglican diocese for Europe would not be established there. This was to be erected in Gibraltar in 1842 (although, as a matter of fact, the church erected in Malta symbolically represented the true Anglican cathedral of the Mediterranean).¹⁴ For the diocese of Gibraltar there was at least tacitly a missionary and reformist agenda, with what the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts described rather understatedly as a necessity for the “diffusion of information regarding its principles.”¹⁵

This is not to be thought of as an “English” story only, however. On the contrary, both Scottish and Irish Presbyterians, and other non-conformists, engaged in significant missionary work.¹⁶ Since 1709, the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge had been active, whilst the 1790s saw the setting up of missionary organisations both in Edinburgh and Glasgow, not to count the Scottish Missionary Society. The Disruption of 1843 only fostered the foreign missionary activity further; it suffices to think of the successful action of the Free Church minister Robert W. Stewart in Leghorn.¹⁷ In Ireland, the relocation of French Huguenots started relief work in favour of Calvinists around Europe, and the creation of new organisations. To this day, an annual “Huguenot service” takes place in St Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin.¹⁸

Albeit far from successful at the end, these initiatives of propaganda and mission were not isolated, or simply the actions of mavericks stuck in the age of confessional controversy. Instead, these missions attracted considerable popular and ecclesiastical attention and huge amounts of money – not to mention a massive production of pamphlets.¹⁹ But much of the attention of historians has been paid to the missionary work within the British Empire. It seems that the attempt at “converting Europe” is still a rather neglected story – one that this volume intends to shed light upon.

2. Converting Europe

In a 1970 collection of essays dedicated to *The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith*, the Anglican bishop S.C. Neill complained about the lack of studies on English and British missions.²⁰ This has greatly changed since then, as the field of mission studies has exploded in recent years.²¹ The connection between missionary activity and British imperial expansion has been extensively investigated, often highlighting the rhetorical and political importance of many British missionary agencies in shaping Christianity outside Europe.²² In the last few decades, studies by Andrew Porter, David Hempton, Carla Gardina Pestana, and Hilary Carey, to name just a few, have shown how this global phenomenon is naturally polycentric, with clearly defined regional characteristics. Scholars have worked on the religious entanglement that connects missionary culture, experience, and materialities across the artificial divide between Europe and colonial empires.²³ Work has also been done on imaginaries and embodied missionary knowledge, in a fresh transnational perspective. Especially since the publication of Susan Thorne's *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (1999) and Catherine Hall's *Civilising Subjects. Colony and Metropole in the English imagination, 1830–1867* (2002), the investigation has expanded to analyse how the missionary experience cannot be read as only an exchange from the centre to periphery, emphasising instead how it also changed the metropolitan culture. British missionary activism has been reframed within the new category of “global Christianity,” an idea that has profoundly changed the way in which we understand the history of both Catholicism and Protestantism. Therefore, in the current historiography, British and European Christianity is intrinsically linked to the Western-initiated mission movement to Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and Latin America.

But, despite this growing interest in missionary history, British Protestantism's intense missionary action towards Catholic (and, in part, Protestant) Europe has been almost completely neglected in this narrative. Many still look at the global Catholic and Evangelical expansion as a one-way movement outwards, from Europe to the peripheries of the world. It is our contention that the attempt to spread Protestantism in Catholic Europe was also the product of a Protestant missionary experiment that had been tested in America, Africa, and Asia. This collection of essays shows how, in a theoretical overturn, continental Europe was considered a missionary land: another periphery of the world, whose centre was Imperial Britain. British Protestantism often perceived itself in charge of a civilising mission towards Catholic Europe; a mission that went hand in hand with the fact that Britain was becoming the land of compassionate refuge for European dissenters and religious exiles.

This book investigates the historical and theoretical context that favoured the birth of British missionary institutions, looking at their actions in continental Europe and adopting a long-term perspective, moving away from earlier approaches that placed the development of British missions in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. The early English religious propaganda in Europe was

in itself a laboratory for future British missions in other continents. Similarly, we aim to nuance the distinction between early modern and modern, highlighting the continuity of Anglican and non-conformist missions in Europe.

The series of volumes published in the *Oxford History of Anglicanism*, with their emphasis on the international links of the Church of England, have greatly contributed to this volume's understanding of how Protestantism helped shape Britain's imperial experience.²⁴ However, Europe appears to be very much in the background of this notable series. The essays of this volume, building upon that vast bibliography, will not just reconstruct the various missionary attempts towards Europe in a comparative perspective, but they will also investigate the entanglements that characterised what can really be defined as a missionary rush to the Continent.

Many of the chapters also engage with the analysis of myth as well. Firstly, of course, the myth of Catholic Europe. Catholic countries (particularly Spain and Italy) were often described using colonial language, with an emphasis on their backwardness and their need to modernise. In this sense, the British missionary offensive in Europe has provided conceptual material to what can be called a true "imaginary colonialism."²⁵ Secondly, part of this book discusses the myth of International Protestantism, with its sixteenth-century origins and its narrative of transnational belonging. And, of course, this cannot be separated from the myth shared by minority Protestantisms across Europe of Protestant Britain as a land of hope and glory. Overall, we believe that this book will help by drawing more attention to the cultural, social, and religious connections between Britain and the European mainland.

3. This Book

This book is organised thematically and chronologically. The first section, "Missionary Models," examines how the image of Roman Catholicism as a world religion served as a provocation and spur to Protestant missionaries. In the seventeenth century, Protestants were increasingly more troubled by the "missionary gap" between Rome and their own churches. As Simon Ditchfield clearly points out, even if the making of Roman Catholicism as a world religion had to wait for the twentieth century to become a reality, the *idea* that it was a global faith nourished a Protestant eschatology, ready to consider the Roman Catholic missionary success as the last raging of the Antichrist before his fall. John Coffey shows instead how Catholic missions constituted an ideological challenge to British Protestants, at once motivating their missionary endeavours, as well as forging their missionary identity in what they perceived as a sharp opposition to the Roman Catholic models (often sharper in their imagination than in reality). In this, some – even Wesley himself – became fascinated by the Counter-Reformation mythical missionary saints.

The second section on "The Origins of Global Protestantism" investigates the early modern British global missionary outlook, both by established churches and nonconformists.²⁶ The essays emphasise how Continental Europe in the

seventeenth century became a major theatre of missionary initiatives, and how memory had a major role in shaping a missionary imagination often tinged with millenarianism. In her chapter, Joan Redmond argues how seventeenth-century Ireland, which has often been described as a “laboratory for empire,” can also be considered a laboratory for conversion. Using a manuscript treatise written on the 1641 Irish rebellion by a Protestant minister in 1643, she shows how Ireland was imagined as a missionary land where English and Scottish colonists were considered both religious and “civilizing” agents.

As already mentioned, the first British organised missionary attempt directed to Europe was put in place by Quakers in the 1650s. Sünne Juterczenka provides an insightful overview of their seventeenth- and eighteenth-century missions to the continent. Focusing on their travels, Juterczenka emphasises how the Society of Friends was able to establish an extensive network of religious dissent across Europe, moving away from clear-cut confessional divisions. Simone Maghenzani, looking at the production and dissemination of Italian translations of the Bible, shows instead how, from the seventeenth century, England progressively became the most important interlocutor for European Protestant minorities, demonstrating a partial decline of French-speaking Protestantism. From the attempt to establish a Protestant congregation in Venice at the beginning of the seventeenth century to the protection of the persecuted Waldensians in 1655 and the activities of the British and Foreign Bible Society in nineteenth-century Italy, Maghenzani describes how the British moved away from an early modern focus on “propaganda” to the modern creation of network of support to Protestant minorities.

The third section on “Missions and Church Unifications in the Age of the Enlightenment” shows the importance played by Continental Europe not only in eighteenth-century British Protestant missionary practices and imagination, but also in the theological debates of the day. Both Catherine Arnold’s examination of the British attitudes towards Jansenism and Gallicanism, and Adelisa Malena’s and Sugiko Nishikawa’s chapters on the early period of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), describe the variety of theological approaches that emerged in Britain in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Nishikawa underlines how the humanitarian campaigns of the SPCK in favour of Huguenot and Waldensian refugees were instrumental in developing the idea of the necessity of a Protestant union in Europe, starting with joint missionary and publishing projects with European Protestants. As Arnold has demonstrated, at the beginning of that century, some Anglican clergy associated the Gallican Church with plans to re-catholicise the Church of England. This changed in 1716 when some French bishops and clergymen refused to accept papal condemnation of Jansenist doctrines as heretical. Anglican clergymen, including the archbishop of Canterbury William Wake, imagined that the Gallican Church might reject papal authority. As Nishikawa explains in her essay, at the time, many members of the SPCK affirmed that the Church of England’s mission to Europe was to complete the work of the Reformation – reconciling Lutheran and Reformed Protestants. This early eighteenth-century theological debate shows, on the contrary, the emergence of the idea that the major mission of the Church of England was to push for an

internal reform of the different “national” churches, making a clear distinction between them and the Papacy. The theological proposal of a non-proselytising reconciliation by Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf, a German Pietist who considered England his second home, and one of the founding members of the SPCK, is at the centre of Malena’s investigation. Moving beyond the old assumptions of Irenicism and Latitudinarianism, Ludolf expressed the idea that the Universal “impartial” Church can be found wherever the “reborn” or “true Christians” joined together, regardless of their confessional membership, an option opened not only Protestants, but also to the Eastern Orthodox and to Roman Catholics.

During the later eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries the Protestant churches of Britain were transformed by the Evangelical revivals. The fourth section of this volume, “A British Missionary Land,” reconstructs the new strife for mission that sprang up in this new phase in the history of British Protestantism. The chapters by David Bebbington, Brent S. Sirota, and Gareth Atkins address the impact of the Revival of the first half of the nineteenth century on the creation of Protestant networks, the missionary activity towards the Jews in Britain, and the Evangelical interest towards the Orthodox churches in Greece. Bebbington points out how before 1850 the established churches of England and Scotland both generated a new impetus for mission at home and abroad, while the dissenting churches turned from being marginal and inward-looking communities to being significant and expansive bodies. Methodism, though originally a force within the Church of England, emerged to exhibit the same dynamic as an independent agency. To overturn the Roman Catholic domination of southern Europe, British evangelicals were willing to use print, shipping, and all other means of the Empire, thus becoming a vibrant missionary presence. In Bebbington’s view, such Evangelical confidence and adaptability was boosted by the postmillennial expectation that the world was progressing under Christian influences towards a time of peace and prosperity.

Brent S. Sirota, on the contrary, illuminates the emergence of premillennial eschatology as a driving missionary force in Britain in his chapter on The London Jews’ Society between 1809 and 1829. As he explains, in the first two decades of its existence this Society contrasted the prevailing postmillennialism of the nineteenth-century British evangelicalism. The Jews’ Society, active in Britain, Europe, as well as the Middle East, cultivated an acute apocalypticism in its appeals, sermons, literature, and periodicals. For them, the conversion of the Jews was an event of unparalleled eschatological significance. Significantly, premillennial eschatology fed back into the body of metropolitan Christianity, assuming its place among the many early nineteenth-century religious tendencies that are now widely recognised as some of the roots of Protestant fundamentalism.

Orthodoxy had always occupied a pivotal place in missionary British thinking, at least since the attempt of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lukaris, to reform the Greek Church along Calvinist lines in the 1620s. The beginning of the nineteenth century saw a renewed interest in the Orthodox Church that led to a brief but intense period of evangelical engagement in the Levant. In his chapter, Gareth Atkins explains how Evangelicals were convinced

that they lived in a second age of the apostles, where vernacular Bibles and education might reconquer the lands lost to Islam. In their view, the revival of the Greek Church would bridge the gap between British India and a renewed Europe. Atkins stresses the uncertainties about how to deal with other churches, and most notably the Protestant ambivalence about whether Orthodoxy was to be treated as a form of primitive (and therefore pure) Christianity or as a corrupt (and therefore superseded) imitation of it.

The final section, “Making Propaganda, Making Nations,” is set in the second half of the nineteenth century, when it became increasingly clear that most of the missionary efforts put in place in the previous decades did not bring the “conversion” of Europe or any internal “reform” of the Roman Catholic Church. Alex Bremner’s chapter focuses on architecture as a material sign of missionary activity, and as the coalescing point of religious imagery. Anglican churches became increasingly frequent in European cities following the opening of the continent to British business and tourism. The distinct Gothic architecture of these buildings gave Anglican culture and its missionary aspirations a particular “shape” and visibility, deployed explicitly to symbolise and communicate a specific religious identity. Finally, Michael Ledger-Lomas’s chapter investigates Robert Whitaker McAll’s *Mission to the Working Men of France* (known from 1879 as the *Mission Populaire Evangelique de la France*) until its Scottish Presbyterian founder’s death in 1893. Significantly, the driving idea of this missionary enterprise was to move people from nominal religion or indifference to genuine religion, rather than from one confession to another. This feature of the mission, with a significant social Gospel component, spoke powerfully to American premillennialists who consistently and considerably supported McAll’s projects, eventually causing an American takeover of its leadership.

As this volume is the first organic attempt to reconsider British missionary activism in Europe, and using a long-term periodisation in doing so, we hope it will help foster fresh directions of investigation. Indeed, the concrete results these missions achieved never reached their ambitious expectations. This, of course, was not only because of the obstacles that the political and religious authorities of the European countries put in place to counter them, but also of major cultural misunderstanding, imperialist attitudes, and the constant reverberation of British denominational and ecclesiastical conflicts into the missionary field. Spain, Italy, and France remained Catholic countries, and the Protestant churches that were born or developed there never became more than small – albeit vociferous – minorities. As a result of this substantial failure, even their memory gradually faded away. Sometimes, the Protestant churches that developed in Roman Catholic countries with the help of British missionaries tended to underplay foreign help in their historiography. Oftentimes, the comparison between the success of British missionary activity in Africa and Asia and the gloomy European results not only led to disengagement from that scenario, but also to its marginalisation in the histories of British missions. The failure itself has made this enterprise a subject forgotten by scholars. But the editors of this book still believe that studying the history of failure can occasionally be more profitable than that of success.

In any case, what this volume surely demonstrates is that the history of British and continental European Christianities (and therefore that of their politics, hopes, and conflicts) are far more intertwined than many would expect. An entangled religious and political history of Britain and Europe that, in these uncertain times, needs to be retold.

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Notes

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Section I

Missionary Models



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1 “One World is Not Enough”

The “Myth” of Roman Catholicism as a “World Religion”

Simon Ditchfield

1. The Triumph of Orthopraxy

Great and grievous and never enough to be bewailed, has been the scandal given in the Churches of the Reformation; in that so very little, yea, next to nothing, has been done in them, for the Propagation of the Faith, which breathes nothing but the most unexceptional Wisdom and Goodness . . . While at the same time, the Church of Rome strives with an unwearied and extravagant labour, to propagate the Idolatry and Superstition of Anti-Christ and advance the Empire of Satan. And the missionaries and brokers of that harlot, are indeed more than can be numbered.

So wrote Cotton Mather, prominent New England Congregationalist minister, in a letter of December 1717, written in Latin to Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, co-founder of the Halle Pietist mission in the Danish colony of Tranquebar in S. India.¹ This elicited a reply, from Johann Ernst Gründler (Ziegenbalg having died in the meantime), which contained the following passage:

As to the Popish Missions in this our India, they are thought more Numerous than ours; insomuch that they say, there are no less than Two Thousand who here go to and fro in the Earth.²

As Thomas Kidd has taught us, the new language of Protestantism involved identification with “an international Protestant community, beleaguered but faithful world community of Christians reformed from the corruptions of Catholicism.”³ Furthermore, this perceived global threat of Catholicism was interpreted in eschatological terms: the last raging of the Antichrist before his Fall. To Mather, the death of Louis XIV, the failure of the Stuart uprisings, and the Hanoverian succession to the English throne in 1714 were providential tokens which led him to observe that “we have now seen the sun rising in the [American] West.”⁴

For those attempting to understand the global spread of Roman Catholicism in the early modern period, the fact that Protestant missionaries clearly conceived the Church of Rome in such terms testifies to the contemporary impact of what I shall argue was essentially the “myth” of Roman Catholicism as a “world religion.” Before proceeding any further, I should specify that I am using “myth”

not in the sense of something that is not “true,” but according to its alternative meaning as a useful story or narrative which has been artfully constructed out of a selective representation of the factual record. Moreover, to continue the task of clarifying a few key terms, in what follows I will be using “world religion” *not* in the sense made canonical by the nineteenth-century Sanskrit scholar and founder of the discipline of comparative religion – or *Religionswissenschaft* – Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900), but rather in the vernacular sense of the term: as a mode of ritual practice and set of beliefs that enjoyed trans-continental diffusion. For Müller, it was axiomatic that:

In the history of the world, our religion, like our language, is but one out of many and that in order to understand fully the position of Christianity in the history of the world and its true place among the religions of mankind, we must compare it with the aspirations of the whole world.⁵

In this way, it might perhaps be said, with Luke Clossey, that comparative philology begat comparative religion; to paraphrase what Goethe said of language, which Max Müller took as his motto: “He who knows one religion, knows none.”⁶ The nineteenth century thus saw the emergence of such “constructed” categories as Buddhism (1801), Hinduism (1829), Taoism (1839), Zoroastrianism (1854) and Confucianism (1862); which are therefore to be considered offspring of what was an essentially Eurocentric, colonialist mentality that, in the words of the author of *The Invention of Religion in Japan*, J. Ānanda Josephson, the word “religion”: “mask[ed] the globalisation of particular Euro-American concerns, which have been presented as universal aspects of human experience.”⁷ Nevertheless, as Alan Strathern points out, one must be careful not to ‘genealogise’ such concepts out of existence; after all, concepts and categories are, by their very nature, made and not found.⁸

In a recent, comprehensive study of what was meant by the concept of “faith” in the Roman world at the time of the emergence of Christianity, Teresa Morgan reminds us that the Greek word *pistis* – which occurs fourteen times in Paul’s first letter to the Thessalonians though it is a mere five chapters long – did not reference “belief,” but rather trust, allegiance, and loyalty (or *fides* as it becomes in the Vulgate).⁹ This points to the importance of *personal* relationships over *theological* propositions to religious conversion in the first Christian centuries. Such a focus on the affective over the cognitive, I believe, is also relevant when considering how religion can be best understood in the early modern period – and indeed much later.¹⁰

By conceptualising religion, first and foremost, as interpersonal, visible behaviour rather than private, interior belief – religion *as verb* over religion *as noun*, if you like – it is easier to appreciate the degree to which certain behaviours entailed certain beliefs. In the case of Tridentine Roman Catholicism, the reaffirmation of such prominent acts of *orthopraxy* as the lighting of candles before images, praying for the souls of the dead, the veneration of saints, and the (forty-hour) devotion to the host displayed in monstrances on high altars or paraded in procession indicated *orthodoxy*, and thereby provided the most obvious markers of confessional identity as well as the most visible targets for Protestant iconoclasts.

Such an emphasis on *orthopraxy* over *orthodoxy* to describe Tridentine Catholicism might seem eccentric in the light of the fact that the Council of Trent provided, in its decrees and canons first published all together in 1564, a template for Roman Catholicism which endured for almost exactly 400 years (down to the Second Vatican Council). However, as John O'Malley has recently reminded us, so many of the Council's decrees were sketchy, hurried, incomplete, or even silent on key matters. It was left to the bishops, those “building blocks” of the Tridentine Church (to borrow again from O'Malley), to establish what it all meant: local *orthopraxies* within *orthodoxy*.¹¹

Historians are usually warned that they should forget the future and try to view the period they study, as far as possible, only in its own terms. Hindsight is seen as a hindrance. However, it can also be a help, which I believe to be the case here. We need to remember that Christianity, let alone Roman Catholicism, was not yet a world religion, at least geographically speaking, even by the middle of the *twentieth* century. This becomes less surprising when we bear in mind that, according to the informed “guesstimates” of Massimo Livi-Bacci, based on the earlier work of Jean-Noël Biraben, if in 1400 AD the population of the world stood at 375 million (of which Europe contained 63 million); in 1700 the proportion had scarcely changed, with Europe at 121 million (against a guesstimated world population of 680 million). Put another way, if in 1400 Europe's share of the world population stood at 17%, 300 years later it still stood at just 18%. This is compared to overwhelmingly non-Christian Asia, whose population over the same period had risen from 203 to 437 million; in other words, from just over half the world population to just under two-thirds (54–64%).¹²

Nevertheless, given the spectacular rise during the nineteenth century in the number of Christians in proportion to the total world population – from 22–36% (200–550 million – the corresponding figures for Roman Catholics show an increase from 106 to 266 million) – it is still surprising, shocking even, to learn that not a single African was invited to attend the landmark World Missionary Conference that met in Edinburgh in 1910.¹³ Turning to the twentieth century, if we focus on Roman Catholicism in Africa: in 1955 there were only about 16 million adherents, up from 9 million in 1900; by 1978 this had risen to 55 million, and today it stands at over 170 million. By 2025 an expected 230 million Africans will represent one sixth of the world population of Roman Catholics.¹⁴ This will represent a sea-change in the regional distribution of Christianity in the world, since, as recently as 2010, there were equal numbers of Christians in Europe, Latin America, and Africa, representing some 75% of the world's total (at around 25% each). It has also been speculated that by 2050 one in four Christians in Europe and N. America will be from the “Christian” South.¹⁵

2. The Society of Jesus and the Triumph of an Idea

However, as I have written elsewhere, if the *making* of Roman Catholicism as a world religion was not in fact realised until sub-Saharan Africa found Catholicism in the second half of the last century, the early modern period certainly did

witness the triumph of the *idea* of Roman Catholicism as a faith with global reach if not grasp.¹⁶ The Jesuit focus in what follows is of course not to deny the fact that the first missions to both the New World and the East Indies were very much a mendicant achievement, spearheaded by the Franciscans, followed soon after by the Dominicans and Augustinians. By comparison, the Jesuits arrived in India only with Francis Xavier in 1542 and in Mexico thirty years after that. Nor is it to ignore the fact that Francesco Ingoli (1578–1649), the first secretary of the papal congregation of Propaganda Fide, established to assert Rome’s control over the missions both within and without the Old World, favoured not the Jesuits – who were identified too closely with the royal patronage of the Iberian monarchies over ecclesiastical appointments – but such orders as the Discalced Carmelites, Capuchins, and, above all, the tiny Theatine Order. However, as I will argue, the Jesuits were the religious order which, par excellence, fashioned their image in ways that they became almost synonymous with the global Roman Catholic missionary endeavour. This is perhaps seen most graphically in one of the emblems taken from that extraordinary monument to the printers’ and engravers’ art which celebrated the centenary of the Society of Jesus and was put together by the Jesuits of the Flemish province in 1640: the *Imago primi saeculi*.¹⁷ This 952-page folio production also provided, on a heroic scale, exempla of both neo-classical Latin panegyric as well as of the art of the emblem – 127 of which concluded the prolegomena and the six books into which the *Imago* is divided. In book two, which was entitled “Societas crescens,” one finds the emblem of a young, winged child standing between two globes showing the two hemispheres of the world. This image is immediately below the words “Societatis Missiones Indicae” (“The missions to the Indies of the Society”) and directly above the words “Unus non sufficit orbis” (“One World is not enough”). The first three lines of the poem that is printed beneath run:

What aspect of a highborn soul shall I say that this is?/This boy extends
his embraces in front of each of the two globes/Tell me, boy: is your heart
broader than the whole/ of earth and is each world smaller than your soul?¹⁸

Book II opens with another emblem, whose motto reads: “When once it is lit, it will then and there fill the world with light.” The first phrase, “Ut semel accensa est,” was lifted directly out of the poem *Aetna*, which in the 17th century was still believed to have been written by Virgil. A few lines further down we get another example of neo-classical linguistic word play – in the form of a pun on the name “Ignatius” with “Ignis” – “Ignatius with his holy fires has set aflame wherever the huge stretch of earth lies open and has glowed with fire.”¹⁹

A much better-known image on this theme is Andrea Pozzo’s dizzying fresco “The worldwide mission of the Society of Jesus,” which covered the nave ceiling of S. Ignazio in Rome – a church that was physically integrated into what was the largest education complex in Western Europe until the 19th century: the Collegio Romano in central Rome. The church of S. Ignazio’s prominent role in the ceremonial and liturgical life of the students at the Society’s pre-eminent educational

establishment made it even more central to the daily routine of the many future Jesuit missionaries who studied or taught there than the Society's mother church of il Gesù located fewer than 500 metres away. Pozzo's fresco was carried out between 1691–94 and has become the "go-to" image for any publisher, author, or lecturer who wants a striking picture to stand for the making of Roman Catholicism as a world religion in the early modern period. By this period in the history of the Society of Jesus, its founder had come to stand for the Order as a whole, as can be seen from the frontispiece to the Jesuit Daniello Bartoli's life of Ignatius of 1650, which the author, under official commission from the Jesuit Father General, regarded as the first part of what became a multi-volume – though incomplete – history of the Society as a truly global phenomenon (Figure 1.1).²⁰

Between them, the *Imago primi saeculi* and Pozzo's fresco have done much to ensure that the early modern chapter in the history of global Catholic missions continues to be viewed largely through a Jesuit lens. They have also ensured that the Society almost always enjoys pole position in any chapter or book devoted to the contribution of the regular clergy to this story. This status has been confirmed, crucially, by the quality and extent of the Jesuit archives in Rome, which reflect the Society's highly centralised structure and governance as well as the key role played from the outset by such key figures as the founder's secretary, Juan Alfonso de Polanco (1517–76).²¹ The *Constitutions* of the Society, published in 1558 just two years after the founder's death, required Superiors of individual Jesuit houses to write to their Provincial weekly, who in turn, was obliged to write to the Superior General, also on a weekly basis if close and monthly if located at a greater distance from Rome. Although this level of frequency was soon abandoned as impracticable, a Jesuit letter-writing manual of 1620 refers to at least sixteen different kinds of documents which Provincials were obliged to send to Rome on a regular basis.²² The resulting archive offers scholars the opportunity to gauge the grasp and measure the reach of an institution which is only comparable to the archives of the papacy itself in its claim to command a genuinely global frame of reference. However, missionary priests were invariably thin on the ground, and a disproportionate number were resident in the urban centres of the Western Catholic world. A census taken of all the provinces of the Society of Jesus dating from 1626 included in the *Imago primi saeculi* makes this crystal clear.²³ Although there were 808 Jesuits distributed between Goa (320), the Malabar coast (190), the Philippines (128), Cochinchina with Japan (140) and China, only 30 were based on the Chinese mainland itself. This contrasts with the no fewer than 1,574 members of the Society distributed between the two provinces that made up the territory of modern-day Belgium (Flandro- and Franco-Belgica), which were, outside Rome (with 810), easily the most densely settled two provinces of the entire order. The distribution across the Old World is surprisingly even, but with a tendency to added strength on the northern and eastern frontiers of the Roman Catholic world. There were just under 2,300 in the Italian peninsula and its islands (including 661 in Sicily and 210 in Sardinia), just over 1,800 in the Iberian peninsula (with a 1:2 distribution between Portugal and Spain, at 660 and 1194, respectively); 1,409 in France (incl. New France); 267 in



Figure 1.1 *Historia della Compagnia di Giesu del R.P. Daniello Bartoli della medesima Compagnia*

Source: Anteportam by Jan Miel and Cornelis Bloemaert (Roma: de Lazzeri) 1659, Courtesy of Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu.

"England," which included Scotland and Ireland (most of whom were resident in the various English colleges in Spain, Portugal, Rome, and N. France); 1,638 in the German Jesuit Provinces (including 450 in Austria and 287 in Bohemia), with 532 in Poland and 468 in Lithuania. In the Americas, where the Jesuits were part of second wave of missionaries beginning with their arrival in Brazil (1549), Florida (1566) Peru (1569), and Mexico (1572), the emphasis was very much on S. America, with 200 in the province of New Granada (consisting of modern-day Venezuela, Colombia, and Bolivia), 390 in Peru, 60 in Chile, 121 in Paraguay, and 180 in Brazil (a total of 951). By contrast, there were only 365 in the Central American province of New Spain.

As if such thorough recording habits were not sufficient to ensure the Jesuits a pre-eminent place in most histories of the making of Roman Catholicism as a world religion, the Society and its members were also responsible for the publication of official (i.e., carefully edited) accounts of their overseas missions to a degree unrivalled by any other of the religious orders, which were sometimes published by printers who specialised in such literature.²⁴ These were the so-called annual letters (*litterae annuae*), which were complemented by equally official (albeit incomplete) histories of the order in both Latin (by Niccolò Orlandini, 1554–1606, and Francesco Sacchini, 1570–1625, which covered just the founder's lifetime) and the vernacular (most famously by Daniello Bartoli, 1608–87, whose multi-volume account did not include the Americas, but which later earned for its author the sobriquet "Dante of Italian prose" for its epic qualities).²⁵ There were also innumerable works of mission-related literature, from accounts of heroic martyrdom to works of natural history and ethnography, which continue to be discovered and printed for the first time down to this day.²⁶

3. Martyrdom as a "Lieux de Memoire"

However, it was martyrdom which undoubtedly constituted their single most important claim for missionary pre-eminence as well as the principal "lieux de memoire" for Jesuit collective identity. It was not only central to the subject matter of so many individual *vitae* of heroic Jesuits who lost their lives on the missions from Nagasaki to New France, Tyburn to Transylvania, but it also became the organising principle of the one truly global history of the Society's missionary activity that was completed in this period: *The Society of Jesus militant for [the defence of] God, Faith, Church and Piety prepared to lose their lives and shed their own blood in Europe, Africa, Asia and America against gentiles, mohammedans, Jews, heretics and impious* by the Pilsen-born Mathias Tanner (1630–92).²⁷ As with the Antwerp-printed *Imago primi saeculi*, this too was the product not of the Roman Catholic heartlands but of a frontier zone: Prague, which had only been secured from Protestant overlordship as recently as 1620, (just ten years before the author's own birth). Tanner's martyrology also shared ornate Latin prose with the *Imago*, which suggests that its primary audience were members of the Society itself, particularly those who were training to go (or fantasising about going) on dangerous missions to Protestant lands or the Indies, and wrote pleading letters to the Superior General to that effect.

It is well known that the Roman archives of the Jesuits still possess no fewer than 14,067 such letters, dating from 1583 to 1773, from those who sought to travel “to the Indies” (*litterae indipetae*), where “Indies” not only included the Americas but any destination where there was danger and likelihood of martyrdom (incl. England).²⁸ Less well known is the fact that more than a few petitioners wrote several such letters (as reflected in the fact that there were just 5,167 different correspondents) and, notwithstanding that the Jesuits carefully curated a prodigious quantity of information – both printed and manuscript – about the overseas missions, understanding of the Indies displayed by the letter writers tended to be geographically vague and framed in terms of spiritual and mystical cliché.²⁹ Even less well understood are the reasons why, given the recurrent shortage of missionaries available for the extra-European missions (and the Jesuits were no exception here), the success rate of applications to go on the missions was not higher. This is partly because of the difficulties of tracing the replies from successive Superior Generals, but also – counter-intuitively in light of the prominent role Jesuits have played in accounts of the making of Roman Catholicism as a world religion – in reality, the Society felt it had need of its best men in the Old World.³⁰ To put it another way, as Francis Xavier himself observed in a letter to Ignatius Loyola from Cochin on the west coast of India dated 27 January 1545, one needed to match the missionaries to the various tasks at hand.³¹ For work amongst the humble fisherfolk on the Malabar coast, for example, those with simply the physical strength to undertake such repetitive tasks as the teaching of basic prayers to indigenous catechists and baptising of infants were required. Those who were physically less robust, but who possessed the talent for hearing confessions and preaching, should be reserved for Goa and Cochin where they could minister to the mainly Portuguese Christians.

The fact that within five years of the foundation of the Society, Xavier was making such clear distinctions and expressing the need to match the talents and capacities of its members to particular tasks at hand is one that goes surprisingly unremarked. Accounts of the Society and, in particular, its spectacular expansion during its first century, rarely break down the numbers to identify how many of the total were fully professed priests (i.e., had taken the fourth vow of special obedience to the pope “in regard to missions”); spiritual coadjutors (i.e., priested and therefore qualified to preach, teach, and hear confession); and, finally, simple lay brothers, or to give them their formal title, temporal coadjutors. Those who belonged to this last grade – who also took vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience – constituted, together with the spiritual coadjutors, between at least a quarter and a third of those in any single community.³² Temporal coadjutors usually had a particular manual trade, which might also include architects and artists (as was the case with Andrea Pozzo, who frescoed the nave ceiling of S. Ignazio in Rome mentioned earlier in the chapter, as well as a corridor outside Loyola’s rooms next to the Gesù). The status of this last grade, who were sometimes simply referred to as “brothers,” was set out very clearly in the so-called “General Examen” for the evaluation of prospective candidates, where it was stated that such a candidate, once accepted, should not: “seek more learning than he had when he

entered."³³ It was a distinction which came to be enforced ever more vigorously, as can be seen from a decree of 1616 which mandated that temporal coadjutors:

Should wear the soutane about five inches shorter [than the priest's] and a cloak shorter than the soutane. . . . In the matter of headgear, those who in future are to come to the Society as coadjutors are forbidden to affect any use whatever of the clerical hat [*biretta*] such as priests and scholastics have been accustomed to wear.³⁴

Liam Brockey, in his pointedly anti-heroic account of the seventeenth-century Jesuit mission to Asia as reflected in the career of Portuguese Visitor (i.e., inspector) of the Society's missions in India and China, André Palmeiro (Lisbon 1569–Macau 1635) confirms the numerical significance of those who were neither fully professed or priests, but whose manual labours enabled the Jesuit colleges to function. By painstakingly reconstructing the circumstances surrounding the particularly brutal murder of the temporal coadjutor in charge of hiring help at the Jesuit college in Coimbra by one of the other lay servants, Brockey draws attention to the horizontal (as well as vertical) tensions which must have simmered away in many a Jesuit community.³⁵ Brockey has also emphasised just how much the numerically insignificant Jesuit missionaries relied on lay (and female) catechists in rural China, and Eugenio Menegon has taught us how Christianity was able to take root in parts of seventeenth-century rural Fuan, partly as a result of Dominican missionaries.³⁶ In none of these cases could missionaries be described by any stretch of the imagination as "agents of empire."

4. Missionaries as Mediators

Words more commonly used nowadays by historians to describe the role of missionaries are: "go-between," "intermediary," or "broker." Alida Metcalf's account of the actions of the first Jesuits in Portuguese Brazil, led by Manoel da Nóbrega and Josè de Anchieta, emphasises, for example, not only their early appreciation of the potential of indigenous children as well as those of Portuguese fathers and Indian mothers, the so called *mamelucos/as*, as interpreters and teachers, but also of the importance of presenting their teaching in ways that accorded with local customs and preferences; in particular, the adoption of indigenous music and instruments.³⁷ On one occasion, Nóbrega and Anchieta even placed themselves in the hands of the Tupinambá as hostages in an (unsuccessful) attempt to broker peace between the tribe and the Portuguese governor.

The significant role of indigenous children in the proselytisation of Roman Catholicism is also a prominent feature of St Francis Xavier's first letters from India describing his mission on the Malabar coast, which were widely translated and circulated on their arrival in Europe. As in Ming and Qing China, thanks to the studies of Nicolas Standaert and M. Antoni Üçerler, we now know that the Jesuits remained dependent not only upon children but also on the cooperation of local elites.³⁸ Paolo Aranha has also shown in his important reinterpretation

of the so-called Malabar Rites controversy how “far from being an enlightened experiment of early modern missionaries, [whereby the Jesuits consciously sought to mix Christianity with local religions] the Malabar Rites were primarily an expression of the prevailing agency of the leading native converts.”³⁹ The Rites in question, he argues, including modes of dress and diet, but also, crucially, the separation of sacred space to preserve the hierarchy of caste, were in fact Christianised Hindu *samskāras* (sacramental rituals), rather than mere cultural traits that were accepted to render Christianity more palatable to non-European peoples, as argued disingenuously by, for example, the Jesuit missionary Roberto De Nobili (1577–1656), who reinvented himself as a Brahmin Holy Man.⁴⁰

Turning to Latin America, as a counterpart to the relatively recent awareness of the important role played by Indian *conquistadores* – indigenous allies, such as the Tlaxcalans, who outnumbered Cortes’ forces by 10:1 in the coalition’s defeat of the Aztec leader Moctezuma – in the Spanish conquest of Mesoamerica, scholars are now ready to acknowledge the role played by native church assistants (*indios ladinos*) throughout Spanish and Portuguese America in the making of (and sometimes in the subverting of) Christian society. In his careful study of such indigenous agents in the Andean Church from 1583–1671, John Charles shows how these key intermediaries could be seen to exemplify the correct assimilation of Hispanic Christian values and therefore act as models to be imitated by their fellow Indians – as is the case of one of the native-language sermons published, on the authority of the Third Council of Lima, under the direction of the Jesuit missionary José de Acosta in 1585, which includes the words: “They are good sons and pray and confess many times during the year and discipline themselves. They are blessed by God and the padres love them very much. Why would you not do the same?”⁴¹ Alternatively, they could be seen as perpetrators of forbidden idolatrous cults, as in the case of a parish priest Francisco de Ávila, who in 1608 complained: “[T]he [*indios ladinos*] teach [the parishioners] to worship idols and they take them to make sacrifices, just as Christians take their own to Church.”⁴² Or, as Charles himself prefers to see it, “while theoretically literacy was essential for bringing Andean peoples into the Christian fold, its practice in the hands of native subjects thwarted the Church’s efforts to evangelise on its own terms.”⁴³

Widespread resistance to the ordination of indigenous candidates to the priesthood from the mid-sixteenth century to the very end of the seventeenth (and beyond) stands as one of the more spectacular missed opportunities in the history of Roman Catholicism. This makes it even more important for us to consider the role played by the “silent majority” of non-Indian or creole priests in the process of cultural translation. In the words of William Taylor, from his case-study of an eighteenth-century Franciscan friar who served as pastor of a *doctrina* (protoparish) on the outskirts of Mexico City and devoted himself to restoring a miraculous statue of Our Lady in the face of local, Indian indifference on the one hand, and the wariness of the ecclesiastical authorities on the other:

Parish priests were not just disembodied voices of official doctrine, orthodoxy and institutional order. A seminary education, ordination, liturgical

duties, and an institutional career did not wash away all the habits of faith they brought to the priesthood. The devotional practices they knew from childhood; their preference for particular saints and Marian advocations, holidays, scriptural passages, prayers, places and miracle stories; their talents and inclinations as public figures and practitioners of the faith; and their personal sense of calling to the priesthood may all come into play.⁴⁴

In other words, "local religion" sprang not only from the laity but was also often shaped by parish priests whose religious conceptions, as in this case, were not necessarily aligned with either their flock or their bishops.

5. An Unlikely Triumph

If one were to make an honest appraisal of world geo-politics around 1500, the subsequent global spread of Roman Catholicism seemed highly unlikely. To begin with, Columbus famously failed to find what he was looking for – a shortcut to the East (which, from the time of the collapse of the Roman Empire down to the mid-nineteenth century, was unquestionably the wealthiest part of the globe) rather than the discovery of a "New World." The promise and potential of the Americas as either a fertile field of Christian conversion or for economic exploitation had yet to make its impact. Save for such relatively isolated communities as the Syriac "Thomas" Christians of south-western India, the Syriac Maronite Church of Antioch, the minority Coptic Church of Egypt, and the Coptic Kingdom of Ethiopia, Christendom was boxed into the western extremity of the Eurasian landmass by considerable Islamic powers – notably the Ottoman Empire to the east. In North Africa, from Morocco to Tunis, Portuguese and Spanish influence was precarious and restricted to the coastline. Furthermore, on the coasts of Sicily and the Italian peninsula, the inhabitants were careful to locate their settlements in secure locations. However, this did little to protect the local population from countless raids made by Barbary corsairs, even if the numbers of those thereby cast into white slavery cannot compete with the numbers of their black counterparts brutally transported across the Atlantic.⁴⁵

In East Asia, Islam had been enjoying a wave of continuous expansion ever since the ruler of the Malay port of Melaka decided to adopt Islam sometime between 1409 and 1436, and thereby plug his economy into a flourishing trading network that stretched via Bengal and Hormuz to Cairo and Istanbul. The pace of conversion was to accelerate from c. 1500, in parallel with, and not unrelated to, the arrival of Christianity. In the Americas, the Aztec and Inca kingdoms had reached their apogee. In China, the Confucian Middle Kingdom of the Ming had admittedly abandoned its early fifteenth-century practice of sending gargantuan armadas on flag-waving voyages as far as East Africa. But this was not in response to a hostile reception, but because of perceived irrelevance to China's continental concerns as Asia's most considerable power. In 1501, Shah Esmā'il (1487–1524) seized Tabriz and inaugurated the Safavid Empire, which unified Iran and which under Shah Abbas the Great (1587–1629) reached the climax of

its power. In the territory represented by modern-day Afghanistan, Zahir ud-din Babur (1483–1530), the great-great-great grandson of Tamerlane, was poised to invade the Indian subcontinent. He would establish what came to be known as the Mughal Empire, in which a Muslim minority ruled successfully for more than two centuries over a Hindu majority. If the early modern period, as has been argued recently by John Darwin, was in global terms an “age of empire,” then the West had but a single contestant: the Habsburgs, who managed to unite their various Burgundian, Austrian, and Spanish patrimonies with the title of Holy Roman Emperor for just a little under four decades (1519–56).⁴⁶ Gibbon famously remarked that, had it not been for Charles Martel’s victory over the Arabs at the battle of Poitiers in 732, “the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford. . . [and her pulpits] might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet.” One might, with no less justification, observe that had it not been for the need for the Ottomans to repeatedly turn their attention to the Safavid threat on their south-east border, the 137-metre high steeple of Vienna cathedral would merely have been the first such spire to provide the *muezzin* with a substitute for his usual minaret from which to call the faithful to prayer.⁴⁷ The “triumph of the West over the Rest” would have to wait until the late-nineteenth and even early-twentieth centuries.

6. Tropics of Translation: Both Words and Things

However, the revised chronology argued for in this chapter, combined with a greater sense of the slowness of the spread of Roman Catholicism as a world religion, still leaves us with the challenge of understanding how the Christian message was communicated to make it more effective as an instrument of conversion in new environments. The Gambia-born Muslim turned Roman Catholic scholar Lamin Sanneh (1942–2019) famously insisted upon Christianity’s uniqueness as a *translated* religion without a revealed language. Translation, he averred, is its second nature: “the Church’s birthmark as well as its missionary benchmark.”⁴⁸ Accordingly, the transformation of Christianity into a world faith was seen by Sanneh as a direct result of “the triumph of its translatability.” Of course, to begin with there was the difficulty of *which* language should one translate into, given the intensely fragmented linguistic landscape confronting so many missionaries in (not only) the early modern period. Even where a *lingua franca* of an empire already existed, as in the cases of the Nahuatl of Aztec Mexico and the Quechua of Inca Peru, their writing and codification created, in effect, new languages which were not automatically comprehended by their intended audience. This was particularly the case with “ecclesiastical Quechua,” which was derived from aristocratic usage in and around Cuzco, and was often a second or even third language for those who lived elsewhere.⁴⁹ In other words, multilingualism was the norm rather than the exception. However, there is a deeper problem with Sanneh’s identification of Christianity’s success with its linguistic translatability. He also argued against the term “Global Christianity” on the grounds that it obscures the local particularity of the multiple Christianities of varying cultural contexts, wrongly foregrounding a homogenising

European form of Christianity. According to him, it was "World Christianity" in contrast to "Global Christianity," in which the voices of Global South Christians spoke freely for themselves. But, as Joel Cabrita has eloquently argued, by emphasising the autonomy of local Christianities, this scholarship perhaps runs the risk of neglecting the other side of the story: that local Christians around the world have highly prized contact with Christians in the so-called Global North, as well as sustained exchanges with believers in other parts of the southern hemisphere. By choosing to only stress their regional credentials, Sanneh has neglected their universalist affiliations.⁵⁰

There is also another closely related issue, with which I will close the main part of this chapter: if Christianity's success as a world religion is to be so closely attributed to its linguistic translatability, how do we explain the success of Islam, a religion whose Holy book is written in the language of its revelation – classical Arabic – which is far from the demotic of Arab speakers?⁵¹ Richard Bulliet, for example, has calculated that the proportion of the world's Muslim community today composed of descendants of people who converted to Islam between 1500 and 1900 numbers over 50%. By contrast, if one were to perform the same calculation for this planet's present-day Protestants and Catholics whose ancestors had been converted during the same time period, the answer would be under 20%.⁵² The answer is to be found, I believe on the one hand, in the case of Islam, by the decision taken in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries CE by several rulers in SE Asia to adopt a religion that plugged them into a maritime trading network that reached the Persian Gulf; and on the other, specifically in Roman Catholicism's *material* rather than *linguistic* translatability in the form of relics, images, and other devotional objects.⁵³

However, despite such significant qualifications to the role played by linguistic translation in the making of Roman Catholicism as this planet's first world religion, before bring this chapter to a close, fuller acknowledgement needs to be made of the direct engagement of Rome, not only with non-European languages but also with the missions within and without Europe. Here, the principal agent of the relevant initiatives was the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, better known simply as Propaganda Fide, whose favouring of clergy other than the Jesuits has already been mentioned.⁵⁴

The congregation's eventual founding in 1622 post-dated the long-held interest of the papacy in converting those to be found outside Western Christendom – an impulse which went back at least to papal support for Franciscan missions to the Mongols of the thirteenth century, though its immediate origins should more properly be located in the sustained engagement of the papacy from Pius V (1566–72), with vigorous sponsorship both of the Crusade against the Ottoman Turks and with promotion of unity with the Greek Orthodox and other Christian Churches in the Levant.⁵⁵ However, under the remarkable leadership of its first secretary, Francesco Ingoli, who remained in post from 1622 until his death in 1649, Propaganda Fide promoted Rome's engagement with overseas missions according to a vision of unprecedented scope and attention to detail.⁵⁶

It was also a vision expressed in the form of a series of letters, apparently composed by Ingoli between c.1626 and 1631, addressed to the Milanese Capuchin

missionary Valeriano Magni (1586–1661), who was then active in Bohemia and Moravia, which had only lately been recovered for the “True Faith” subsequent to the Catholic victory at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. Such a practice, of course, built upon the already well-established tradition, most vigorously and famously pursued by the Jesuits, of circulating annual letters about the activities of their missionaries to the Indies, which were intended to inspire readers in the Old World, in this case the Catholic princes of Central Europe, to promote the (re)conversion of heretics in Bohemia and Moravia. The only difference was that Ingoli’s letters, perhaps owing to their extensive acknowledgement of the difficulties encountered, remained unpublished until 1999.⁵⁷ Each of the thirteen cardinals who were members of the new Congregation were allocated a geographical area for which they were responsible, which mostly corresponded to the already existing network of papal nunciatures (though notoriously, Madrid blocked attempts by the papacy to establish a nuncio for the Americas until the nineteenth century).⁵⁸ It is nonetheless noteworthy that no fewer than eight of these regions were European, which further reinforces the need for us to recognise that, from the very outset, the remit of Propaganda Fide was not only, or primarily, about the non-European missions.

7. Global Catholic Mission as Revelation or “Empire of Satan”

That said, Ingoli devoted one letter each to the four parts of the world which were then seen to comprise the globe: Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the first secretary of Propaganda Fide mapped the Roman Catholic missionary enterprise onto no less a template than the book of Revelation. Discovery of a fourth part of the world – the Americas – had been foretold in Revelation (7.1).⁶⁰ Before that, Ezekiel (1, 10) had anticipated this four-fold model when he was vouchsafed a vision of God in the shape of four angels possessing the faces of a man, an ox, a lion, and an eagle.⁶¹ Firstly, the man (Matthew) corresponded to Asia, where Adam had been first created and where the ingenuity of mankind was most in evidence in the sophisticated civilisations of Persia, India, and China; from which Ingoli concluded: “it was necessary that the missionaries to these parts were educated men, [capable] of subtle understanding and able to teach.”⁶² Next, turning to Europe, Ingoli reasoned that the Lion of Mark was appropriate to a part of the world where the courage and authority of the king of beasts, in the form of the pope as the vicar of Christ resident in the imperial city of Rome, was required to tame the inhabitants of this continent.⁶³ The particular challenge of the missions to Africa was symbolised by the bull of Luke:

For the most part they [the Africans] are only possessed of small or modest intelligence, credulous and in as much as the bull is suited for sacrifice, one might say not that [Africans] are religious but that they are very superstitious.⁶⁴

This left the Eagle of John for the Americas. Just as this was the last of the gospels to be written, argues Ingoli, so it was the last continent to be discovered.⁶⁵ What is more, the Eagle corresponded to the generosity of soul displayed by so many of the indigenous peoples in that fourth part of the world, who though they lacked in their native tongues the word for a universal, single deity, believed in a pantheon of gods overseen by a single creator of Heaven and Earth, the intercessory role of which was not dissimilar from that of Catholic saints and blessed, and was complemented by awareness of an afterlife and the existence of Heaven and Hell.⁶⁶ The natural religiosity of the indigenous Americans was also displayed in the presence of temples manned by priests who were supported by dedicated revenues, though such rituals were also mixed with those of unspeakable cruelty involving human sacrifice.⁶⁷ Yet, the inhabitants of the former Inca and Aztec empires were, by the early seventeenth century, “entirely Christian.”⁶⁸ If Cotton Mather, with whose words this chapter opened, had been able to read Ingoli’s letter, he would surely have shaken his head in recognition and grim confirmation that his description of the global Roman Catholic missionary enterprise in terms of its “unwearied and extravagant labour, [and aim] to propagate the Idolatry and Superstition of Anti-Christ and advance of the Empire of Satan” was all too accurate.

Notes

1. Cotton Mather, *India Christiana: A Discourse, Delivered unto the Commissioners, for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the American Indians: Which Is Accompanied with Several Instruments Relating to the Glorious Design of Propagating Our Holy Religion, in the Eastern as well as the Western, Indies. An Entertainment Which They That Are Waiting for the Kingdom of God Will Receive as Good News from a Far Country* (Boston: B. Green, 1721), 64. The English translation is contemporary since this edition gives facing Latin and English texts. My thanks to Jan Stievermann for drawing this text to my attention.
2. *Ibid.*, 85.
3. Thomas Kidd, *The Protestant Interest: New England After Puritanism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 2.
4. Mather, *India Christiana*, 33. See also Edward Simon, ‘Heterodox Puritanism, and the Construction of America,’ in *Puritans and Catholics in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1600–1800*, eds. Crawford Gribben and Scott Spurlock (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 164–74.
5. F. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, 4 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner, 1871–76), vol. I, xxvi.
6. Luke Clossey, ‘Belief, Knowledge, and Language,’ in *The Cambridge World History, Volume I: Introducing World History, to 10,000 BCE*, ed. David Christian (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 132–64 (at 138).
7. J. Ānanda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2012), 3. See also T. Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 27–54; L. Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions and Universal Civilization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997); D. Lopez, *From Stone to Flesh: A Short History of the Buddha* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2013); S. Ahmed, *What Is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 176–245. Judaism too has a claim to have been ‘invented’ as a religion in 1783 with the publication of Moses Mendelssohn’s

- Jerusalem oder über religiöse Macht und Judentum*. Cfr L. Batnitzky, *How Judaism Became a Religion: An Introduction to Modern Jewish Thought* (Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011).
8. Alan Strathern, personal communication to author, May 2016. See now Strathern's latest thoughts on the topic in his: *Unearthly Powers: Religious and Political Change in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), in particular 27–106. See also M. Lambek, 'What Is "Religion" for Anthropology? And What Has Anthropology Brought to Religion?' in *A Companion to the Anthropology of Religion*, eds. J. Boddy and M. Lambek (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1–31.
 9. Teresa Morgan, *Roman Faith and Christian Faith: Pistis and Fides in the Early Roman Empire and Early Churches* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
 10. A similar observation has, for example, been made in relation to understanding contemporary Jihadism by the anthropologist Scott Atran, *Talking to the Enemy: Violent Extremism, Sacred Values and What It Means to Be Human* (London: Allen Lane, 2010).
 11. John O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2013).
 12. Sanjay Subramanyam, 'Introduction,' in *The Cambridge World History, Volume 6: The Construction of a Global World, 1400–1800 CE*, eds. Jerry Bentley, Sanjay Subramanyam, and Merry Wiesner-Hanks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), part 1, Foundations, 14.
 13. For these figures, see: www.gordonconwell.edu/ockenga/research/documents/GlobalChristianityinfographic.pdfPg1.pdf (Last accessed: 1 Feb. 2019). See also David Barrett and Todd Johnson, *World Christian Trends* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey, 2001). For the non-attendance of African delegates at the World Missionary conference see Andrew F. Walls, 'Christianity in the Non-Western World: A Study in the Serial Nature of Christian Expansion,' *Studies in World Christianity*, 6 (1995), 1–25 (at 7). www.gordonconwell.edu/ockenga/research/documents/GlobalChristianityinfographic.pdfPg1.pdf (Last accessed: 1 Feb. 2019). See also Barrett and Johnson, *World Christian Trends*.
 14. According to the Brian Grim et al., eds., *Yearbook of International Religious Demography 2018* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), this year marks the first year that Africa has the most Christians – 30 million more than Latin America.
 15. Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 72–4. For a still hermeneutically helpful argument that, by contrast, "European religion is not a model for export; it is something distinct, particular to the European corner of the world, and needs to be understood as such," see Grace Davie, *Europe: The Exceptional Case. Parameters of Faith in a Modern World* (London: Continuum, 2002), passim (quotation at p. x.).
 16. Simon Ditchfield, 'Catholic Reformation and Renewal,' in *Oxford Illustrated History of the Reformation*, ed. Peter Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 152–85.
 17. *Imago primi saeculi societatis Iesu a provincia Flandro-Belgica eiusdem societatis repraesentata* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1640).
 18. This translation is taken from John O'Malley, ed., *Art, Controversy and the Jesuits: The Imago primi saeculi (1640)* (Philadelphia: St Joseph's University Press, 2015), 524–5 [p. 326 of 1640 edn.].
 19. O'Malley, *Art, Controversy and the Jesuits*, 506–7 [p. 317 of 1640 edn.].
 20. *Della vita e dell'istituto di S. Ignatio fondatore della compagnia di Giesu libri cinque* (Rome: D. Manelfi, 1650).
 21. Edmond Lamalle, 'L'archivio di un grande Ordine religioso: l'archivio Generale della Compagnia di Gesù,' *L'Archiva ecclesiae*, 24–25 (1981–82), 89–120. www.sjweb.info/arsi/documents/Lamalle.pdf (Last accessed: 13 June 2018); Robert Danieluk, *The*

- Roman Jesuit Archives* (n.d.), n.p. www.sjweb.info/arsi/documents/ARSI-english%20guide%20Februari%202012.pdf (Last accessed: 13 June 2018). See also Paul Nelles, 'Cosas y cartas: Scribal Production and Material Pathways in Jesuit Global Communication (1547–1573),' *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 2 (2015), 421–50; Paul Nelles, 'Jesuit Letters,' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, ed. Ines Županov (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 44–72.
22. George Ganss, ed., *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), 292–3, paragraphs 673–6; Markus Friedrich, 'Communication and Bureaucracy in the Early Modern Society of Jesus,' *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte*, 101 (2007), 49–75 (at 56). See also Markus Friedrich, *Der lange Arm Roms? Globale Verwaltung und Kommunikation im Jesuitenorden, 1540–1773* (Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 2011).
23. *Imago primi saeculi*, 238–46. These figures make no distinction between the different grades of Jesuit: from scholastic and novice to the fully professed via the ranks of temporal and spiritual coadjutor.
24. As was the case with the Paris-based printer Sébastien Cramoisy, who published accounts of Jesuit missions in New France over a period of forty years. See Amélie Hamel, 'Translating as a Way of Writing History: Father Du Creux's *Historiae Canadensis* and the *Relations Jésuites* of New France,' *Renaissance Studies*, 29 (2015), 143–61.
25. On the *litterae annuae* as well as Nelles, 'Jesuit Letters' cited previously at n. 21. See also Donald Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), vol. III, bk. 1, 368–79, 388–9, 402–4, 510–15. See also Markus Friedrich, 'Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae Annuae*: Towards a History of the Jesuit System of Communication,' *Archivum romanum Societatis Iesu*, 153 (2008), 3–39. Orlandini's history was completed by Sacchini and published in 1614 as *Historiae Societatis Iesu, prima pars, sive Ignatius*. Bartoli's account was published between 1650 and 1673, beginning with the *Vita e dell'istituto di S. Ignazio* and continuing with volumes on Jesuit missions in Asia (mainly India) (1653), Japan (1660), China (1663), England (1667), and Italy (1673).
26. Although, for a fuller list of works written by members of the Society not only relating to its history, reference is usually made to Charles Sommervogel's 12-volume: *Bibliothèque de la compagnie de Jésus* (1890–1932) and now its online successor: *The New Sommervogel Online* (NSO): www.brill.com/nso, perhaps a more revealing overview for the early modern period is offered by the first bio-bibliographical survey of the Jesuits, commissioned by Claudio Acquaviva from Ignatius's first biographer: Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1526–1611), whose *Illustrium scriptorum religionis societatis Iesu catalogus* was first published in 1608 and then in a revised and expanded edition (including works in manuscript) by Philippe Algambe, aided by Jean Bolland, in 1643 (*Bibliotheca scriptorum societatis Iesu*). For a recently rediscovered manuscript work see: François-Marc Gagnon et al., eds., *Codex Canadensis and the Writings of Louis Nicolas* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011).
27. *Societas Iesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans in Europa, Africa, Asia, et America, contra Gentiles, Mahometanos, Judaeos, Haereticos, Impios, pro Deo, Fide, Ecclesia, Pietate: sive vita et mors eorum qui ex Societate Iesu in causa Fidei, & Virtutis propugnatae, violenta morte toto Orbe sublatis sunt* (Prague: Typis Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae, Collegio Societatis Iesu ad S. Clementem, 1675).
28. They have been preserved at Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *F.G.* 732–59 which is helpfully described in E. Lamalle, 'La documentation d'histoire missionnaire dans le 'fondo gesuitico' aux archives romaines de la compagnie de Jesus,' *Euntes docete*, 21 (1968), 138–76 (at 160–2). The classic study remains Carlo Roscioni, *Il desiderio delle Indie: storie, sogni e fughe di giovani gesuiti italiani* (Turin: Einaudi, 2001). For the use of the terms 'Indies' and 'New World' to encompass not only the Americas but

- also Asia Elizabeth Horodowich & Alexander Nagel, 'Amerasia: European reflections of an emergent world, 1492-ca.1700', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 23 (2019), pp. 257–95.
29. Camilla Russell, 'Imagining the "Indies": Italian Jesuit Petitions for the Overseas Missions at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century,' in *L'Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi: per Adriano Prosperi*, eds. M. Donattini, G. Marcocci, and S. Pastore (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2011), 179–89. For discussion of the *litterae indipetae* after 1814 and down to the 20th century, see the essays in: Guido Mongini and Emanuele Colombo, eds., "L'ardentissima brama" delle missioni. Nuove fonti per la storia della Compagnia de Gesù tra Otto e Novecento – percorsi di ricerca nelle lettere indipetae,' *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa*, XLV/88, 9 (2016), 9–152.
 30. For a fascinating case study where it has been possible to examine both sides of the correspondence, see Elisa Frei, 'The Many Faces of Ignazio Maria Romeo SJ (1676–1724?), Petitioner for the Indies: A Jesuit Seen Through the *litterae indipetae* and the *epistulae generalium*,' *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 170 (2016), 365–404.
 31. M. Joseph Costelloe, ed., *Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier* (St. Louis, MI: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992), 113–15.
 32. Decree 82 para. 3 from the 6th General Congregation (1616) in John Padberg et al., eds., *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations* (St. Louis, MI: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994), 275.
 33. 'The General Examen,' chap. 6, para 117 in Ganss, *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 114. This was a distinctive feature of the Jesuits: "In the older orders it is clear that everyone, priests, choir brothers and laymen, make solemn profession after their novitiate." See Antonnio de Adalma, *An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions* (Rome and St. Louis, MI: Institute of Jesuit Sources and Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1989), 27.
 34. Decree 24 para 1 and 2 from the 6th General Congregation in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 259.
 35. Liam Brockey, *The Visitor: André Palmeiro and the Jesuits in Asia* (Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap Press, 2014), 52–3.
 36. Liam Brockey, *Journey to the East. The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 357ff; Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Friars and Virgins: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009). See also for the wider historiographical context: David Mungello, 'Reinterpreting the History of Christianity in China,' *Historical Journal*, 55 (2012), 533–52.
 37. Alida C. Metcalf, *Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500–1600* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005).
 38. Nicolas Standaert, *Chinese Voices in the Rites Controversy: Travelling Books, Community Networks, Intercultural Arguments* (Rome: Institutum historicum societatis Iesu, 2012); M. Antoni Üçerler, 'The Jesuits in East Asia in the Early Modern Age: A New "Areopagus" and the "Re-invention" of Christianity,' in *The Jesuits and Globalization: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Challenges*, eds. Thomas Banchoff and José Casanova (Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 2016), 27–47.
 39. Paolo Aranha, 'The Social and Physical Spaces of the Malabar Rites Controversy,' in *Space and Conversion in Global Perspective*, eds. Giuseppe Marcocci, Wietse de Boer, Aliocha Maldavsky and Ilaria Pavan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 214–31 (at 215).
 40. For a comparative picture of the role played by accommodation in Jesuit missions, see the important volume: Ines Županov and Pierre Antoine Favre, eds., *The Rites Controversies in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).
 41. John Charles, *Allies at Odds: The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents, 1583–1671* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 3.

42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., 9.
44. William Taylor, 'Between Nativitas and Mexico City,' in *Local Religion in Colonial Mexico*, ed. Martin A. Nesvig (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 91–117.
45. See the two contrasting interpretations of Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, Barbary Coast and Italy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) – the maximalist account – versus the much more precise calculations of the admittedly smaller sample in Nabil Matar, *British Captives from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1563–1760* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014).
46. John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Global History of Empire Since 1405* (London: Penguin, 2007).
47. Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. D. Womersley, 6 vols. in 3 (London: Penguin, 1994), 3: 336 (1st edn., 1788, vol. 5, chap. 52). See also J.C. Sharman, *Empires of the Weak: The Real Story of European Expansion and the Creation of the New World Order* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019).
48. Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion Is Christianity? The Gospel Beyond the West* (Grand Rapids MI and Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2003), 97. Though, of course, his focus on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and emphasis on Protestantism downplayed the reality that until Vatican II (1962–65), Roman Catholicism preserved Latin, rather than the vernacular, as the sacred language of the liturgy. To adapt Tom Nairn's memorable formulation slightly: the Catholics, en masse, were not invited into history quite so warmly or fully since the invitation card was not written in the vernacular for them to understand. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London: Verso, 1991), 80. My thanks to Stefano Villani for making me think harder about this.
49. Alan Durston, *Pastoral Quechua: The History of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550–1650* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2007).
50. Joel Cabrita, 'Revisiting "Translatability" and African Christianity: The Case of the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion,' *Studies in Church History*, 53 (2017), 448–75. See also Joel Cabrita, *Text and Authority in the South African Nazaretha Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
51. Though now see the eloquent case made by Ronit Ricci for the existence of an "Arabic cosmopolis" – a deliberate echo of Sheldon Pollock's "Sanskrit cosmopolis" – in south and southeast Asia, and for the importance of translation out of Arabic and into the vernacular, specifically, Javanese, Tamil, and Malay, for conversion to Islam. See her: *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011). My thanks to Stefano Villani for pointing me to the significance of this important study. For the pre-modern period, a correspondingly significant role in the spread of Islam was played by translations into the Persian language. See Dick Davies, 'Persian Literature,' in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. IV, ed. Robin Irwin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 414–23. Thanks to my colleague Harry Munt for his discussion with me on this point.
52. The lands which converted to Islam during the period c. 1500–c. 1700 included much of the territory covered by the following modern-day states: Bangladesh, Malaysia, Indonesia, large groups of sub-Saharan Africans, and most of the Muslims of Pakistan, India, and China. In addition, one should factor into calculations the substantial populations of SE Europe and Central Asia. Richard Bulliet, *The Case for Islamo-Christian Civilization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 40–1.
53. This is the subject of my essay: 'Translating Christianity in an Age of Reformations,' *Studies in Church History*, 53 (2017), 164–95.

54. Giovanni Pizzorusso, *Governare le missioni, conoscere il mondo nel XVII secolo. La Congregazione Pontifica di Propaganda Fide* (Viterbo: Edizioni Sette Città, 2018).
55. Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), 256–89. For the best account of previous papal initiatives in this area which immediately preceded the foundation of Propaganda Fide, see Josef Metzler, 'Wegbereiter und Vorläufer der Kongregation, Vorschläge und erste Gründungsversuche einer römischen Missionzentrale,' in *Sacrae congregationis de propaganda fide memoria rerum, Volume 1/1: 1622–1700*, ed. J. Metzler (Rome, Freiburg and Vienna, 1971), 38–78.
56. On the career of Ingoli (1578–1649), see the excellent entry by Giovanni Pizzorusso in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Volume 62 (2004).
57. Francesco Ingoli, *Relazione delle quattro parti del mondo*, ed. Fabio Tosi (Vatican City, 1991). This division of the globe by nunciatures was approved by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide on 8 March 1622 and was printed as: *Libellus Divisionis Provinciarum Orbis Terrarum* (Rome, n.d.), Archivio storico di Propaganda Fide, *Miscellanea Varie*, vol. XIV/a, fol. 642 [1–14]. This has been published in Metzler, *Memoria rerum*, vol. III/3, 659–61. See also Giovanni Pizzorusso, 'Per servitor della Sacra Congregazione De Propaganda Fide. I nunzi apostolici e le missioni tra centralità romana e chiesa universale,' *Cheiron*, XV, 30 (1998), 201–27 (at 207–10).
58. This division of the globe by nunciatures was approved by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide on 8 Mar. 1622 and was printed as: *Libellus Divisionis Provinciarum*. This has been published in Metzler, *Memoria rerum*, vol. III/3, 659–61. See also Pizzorusso, 'Per servitor della Sacra Congregazione.'
59. Ingoli, *Relazione*, 11–78 (Europe); 81–176 (Asia); 179–227 (Africa) and 231–67 (America). In addition, there was a final, briefer letter on Rome itself (271–89) which surveyed the various institutions in the city that supported the global missionary enterprise.
60. Ingoli, *Relazione*, 232. The relevant scriptural passage in full runs: "And after these things I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree."
61. Ingoli, *Relazione*, 232. "Their faces looked like this: Each of the four had the face of a human being, and on the right side each had the face of a lion, and on the left the face of an ox; each also had the face of an eagle."
62. Ingoli, *Relazione*, 234. "Per la qual cagione converrebbe, che i missionarii, che in quelle parti si mandano, fossero huomini scienziati, e di sottile intendimento, et atti ad insegnare."
63. *Ibid.*, 234–5.
64. Ingoli, *Relazione*, 236. "Et in buona parte sono d'ingegno, o piccolo, o mezzano, e facili al credere; et in quant oil Bue, come animale già disposti al sacrificio, significa la religione, sotto essi, non dirò religiosi, solamente, ma superstitiosissimi."
65. *Ibid.*, 238.
66. *Ibid.*, 239, 265.
67. *Ibid.*, 266.
68. Ingoli, *Relazione*, 243. "sono hoggi del tutto Christiane."

2 “The Jesuits Have Shed Much Blood for Christ”

Early Modern Protestants and the Problem of Catholic Overseas Missions

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According to Cardinal Bellarmine, there were fifteen notes of the true Church, the fourth being “Amplitudo.” The amplitude of the Church was seen in “Multitudo & Varietas Credientium,” the multitude and variety of believers. More precisely, “The truly Catholick Church ought not only to comprehend all Ages, but also all Places, all Nations, and all Sorts of Men.” Such amplitude could only be found in the Church of Rome:

Rome hath Churches in all four Parts of the World; to the East in the Indies, to the West in America, to the North in Japan, to the South in Brasil, and the uttermost Part of Africa . . . In this one century the Catholics have converted many thousands of heathens in the new world . . . The Lutherans compare themselves to the apostles and the evangelists; yet though they have among them a very large number of Jews, and in Poland and Hungary have the Turks as their near neighbors, they have hardly converted so much as a handful.¹

As one of Bellarmine’s English defenders put it, “All Heathenism and Heresie is confin’d, in respect of the Catholick Church, which is unconfin’d: Europe will not hold it, nor Asia, nor Africa, nor is America without it.”²

1. The Missionary Gap

Historians have questioned the bold claims of this “amplitude apologetic.”³ As Simon Ditchfield observes in Chapter 1, it took centuries for post-Tridentine Roman Catholicism to become a world religion, and the process had only begun in the early modern era. Nevertheless, one cannot deny the missionary gap between Catholicism and Protestantism. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Catholic Church had thousands of cross-cultural missionaries, while Protestants had practically none. The German Lutheran Peter Heyling (1607/08–1652), known as the first Protestant missionary to Egypt and Ethiopia, is the exception that proves the rule – from the start of his mission in 1634, he spent more time reforming

Coptic Christians than converting Muslims, and devoted much effort to blocking the Jesuit mission to Abyssinia.⁴ Prior to the 1640s and 1650s, there were few, if any, like him.

Nevertheless, Charles Parker has recently sought to challenge the “framework of failure” that dominates the history of seventeenth-century Protestant missions. He points to the missionary impulse within Dutch Protestantism, represented by both the Arminian Hugo Grotius, author of the apologetic treatise *De Veritate Religionis Christianae* (1627), and the high Calvinist Gisbertus Voetius, keen advocate of missionary activity in the Dutch colonial sphere. The Dutch East India Company funded ministers to spread Christianity in the Indian Ocean, and in Formosa and Batavia, the Dutch Reformed had thousands of Asian and Eurasian church members. Catholic and Reformed missions faced the same challenges and employed similar strategies, beginning by making accommodations with indigenous culture and religion, before retreating from hybridity.⁵ Other historians have traced the intellectual roots of the missionary project to seventeenth-century Reformed millennialism, or emphasised pioneering episodes and individuals: the stillborn Genevan mission to Brazil in the 1550s; the more successful New England ventures of the Mayhews and John Eliot among Native Americans a century later; and the missionary sponsorship of the natural philosopher, Robert Boyle.⁶ Armed with such evidence, one can argue that the rise of Protestant missions had begun long before the founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1701, or the establishment of British evangelical missionary societies in the 1790s.

Yet when all these qualifications have been made, the “framework of failure” still stands. Jeffrey Cox begins his study of “the British missionary enterprise” in 1700, explaining that “purposeful Christian expansion outside the west before the eighteenth century had been almost entirely Roman Catholic.”⁷ Alec Ryrie concurs: sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Protestants “made no sustained or systematic efforts to engage in cross-cultural mission.” This “particular dog did not bark,” though “it did sometimes stir and grumble in its sleep.” Protestant missionary efforts were heavily dependent on “the enthusiasm of a handful of isolated individuals” – Heyling, Mayhew, Eliot, and Boyle.⁸ Indeed, in seventeenth-century English, the words “mission” and “missionaries” were associated almost exclusively with Rome. Note the definition supplied by the dictionary of Edward Phillips, John Milton’s nephew:

Mission, (lat.) a sending, it is also taken peculiarly for a power given by the Church of *Rome*, to go into other Countries and preach the Catholick Faith, and those that are thus sent, as called *Missionaries*, or fathers of the *Mission*.⁹

A decade later, in 1677, another dictionary defined mission as “a sending, also a Popish Commission to preach the Roman Faith in other Countries”; missionaries were “the Priests that are so sent.”¹⁰ In the seventeenth century, missionaries were, almost by definition, “Catholick,” “Romish,” or “Popish missionaries.”

The Protestant mission was held back by various factors, both structural and ideological.¹¹ Protestants remained deeply embattled in the seventeenth century, focussed on survival more than expansion, preoccupied by the Catholic threat. In comparison with Catholic powers, Protestant states lagged behind in the creation of overseas colonies. Protestants had no religious orders, and thus tied clergy to existing congregations. And, Protestant slaveholders often blocked attempts to convert slaves, fearing that this would blur the boundaries between slave and free and threaten slavery itself. At the same time, there were intellectual barriers: the orthodox Lutheran conviction that Christ's missionary commission had been fulfilled by the apostles, the eschatological belief that the mass conversion of the heathen would not take place until the conversion of the Jews, and the idea that barbarous natives had to be civilised (i.e., Europeanised) before they could be evangelised. Together, these factors help to explain why Protestant missionary activity was far outstripped by Catholics, and even by that heterodox sect, the Quakers.¹²

In the eighteenth century, the missionary gap did begin to narrow, though only slowly. Anglican initiatives enjoyed limited success: the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and John Wesley's mission to Georgia are emblematic, though each has received sympathetic treatment in recent studies.¹³ New England Congregationalists sought to revive their mission to the dwindling Indian population, and inspired growing interest in cross-cultural mission through the writings of Cotton Mather and the diary of David Brainerd (carefully edited by the revivalist Jonathan Edwards).¹⁴ Church of Scotland minister Robert Millar advanced the missionary cause by writing *The History of the Propagation of Christianity*, a work republished several times in the eighteenth century.¹⁵ The most influential Protestant missionaries were the German Pietists, starting with the Halle Pietist mission to the Danish colony of Tranquebar in India in 1706, established by Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau.¹⁶ More important still were the Moravians, who by 1760 had sent over two hundred missionaries as far afield as Greenland, the Caribbean, and West Africa. Their example was a significant factor in the English evangelical missionary awakening of the late eighteenth century, which witnessed the birth of Methodist missions under Thomas Coke, and the founding of the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), the London Missionary Society (1795), and the Church Missionary Society (1799).¹⁷

If the traditional narrative of Protestant mission concentrated on white pioneers, recent work has recovered the dynamism of "native apostles."¹⁸ In Martha's Vineyard, the Mayhews relied heavily on indigenous evangelists such as Hiacoomes.¹⁹ In Massachusetts, "John Eliot's Indian Bible" was made possible by a team of gifted native linguists: Cockenoe, John Sassamon, and Job Nesutan.²⁰ In the Danish Caribbean, the Moravian message was spread among the enslaved by native evangelists such as Rebecca Protten, who married a Moravian missionary and spent the final decades of her life teaching children in West Africa.²¹ In the British Atlantic world, Native American preachers such as Samuel Occom and black evangelists such as David George facilitated the spread of Protestantism among non-whites.²² In Jamaica, the African American Baptist George Liele

began a movement of “Native” or “Ethiopian” Baptists a decade before William Carey and the conventional “birth” of Baptist missions.²³ Here we see the glimmerings of global evangelical Protestantism.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Protestant inferiority complex had given way to a growing sense of superiority. It seemed that Catholicism was in retreat, unable to cope with the pressures of modernity; the future lay with Protestantism. Writing in 1854, an American Presbyterian dismissed Bellarmine’s amplitude apologetic, and voiced the burgeoning self-confidence of the Protestant world:

We point the advocate of Rome to the fact, that Protestant nations rule the literature, commerce, arts, sciences, and civil destinies of the world. The Papacy is in its decrepitude. It is hastening to its downfall, while the missions of Protestantism, with an open Bible, are carrying the blessings of the gospel all the world over. Already the isles of the Pacific are like stars in the diadem of the Redeemer; and from the foggy shores of Greenland to the teeming plains of exuberant India; from the red-skin Indians of the American prairies to the sable children of Africa; from kindreds, and tongues, and people who sat in darkness, are now arising the songs of praise and thanksgiving for the blessings of that gospel which the missions of Protestant churches have carried to their shores. As Rome is tottering to its downfall, the day of the Church’s freedom draws nigh. Her millennial glory is at hand.²⁴

2. Protestant Critique of Catholic Missions

Early modern English-speaking Protestants could make no such boasts, and they had to find other ways to counter the amplitude apologetic. How could they respond to what the Calvinist bishop Joseph Hall resentfully called “the glorious bragge of the Roman Universalitie,” the argument that the true Church “is more likely to bee found in all the world, then in a corner”?²⁵ During the reign of James II, William Sherlock assembled a crack team of Anglican divines to boost Protestant morale by writing separate essays on Bellarmine’s “Notes of the Church.” The task of tackling the fourth note fell to the London clergyman Edward Fowler, a well-known latitudinarian.²⁶ Despite his support for a broad and comprehensive national church, Fowler began by denying Bellarmine’s premise that size matters. “The Kingdom of Satan” was “always incomparably more numerous” than the true Church. All of Asia Minor had worshipped Diana of the Ephesians, Arianism was once so popular that Athanasius was “against the whole World,” “that great Imposter Mahomet” had as many followers as Rome, and the Antichrist of the Book of Revelation was given power “over all Kindreds and Tongues and Nations.” The true Church was “a little flock.” There were “very many plain Prophecies” of the conversion of Jews and Gentiles in the latter days, but “the largeness of its Extent, or the Numerousness of its Members” was a contingent “Attribute,” not an “Essential” note of the Church.²⁷

Even if amplitude was an essential note of the true Church, argued Fowler, this would not help Bellarmine. Most of the world’s Christians “acknowledge no

Subjection to the See of Rome.” Indeed, Fowler was even prepared to go toe to toe with Bellarmine on numbers. “It hath been estimated upon Computation,” he wrote with some bravado, “that the Churches subject to the Roman See exceed not much the Reformed Churches in Amplitude, or Multitude of Members.” Rome could boast southern Europe, but Protestants claimed much of northern Europe; Rome had adherents in Eastern Europe, but so had Protestants; and “the Protestants have also *their* Churches in the *New World*.”²⁸ Not everyone was so sanguine about Protestant numbers. The nonconformist Richard Baxter frequently reminded his English readers that only a tiny fraction of the world’s population was Protestant: “how few are the Reformed churches!”²⁹ Yet he was quick to observe that the numbers game hardly helped the Roman Catholics, either. Citing “the best Geographers,” Baxter wrote that

if you divide the World into thirty parts . . . nineteen of them are Heathens, and six are Mahometans, and but five are Christians taking in all sorts: and yet the Papists that are not near half of these five, would unchurch all the rest.³⁰

The eighteenth-century Dissenter Samuel Chandler reached the same conclusion:

The Pagans and Mahometans are vastly superior in number to the Papists; and if the different denominations of Christians, such as Protestants, Grecians, Armenians, and others that may be named, are added together, who renounce her communion, the multitude will be much larger than the church of Rome can boast of.³¹

Even when measured by its own criteria, Rome was a failure.

Nevertheless, it was impossible to deny the relative scale of the Catholic missionary enterprise when juxtaposed with the paltry efforts of their confessional rivals. The New England Puritan Cotton Mather lamented “the vast crue of Missionaries from the overstockt Fraternities.”³² There could be no refuge in ignorance, not least because travel literature exposed the English to tales of the missionaries. Between the 1680s and the 1710s, a variety of Jesuit travel narratives and histories were translated into English, providing a guide to the mysteries of the Levant and Persia, China, Siam, and Ethiopia.³³ The two-volume collection *Travels of the Jesuits* appeared in 1743 and was republished in 1762, soon followed by another two-volume work, *The History of Paraguay* (1769), by the Jesuit Pierre-Francois-Xavier le Charlevoix.³⁴ There were also translations of Jesuit works of martyrology and biography. Pedro Morejon’s *A Brieffe Relation* (1619) depicted the persecution of Japanese Catholics. The English seminary at St Omer printed a translation of Grazio Torsellino’s *The Admirable Life of S Francis Xavier* (1632), and an abridgement followed in 1667. John Dryden’s translation of Dominique Bouhours *Life of St Francis Xavier* appeared in 1688 and was republished in 1743 before being abridged in 1764. English readers curious about the world beyond the West could not avoid the Jesuits.

If Protestants could not ignore “the missionaries,” they could denigrate them. The most hostile accounts depicted them as emissaries of Satan. According to Thomas Gage, a former Dominican who had converted to Protestantism, they were “bringing . . . damnation and misery” to the “poor and wretched souls” of America and Asia, “under the pretence of salvation.” Gage alleged that three quarters of the friars in Spanish America were men of lewd lives, and cited the example of the notorious John Navarro of Guatemala City, who bore a scar on his face inflicted by a husband he had cuckolded.³⁵ Gage dedicated his book to the Lord General of the New Model Army, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and in it promoted the idea of an English invasion of the Caribbean. When Oliver Cromwell put this Western Design into practice in 1654–55, Gage sailed with the invasion force as a chaplain and advisor, eventually dying of disease in Jamaica after the capture of the island.³⁶ The Western Design was conceived as part of the end-times battle between Christ and Antichrist – a geopolitical struggle between confessional enemies.

Anti-Catholicism was hardwired into Protestant eschatology. Many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English commentators shared the Reformers’ belief that the Roman Papacy was the Antichrist predicted in the Book of Revelation.³⁷ With the rise of millenarianism among Reformed theologians in the seventeenth century, confidence in the Antichrist’s imminent fall began to grow along with optimism about the Protestant future.³⁸ Expectation of a coming millennium was one of the key factors behind rising missionary ambition in Anglo-American Protestantism.³⁹ The shaking of Rome’s spiritual empire was a necessary prelude to the coming reign of Christ. According to the Methodist Anglican Melvill Horne, writing in the wake of the French Revolution, the prospects for Protestant mission were bright because “the latter ends of the world are fallen on us”:

In the West, the Roman Antichrist, accursed of God and man, is sinking under the reiterated strokes of divine vengeance. The God of the Christians is baring his arm, and exposing the nakedness of the Scarlet Whore with whom the nations of the earth have committed spiritual fornication . . . Yet a little while, and we shall hear the cry, *Babylon the Great* is fallen.⁴⁰

One hallmark of the Antichrist was religious coercion. The Spaniards were particularly notorious for forced conversion. As one Nonconformist divine explained, “it is none of God’s way . . . to convert the Heathens by robbing them of their Goods, and Estates, and butchering their Persons, which was the method that the Spaniards took to Gospelize the Indians.”⁴¹ The Anglican divine Michael Geddes published a series of anti-Catholic works that drew attention to the churches of Malabar and Ethiopia who were “never at any time under the papal yoke,” but who had subsequently come under Roman assault. The Malabar Christians had experienced “the persecutions and violent methods of the Roman prelates, to reduce them to the subjection of the church of Rome.”⁴² Cotton Mather declared that “the Apostate Church” disliked the primitive way of propagating the Gospel by “uncorrupt preaching,” preferring other “Methods . . . by Fire and Sword, and

bloody Murders and Massacres, like those which the Spaniards committed upon the poor Indians . . . or by the Inquisition . . . or finally, by Seditions, Rebellions, Conspiracies.”⁴³ It did not help that Jesuit missionaries were associated with the aggressive re-Catholicisation of France and Eastern Europe. Contemporaries talked of “Dragoon Missionaries” sent to torment “those whom they call Hereticks.”⁴⁴

The theme of forced conversion remained prominent in later accounts of sixteenth-century Catholic missions. The distinguished Church of Scotland minister George Campbell reminded his readers that the Portuguese established an Inquisition at Goa, and that the missionaries relied on “the victorious fleets and armies of the King of Portugal” – “How unlike the case of the poor fishermen of Galilee!” The Christianity preached to the infidels in the sixteenth century was “a bloody, murtherous religion, that had been inured to slaughter for five or six hundred years.” It was hardly surprising that the Jesuit mission had “provoked a persecution” in Japan.⁴⁵ “The Spaniards forced popery upon the inhabitants of South-America,” wrote the Baptist William Carey, “and the Portuguese in Asia.”⁴⁶ Melvill Horne concurred: in Spanish America, “Christianity was a mere state engine,” designed to achieve “the subjugation of the poor savages to the dominion of Spain.”⁴⁷

Although such lurid charges were common, Protestants were just as likely to opt for a deflationary account of Catholic missions. A standard accusation was that the mass conversions claimed by Catholic missionaries were superficial and inauthentic. The German Lutheran jurist Samuel Pufendorf noted that the Jesuits “commonly boast of great numbers of Heathens converted by them,” but he wondered if “a great many of these have not rather taken upon them the Name, than the Faith of Christians.”⁴⁸ The Pietist missionary to India Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg feared that the Romish missionaries “think they have done their Duty, after they have seen their Converts sprinkled with Water.”⁴⁹ Robert Millar, the Scottish historian of Christian missions, gave “little Credit to the Numbers” of Xavier’s converts. In Asia, 200,000 were said to have been converted, “but these apostasised so fast, that there was scarce one of them to be found there Seven Years after.” In sharp contrast to John Eliot and the Lutheran Pietists, “none of these missionaries ever put the Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments into the hands of their pretended proselytes.”⁵⁰ Protestants might not be able to match Catholic numbers, but what they lacked in quantity, they made up for in quality. Cotton Mather declared that John Eliot’s work among the Indians of Massachusetts went “beyond what any *Xavier* could pretend unto!”⁵¹ Roman Catholic mission produced nominal Christians.

Catholic missionaries had made things easy for themselves and their converts by accommodating Christianity with paganism. This was possible, argued their Protestant critics, because Catholicism was already compromised by image worship and idolatry. The pure Gospel was a harder sell than Popery, lamented Richard Baxter; “their doctrines are more suitable to corrupted nature.”⁵² Baxter’s Congregationalist counterpart, the theologian John Owen, suggested that Roman missionaries made superficial conversions among the Indians by “giving them

New Images instead of their Old *Idols*, and New *Saints* for their former *Zemes*." Roman Catholicism was the archetypal formalism, having the "outward Form" of religion, but not its power.⁵³ The Pietist Ziegenbalg suggested that Romish conversion was not a translation from darkness to light, but "from one Piece of Pageantry to another."⁵⁴ The young John Wesley agreed: "I am not persuaded, that the Roman Missionaries (very few excepted) either know, or teach, true, genuine, religion." The letters of Xavier testified that "even the most religious that ever was among them . . . never taught one tittle of the religion of the heart, but barely opinions and externals."⁵⁵

The Jesuit missionaries were said to be syncretists who had polluted pure Christianity with impure mixtures. The latitudinarian scholar Edward Stillingfleet alleged that Hierome Xavier (a kinsman of Francis) had "framed an excellent Gospel of his own" for the Mogul emperor Akbar around 1602, consisting of narratives about Christ's mother taken from the fraudulent book *de Navitate S. Mariae*, falsely attributed to St Jerome. That the Jesuits dared "so horribly to adulterate and corrupt the very story of the Bible" showed "what kind of Gospel it is which they propagated in the Indies."⁵⁶ Morgan Godwyn, another Anglican, suggested that in order to "facilitate" the conversion of blacks in the Caribbean, Catholic missionaries "do condescend to humour them in divers things," even "representing our Blessed Saviour in the *Negro's Complexion*."⁵⁷

Protestants were aware of the Chinese rites controversy, in which Dominicans and Franciscans had reported the Jesuits to Rome for permitting their converts to persist in ancestral and imperial rituals. Robert Millar described the controversy at length, concluding that it showed how Catholic missionaries "rather cloak *Heathenish Idolatry*, than promote *True Christianity*."⁵⁸ William Carey noted that the Jesuits allowed their Chinese converts "to honour the image of CONFUCIUS"; Melvill Horne thought this unsurprising, since Catholics themselves had long offered "saint worship to that Moloch, [St] Dominick, and other illustrious villains of the papal calendar."⁵⁹ Millar complained that "the Papists invoke and idolize Xavier, and keep Festivals to his Memory."⁶⁰ There was an elective affinity between popish and pagan idolatry.

The counterfeit religion of the missionaries was also evident in their miracle claims. Although the Protestant Reformers still inhabited an enchanted cosmos replete with angels, demons, and providential portents, they taught that the apostolic gift of miracles had ceased at some point after the first century.⁶¹ It followed, as the latitudinarian Gilbert Burnet put it, that "what noise soever the *Missionaries* may make with their *Miracles* in those remote parts, it is plain, these are all Impostures."⁶² The alleged wonder-working of Francis Xavier attracted particular scorn. The millenarian commentator Thomas Brightman jibed that Xavier had "rayseed the dead by heaps."⁶³ Bishop Joseph Hall also ridiculed such "holy frauds" and "the Iesuiticall bragge of their Indian Miracles." Although Bellarmine had vouched for the saint's "Indian Wonders," "his brother [José de] Acosta, who continued many yeeres spent in those parts can pull him by the sleeve, and tell him in his eare, so loud that all the world may hear him, *Prodigia nulla producimus*."⁶⁴ Michael Geddes, a later Anglican divine, observed that Bellarmine, unable to find

a credible miracle in Europe, “goes for one as far as the East Indies.”⁶⁵ Critics suggested that Xavier had not mentioned any miracles in his own correspondence. As the Huguenot Pierre Jurieu put it, “tis pretty strange that none knew any thing of these Miracles till after Xavier was dead.” Jurieu added that “a vast number of Missionaries have gone into those Countreys” since Xavier, “who have not been able to work Miracles.”⁶⁶ Another writer noted that the Jesuits themselves debated “why Miracles are not wrought now for the Conversion of the Nations, as of old by the Apostles?”⁶⁷ Protestants also relished the fact that Jesuit missionaries (by their own admission) lacked the apostolic gift of tongues: unlike the first Christians at Pentecost, they had to go through the arduous business of learning foreign languages.⁶⁸

Protestant scepticism about Catholic wonders fed into the Enlightenment debate about miracles. Dutch Arminian theologian Philip van Limborch, friend and correspondent of Burnet and Locke, had an index entry in his systematic theology for “Xavier, Francis, his Foolishness.”⁶⁹ The Anglican bishop George Lavington attacked the Methodists by highlighting the gullibility they shared with Papists who swallowed tales of Xavier’s miracles.⁷⁰ Conyers Middleton, in his *Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers* (1749), labelled Xavier “one of [the Catholics] most eminent wonder-workers,” but claimed that his pretensions had been exposed.⁷¹ By the 1760s, Voltaire could write that “even the populace” was becoming suspicious about miracle claims.

If the writers of the life of Francis Xavier were living, they would not dare to tell us that their saint raised nine dead persons to life, or that he was upon the sea and upon the land at one and the same time, or that his crucifix having fallen into the sea, a lobster came and brought it to him again.⁷²

Christian apologists like George Campbell and the Anglican William Paley knew that sceptics such as Voltaire and David Hume sought to discredit biblical miracles by rubbishing Roman Catholic wonders. In response, Campbell and Paley emphasised fundamental differences between credible apostolic miracles and bogus Popish ones. The spectacular growth of primitive Christianity was inexplicable without miracles, especially the resurrection, since the early Church enjoyed none of the advantages of modern Catholic powers. By contrast, the claims surrounding the Jesuit “Apostle of the Indies” failed basic evidential tests: unlike the Gospel stories of Christ’s miracles, the accounts of Xavier were “published at a vast distance from the supposed scene of the wonders.”⁷³ Catholic missions stood accused of fostering credulity rather than faith.

3. Protestant Appreciation of Catholic Missions

Despite this damning indictment, some Protestants did acknowledge the merits of the Catholic missionary enterprise. When defending Xavier against his detractors, the Catholic apologist Richard Challoner was able to quote several Protestant testimonies to the saint’s good character.⁷⁴ Even the severest critics of the Jesuits had

to admit their drive and commitment. Robert Millar recognised Xavier's "great Pains," and the Pietist missionary Ziegenbalg noted the "unwearied Pains" of the Jesuit "in propagating Religion in the East."⁷⁵ In citing a Jesuit missionary in South America, Robert Boyle wrote that he was "upon the Laudable Design of Converting Infidels to Christianity."⁷⁶ When writing of Xavier, George Campbell admitted that "there is no man in these latter ages who has been so much, and I believe so deservedly, celebrated for his labours in this way." "His pious intentions," continued Campbell, "deserve the commendation of those who can pity his errors and absurdities."⁷⁷ The Quaker Robert Barclay cited Xavier's correspondence to support the Quaker claim that even pagans had "an *Inward, Innate Light* in the Soul," clear evidence that "the *Universal Love* of God is extended to all."⁷⁸ At the end of the eighteenth century, the Welsh antiquarian Thomas Pennant, though not uncritical of the Jesuits, emphasised the contrast between the genuine Christianity of Xavier and the callousness of Japanese religion towards the sick and infirm. Xavier's mission provided proofs of the moral superiority of the Christian Gospel.⁷⁹

In general, high Churchmen, Pietists and Methodists were more admiring of Xavier than were English latitudinarians or Scottish Moderates, who recoiled from the fervent zeal of Jesuit missionaries.⁸⁰ When, as a young high Church Anglican, John Wesley set out on his missionary voyage to Georgia, he packed *The Life of Francis Xavier*. Indeed, Geordan Hammond suggests that to some extent Wesley "modelled his missionary vision" upon it.⁸¹ As an evangelical leader, Wesley later drew a bold comparison between Xavier and St Paul (who had been deserted by his companions in Asia): "Perhaps a little Measure of the same Spirit might remain with him, under whose Picture are those affecting Words, 'The true Effigy of *Francis Xavier*, Apostle of the Indies, forsaken of all Men, dying in a Cottage.'" ⁸² In a private letter written in 1772, he was yet more daring: "Here was a martyrdom, I had almost said, more glorious than that of St Paul or St Peter!" ⁸³ Wesley produced an abridged edition of Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, a Protestant work with an unusually sympathetic description of the Jesuit missionary.⁸⁴ When the Methodist leader died, a memoir declared that his own prodigious labours were comparable to those of David Brainerd and Francis Xavier.⁸⁵ Wesley's Methodists recognised Xavier as a missionary saint.

The best evidence for this is *The Life of Francis Xavier: Abridged from Father Bouhours* (1764). This was edited by one of Wesley's itinerants in Ireland, James Morgan, though he completed the biography while in Kent and simply described himself as "a member of the Church of England."⁸⁶ He admitted that the unabridged *Life* written by Bouhours contained much that was "far from being grateful to a protestant reader." In particular, the narrative had to be shorn of "miracles and wonders," so that it consisted simply of "particulars" that would "promote the interests of true piety." Yet the Methodist described Xavier as a "holy" and "apostolic man," observing that "the excellency" of his character had been "so strongly and respectfully attested in the protestant world." He rejoiced "that God should from time to time raise up men in that benighted church, who may be truly stiled burning and shining lights!" Evangelical readers were benefiting from

Thomas à Kempis, De Renty, Pascal, and Madame Guyon; why should they not also learn from the Jesuit missionary?⁸⁷ Thus, Morgan's *Life of Francis Xavier* was not designed as a critical reappraisal, but as an inspirational biography in the genre of godly lives. In 1772, a critic claimed that Wesley himself "hath patronised a translation of the Life of the Jesuit Xavier, as a proper manuel for the edification of his flock."⁸⁸ Given Wesley's admiration for Xavier, and his own work in editing Catholic texts, this is entirely plausible, and it may well be Morgan's abridgement that was read by Thomas Coke, the pioneer of Methodist missions in the Caribbean, whose journal recorded the impression made by the biography: "O for a soul like his! But, glory be to God there is nothing impossible with him."⁸⁹

Many Protestants did not share the Wesleyan admiration for Xavier, but Protestant missions had long been spurred by the Jesuit example. When the New Englander John Eliot considered "the remarkable Zeal of the *Romish* Missionaries compassing Sea and Land that they might make Proselytes," it "made his devout Soul think of it with a further Disdain, that we should come any whit behind in our care to Evangelize the *Indians*, whom we dwelt amongst."⁹⁰ In Lutheran Germany, the philosopher Leibniz published his correspondence with the Jesuit missionaries in China – *Novissima Sinica* – and approached the Pietist leader August Herman Francke about a Protestant mission to China. The Halle Pietists noted that Jesuit expertise in mathematics had given them access to Chinese cultural elites.⁹¹ In England, Thomas Bray recognised the need for an Anglican counterpart to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and its work in Florida and New France.⁹² In New England, Congregationalists such as Cotton Mather and Benjamin Colman were jealous of Jesuit missions, particularly now that the Praying Indian communities established by Eliot had withered in the wake of King Philip's War. As Thomas Kidd observes, "the clerical leaders of New England had not entirely given up on native American missions in the wake of King Philip's War, but it took the threat of Catholic evangelism to spur them on towards substantive action."⁹³ Jonathan Edwards, who was a close reader of Jesuit accounts of Indian religion, became a missionary himself to Mahicans and Mohawks.⁹⁴ Confessional rivalry sparked a missionary arms race, though it would take Protestants several generations before they could match Rome in deploying missionaries and stockpiling converts.

The turning point would come in the 1790s, with the founding of new missionary societies by evangelical Dissenters and evangelical Anglicans.⁹⁵ A keen supporter of the missionary movement was the evangelical Anglican MP William Wilberforce. Most famous for his campaign against the Atlantic slave trade, Wilberforce sought to turn the British empire into a vehicle for the kingdom of God. In January 1788, as he embarked on his abolitionist campaign, he approached different people for advice about establishing a mission settlement on the West African coast. He wrote to the Scottish Enlightenment historian William Robertson, asking for information on "the institutions of the Jesuits in Paraguay, which, it has long struck me might prove a most useful subject of investigation for anyone who would form a plan for the civilization of Africa."⁹⁶ At the same time, he spoke to the Moravian leader Ignatius La Trobe about how the English could "make some

amends to this nation" by sending missionaries to introduce "Civilization & . . . true Christianity." The Moravians were ideally placed to plant such a settlement, he suggested, and they might emulate "the success of the Jesuits in Paraguay." La Trobe was wary of involving his society in a government scheme, and he reminded Wilberforce that it was the Jesuits' politicking and wealth that had provoked their suppression.⁹⁷ Yet the MP was not the only evangelical intrigued by the Jesuit example. In 1805, as the LMS missionary Robert Morison prepared to go to China, he was busy studying "the proceedings of the Roman Catholic missionaries there." Noting how their scientific knowledge had created an opening for Matteo Ricci and his followers, Morrison embarked on a crash course in the sciences and attended mathematics lectures at the Royal Institution, while a fellow trainee enrolled in courses on anatomy, chemistry, and physics.⁹⁸ With little prior experience of their own to draw on, British evangelicals saw the civilizing missions of the Jesuits as a potential model.

Among the missionaries of the 1790s was the Wesleyan Anglican Melvill Horne, who had briefly served as a chaplain in West Africa under the auspices of the Sierra Leone Company, run from London by Wilberforce's inner circle. Horne wrote the most popular manifesto of the evangelical missionary movement: *Letters on Missions* (1794), a work republished in America in 1797 and in three further editions in the early nineteenth century.⁹⁹ As we have seen, Horne shared the Reformers' apocalyptic interpretation of the Catholic Church as the Whore of Babylon. Yet his attitude towards Catholic missions was ambivalent, and he did not conceal his admiration for the Jesuits. They had much to teach Protestant missionaries:

The Jesuits, and other religious Orders of the Roman Communion, have shed much blood for Christ, in South America, China, and Japan . . . The Jesuits [in South America], on their part, embarked in the undertaking in great numbers. They conducted the enterprise with wisdom, courage, and perseverance. Many of them were the victims of their zeal; falling by the hands of Indians, or in consequence of the hardships they endured. The members of that learned Order were metamorphised into masons, carpenters, and smiths, and, at once, instructed their converts in the arts of life and in the truths of religion. They prevailed; and collected the wandering tribes into villages, where they appear to have lived happy under their lenient government . . . In Japan and China, we have memorable documents of the prowess of that celebrated Order. Francis Xavier was himself a host. His labours were wonderful; and through every unhappy medium that we are to contemplate his character, he appears a man of the first magnitude. . . . Missionaries at this day, it is said, have difficulties to struggle with, which are altogether insurmountable . . . The Jesuits surmounted them all. The Moravians have done the same. . . . No people were more prejudiced against Christianity, nor had more dreadful cause to be so, than the poor Indians of California and Paraguay; but their prejudices yielded to the force of reason, and the persevering benevolence of the Jesuits. Truth is great and will prevail.¹⁰⁰

When set against Horne's rhetoric of "the Roman Antichrist" and "the Scarlet Whore," this seems paradoxical, even contradictory: Jesuits and Moravians were engaged in the same cause – "missionaries" dedicated to the propagation of "Christianity" and "Truth."

In the mid-nineteenth century, one of the sons of Wilberforce's "Clapham Sect," Henry Venn, authored *The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier* (1862). As secretary of the CMS, Venn was a missionary statesman and an influential theorist who argued that indigenous churches should be self-governing, self-supporting, and self-extending (a principle reflected today in the name of China's officially sanctioned Protestant body, the Three-Self Church). Venn's study of Xavier was no hagiography, but a critical biography, and in this respect it differs from the Wesleyans' *Life of Francis Xavier*. As the *Christian Observer* noted, Venn demonstrated that the Jesuit was "no model for a Christian missionary." Xavier's faults included his mass baptisms, his reliance on secular power, his autocratic personality, and his spurious miracles. Yet Venn also held Xavier up for imitation by Protestant missionaries. He praised his "generous noble and loving disposition," his "fervent devotion to God," his "ardent zeal for bringing the heathen into the fold," his "energy in his calling," his "zeal as a peace-maker," "the fullness and frequency of his communications with the Church at home," and defence of "the native races" against "the oppression and injustice" of Europeans.¹⁰¹ At his best, Xavier prefigured the Evangelical missionary.

As Mark Smith has shown, Venn's *Life of Xavier* also served to defend the CMS model of missions against its high Church and radical Protestant rivals. Xavier's career illustrated the limitations of an authoritarian approach to mission, which Venn associated with the high Church vision of missionary bishops working hand in hand with the colonial state; Xavier ought to have empowered native evangelists to do the work so the church could be self-governing, self-supporting, and self-extending. Xavier's bogus miracles also showed the danger of credulity and fanaticism, something Venn worried about in the new faith missions.¹⁰² Protestants were to learn from Xavier's faults as well as his virtues.

Despite the persistence of anti-Catholicism, Evangelicals were more willing than their Puritan forebears to state their admiration of Xavier and Jesuit missions. That may reflect a growing Protestant self-confidence, rising with British imperial expansion and the take-off of Protestant missions. It may also reflect the impact of the suppression of the Jesuit order between 1759 and 1782, and the emergence of new enemies and new others: Deists and atheists at home, Muslims and Hindus abroad. In a global context, Catholics continued to be major rivals, but long-dead Catholic missionaries could also be seen as heroic Christians.

4. Conclusion

We have seen that throughout the early modern era, Protestants were preoccupied by the challenge of Catholic missions to "the heathen." The challenge was both polemical and practical. Confronted with Bellarmine's amplitude apologetic, Protestants had to explain how the global diffusion of Catholicism was less impressive

than it first appeared. They argued that Catholic mission was restricted, coercive, superficial, syncretistic, and counterfeit. Some Protestants, however, were not satisfied with a purely polemical response. For them, it was imperative that Protestants launched their own missionary initiatives. Catholic mission thus acted as a provocation and incentive for the evangelical projects of New England Puritans, high Church Anglicans, German Pietists, and English Evangelicals. At times, these figures were even willing to admit that there were lessons to learn from the achievements of Catholic missionaries.

Eamon Duffy has noted “the traditional Protestant ambivalence about the Counter-Reformation heroes and heroines.”¹⁰³ The same ambivalence characterises Protestant attitudes towards early modern Catholic missionaries. On the one hand, there is plentiful evidence of hostility. Globetrotting Jesuits, like early modern Muslims, functioned as a defining other. As Noel Malcolm has explained, the adherents of Islam were “useful enemies” in the discourse of the West, which defined itself against them. Even complimentary accounts of Islam were often exercises in “shame-praising” – a way of shaming other Christians by praising Muslims.¹⁰⁴ So it was with Catholic missions. Activists praised Jesuits in order to shame other Protestants for their lack of missionary concern. Moreover, Protestant missionary identity was forged in conscious opposition to Catholic missions. Catholic mission was coercive; Protestant mission was voluntaristic. Catholic conversion was fast and superficial; Protestant mission was slow and deep. Catholic mission was idolatrous and syncretistic; Protestant mission was pure. Catholic mission was superstitious and credulous; Protestant mission preached Christ crucified and made no claim to miracles.

Of course, these ideal types did not reflect reality on the ground. Charles Parker finds more similarities than differences between Catholic and Reformed missions in East Asia. Protestant missionaries, like their Catholic counterparts, capitalised on colonisation and made accommodations with local cultures.¹⁰⁵ In the Americas, too, historians have seen striking parallels between Jesuit and Puritan missions. For James Axtell, both sets of missionaries required Indian converts to commit “cultural suicide,” both faced significant resistance from white settlers, both assisted the colonists in their wars against Native resistance, and both “also softened the blow” of the European invasion by providing Indian converts with some cultural tools to preserve their ethnic identity.¹⁰⁶ J.H. Elliott argues that “the English saw their mission in America in the same terms as the Spaniards – as one of “reducing the savage people to Christianity and civility.” The “praying towns” of Massachusetts were “*reducciones* writ small,” just as John Eliot was “a Las Casas in a minor key.” Yet, as Elliott points out, the mission of John Eliot was distinctive in its emphasis on literacy and the written word, its voluntarism, its aversion to visual images and ceremonies, and its exacting demands on Indian converts.¹⁰⁷ The contrasts between Catholic and Protestant mission could be sharp, and they were even sharper in the Protestant imagination.

Despite such differences and intense confessional rivalry, Protestants could sometimes recognise Francis Xavier and John Eliot as men engaged in the same enterprise – what Boyle called “the Laudable Design of Converting Infidels to

Christianity.” Eighteenth-century Pietists and Evangelicals were appreciative readers of Pascal and Fénelon. As Bruce Hindmarsh observes, books of Catholic spirituality were “naturalised” and their authors granted “a form of honorary citizenship” among Protestants.¹⁰⁸ A similar process seems to have occurred with Francis Xavier and the Jesuit missionaries, who came to be regarded by Methodists in particular as admirable (if flawed) figures, and worthy of emulation, in some respects at least. As the missionary gap narrowed, Protestants found themselves following in the footsteps of the Jesuits and other religious orders.

Puritans had once contrasted John Eliot’s heroically slow approach to conversion and church membership with the showy mass baptisms of Francis Xavier. Yet in the twentieth century, under the influence of Pentecostalism, vast numbers could convert to Protestantism across the global South, and many Protestants would embrace “signs and wonders” as a missionary method, repudiating the cessationism of the sixteenth-century Reformers.¹⁰⁹ By the late twentieth century, global Protestantism boasted hundreds of millions of adherents in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, and tens of thousands of missionaries, including many from Brazil, Nigeria, and South Korea.¹¹⁰ The missionary gap had disappeared. Protestants as well as Catholics could boast that their religion was “unconfined: Europe will not hold it, nor Asia, nor Africa, nor is America without it.”

Notes

1. Robert Bellarmine, *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei adversus hujus temporis Haereticos*, 4 vols. (1581–93), Book IV, translation from Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1964), 221.
2. *The Use and Great Moment of the Notes of the Church* (1687), 32.
3. For a later American Catholic use of Bellarmine’s argument, see Michael DeStefano, ‘John Carroll, the Amplitude Apologetic and the Baltimore Cathedral,’ *American Catholic Studies*, 122 (2011), 31–61.
4. See David Grafton, *Piety, Politics and Power: Lutherans Encountering Islam in the Middle East* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2009), 69–74.
5. Charles Parker, ‘Converting Souls Across Cultural Borders: Dutch Calvinism and Early Modern Missionary Enterprises,’ *Journal of Global History*, 8 (2013), 50–71.
6. James A. De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea: Millennial Expectations in the Rise of Anglo-American Missions, 1640–1810* (Kampen: Kok, 1970); Kenneth J. Stewart, *Ten Myths About Calvinism: Recovering the Breadth of the Reformed Tradition* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2011), chap. 5: ‘Calvinism Is Largely Antimissionary’. For an authoritative recent study of Eliot, see Richard W. Cogley, *John Eliot’s Mission to the Indians Before King Philip’s War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). On Boyle, see Michael Hunter, *Boyle: Between God and Science* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), esp. 195ff.
7. Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 23.
8. Alec Ryrie, ‘The Curious Incident of the Early Modern Protestant Missionary,’ in *Northern European Reformations: Catholic and Protestant Reform in Britain, Ireland and Denmark-Norway, c.1517–c.1650*, eds. Salvador Ryan and Henning Laugetud (forthcoming). I am grateful to Professor Ryrie for an advance copy of this chapter.
9. Edward Phillips, *The New World of English Words* (1658), n.p.
10. Elisha Coles, *An English Dictionary* (1677), n.p.

11. See Ryrie, 'The Curious Incident'. See note 8.
12. On Quaker missionary activity, see Sünne Juterczenka's chapter in this volume.
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Section II

The Origins of Global Protestantism



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3 (Re)making Ireland British

Conversion and Civility in a Neglected 1643 Treatise

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Writing in 1643, the Protestant minister Henry Jones declared that the 1641 Irish Rebellion had “in few moneths yeilded as many Brittish martyrs as it did in farre more of the best times afford Irish Saints.”¹ This play on the image of Ireland as the land of “saints and scholars” was intended to underline the suffering of the Protestant community in the rebellion, which began on 22–23 October 1641, as well as re-establish the “British” claim to Ireland through the blood of its martyrs, and the cause for which they died. That “cause” can be summed up as the attempted total transformation of the island through conversion to Protestantism, the inculcating of English (or “British,” as Jones frequently used) civility, and political, legal, and administrative change. The rebellion, though long sparking competing interpretations and emphases, has frequently been read as a challenge to this attempted revolution.² In this chapter, I wish to explore one relation of the rising in depth: the 1643 treatise composed by Jones, together with Randall Adams, Henry Brereton, and Edward Pigott. This neglected account reveals much about the rebellion, but also offers important insights into the imagining of Ireland as a missionary land, with efforts to convert and “civilize” the country a dominant feature of the seventeenth century.

The “Brittish martyrs” identified by Jones were overwhelmingly the settlers of English and Scottish origins that had come to live in Ireland as part of several plantation schemes from the late sixteenth century onwards. These projects had an important religious dimension: they aimed at the transformation of Ireland from the “darkness” of “barbarism” and “superstition” to the “light” of “civility” and “true religion.” As such, all those English and Scottish colonists were both missionaries and civilizing agents, with the aim of “making Ireland British.” Though enjoying mixed fortunes in reality, the powerful potential of this ideology cannot be understated, rendering Ireland an important part of wider early modern conversion and missionary efforts.

The 1641 Irish Rebellion thus represented a profound challenge to these aims and was a moment of despair for the Protestant interest. However, that same desperation also provided opportunities for reflection, as the need to regroup and revitalize prompted a look back to what had been seemingly achieved before it was swept away in a rising tide of violence. Jones’s treatise was one such attempt to remember the efforts that had been made in the great work of converting and

civilizing Ireland, to mourn the losses sustained, and to call for a renewed spirit and determination when the Protestants would, by God's grace, inevitably triumph. This account, neglected by historians, has many insights to offer on the wider project of conversion in Ireland.

Jones and his colleagues enjoyed a leading and informed position, being responsible for collecting evidence of what happened from witnesses to the chaos. Given this important role, the commissioners' interpretation of occurrences in 1641–2 represents a crucial intervention, promoting and shaping understandings of the rebellion more widely. Their previous writings had enjoyed audiences beyond Ireland, and this account was undoubtedly aimed at readers in Ireland and Britain, and possibly further afield.³ The tract, currently housed in the Harley collection at the British Library, and assigned the title "A treatise giving a representation of the grand Rebellion in Ireland,"⁴ also represents the staking of a claim. It was a claim to be remembered: as victims, but also as actors for the conversion of Ireland to a godly, civilized state. It also served as a call to redouble this effort at conversion and civilizing once the conflict had concluded, as it was indisputably the right course of action despite the setback of the rebellion. The treatise serves as an important commentary on British constructions of their project in Ireland, and underlines the centrality of conversion to this mission: the events of 1641–2 were read through a heavily religious lens, rendering them a holy war between Catholics and Protestants on the island of Ireland. In recognizing this, the 1641 rebellion, and this treatise as an account of it, becomes an important marker in wider British efforts to reform Ireland, and as an important "laboratory" for wider British Protestant efforts to convert Catholics.⁵

It can also be read as both a retrospective "remaking" of these ambitious undertakings, as well as casting them, in the shadow of seeming failure, in the best light possible and issuing a rallying cry to renew Protestant efforts. The careful presentation of pre-rebellion Ireland, as well as its insights into the rising, demand closer investigation. This is particularly so on account of being frequently overlooked by modern scholars: an undeserved neglect, due to the depth of perception and critical acumen of its authors, especially Jones. Such oversight may be due to the fact that it was never printed and remained only in manuscript; the copy at the British Library also appears to be the only extant one, potentially further restricting dissemination among modern scholars.⁶ This chapter aims to not only provide a general sketch of this manuscript, its authorship, and its wider significance for those interested in 1641, but also considers the authors' placement of themselves, and the wider "British" population, into efforts to convert and "civilize" Ireland, and the backlash they received. As such, their narrative fundamentally argues for a religious interpretation of the 1640s conflict, a response to decades' worth of push and pull in the attempt to make Ireland Protestant, as well as "civil."

1. Religion, Civility, and Resistance in Irish Plantations

Before moving into this closer examination, it is important to offer some further explanation of the authors' context, the rebellion, and seventeenth-century Ireland

more widely. The belief in the need to “reform” Ireland predated the 1640s by well over a century. Steven Ellis argued that the English loss of European territories from the late medieval period through to the sixteenth century increased attention – and concern – towards the “borderlands” of Britain and Ireland, with the perception of lawlessness and overmighty subjects threatening royal authority, while the perceived lack of cultivation and urbanization rendered places such as the bulk of Ireland “uncivilized” and in need of thorough reform.⁷ With the advent of the Reformation, religion was increasingly intertwined with these aims. It became an integral part of Englishness: a desirable, civilized state which was in turn projected onto these peripheries, particularly from the reign of Elizabeth onwards.⁸ In practice, the English crown frequently turned to the idea of colonization schemes from the latter half of the sixteenth century onwards: the Munster scheme (in the southern province) and the Ulster plantation are the two best-known examples.⁹

These colonization projects, particularly the large schemes in Munster and Ulster, aimed at physical and cultural transformation: the bringing of large numbers of English – and later also Scottish – settlers to Ireland to form model settlements that would gradually bring the Irish, and Ireland itself, to peace, prosperity, and civility. Religion was fundamental: the conversion of the Catholic population to Protestantism as part of these reform efforts was of critical importance. Plantations would fail unless “God’s word [was] planted as English people,” to quote Sir Edward Fitton in 1587.¹⁰ These projects, and the ambitious ideologies behind them, led Jane Ohlmeyer to describe Ireland as a “laboratory for empire,” with many ideas, as well as practices, developed in Ireland later playing important roles in British efforts in the Atlantic world and beyond.¹¹ While the concepts and conduct of early modern imperialism may have some Irish roots, the embedding of conversion as a key concern in these projects also marks Ireland as a laboratory for conversion: an important site for the articulation and enacting of a missionary vision at the heart of colonial projects, as well as encounters with Catholics more widely. In effect, all English and Scottish settlers were to act as agents of conversion, as through their example of true piety and civil living the transformation of Ireland would be achieved. While it is impossible to ignore the impact of Spain on English Protestant images of Catholics,¹² it was in Ireland that there was sustained contact with “papists,” and where the challenges of conversion were daily confronted, with both success and failure.¹³

The advancing of plantation schemes across several decades can bely the multitude of conflicts and approaches lying just below the surface. The Protestant mission that was tightly bound up with such projects can give a false sense of coherence and agreement as to how best to achieve the conversion of the Irish. Brendan Bradshaw identified differences between advocates of the “sword” versus the “word” – that is, between coercion and persuasion – as well as conversion versus conformity as key sources of tension in how best to achieve the conversion of Ireland.¹⁴ The reluctance of the civil authorities to impose conformity among the Irish population oscillated with periods of more rigorous enforcement with ambiguous outcomes; further, as emphasised by Alan Ford,

the Protestant ministry was rarely in a position in the early to mid-seventeenth century to carry out extensive missionary work, especially among rural inhabitants, lacking both infrastructure and communication techniques, particularly the Irish language.¹⁵ Ford has argued that the most significant achievement of the Church of Ireland in the seventeenth century was in “the creation of a protestant church and a protestant community with a clearly defined sense of identity,” rather than necessarily in “missionary” work.¹⁶ However, the dissemination of Protestantism did not rely solely on the church and its institutions: ideas that can be identified as Protestant-influenced – especially the model of civil and godly living embodied by plantations – cannot be discounted as important sites of missionary labour, as all settlers were expected to lead by example, including in matters of faith.

In light of the multiplicity of change in seventeenth-century Ireland, and the overlapping of religious, colonial, political, cultural, and economic transformations wrought through plantation and other reform efforts, it is unsurprising that the 1641 Rebellion has generated much debate as to its causes and conduct. Its background is complex. David Edwards has emphasised the “near-constant spark and crackle” of tension and local conflict in the period often dubbed the “early Stuart peace”; there were frequently-expressed concerns regarding the security of the plantations and of the Protestant settlers from “evil disposed persons,” with murders and other disorders sporadically disturbing the putative peace.¹⁷ In the later 1630s, disorder in Scotland through the Covenanter revolt spread to Ulster, and the repressive measures adopted by Lord Deputy Thomas Wentworth against the northern non-conformists, and the Protestant backlash, sparked alarm among Irish Catholics.¹⁸ The strongly anti-Catholic rhetoric of both the Covenanters, and later the English Parliament, intensified fears in Ireland of imminent persecution of the Catholic population; the attacks by both Charles I’s Scottish and English subjects also presented something of an opportunity for some Irish Catholics, with a rising to support the king’s “prerogative” and assist him in his struggles to reassert his authority and prove their loyalty.¹⁹

It was in these circumstances that the idea of rebellion was first mooted, with the ostensible aim to help the king. A plan to seize Dublin Castle simultaneously with forts along the Ulster-Leinster border was formulated, but the first half was thwarted when Owen O’Connolly, a Protestant Ulsterman, revealed the Dublin plot to the Lords Justices. Sir Phelim O’Neill, an Ulster Catholic gentleman and landowner, unaware of this development, seized Charlemont Fort on the night of 22–23 October as planned, and rebellion erupted.²⁰ It represented a major change in the organization and support of Irish resistance, as it marked the first time that the great majority of the Old English community stood with the Gaelic Irish in defence of a common Catholic cause – if only after some persuasion and the overreaction of the Dublin government to events. In particular, the government’s proclamation condemning the rebellion as a wholesale “popish” insurrection, and their strong military response to it, prompted fear and anger among the Old English, pushing them closer to the northern rebels.²¹ Widespread instances of popular

violence occurred 1641–2, many with a strongly religious hue. There were also efforts, in the chaos of events, to induce a mass “conversion” of Protestant settlers to Catholicism, likely an inversion of decades’ worth of rhetoric and action to effect the conversion of Ireland to Protestantism.²²

These were the events that Jones and his colleagues set out to describe in their 1643 account. They sought to not only relate what happened, but to try and understand it, assign cause – and blame – and to cast the rebellion as a kind of “unholy war” against everything that had been worked for in the previous half-century: the reformation of Ireland, in both its religious and civil senses. The stakes were high as the authors sat down to write, and, as such, their relation of events demands close scrutiny. It represents, of course, just one interpretation, not only of the rebellion but of the preceding four decades of Irish history and the intensive efforts to convert and civilize. However, these are critical voices to hear amidst the noise of competing histories, as theirs was a view informed by close contact with those most intimately connected both with the dual aims of reformation and civility, and the horrors of violence. They also sought to honor the memory both of the victims, and of the ideals for which they stood, and to use their treatise as a rallying cry to return to the work of conversion and civility with renewed vigour, and to “restore and propagate peace & truth in this land.”²³

2. Henry Jones and the 1643 Treatise

Henry Jones’s manuscript consists of 36 folios, recto, and verso, together with a further 208 deposition extracts appended. These depositions were taken from the wider collection of statements gathered by the royal commission (which was headed by Jones) from late 1641 onwards, and intended to report losses and record atrocities among the Protestant community, as well as provide potentially useful intelligence.²⁴ The manuscript’s number in the Harley collection, 5999, indicates it was likely catalogued by a Mr Hocker at the British Museum, who possibly also assigned the title – there is no title given in the manuscript itself.²⁵ Four men signed at the very end of the treatise: Henry Jones, Henry Brereton, Randall Adams, and Edward Pigott, commissioners for “despoiled subjects.”²⁶ This pattern of multiple authorship by the commissioners began with the 1642 *Remonstrance*, presented to the English House of Commons by Jones, and also signed by Roger Puttock, John Watson, John Sterne, Henry Brereton, Randall Adams, William Hitchcock, and William Aldrich.²⁷ Puttock died in mid-1642 and was replaced by Pigott.²⁸ There appears to be no obvious reason for the reduction in the number of commissioners associated with the later account: it may have been for logistical reasons, such as which commissioners were then present in Dublin, or other concerns. The multiple authorship must be borne in mind owing to possible differences in opinion or emphasis, especially as the details of many individual commissioners, including how they came to be appointed, remain opaque. In fact, we know very little in general about the commissioners apart from Jones, who has received a degree of scholarly attention.²⁹

It is possible to draw some connections, however, which hint at some similarities of education, experience, and possible Irish outlook. Many had a connection to Trinity College Dublin, matriculating in the period 1615–1630, with Jones himself made a Scholar in 1616 and receiving his BA in 1621. Adams, Brereton, Pigott, Puttock, and Watson can be identified with some confidence as fellow Scholars in that fifteen-year window.³⁰ Sterne and Aldrich are harder to trace, but may have been graduates of Cambridge before coming to Ireland.³¹ This connection is still significant, however. As shown by Elizabethanne Boran and Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, Trinity was modelled on Cambridge when it was founded, and the new Irish university also benefitted from the employment of Cambridge-educated divines, many of a distinctly Puritan character, thus highlighting the often-close contacts between the two institutions. It is in this context that Sterne and Aldrich may have come to Ireland and begun their work in the church.³² All of the commissioners were identified as “clarkes” in the first commission of December 1641, and all were involved in petitioning as “distressed ministers,” indicating a vital shared experience: a commitment to improving the religious life of Ireland, which undoubtedly shaped their account and the imagery within it.³³

Henry Jones can nonetheless be named with confidence as the lead agent and manufacturer of the account. His claim to be an authoritative voice on the rebellion rested on more than just his role as lead deposition commissioner. He was identified as a victim and a survivor of the rebellion himself, with the Lords Justices and Council in their letter to the English House of Commons Speaker William Lenthall describing him as “a person able to say much in this business, having been sometime a prisoner in the hands of the rebels and observed much of their proceedings.” He built on this knowledge to “be entrusted” with collecting the depositions from others similarly affected.³⁴ On a more prosaic level, Jones was paid more than the other commissioners, earning a weekly salary of 20s. compared with 13s. 4d. for the others.³⁵

Crucially, the narrative account also appears to be written in his hand, albeit a fairer hand than he typically employed for writing correspondence and other documents. His signature at the end of the document matches signatures on depositions and other records. Further, Brereton, Adams, and Pigott also appear to have signed the treatise themselves, as their signatures match other documents. The manuscript is almost certainly a fair copy, likely – as will be explored further – intended as the one ultimately destined for the printer. Comparing its hand with that of Jones’s other writings, there are some key similarities, such as the distinctive loops made in forming letters such as “d,” “b,” and “h” that occur both in the 1643 manuscript and Jones’s other writings. The script does not match, for instance, that of Thomas Waring, who appears to have written the deposition extracts appended to the treatise: the hand matches the depositions that he copied and edited in the main corpus, and his signature appears at the very end of the entire manuscript, after the witness statements.³⁶ It seems likely, given this combination of factors, that the manuscript is in Jones’s own hand, further underlining his central role in its composition.

Jones also published an account of the rebellion in Cavan, drawing heavily on his own experience among the rebels – a text which undoubtedly elevated him even further as an important commentator on the rebellion.³⁷ He was held as prisoner among the Irish for several months, and was compelled to act as messenger between some of the Ulster Irish and the Lords Justices and Council, including presenting a “Humble Remonstrance” on the Irishmen’s behalf.³⁸ Jones established himself as a reliable, informed reporter and commentator on the rebellion from an early stage, and is thus a crucial voice in considering contemporary and later understandings of events. Taken together, all of these points indicate strongly that Jones’s was the dominant voice in shaping this account. However, the inclusion of other commissioners as signatories cannot be discounted: the treatise was evidently meant to be understood as a collective presentation, even if the other commissioners were more marginal to its production.

3. “Holy War”: the 1641 Irish Rebellion

With this authorship in mind, the content of the treatise can now be addressed. Their first aim, according to the four commissioners, was to underline once again the violence and “unmatchable cruelties perfidies and treason of the Rebels of Ireland,” and the “miserable and on their parts undeserved sufferings of the Protestants there.” This opening section mentions the 1642 *Remonstrance*, hinting that some were perhaps “unwilling” to fully believe its relation of suffering and bloodshed.³⁹ As such, this new account is intended as “a fresh and yet farther repr[e]sentation of the rebels wickednes and our calamities” to clear up any misunderstandings or falsehoods in circulation about the rebellion, including those “watchfull Romanists” who intend to spread disinformation.⁴⁰ It does so not through a clear chronological summary of the events of the rebellion, or even through clearly demarcated themes or topics. Rather, the treatise is somewhat loosely organized, often looping back to ideas or events discussed previously, and without a very clear sense of chronological progression. However, certain key themes emerge, including: the importance of Catholicism as a unifying “enemy” force, the extreme violence of the rebellion, the attempt to historicize and compare events in Ireland with elsewhere, and the intersections of plantation and religion. The clear overall intention was to highlight Protestant suffering, to attempt an analysis of the rebellion’s causes (even if chiefly to refute them), and to stake a claim for the importance of “British” efforts towards inculcating civility and the Protestant religion in Ireland.

The treatise’s first major theme is to provide something of a summary of Irish Catholic aims in rebelling, which are described as “first the extirpation of the English nation; and secondly the abolishment of the Protestant reformed religion.” These were objectives shared not only by the “chiefe conspirators and undertakers,” but also among the “meaner actors,” where “this prodigious combination is evidenced,” underlined further by a “uniforme practise” in the actual violence inflicted.⁴¹ A number of subthemes under this umbrella emerge in the following pages: a refutation of arguments regarding the oppression of Catholics before the

rebellion, with claims regarding the purported “freedom” and “strength power and numbers” enjoyed by them;⁴² objections to the supposed royalism of Irish Catholics, with a discussion of possible foreign intervention on their behalf;⁴³ and the apparent combination of the native Irish with the Old English, in supposed mutual hatred of their “British” Protestant neighbours.

This third subtheme becomes the subject of particular investigation in the opening section of the account. The “ancient” Irish people’s long enmity towards the English is documented, including examples of past rebellions such as those of Shane O’Neill and Hugh O’Neill, Earls of Tyrone. The typical aims of such rebellions, according to Jones and his colleagues, was “their owne inrichment, freedom, or enjoyment of their ancient barbarous tyranny over the meaner inhabitants” and the “ejection of the English lawes and government for ever.”⁴⁴

However, it is the so-called Old English community⁴⁵ that is of particular interest here, for the 1641 rebellion marked the first significant cooperation between the native Irish and Old English communities in resisting, variously, English rule in its many facets and Protestantism. In this, the treatise stands as an important intervention in the debate surrounding the changing self-understanding, and role, of the Old English, as has been investigated by Aidan Clarke, Nicholas Canny, and Jane Ohlmeyer, among others.⁴⁶ The treatise’s exploration of the shared Catholicism of the native Irish and the Old English creating the unity and the foundation of the rebellion is unmistakable in advocating religion as the dominant cause of the uprising. The Old English were compelled to join the rebellion out of fear for their religion, a cause “afrightened” into them by the Catholic clergy.⁴⁷ Though the Old English showed signs of “degeneration,” they still, according to Jones, harbored suspicion and deep-rooted hostility towards the native Irish, in spite of their shared religion.⁴⁸ However, the power of religion to both draw the communities together and compel action against a religious enemy was significant. “[T]he old English descent though something in manners degenerated had not in probabilitie joynd w[i]th the Irish in rebellion or revolt but through their priests & friars intimation of danger to their religion,” proclaimed Jones. The fervent Catholicism of the Old English tipped them over the edge into revolt, and with it came the creation of a new community: “Irish Catholics.” This “zeale to their religion and hatred to ours” had pushed them into total degeneration, so that they were, truly, almost indistinguishable from the native Irish.⁴⁹ The treatise thus drew on older presentations of degeneration (a familiar theme in writings about Ireland),⁵⁰ but advanced a new interpretation that privileged religion – “Romish superstitions” – as the main factor. It further highlights the importance of religion and religious division as the magnetizing poles of the conflict in the 1640s.

The involvement of the Old English in the conflict, and their supposed religious reasons for doing so, also underlines the importance of battles over conversion in fuelling fear, and in turn, violence. The importance of the desire to convert Ireland to Protestantism as part of wider efforts to reform the country has been established. That Catholic resistance against the program of reform also included explicit fears about coerced conversion is thus unsurprising, and not only highlights issues of proselytization as being at the heart of conflict in seventeenth-century Ireland,

but places it at the centre of sometimes-deadly debates around mission and evangelization efforts in the early modern world. Several documents outlining the grievances of the rebellion's leaders mention their fears of coerced conversion to Protestantism, with both the English and the Scottish implicated. In one, "The grievances of the peers and gentry of Ireland," it was claimed that the English and Scots had joined together in a devilish pact, "to come into Ireland with the Bible in one hand, the Sword in the other for to plant their Puritan Anarchicall Religion amongst vs."⁵¹ Similar claims surfaced in related documents, such as the "Declaration of Remonstrance of the Catholics of Ireland," in which it was claimed a Scottish army was being sent "against them [the Catholics] with Bible and sword to raze the name of Catholic and Irish out of Ireland."⁵²

Such claims also found currency among the lower social orders. Anne Bullinbrooke of Co. Tyrone said in her deposition that it was an "ordinary report" among the Irish around Dungannon that

if they hadd not risen vp in armes as they did the Scotts would have shortly risen vp against them and either would have inforced them to goe to the Church or would have kild them all or to that effect

– indicating a powerful fear that they would be forced to forsake their religion.⁵³ In a similar account, William Hoe, resident in Co. Cavan at the commencement of hostilities, was told by Hugh O'Reilly "that the English thought to cut the throat of the Irish for ther religion but the Irish would prevent them & cut there throats first for there religion."⁵⁴ It is clear that conversion became weaponized in the rebellion: long a source of tension, it erupted as a major flashpoint between the two sides. This religious fear was deeply inflected with the strains surrounding plantation and the "civilizing" mission, and influenced the nature of the violence.

In addition to the "sodaine and unprovoked" "massacre" of Protestants, Jones and his colleagues also detailed how conflict coalesced around important symbols and spaces.⁵⁵ Thus, the treatise discussed the burning of bibles and the use of churches as "draught houses," or simply burned to the ground. The destruction of churches especially was noted by the treatise authors as something of an innovation in the rebellion: in previous uprisings, such burnings were "rare examples," but in 1641–2 they were a common target, particularly in Ulster – where many churches were newly built as part of the plantation.⁵⁶ By bringing together the killing and terrorizing of people, with the apparently sustained violence against the objects and spaces of the Protestant religion, the case for the rebellion's predominantly religious character seems undeniable. While the authors mocked Catholic claims to be waging a "holy war," it nonetheless appears that, for the commissioners, it was the conflict's fundamental characteristic.

A further theme to emerge concerns the attempted historicizing and comparing of the Irish rebellion with previous instances of violence. The claims of unchristian, barbarous, and uncivilized conduct led the treatise's authors to compare the rebellion with seemingly similar episodes. In one example, they noted that "the late massacre of France . . . most resembles this of Ireland" – meaning the

St Bartholomew's Day massacre of 1572. However, they go on to say that the sufferings of French Huguenots "were vastly inferiour to those here," and further that the 1572 case did at least have a sheen of legitimacy through being "by abused publick power allowed," referencing the commonly held belief that King Charles IX had authorized the massacre.⁵⁷ However, incidents from the more distant past were also recalled, including the Sicilian Vespers and the persecution of the Albigensians and Waldensians. Each historical example was weighed against the sufferings of Protestants in Ireland, and found lesser: in the case of the Albigensians and Waldensians, for example, the bloodshed was certainly great, but understandable in the context of prosecuting a legitimate war against them, whereas in Ireland the violence had been "sodaine and unprovoked."⁵⁸ Each case served to underline two key points: first, that Irish Catholics stood alone in their "barbarism," "cruelty," and "bloodiness." Secondly, that Irish Protestants were undeserving of their suffering, but were also set apart by that same suffering. The treatise frequently draws on the language and imagery of martyrdom, and states at one point that Irish Catholic persecution had succeeded only in creating numerous "happy and Triumphant martyrs in all parts of this kingdome."⁵⁹

A final theme that permeates the treatise, and its narrative of the rebellion, is civility. The circumstances of the rebellion and the challenges posed to the plantation schemes of the preceding forty years prompted reflection both on the origins and development of the plantations, what had been achieved, and what had been lost. The 1643 account extolled the virtues of the plantations and the wider ideals of English civility, and infused them with a religious sentiment only occasionally seen so explicitly in such discussions. It promoted the vision of a godly, civilized Ireland, drawing especially on religious ideas such as neighborliness. The years preceding the rebellion were presented as something of a "golden age," with "good neighbourhood, many-fold benefits & great improovments" accruing through the toil of the "Brittish and Protestants."⁶⁰ However, Irish Catholics rejected both the "happy fruits" of "civilitie" and the deeply Protestant roots of the civil tree, with the treatise describing their rebellion against "the light . . . and labour to cloud that light from others," with their ultimate aim the destruction of "our religion and civilitie": the two were inseparable and mutually reinforcing.⁶¹ In this the treatise, while certainly deserving of close scrutiny for its insights into the rebellion, also deserves closer investigation as being amidst the important genre of reform writings, advancing as it does this ideal of "Protestant civility." It complicates the chronological framework advocated by Toby Barnard, with its emphasis on "improvement" as a characteristic of the later seventeenth century; similarly, Paul Slack's claim that ideas of "improvement" were more dominant in English North America and the Caribbean may need more careful evaluation.⁶² The New World nonetheless remains a crucial point of contact and comparison: there is undoubtedly more that could be said in relation to settlement and religion, building on Adrian Chastain Weimer's work on martyrdom and colonization in New England.⁶³ However, by foregrounding religious concerns and exposing the Protestant foundations on which the ideas of civility rested, the Irish case as presented here lays claim to be an important founding source in histories of

conversion and mission, with the British articulating a vision of the “civilizing process” that could not succeed without an accompanying religious conversion.

4. Representing “Our Calamities”: the Rebellion in Manuscript and Print

While the account in the manuscript can very clearly be placed in wider British, European, and Atlantic contexts, it is also important to locate it within other writings on the Irish rebellion, and especially narratives by Jones and his fellow authors themselves. As mentioned previously, Jones and seven of his commission colleagues wrote the *Remonstrance* in 1642, which became one of the best-known accounts of the uprising. Published in the spring, it was among the first authoritative texts to appear amidst the rumours and horror stories emanating from London presses. It also contained the first extracts from the depositions in print. The use of the depositions in particular lent credibility and authority; doubtless its authors and their position, especially Jones, further elevated its authority.⁶⁴ Despite this, the actual exposition by Jones and his colleagues was relatively short, amounting to twelve pages, with accompanying material including copies of the royal commissions and the Irish Privy Council’s address to Speaker Lenthall.

The short exposition aside, the *Remonstrance* does contain a number of themes that would reappear in the 1643 account, meaning it is important to consider it as part of the longer-term development of the commissioners’ understanding of the rebellion. Included among them is the unparalleled nature of the violence, with the opening page proclaiming the rising as “beyond all parallel of former ages” – the 1643 treatise clearly offered the opportunity to expand on this significantly.⁶⁵ Similarly, the close links between civility and religion are referenced through their placement side by side in the catalogue of horrors: from Ireland

have proceeded such deprivations of the goods, and such cruelties exercised on the persons and lives of the loyall subject; such wasting and defacing of all Monuments of civility, with such profanation of holy places, and Religion, that by the most barbarous and heathenish Nation.⁶⁶

In spite of its brevity, the *Remonstrance* introduced a number of important ideas, images, and phrases into the wider discourse of the rebellion, which would be taken up once again in 1643 with renewed vigor. In one of the most intensive studies of the *Remonstrance*, Joseph Cope argued that it was intended to present the Protestant community as deserving and innocent, claiming a “universal victimisation” in the face of Irish Catholic violence.⁶⁷ These arguments can certainly be applied to the 1643 narrative, with an even deeper and more nuanced presentation to that of the *Remonstrance*. Further, it also greatly emphasised the position of Ireland relative to other examples of conflict, indicating an awareness of potential parallels, the desire to reinforce the motif of martyrdom, and to placing Irish Protestants not only into a historical context, but at the very peak of suffering and godliness.

Doubtless, however, the real attraction of the *Remonstrance* was the deposition extracts, to which the authors repeatedly referred their readers for further, shocking details of atrocities, treasonous words, and other misdeeds.⁶⁸ These extracts were carefully chosen and edited from the original full statements to provide the most sensational and striking incidents and examples possible. It must be borne in mind, however, that it was presented and printed early in 1642, with only a relatively limited number of depositions collected before Jones departed for London.⁶⁹ It was nonetheless a publishing and, arguably, a propaganda success, becoming embedded in wider political currents in England and Ireland, and providing a voice for the beleaguered Protestant community.⁷⁰ While this study focuses on the treatise rather than the deposition extracts, it seems likely, following Joseph Cope and Eamon Darcy, that the depositions were included again with the 1643 account owing to their power to shock and frighten, and to build on the successes of 1642. It is also notable that later publications, such as Sir John Temple's 1646 book *The Irish Rebellion*, would also rely heavily on the depositions: they were rapidly becoming among the most famous accounts of the rebellion, even if there were doubts as to their credibility.⁷¹ The depositions, and thus by extension the books and other writings based on them, were attacked by Catholic writers as "exaggerated beyond possibility," in the words of one eighteenth-century account.⁷²

However, the *Remonstrance* was not the only account then in circulation by Jones by 1643. He had also published *A relation of the beginnings and proceedings of the rebellion in the county of Cavan* in August 1642, based heavily on his own direct experiences.⁷³ Held a prisoner, he also served as a messenger between the Cavan leaders and the Dublin government.⁷⁴ The *Relation* contained highly detailed information on the movement and manoeuvrings of many of the leading Ulster rebels, and also purported to contain information regarding a meeting of the Catholic clergy in Kilkenny in May 1642, including their description of the war in Ireland being "chiefly against Puritans, for the defence of the Catholique Religion," with the war "lawfull and just" on these grounds.⁷⁵ In tone it is rather different to both the *Remonstrance* and the 1643 treatise, with a more straightforward narrative structure, even if it is still highly critical. It especially focuses on the military manoeuvres of both Catholic and Protestant forces, and does not offer much by way of commentary on the causes of the rebellion. There are occasional telling details that tally with themes seen elsewhere, such as the killing of a friar by the troops of Sir Francis Hamilton, with Jones disapprovingly noting that "in the Order of his Habit [he] did lead the Company."⁷⁶ He also provided extensive coverage of the meeting of the Catholic clergy in May 1642 and the acts agreed for the war "against Sectaries" – thus underlining his frequent accusation that the Catholic clergy bore significant responsibility for stirring up rebellion and violence.⁷⁷

Most importantly, for the later treatise, however, is the hint that he would provide a fuller account to come. He wrote that he intended in the *Relation* to provide a "brief Discourse of the strength and proceedings of the Rebel in that part [Cavan]

from the 23. of October 1641 untill the 25. of June 1642.” However, he then elaborated as to what was to come:

purposing further to enlarge it in many remarkable passages in the generall Treatise, that shall hereafter (God willing) be set forth, of the whole progresse of that War throughout the whole Kingdom, as leasure and encouragement shall be thereunto afforded.⁷⁸

Since the *Relation* was published after the *Remonstrance*, we can surmise that Jones was here referring to the “Treatise” that would eventually become the one under investigation here. As will be explored further in the following section, however, the 1643 “sequel” was ultimately never published.⁷⁹ It is clear, however, that the manuscript must be considered a part of a wider series of publications, each building on the preceding one. The *Remonstrance* in many ways served as an introduction: to the rebellion, to the depositions and their collectors, and indeed in some ways to Ireland itself. In the *Relation*, Jones concentrated on the realities of the military conflict, but with the clear intention to return to a more general account of the uprising, thus expanding on both of his previous publications. The 1643 account is littered with cross-references to both, such as the description of the destruction of Protestant bibles, which “our Remonstrance hath made already relation,” or the description of the meeting of the Catholic clergy at Multyfarnham, which was drawn from Jones’s own deposition, and subsequently included in the *Remonstrance*.⁸⁰ In the 1643 treatise, there is also the brief statement that much (though not all) of the violence under discussion concerned “the northerne parts,” for the commissioners enjoyed “special information” about that province – a possible reference to the *Relation*, and Jones’s particular experiences.⁸¹

The 1643 treatise’s significance therefore rests on several important pillars. Aside from its prominent authorship and the length and complexity of the narrative itself, is its important role in the wider discourse of the rebellion and the rhetorical landscape under construction by the deposition commissioners, especially Henry Jones. He and his commission colleagues have a strong claim to be counted among the best-informed and current in their understanding of events down to 1643, and had unparalleled access to the raw source material in the form of the depositions. They demand careful investigation as key narrators and interpreters of the rebellion, both for contemporaries and for later historians. Further, the development of the rebellion in their chronicles, from the *Remonstrance*’s decials of the “defacing of all Monuments of civility” together with vicious attacks on the Protestant religion, to the 1643 account of a kind of “total war” against “Britishness” and Protestantism, should offer important insights into the nature of the uprising, and especially debates touching the intersections of religious, ethnic, and “colonial” causes.

Having thus explored the 1643 manuscript, its riches, and its importance, how can we possibly explain the seeming neglect of this account in studies of 1641? Neglect is probably not too strong a term, given that the manuscript is absent from the bibliographies of a number of authoritative histories of the rebellion,

such as Nicholas Canny's *Making Ireland British*, Michael Perceval-Maxwell's *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641*, and Joseph Cope's *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion*.⁸² Even among those who have undertaken a sustained treatment of the *Remonstrance*, its "unpublished sequel" is either absent or dealt with very briefly. Neither Cope nor Eamon Darcy, for instance, offer any serious treatment of the manuscript. In Darcy's case, this is perhaps unsurprising, given his particular focus on the print culture surrounding the rebellion. Cope's work, however, has no discussion of the manuscript, despite it representing in many respects a continuation and development of many of the trends and tropes he identified in Jones's 1642 writings, which reappeared with renewed vigour in 1643. Aidan Clarke presents the fullest account of its provenance and purpose, and his arguments concerning its provenance and purpose will be explored in greater detail in the following paragraphs. However, he was especially interested in the accusations of a "general massacre," which have always had a prominent place in the scholarship of 1641 from the earliest days, and form an important strand within modern scholarship.⁸³ The 1643 account is therefore considered in relation to the *Remonstrance* and how it developed – or not – the claims of widespread killing of Protestants, and a pre-formed plan to do so.⁸⁴ Given the constraints of these questions, and the word limit for his chapter, he does not provide much detail of the treatise's wider contents, nor attempt a more general analysis of it.⁸⁵

One possible reason for its relative neglect compared to the *Remonstrance*, as well as other works such as Temple's *Irish Rebellion*, is that the treatise was never printed. In explaining this, the contextual work by Clarke is helpful. He has argued that the 1643 treatise was composed within a quite specific political and military context: that of the suspension of hostilities between Catholic and Protestant forces in Ireland (known in much of the scholarship as the "cessation") in 1643. The cessation likely formed the critical backdrop for the assembling and writing of the tract, as a way of derailing the negotiations that had been ongoing since March 1643, spearheaded by the Marquess of Ormond.⁸⁶ The cessation, which was agreed to in September 1643, was generally unpopular on the Protestant side, who described it as a betrayal, with Lord Lisle complaining that it hindered those who had been "earnest in this war."⁸⁷ An inscription on the flyleaf of the volume indicates that the tract was presented to the Irish Privy Council in November 1643; the four authors witnessed the authenticity of the deposition extracts, with the date given as 8 November 1643.⁸⁸ However, Clarke has argued that Ormond, as the dominant figure within the Dublin administration, as well as a key advocate of the cessation, "suppressed" the manuscript and thus it was never printed.⁸⁹ This seems plausible, given the wider context: Ormond moved decisively in the summer of 1643 to reinforce his dominant position within the Dublin government, including dismissing several key figures from the council. He also had a well-known desire to conclude a truce so that Irish troops could assist the king in England.⁹⁰

Micheál Ó Siochrá has argued, however, that Ormond displayed consistent support for "the best interests" of Protestants in Ireland, even arguably above

loyalties to the king, which raises questions as to why the treatise, given its content, was seemingly shelved.⁹¹ The “Protestant interest” was not uncomplicated, however: Ormond was reluctant, for instance, to make war on the Covenanters in Ulster, despite pressure from some quarters.⁹² It may be that, in addition to the cessation, the treatise’s presentation of a unified “British” Protestant front was politically problematic in light of these divisions, and thus quietly put aside as potentially too fraught for the political and military climate of mid-1643, and was simply never taken up again.

As the flyleaf inscription suggests, the manuscript did apparently make its way into some powerful hands. As such, it may have circulated to an extent among councillors and other figures associated with the Dublin government, and enjoyed a degree of recognition and readership, though this is very difficult to trace. Scholars such as Harold Love and Noah Millstone have highlighted the power of works in manuscript, arguing that not being in print does not necessarily mean a lack of impact. Often-intensive lending and circulation of manuscript tracts meant they could have a significant readership, which should give pause to the impression that the ideas here were unrecognised or uninfluential.⁹³ The reputation and circulation of Edmund Spenser’s *A View of the Present State of Ireland* is an example of a manuscript tract that enjoyed considerable influence, despite not being published until some thirty years after it was written.⁹⁴ “Publication” meant more than simply printing.⁹⁵ It is beyond the scope of this chapter to offer further insight into whether, and among whom, the manuscript circulated: given its inscription, it may have been read by several members of the council, but possibly no more than that if its contents were deemed sensitive and problematic. More investigation of the manuscript’s impact will undoubtedly reveal information concerning writings on the rebellion as well as the circulation of this and similar texts in Ireland and further afield.

Despite the importance of manuscript circulation as a method of disseminating ideas and arguments, I believe that the authors of this tract intended it to be printed. The tone and register are very similar to the *Remonstrance*, while the authors, as previously shown, also repeatedly referred to it, inviting readers to cross-check and compare accounts. This was undoubtedly a technique for reinforcing credibility and authority, but it also served to create the impression of a continuation – an accumulation of knowledge – which suggests the intention was to print this account and have it join the two other “Jones” works then in circulation.⁹⁶ The authors also wrote in their introductory section that it was in the “public good to make (according to the supplies of our later informations) a fresh and yet farther repr[e]sentation of the rebels wickednes and our calamities.”⁹⁷ This suggests an intention for widespread circulation, which suggests print; it again reminds readers of the *Remonstrance*, and the ongoing work of exposing the horrors of the rebellion that had begun in 1642, and that reached a certain peak here. The manuscript also bears visual hints as to the intention: it is certainly, as indicated before, a fair copy likely intended as the definitive source for the printer. This may help explain why it appears to be the only copy in existence. This reinforces the idea that it was ultimately destined for print: it would make sense that

there were no copies created, as the intention was to have it in print. Since it was never printed, this has remained the only copy. The layout of the text within the volume also points to print, with, for example, marginal comments running throughout, providing a brief summary or point for the reader, which were likely intended to be included in the printed version. On folio 16v, to give just one of many possible examples, the text includes notes glossing the activities of Irish Catholic priests and friars in their leadership of the rebellion, such as “the merits of their extraordinary fasts,” “Forraigne supplies of money from the Pope & his vassals,” and “the priests but especially the friars sermons & discourses.”⁹⁸ These features, while certainly also present in manuscripts, were likely intended for inclusion in the printed version to guide readers through the lengthy exposition. In sum, the authors clearly saw this document as an important next step in their work on rebellion: given the printing of both the *Remonstrance* and the *Relation*, it seems highly unlikely this treatise was not intended for a print market also. That it was ultimately not the case has been to the detriment of our understanding of the rebellion, and of wider perceptions of seventeenth-century Irish society and history-writing to this point.

Conclusion: (Re)making the Irish Mission

The 1641 Irish Rebellion was a moment of despair and of profound challenge to the Protestant community in Ireland, and its cherished aims of converting and civilizing the country. The plantations had been intended as beacons of godliness and civil living, with the English and Scottish settlers serving as everyday missionaries in the work of transforming Ireland. Thomas Blenerhasset summed up the mission as the creation of a “christian and comfortable society,” imbued with “civility and sincere Religion, equal euen faire England herself.”⁹⁹ There can be little doubt that evangelization and the building of a Protestant Ireland lay at the heart of English projects. However, the chaos of the rebellion had seemingly swept away all that hard work. The 1643 treatise of Henry Jones and his deposition commission colleagues sought to remember these titanic efforts, memorialize those lost, and to call for still-greater exertions in this crucial venture. As such, this tract serves as an important text in early modern literatures of mission, civility, and empire, with Ireland acting as a crucible for the development of an ideology of religion, civility, and colonization: an experimental missionary land, with repercussions felt around the globe. Writing in his “Of Plantations” essay, published for the first time in 1625, Francis Bacon argued that all planters should “haue God alwaies, and his Service, before their Eyes,” thus emphasizing the central importance of religion in all plantation efforts – especially those in areas of English control, such as Ireland.¹⁰⁰

The commissioners’ treatise also serves as an important intervention in the debate on the 1641 rebellion itself. Their view supports the modern interpretation of the rising as the true bringing together of Old English and native Irish interest for the first time in many ways. That which brought them together was their shared Catholicism, and so, for Jones and his colleagues, this was in inescapably

religious conflict: it was “hatred” for Protestantism that was a major driving force of violence. Tensions surrounding evangelization bubbled to the surface in the form of coerced conversions and the frequent fears expressed concerning supposed mass drives to conformity, highlighting the Irish reaction to the religious mission embedded within plantations. However, the careful presentation of Protestantism and civility as being inextricably intertwined meant that an assault on religion was also an attack on the wider “British” effort in Ireland. This manifested in violence against religious symbols, but also all “Monuments of civility.” It is this mixing of religious, ethnic, and “colonial” dimensions to the rebellion that contemporary historians must reflect on for future work on the rebellion itself.

In a wider sense, the rising – and this account of it – highlighted the intense battles surrounding conversion in Britain and Ireland in the early modern period, particularly from the late sixteenth century onwards. It was here that English and Scottish Protestants encountered significant numbers of Catholics. Indeed, they represented the great majority. It is in this light that the project to “make Ireland British” must be placed into a larger landscape of missionary work. While not often thought of as such, the experience of Protestants in Ireland was surely foundational in many respects: as the country has been described as the “laboratory” for empire, so too should it perhaps be thought of as a laboratory for conversion, particularly through the advancing of a civilizing process that had religious transformation at its heart. However, the 1643 treatise, and the rebellion more generally, demonstrates that Ireland was not so much a missionary landscape as a missionary battlefield, with profound and lasting consequences.

Notes

1. Henry Jones, Randall Adams, Henry Brereton and Edward Pigott, ‘A Treatise Giving a Representation of the Grand Rebellion in Ireland,’ 1643, British Library Harley MS 5999, f. 33r.
2. For an overview of longstanding debates on 1641, see John Gibney, *The Shadow of a Year: 1641 in History and Memory* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013).
3. Henry Jones, *A Remonstrance of Divers Remarkable Passages Concerning the Church and Kingdome of Ireland* (London, 1642); Henry Jones, *A Relation of the Beginnings and Proceedings of the Rebellion in the County of Cavan* (London, 1642). Important work on the *Remonstrance* includes: Joseph Cope, *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2009), 34–5, 82–3, 94–5; Joseph Cope, ‘Fashioning Victims: Dr Henry Jones and the Plight of Irish Protestants,’ *Historical Research*, 74 (2001), 370–91; Joseph Cope, ‘The Experience of Survival During the 1641 Irish Rebellion,’ *Historical Journal*, 46 (2003), 295–316; Eamon Darcy, *The 1641 Irish Rebellion and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), 85–93.
4. *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts*, 3 (London: British Library, 1808), 309; the manuscript itself bears no title, either on the flyleaves or the first page of the treatise. There currently appears to be no information about how the work may have come into the Harley collection, with several reference works not mentioning any provenance, including important sources of other Irish materials, such as the collections of Sir Simonds D’Ewes and Ralph Starkey: Andrew Watson, *The Library of Sir Simonds D’Ewes* (London: The British Library, 1966), 17, 24–6. White’s study of the Harley

- sources does not even list Ms 5999 in the numerical list of items, moving from 5998 to 6001, nor is the manuscript – or indeed Irish material – discussed in the introduction: Cyril Ernest White, *Fontes Harleiani: A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts Preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum, 1972), 463.
5. Jane Ohlmeyer, 'A Laboratory for Empire? Early Modern Ireland and English Imperialism,' in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kevin Kenny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 26–60.
 6. The National Library of Ireland does hold a microfilm copy of the Harley manuscript: n. 1685, p. 1427.
 7. Steven Ellis, '"Reducing Their Barbarous Wildness . . . unto Civility": England and "the Celtic Fringe", 1415–1625,' in *Ireland and the English World in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Brendan Smith (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 185–7.
 8. *Ibid.*, 187–8.
 9. Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 121–242 for discussion of the 'theory and practice' for both the Munster and Ulster schemes.
 10. *Ibid.*, 144.
 11. Ohlmeyer, 'Laboratory for Empire?' *passim*; see also Nicholas Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560–1800* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); *idem.* 'The ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America,' *William and Mary Quarterly*, 30 (1973), 575–98.
 12. See, for example, J.H. Elliott, 'Learning from the Enemy: Early Modern Britain and Spain,' in *Spain, Europe and the Wider World, 1500–1800*, ed. J.H. Elliott (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 25–51; Eric J. Griffin, 'Nationalism, the Black Legend and the Revised *Spanish Tragedy*,' *English Literary Renaissance*, 39, 2 (2009), 36–70.
 13. Alan Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590–1641*, 2nd edn. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), *passim*; Alan Ford, 'Reforming the Holy Isle: Parr Lane and the Conversion of the Irish,' in *A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning. Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan*, eds. Toby Barnard, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and Katharine Simms (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 137–63; John McCafferty, *The Reconstruction of the Church of Ireland: Bishop John Bramhall and the Laudian Reforms, 1633–1641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–20; Brian MacCuarta, *Catholic Revival in the North of Ireland, 1603–41* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), *passim*; Raymond Gillespie, 'Success and Failure in the Ulster Plantation,' in *The Plantation of Ulster: Ideology and Practice*, eds. Éamonn Ó Ciardha and Micheál Ó Siochrú (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 98–118.
 14. Brendan Bradshaw, 'Sword, Word and Strategy in the Reformation in Ireland,' *Historical Journal*, 21 (1978), 475–502; see also Nicholas Canny's response, 'Why the Reformation Failed in Ireland: Une Question Mal Posée,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30 (1979), 423–50.
 15. Ford, *Protestant Reformation*, 224–5.
 16. *Ibid.*, 225.
 17. David Edwards, 'Out of the Blue? Provincial Unrest in Ireland Before 1641,' in *Ireland: 1641. Contexts and Reactions*, eds. Jane Ohlmeyer and Micheál Ó Siochrú (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 95–114.
 18. Michael Perceval-Maxwell, 'Strafford, the Ulster-Scots and the Covenant,' *Irish Historical Studies*, 18 (1973), 524–51, esp. 550–1.
 19. Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 560–1, 539; Perceval-Maxwell, 'Strafford,' 550–1.
 20. See, among others, Aidan Clarke, 'The Genesis of the Ulster Rising of 1641,' in *Plantation to Partition: Essays in Ulster History in Honour of J.L. McCracken*, ed. Peter Roebuck (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1982), 29–45; Michael Perceval-Maxwell, *The*

- Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 192–260; Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 461–550; Nicholas Canny, 'Religion, Politics and the Irish Rising of 1641,' in *Religion and Rebellion*, eds. Judith Devlin and Ronan Fanning (Dublin, 1997), 40–70; Raymond Gillespie, 'The End of an Era: Ulster and the Outbreak of the 1641 Rising,' in *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society, 1534–1641*, eds. Ciarán Brady and Raymond Gillespie (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1986), 191–213; David Finnegan, 'What Do the Depositions Say About the Outbreak of the 1641 Rising?' in *The 1641 Depositions and the Irish Rebellion*, eds. Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey and Elaine Murphy (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 21–34.
21. Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625–1642* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1966), 171–219; Perceval-Maxwell, *Outbreak*, 240–61; Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 501–14; Finnegan, 'Outbreak of the 1641 Rising,' 25–34; Darcy, *Irish Rebellion*, 80–4.
 22. Brian MacCuarta, 'Religious Violence Against Settlers in South Ulster, 1641–2,' in *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland*, eds. David Edwards, Pádraig Lenihan and Clodagh Tait (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 154–75, esp. 156–8, 163–7.
 23. Jones et al., 'Treatise,' f. 36v.
 24. For an introduction to the depositions, see Aidan Clarke, 'The 1641 Depositions,' in *Treasures of the Library: Trinity College Dublin*, ed. Peter Fox (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1986), 111–22; for information on the main "categories" of deposition, see The 1641 Depositions Project: <http://1641.tcd.ie/using-categories.php>
 25. *A Catalogue*, 1, 'Preface,' 28–9.
 26. Clarke, '1641 Depositions,' 111–22; Aidan Clarke, 'The Commission for the Despoiled Subject, 1641–7,' in *Reshaping Ireland, 1550–1700: Colonization and Its Consequences*, ed. Brian MacCuarta (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), 241–60.
 27. Jones, *Remonstrance*, 12.
 28. 'Main Categories,' 1641 Depositions Project: <http://1641.tcd.ie/using-categories.php>.
 29. See Aidan Clarke, 'Jones, Henry,' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge University Press, online edition); none of the other commissioners have a DIB entry, for example, and in introductory texts such as Clarke's "1641 Depositions," as well as the 1641 website, they are identified simply as fellow clergymen: http://1641.tcd.ie/about-when_deposition.php.
 30. Randall Adams was Scholar in 1620, BA in 1623, MA and Fellow 1626; Henry Brereton received his BA in 1629; Roger Puttock was Scholar in 1615, BA in 1619, and MA in 1622; Edward Pigott is identified as a "native," and was Scholar in 1628, BA in 1633; George Dames Burtchaell and Thomas Ulick Sadleir, eds., *Alumni Dublinenses: A Register of the Students, Graduates, Professors and Provosts of Trinity College in the University of Dublin, 1593–1860*. https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?DRIS_ID=LCN10378529_0003. There are also several John Watsons in the Dublin alumni lists, including one who was BA in 1622 and MA in 1625, placing him in Trinity at the same time as many other commissioners; there is a second John Watson who was BA in 1629 and Fellow in 1631 who could also be the commissioner. John Watson, clerk of Hacketstown in Carlow, can be identified as the commissioner by matching his signature on depositions, to his own deposition of 7 Mar. 1642, 1641 Depositions Ms 812, ff. 41r–41v, Trinity College Dublin, though no other contextual information is given to indicate if he was either of the Trinity graduates.
 31. There is a William Aldrich listed as an alumnus of Emmanuel College Cambridge (BA 1621, MA, 1624): J.A. Venn, ed., *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*. <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/Documents/acad/2018/>

- search-2018.html. It is difficult to say if this is the same as William Aldrich, clerk of Clankee in Cavan, who appears to have had several relatives in the area, including an uncle to whom he was heir, possibly explaining his presence in Ireland: deposition of William Aldrich, 5 Mar. 1642, 1641 Depositions Ms 832, ff. 173r–173v, Trinity College Dublin [hereafter TCD]. There is a John Sterne listed as receiving a BA from Jesus in 1617/18, and another who matriculated at Christ's in 1608, but neither can be definitively linked with John Sterne, clerk in King's County: deposition of John Sterne, 17 Sept. 1642, 1641 Depositions Ms 814, ff. 199r–200v, TCD. Of William Hitchcock, I can find no record in the lists of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin alumni, and he appears not to have given a deposition himself.
32. Elizabethanne Boran and Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, 'The Promotion of Civility and the Quest for the Creation of a "City of Peace": The Beginnings of Trinity College Dublin and of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.,' *Pedagogica Historica*, 34, 2 (1998), 491.
 33. King Charles I, First Commission, 23 Dec. 1641, 1641 Depositions Ms 812, f. 1r, TCD; Petition of the Disloyed Ministers, 3 Mar. 1642, 1641 Depositions Ms 840, ff. 36r–36v, TCD.
 34. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, K.P., Preserved at Kilkenny Castle*, New Series, 2 (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1908), 92–3.
 35. R.P. Mahaffy, ed., *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, 1633–1647* (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1901), 778.
 36. Jones et al., 'Treatise,' f. 124v.
 37. Jones, *Relation* (for full citation see note 3).
 38. *Ibid.*, 8–17 (the pamphlet appears to have been mispaginated, with page 17 appearing instead of page 9, and continuing as 18, 19 etc.). I have followed the pagination as printed to avoid potential confusion.
 39. Jones et al., 'Treatise,' f. 1r.
 40. *Ibid.*
 41. *Ibid.*, f. 2v.
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. *Ibid.*, f. 4v.
 44. *Ibid.*, f. 2v.
 45. This community claimed descent from the Anglo-Norman conquerors of the twelfth century, and on this basis, distinguished themselves from the native or Gaelic Irish: see Ruth Canning's useful 'Note on Conventions' which gives a brief history: *The Old English in Early Modern Ireland: The Palesmen and the Nine Years' War, 1594–1603* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2019), x; Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 48–9.
 46. Clarke, *Old English, passim*; Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 403–18; Jane Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century* (London and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 211–49.
 47. Jones et al., 'Treatise,' f. 9r.
 48. *Ibid.*, ff. 3v, 8r.
 49. *Ibid.*, ff. 8r, 3v.
 50. See, for example, Fynes Moryson's description of the "English Irish" as "as rude and barbarous as any of the meere Irish lords," Charles Hughes, ed., *Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary* (London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1903), 481; Canning, *Old English*, 4–5.
 51. The grievances of the peers and gentry of Ireland, 25 Mar. 1642, 1641 Depositions Ms 840, f. 25r, TCD; see also Carte Ms 2, f. 217r, Bodleian Library.
 52. 'Generall Remonstrance or Declaration of the Catholics of Ireland, received of George Wentworth, 28 Dec. 1641, who received it from the rebels, when prisoner with them,' 1641, SP 63/260, The National Archives, ff. 194r–195v (printed declaration); see also

- Nicholas Plunkett, 'Account of the War and Rebellion in Ireland Since the Year 1641,' Ms 345, National Library of Ireland, f. 596.
53. Deposition of Anne Bullinbrooke, 22 Dec. 1642, 1641 Depositions Ms 839, f. 30v, TCD.
 54. Deposition of William Hoe, 8 Jan. 1642, 1641 Depositions Ms 833, f. 11r, TCD.
 55. Jones et al., 'Treatise,' f. 28r.
 56. Ibid., 19r; Annaleigh Margey, '1641 and the Ulster Plantation Towns,' in Darcy et al., *The 1641 Depositions*, 79–96.
 57. Jones et al., 'Treatise,' f. 28r; for discussion of the role of the king, see for example Barbara Diefendorf, *Under the Cross: Catholics and Protestants in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 96, 168–71; Philip Benedict, 'The St Bartholomew's Day Massacres in the Provinces,' *Historical Journal*, 21, 2 (June 1978), 206–17, 225.
 58. Jones et al., 'Treatise,' f. 28r.
 59. Ibid., ff. 32v–33r.
 60. Ibid., f. 10v.
 61. Ibid., ff. 18v–19r.
 62. Toby Barnard, *Improving Ireland? Projectors, Prophets and Profiteers, 1641–1786* (Dublin: Four Court Press, 2008), 13–40; Paul Slack, *Invention of Improvement: Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 262–3.
 63. Ohlmeyer, 'Laboratory for Empire?' 26–60; Adrian Chastain Weimer, *Martyrs' Mirror: Persecution and Holiness in Early New England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 121–4, 130.
 64. See contemporary complaints about the lack of reliable information in circulation, for example Anon., *No Pamphlet, Bvt a Detestation Against All Such Pamphlets as Are Printed, Concerning the Irish Rebellion, Plainely Demonstrating the Falshood of Them*. . . (London, 1642).
 65. Jones, *Remonstrance*, 1.
 66. Ibid., 2.
 67. Cope, 'Fashioning Victims,' 380.
 68. See for example Jones, *Remonstrance*, 2, 10.
 69. Cope, *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion*, 34–5; Cope, 'Fashioning Victims,' 370, 374–5, 380–4; Darcy, *Irish Rebellion*, 89–90.
 70. Darcy, *Irish Rebellion*, 87–92; Kathleen Noonan, '"The Cruell Pressure of an Enraged and Barbarous People": Irish and English Identity in Seventeenth-Century Policy and Propaganda,' *Historical Journal*, 41, 1 (March 1998), 153; John Cunningham, '1641 and the Shaping of Cromwellian Ireland,' in Darcy et al., *The 1641 Depositions* 159; Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 554.
 71. Joan Redmond, 'Memories of Violence and New English Identities in Early Modern Ireland,' *Historical Research*, 89 (2016), 722–3; Gibney, *Shadow of a Year*, 29, 32.
 72. 'The Case of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland,' Gilbert Collection Ms 243, f. 73, Dublin City Library and Archive.
 73. The date of publication is given as 11 Aug. 1642 on the frontispiece.
 74. Jones, *Remonstrance*, 8–17 (the pamphlet appears to have been mispaginated, with page 17 appearing instead of page 9, and continuing as 18, 19 etc.). I have followed the pagination as printed to avoid potential confusion.
 75. Ibid., 40–1.
 76. Jones, *Relation*, 25–6.
 77. Ibid., 40–7.
 78. Ibid., 1.
 79. Aidan Clarke, 'The "1641 Massacres",' in Ohlmeyer and Ó Siochrú, *Ireland: 1641*, 40, 42; see also Aidan Clarke, 'The 1641 Rebellion and Anti-Popery in Ireland,' in

- Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising*, ed. Brian MacCuarta (Belfast: Queen's University of Belfast, 1993), 139–57.
80. Jones et al., 'Treatise,' ff. 18v, 11v.
81. *Ibid.*, f. 30v.
82. None of these accounts use the NLI microfilm copy of the BL manuscript either, as far as is possible to tell.
83. Clarke, '1641 Massacres,' 37–43; see for example Hilary Simms, 'Violence in County Armagh, 1641,' in MacCuarta, *Ulster 1641*, 123–38; Inga Jones, '"Holy War"? Religion, Ethnicity and Massacre During the Irish Rebellion, 1641–2,' in Darcy et al., *The 1641 Depositions* 129–42.
84. Clarke, '1641 Massacres,' 40–3.
85. *Ibid.*, 40–2.
86. Clarke, 'Commission for the Despoiled Subject,' 253; Clarke, '1641 Massacres,' 39.
87. Micheál Ó Siochrá, *Confederate Ireland, 1642–1649: A Political and Constitutional Analysis* (Dublin: Four Court Press, 2008), 64; Lord Lisle to the countess of Leinster, 16 May 1643, in G. Dyfnallt Owen, ed., *Report on the Manuscripts of the Right Honourable Viscount de L'Isle V.C. Preserved at Penshurst Place 6* (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1966), 431.
88. Fragment pasted onto a flyleaf at the front of the manuscript, which possibly indicates it was given to "the Board x November 1643." However, the fragment is very faded, making it difficult to say with certainty its exact content; for the witnessing of the depositions' authenticity, see f. 124v.
89. Clarke, '1641 Massacres,' 41.
90. Ó Siochrá, *Confederate Ireland*, 67–8.
91. *Ibid.*, 77.
92. *Ibid.*, 69.
93. Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 70–2, 174; *idem*. 'Oral and Scribal Texts in Early Modern England,' In *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, eds. Maureen Bell, John Barnard, and Janice D. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 109; Noah Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation and the Invention of Politics in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 1–4, 17–21; Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
94. Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, eds. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford: Wiley - Blackwell, 1994), xi–xii, xxiii–xxiv.
95. Love, *Scribal Publication*, 39.
96. Jones et al., 'Treatise,' ff. 2v, 5v, 9v, 11v, 14v, 18v, 19r, 27v.
97. *Ibid.*, f. 2r.
98. *Ibid.*, f. 16v.
99. Thomas Blenerhasset, *A Direction for the Plantation in Vlster* (London, 1610), D1r.
100. Francis Bacon, *The Essays or Counsels, Ciuill and Morall, of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St Alban* (London, 1625), 202.

4 Charting the “Progress of Truth”

Quaker Missions and the Topography of Dissent in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe*

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In the spring of 1712, the English Quaker John Adams had a remarkable vision:

I was . . . in a very pleasant & delightful place where I was filled with Heavenly Enjoyments, & in a little time I beheld a bright appearance, approaching as a Man, but Exceeding Glorious beyond What I can Express, & the nearer he drew to me the more my heart was filled with love towards him . . . but when he came nigh he spoke unto me & said, wilt thou go with me & preach the Gospel in Holland?

Adams considered himself “unworthy, & unqualified to undertake so great a Work,” but he was convinced “that it was the Lord Jesus Christ that had so appeared” to him, so he resolved to go to the continent that same year as a travelling minister.¹ Based on their descriptions of the mission field in correspondences and journals or spiritual diaries, this chapter explores Adams’ and his co-religionists’ journeys to Europe. Early modern Quaker visions were commonly vivid, symbolic, and even prophetic.² Often set in imaginary spaces like the “pleasant and delightful place” in which Adams found himself in his vision, they frequently involved movement in space, like the Christ figure’s gradually approaching motion. Visions played a crucial role in the early years of the Quaker movement by guiding the Quakers’ actions, especially in the first missionary campaign that lasted from the 1650s until the 1720s. In fact, visions were so important to travelling Quaker ministers that Carla Gerona has dubbed them “a different kind of compass to navigate foreign places.”³

The Quaker missions to Europe were eclipsed by the Society of Friends’ efforts to expand across the Atlantic and by its contribution to establishing a “Protestant Empire.”⁴ The repeated attempts at gaining a permanent foothold in Europe, mostly amongst other religious non-conformists, and mostly in the Protestant North, were largely obscured by their limited success. A growing body of research has, however, begun to investigate the Quaker missionary journeys. Missionaries

travelled as far as Italy and Malta, the Netherlands and the German principalities, Scandinavia, France, Poland, Hungary, and even the Ottoman Empire (see Figure 4.1). It has become clear that apart from Protestants, the missions also targeted Catholics, Jews, and Muslims.⁵ This chapter seeks to shed new light on the missionary strategies of the Quakers. Focusing on their contacts with sympathisers and mediators, it shows that they tapped into an extensive network of religious dissent across Europe. Similar to other, more formalised religious networks, like those involving Halle Pietists and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in London, this network was closely connected to the Atlantic region. I argue that spatial imaginations were crucial to the Quaker missions – and indeed, to the whole Quaker movement – in visualising social configurations like the European network of religious non-conformists. Indeed, the missionaries' descriptions can be read as an alternative denominational map – one that reflects contested religious boundaries, interstices, and niches not represented in the official confessional topography of early modern Europe. This chapter emphasises how under-researched Europe itself is as a missionary field – a lacuna which the present volume proposes to address – and points to some promising directions in the history of missions, specifically regarding less successful, but sometimes highly productive, missionary projects. Exploring Quaker missions can deepen our understanding of the connections between marginalised religious denominations that have long been neglected and have only recently attracted more scholarly interest. It can also help in gaining a more nuanced picture of the interaction between such denominations and of the relationship between missions and migration – both of which were crucial to the process of imperial expansion and the creation of global Christianities.

Apart from personally experienced apparitions like the one described by Adams, collective visions for the future also guided the actions of the Quakers. This chapter summarises the initial millenarian vision of global and universal conversion that is mirrored in the spatial semantics of the journals. It explores how they subsequently began to limit their activities to areas that promised success and how they increasingly used and profited from transdenominational networks. It then discusses how these developments are reflected in the missionaries' changing use of spatial imagery and shows how they transferred their evolving organisational structures from England to the continent, creating a more formalised, hierarchical network and simultaneously adapting their spatial semantics to back up internal consolidation. The chapter concludes by contrasting the missionaries' spatial semantics with more common contemporary conceptions of the relationship between religion and space in early modern Europe.

A few words concerning the sources on which this chapter is based may be helpful. Quaker journals have received some attention in the study of autobiographical literature, but they have often been characterised as formulaic and overly preoccupied with the conversion experience.⁶ In George Fox's *Journal*, this has been attributed to the intention of writing "the history of his sect as well as his personal history." This "double purpose" seemed to some scholars to disqualify the journal both stylistically and as a source of insight into

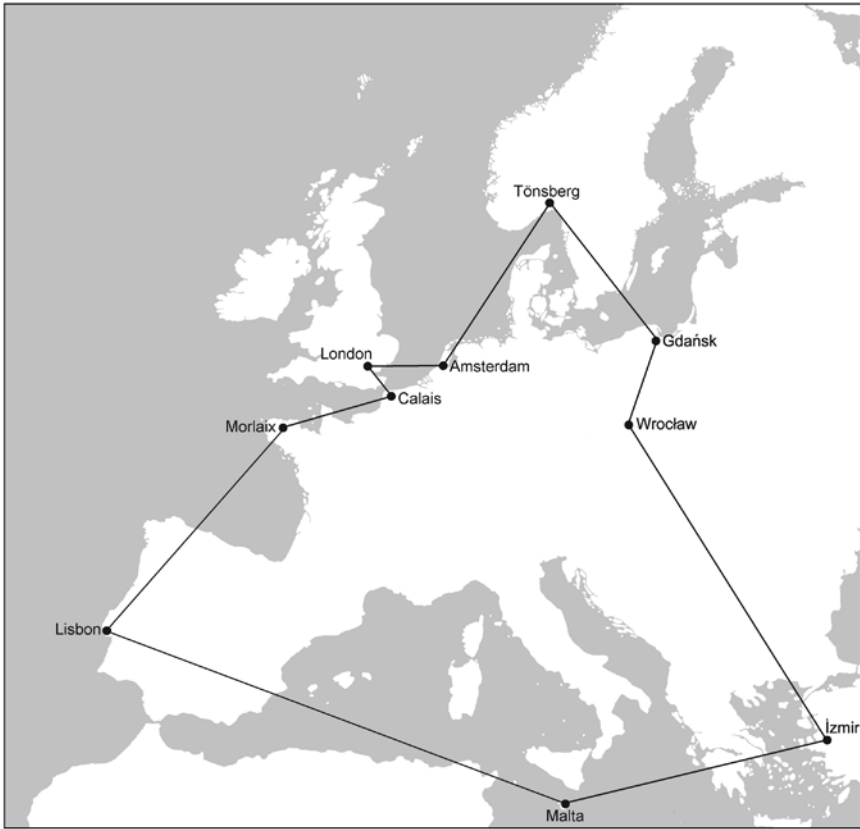


Figure 4.1 Map of the Areas Visited by Quakers

the writers’ life.⁷ The “double purpose,” however, has been little considered as a distinctive organising principle of Quaker self-writing. Rather, the disciplinary effect at work in these texts is seen to hinder individual expressions and conceal the writers’ inner stirrings. It is not necessary to discuss this issue exhaustively here, but the examples quoted throughout this chapter demonstrate how spatial constructions in such narratives in fact represented the historically variable standards and objectives of the Quaker community, while at the same time retaining a situational and subjective quality.⁸ Experiences like visions were usually described in accordance with the community’s expectations – at least in those texts that were printed after 1672, when it was decreed that all Quaker writing intended for the press be submitted to the Second Day Morning Meeting for revision and approval.⁹ Nevertheless, it remained crucial that visions were conceived individually, as this proved the visionary’s direct contact with the Godhead. After all, direct revelation and its independence of priestly

intermediation were central to Quaker doctrine. Adams' vision is a case in point. His account was intimately personal, yet the manuscript, which was not printed until the nineteenth century, has survived as part of the Religious Society of Friends' archival collections.

1. Global Missionary Ambitions

Adams' journey to the Netherlands and Germany was preceded by more than half a century's missionary endeavours.¹⁰ Already during the 1650s and 1660s, the Quaker movement (though still heterogeneous) was united by the millenarian belief that the arrival of the Kingdom of God was imminent. The Quakers did not expect this subversion of the world order to come about through political upheaval. Reacting to accusations that lumped them together with other, more militant groups like the Fifth Monarchy Men, they publicly declared their rejection of violence in the year of the Restoration, assuring Charles II that they were loyal subjects (albeit unable to swear to their loyalty for conscientious reasons) and that they did not pose a threat to his authority.¹¹ They imagined God's Kingdom to come about in the form of mass conversion, anticipating an enormous increase in the Quaker movement everywhere in the world. The conversion would be performed individually by each believer as he or she turned towards the Inner Light – the supreme medium of divine guidance. They were convinced that this Light illuminated each believer's conscience, making direct revelation available to all.¹² "Turning towards the Light," perhaps the most significant metaphor that the Quaker missionaries used, meant "convincement" or conversion (the Latin root of the word likewise indicating a turning movement).

This imagery is reflected in the writing of the missionary Steven Crisp, who toured the Netherlands and Germany between 1663 and 1692, and wrote to prospective converts in Germany: "Consider the Place where this alteration is to be wrought . . . It is within you." According to their characteristic version of realising eschatology, the Quakers believed that "this alteration" had already begun, that it was happening rapidly and globally, and that they must help bring it about through missions "till the Earth is covered with its Glory."¹³ Their main objective was therefore the spreading of "truth" (often spelt with a capital "T"), which could either refer to God or God's will, or to Christ or Christ's message.¹⁴ Adams' journey was prompted by "drawings . . . to go to Holland in Truth's service."¹⁵ Other missionaries described themselves as "speaking truth,"¹⁶ "declaring truth," or "making it known."¹⁷ They tried to "win" people for the Truth and reported in letters to England how "truth's affaires" stood. They often personified Truth: for example, Crisp instructed his Dutch audience "not to seek to comprehend the Truth, but to wait in lowliness to be comprehended by it."¹⁸

Building on this collective vision of universal change by missionary means, George Fox addressed epistles to potentates all over the world, announcing the arrival of missionaries "to the House of Austria, and to Holland and Germany, and to the King of Spain, King of France and King of Portugal and to the Pope." He even wrote to the legendary Prester John, the "Mogul of China and the Tartars and

Jews and to the most part of the world.”¹⁹ In 1660, it seemed as if his expectations were beginning to be fulfilled when the first Quaker General Meeting held in Skipton (Yorkshire) was informed that missionaries had reached “Germany, America, and many other islands and places, as Florence, Mantua, Palatine, Tuscany, Italy, Rome, Turkey, Jerusalem, France, Geneva, Norway, Barbados, Bermuda, Antigua, Jamaica, Surinam, Newfoundland.”²⁰ The missionaries compiled similar lists en route. When John Philley was arrested and interrogated by imperial troops in Hungary during the Habsburg war against the Turks in 1662, he was asked why he had listed the names of garrisons and other places separately, although he “had them in the Maps” that he was carrying.²¹ The Quakers never reached all the places on Fox’s missionary to-do list, and some geographical details on this list appear rather vague, but the quotes show how they imagined their missions in spatial terms: each place was a milestone along the path of Truth’s progression. What is more, the sheer number of places demonstrates their confidence and determination, and the fact that these places were so far-flung illustrates the missionary project’s global dimensions – Europe was only one region within a larger proselytising scheme that, at this point in time, also included the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Quaker ministers had already reached North America and the Caribbean during the 1650s, and won converts in the Chesapeake area, New England, Barbados, and Jamaica.²² But they did not implement their plans to missionise in Africa or Asia during the early modern period.

2. Itineraries

Because they regarded themselves as instruments in God’s plan for salvation and the missions as integral to salvation history, leading Quakers like Fox and William Penn attached great importance to documenting their journeys. Both wrote historical accounts intended for publication, and they encouraged other missionaries to do the same.²³ In these accounts, they recorded their travels in minute detail, carefully listing the names of all the places they visited, as if these were literal evidence of Truth’s overland progress and its spreading “from sea to sea.”²⁴ Their autobiographies doubled as travel journals and spiritual diaries. Alluding to Isaiah’s prophecy, they described a pious life as “walking in the Light”²⁵ or “walking in the truth of God.”²⁶ Personal experiences and salvation history intertwined in these texts: the Quakers were “generally inclined to the images of wandering and pilgrimage, visualising the temporal flow of their lives, particularly the historical sequence of religious changes, in these spatial terms.”²⁷

Spatial or landscape imagery was particularly strong in the prophetic “openings” or revelations that Fox experienced in 1652 while he toured the North of England, rallying a growing number of adherents from the Seekers and other religious dissenters active in this region. On and near Pendle Hill in Lancashire, where he preached to large crowds and convinced some key supporters, he had two visions promising large numbers of converts. This journey, including the Pendle Hill visions, subsequently became an important *lieu de memoire*, and the area became the “1652 country” in Quaker collective memory (incidentally, Adams

originated from this region).²⁸ Fox saw an “ocean of light and love” flowing over an “ocean of darkness and death” in one of his visions. In others, he prophesied missionary success in specific places. In 1651, he saw “a great people” in the Netherlands who would convert to Quakerism.²⁹ He encouraged the missionaries to travel to “Russia, Muscouia, Poland, Hungarya and Swedland.”³⁰ The first Quakers reached the Netherlands in 1654. By the end of the eighteenth century, roughly 80 men and women carried out over 130 documented missionary journeys.³¹

Truth’s progression, however, soon appeared to slow down. Only a few missionaries reached further than the Dutch Republic and the German lands. Missionary efforts in Scandinavia, Russia, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire remained largely fruitless. As their hopes for an immediate coming of the Kingdom faded, the Quakers moved from a millenarian outlook towards consolidating their community and campaigning to improve its status. From about 1660 onwards, this shift involved repressing certain practices that tended to incite scandal and make Quakers the target for criticism, particularly prophetic speech and “signs.”³² Quaker leadership took control of the missions and actively restrained controversial ministers. For example, women were very active during the first decade of the mission campaign. During the 1650s, some of the most spectacular travelling ministry was carried out by women, including Ann Gargill’s tour to Lisbon (1655), Mary Fisher and Ann Austin’s voyage to the Caribbean and to Massachusetts (1655–57), and Mary Fisher’s visit to the Ottoman Empire (1658). Some of these journeys attracted Europe-wide attention, like Sarah Cheevers and Katherine Evans’ visit to, and imprisonment in, Malta (1659).³³ When travelling ministers became subject to central supervision at the beginning of the 1660s, women were less frequently allowed to travel. With notable exceptions, such as missionary William Caton’s protégée Elizabeth Cox and George Fox’s daughter-in-law Isabel Yeomans, women were largely restricted to assisting the missions by supporting male missionaries until they made a comeback in the eighteenth century.³⁴ Adapting their missionary strategy to the new priorities, missionaries began to focus their efforts on certain areas that seemed to promise success: cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam, where religious non-conformists were generally tolerated; sanctuaries like Friedrichstadt, Altona, and Neuwied, where they found a refuge from persecution; and a few places along the Rhine, where the Mennonites had achieved a certain degree of religious freedom for themselves. To comprehend this shift in strategy and a corresponding shift in spatial imaginations, it is useful to consider the Quakers’ transdenominational interaction with other religious non-conformists.

3. Networks

Most Quaker converts and many missionaries came from other small denominations. They retained personal bonds with these and also cultivated social ties with non-Quakers based on kinship, neighbourhood, or business relationships.³⁵ This clearly influenced the Quakers’ missionary strategy on the continent. The

first missionaries arriving in Calais in 1654/5 spoke no continental languages, so they preached to Anglophone merchant or exile communities. These communities were unlikely to spread the Quaker message among the Dutch. Missionaries also disrupted religious services in Dutch Reformed churches and preached in public spaces such as market squares, often provoking violence and verbal abuse. Local authorities frequently drove them away, arrested them, and confined them in prisons or asylums.³⁶ While seeking out an English-speaking audience enabled missionaries to locate sympathisers, and while they readily used the mob attacks and persecution to mobilise publicity and solidarity, neither tactic yielded the large numbers of converts they were hoping for.

The missionaries began to adapt their strategy, employing translators for example, but they continued to struggle. Caton, who travelled on the continent for a whole decade beginning in 1655 and eventually married a Dutchwoman, recorded in his journal how "he that Interpreted for us, not being true and faithful . . . , the Hearers . . . came rather to be incensed against us, than to be won or gained to the Truth."³⁷ So they began to acquire linguistic skills that enabled them to preach and engage in religious debates in Dutch or German. In 1657, Caton reported to England: "I had a meeting or two and noe smale opposition, but . . . the more understanding I have in their Language the better can I contend for it."³⁸ In the Dutch Republic, locating religious non-conformists was eased by linguistic proficiency. Local communication hubs played an important role in making contact. These included prominent religious dissenters' homes. In Rotterdam, the Quaker linen merchant Benjamin Furly offered a venue for intellectual exchange and meetings for worship. In Amsterdam, the mystic chiliast Petrus Serrarius hosted debating meetings. As in London, bookshops were crucial meeting points. The shop of Amsterdam bookseller Jacob Claus, who printed a broad variety of dissenting literature, served as a hub for travelling ministers and sympathisers during the 1670s and 1680s.³⁹

In Dutch Friesland, in the German principalities, and in Catholic countries, finding such communication channels was more complicated.⁴⁰ In Germany in particular, where the legal principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* had been adopted after the Peace of Augsburg of 1555, the coexistence of different confessions was no longer tolerated, and with few exceptions, religious dissenters were rigorously persecuted and could not assemble openly. The missionaries therefore targeted specific communities, especially Mennonites, whose similarity with the English Baptists (many of whom had previously converted to Quakerism) they recognised.⁴¹ They also sought out rulers who had a reputation for tolerating religious heterodoxy, hoping to establish sanctuaries which could serve as bases for further missionary work. In 1662, two missionaries visited Frederick, Count of Wied. They had heard that the Count had recently "promised large Liberty to all sorts of People, that would come and inhabit his Dominion." The missionaries probably knew about a privilege the Count had granted his newly founded town, Neuwied, that same year with the aim of attracting religious dissenters (mainly Mennonites) to improve the town's occupational situation.⁴² They also contacted Charles Louis, the Elector Palatine, who advocated Protestant church union.⁴³ Also in

1662, another team of missionaries travelled through German territories on its way to Austria and Hungary, distributing books “to Diuers of ye Lords & great Ones. . ., as all so to ye Prince of Sulezback,” Duke Christian August, who was known to be interested in alchemy and religious heterodoxy.⁴⁴

The Quakers often made these contacts with the help of sympathisers. Christian August acted as patron to the alchemist and friend of Furly’s, Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont, who was suspected of attempting to settle a group of Quakers in Sulzbach in 1661.⁴⁵ Similarly, the Elector’s sister, Elizabeth, abbess at the convent of Herford whom Penn visited in 1677, tried to warm her brother to the idea of a Quaker settlement.⁴⁶ In the German territories, the missionaries tried to gain access to the relatively closed circle of those who concealed their discontent with the official church, mostly with the help of recommendations and letters of introduction by mediators like van Helmont and Elizabeth. The latter temporarily offered refuge to the French Reformed Pietist Jean de Labadie and his little community, including the learned Anna Maria van Schurman, at Herford (1670). Schurman and other noblewomen from the convent recommended the Quakers to acquaintances with heterodox inclinations: Charlotte Auguste, the daughter to the Count of Daun-Falkenstein at Broich, two pastors in her vicinity, and several people in Wesel and Kleve all received Penn’s visits. Penn also relied on Elizabeth’s and van Helmont’s credentials when he contacted the Pietist circle of Johanna Eleonora and Johann Wilhelm Petersen, as well as others in Frankfurt. In Cologne, the merchant David van den Enden introduced him to a number of his acquaintances.⁴⁷

Between the 1650s, when Quakers first travelled to the continent, and the 1720s, when the first wave of European Quaker missions ended, relations among the different dissenters remained ambivalent. Based on similar religious principles, they cooperated, but also “competed for souls.” Penn’s 1677 delegation was closely associated with emigration and business schemes like the “Frankfort Company,” in which both Quakers and Pietists were involved.⁴⁸ They also shared other concerns: persecution by the authorities and resulting poverty, discontent with the established churches’ privileges, and the suppression of their publications.⁴⁹ Emigration was one way of addressing these concerns, but it could also cause problems. Beginning in the 1680s, the European Quaker community started to dwindle dramatically as a consequence of intensified migration to Pennsylvania.⁵⁰ The migrants’ expectations surpassed reality and the financial burden overtaxed the capacities of their supporters to such a degree that the London Quakers began actively to discourage “runnings to Pennsylvania.”⁵¹ Fox himself criticised large-scale emigration since it destabilised European meetings. As founder and principal promoter of the American colony, Penn was having trouble justifying his ongoing recruitment of settlers.⁵² The Quakers, therefore, combined networking for missionary purposes with networking for the support of local meetings.

Many religious minorities likewise struggled to maintain regular worship and provide for basic needs. In Friedrichstadt, Dutch Remonstrant magistrates shielded the Quakers from persecution in 1673, saying that they had once been persecuted themselves and therefore advocated toleration.⁵³ In Danzig, one

imprisoned Quaker was bailed out by "a Papist man" in 1690, who "without his . . . kno[w]ledg[e] . . . paid the fees."⁵⁴ Some dissenting communities were forbidden to set up places of worship and graveyards, or simply could not afford them and shared with other communities, especially with dissenters. For example, local Quaker communities in Holland and Friesland usually assembled in private houses, but during missionaries' visits, curious crowds flocked to their meetings, and they repeatedly borrowed Mennonite meeting houses on such occasions.⁵⁵ Similarly, Quakers buried their dead in the official churches' graveyards (e.g., in that of the Dutch Reformed church in Landsmeer near Amsterdam), but also frequently in those owned by other dissenters, such as Mennonites (Hamburg) and Remonstrants (Friedrichstadt).⁵⁶ Especially in Amsterdam, kinship and neighbourhood relations resulted in intermarriage, mutual guardianship over children, and financial bequests between Quakers and Mennonites.⁵⁷

Different dissenting groups also shared plans for religious renewal. They raised religious controversies, highlighting their common dissociation from the religious mainstream, while simultaneously mapping out common ground and boundaries amongst themselves.⁵⁸ Printed tracts or pamphlets were the most effective means of promoting religious reform; their production and distribution relied heavily on transnational and transdenominational cooperation. In Amsterdam, specialist printers, publishers, and booksellers catered for a wide range of dissenting communities, bypassing stricter regulations elsewhere by using clandestine distribution channels.⁵⁹ In this way, Quaker literature reached a wider audience.⁶⁰

Because of their shared concerns and interests, different dissenting groups and individuals connected locally and across territorial borders. These connections only extended to certain regions within the range of the Quakers' missionary field.⁶¹ Increasingly, however, missionaries relied on such connections, especially where religious heterodoxy was vigorously suppressed by the authorities. This shift from a universal and global missionary vision to a more pragmatic strategy favouring local and regional contacts occurred in the 1670s and 1680s, and is reflected in two distinct sets of spatial imagery that Quaker missionaries used in their journals.

4. Dark Places and Oceans of Light, Wastelands and Green Fields

Spatial imagery created a metaphorical opposition between places that the missionaries thought promising of success and those they did not, or had not yet reached. Since Fox's Pendle Hill sermons in the early 1650s, the Quakers often used a set of images that resembled his "ocean of light" vision and echoed their main theological tenet of the Inner Light. In powerful eschatological terms, Crisp visualised Truth's progression as a dazzling light that would "spread through . . . all countries" and "never be extinguished." He admonished converts to not be "discouraged at the Clouds and Darkness that yet remains over the Nations" and promised that "Light [shall] be in your Dwellings." Penn saw God "sending forth"

his light to “all Nations,” “God’s sun that is risen, & rising,” and the “day of the Lord dawning upon Germany.”⁶²

Adams’ vision of the luminous figure calling him to become a missionary in 1712 is a striking example of Christ as embodied light. However, stopping over in Friedrichstadt in the duchy of Holstein, Adams had a second vision. Dreaming at night, he found himself on “a large plain, wherein no other living Creature for a time appeared.” In contrasting parallel with the “pleasant and delightful place” in his earlier vision, this desolate site then turned into a threatening scenario:

I saw some appearance at a great distance, which advanced gradually towards me, & as it Came nigh, a sense livingly arose in my heart that it was the Devil, & also a Caution or Warning to me to prepare for War; so he Came up, & stood as I supposed within 10 yards distance of me, in figure of a Mighty Giant of greater stature than any I have ever read of; his raiment (if any) & color was black & shining, his Eyes dreadful, & on his head as it were a Crown of moving fire, his aspect grim & frightful.⁶³

Whereas the Saviour’s apparition in the first vision had been “bright” and “glorious,” Adams imagined the satanic figure as “black,” “shining,” and wearing a blazing crown – an intimidating incarnation of the absence of light (i.e., divine guidance), representing the struggle (“War”) of the righteous against all manifestations of evil.

Similarly, other missionaries denounced their opponents as “dark,” exteriorising the metaphor by applying it to places and territories where religious non-conformists were persecuted. For example, traversing the German bishopric of Münster in 1677, Fox wrote, “the people of this Country are dark,” and Penn called Paderborn a “dark Popish Town.”⁶⁴ Like the satanic figure in Adams’ dream, such spiritual darkness appeared threatening and terrifying. During their journeys along the Rhine, missionaries found “great grosse & thick darknesse,” especially near Worms.⁶⁵ Crisp reported that he “met with many Perils and Dangers, by reason of the horrible Darkness, Popery, Cruelty and Superstitions of those Lands and Dominions.” On a visit to the newly established Quaker meeting at Krefeld (1680), he remarked that it was “rare to find a People so moderate in those Parts, which is in the Borders of the dark *Romish* Religion, and as it were intermix’d with it.”⁶⁶

The exteriorised version of the light versus darkness set of images was readily associated with the Quakers’ and other dissenters’ heterodox doctrines and practices.⁶⁷ It is hardly surprising, then, that the missionaries most commonly used this set of images during the early, millenarian phase of the missions during the 1650s and 60s. In later years, they began to employ it more sparingly and to reserve the light metaphor for areas where circumstances were favourable enough to warrant hopes for numerous “convincements” and that of darkness for places where they did not expect these at all.

By contrast, a second set of images rendered areas they had not visited inhospitable and inaccessible: Penn referred to them as “wild and untrodden places,”⁶⁸

Fox as "barren nations," "wildernesses beyond the seas," and "rude places," where the "thick, cloddy earth of hypocrisy" was overgrown with briars and brambles.⁶⁹ They were haunted by foxes, wolves, "all the devouring beasts & birds of prey,"⁷⁰ and even by dragons.⁷¹ Missionaries encountered "sore trials," "exercises," and "perils" in such places. To describe areas where they had effected change or had reason to hope for conversions, they chose agricultural or horticultural terms that contrast strikingly with the "wilderness" metaphors. The vocabulary of making land arable, sowing, tending, and harvesting crops prevails in such descriptions. Fox referred to Christ as the "seedsman" and to himself as a spiritual "husbandman." He directed his missionary fervour against "a briary, brambly nature," subjecting it to a kind of spiritual slash-and-burn and working with God's "spiritual plow" so "God's seed" would yield "heavenly and spiritual fruit."⁷² In an optimistic spirit, Penn encouraged his fellow missionaries: "Look forward . . . for the fields are even white unto harvest up and down the nations." Crisp compared his Dutch sermons to "Dew upon the tender Grass"⁷³ and entitled one of his tracts *A Word in Due Season, or some Harvest Meditations* (1660).⁷⁴

Like the light metaphor, wilderness images invited biblical associations, but they were also common in other contexts.⁷⁵ Most importantly, they accompanied and legitimised processes of colonisation the Quakers themselves had pursued in Ireland, where they benefited from Cromwell's redistribution of land during the 1650s, and from the 1680s pursued in North America.⁷⁶ In situations where space was appropriated, missionaries typically described it as wild, neglected, empty, and lacking cultivation or population. Such descriptions assigned new meanings that superseded previously existing or competing meanings. Similarly, descriptions of newly appropriated space as well-kept, populous, and prosperous confirmed the legitimacy of colonisation. The missionaries relied on a well-established metaphorical pattern that resonated with more general historical developments of their time.

Quakers preferred this pastoral set of images to describe ambivalent situations where they had already been successful on a limited scale by making local inroads into the "wilderness" or expected soon to do so. Penn's account of the 1677 tour contains several examples reflecting the relationships that made up the Quaker missionary network at this point. As a member of the English gentry, he could boast contacts with political as well as intellectual elites. He included his letters to rulers and gentility in his account, placing particular emphasis on women with Pietist leanings.⁷⁷ He characterised the Quaker meeting in Kriegsheim near Worms as "poor hearts, a little handful, surrounded with great & mighty Countrys of Darknes," just like Crisp would describe the Krefeld converts three years later. In nearby Mainz, that "dark & superstitious place," the missionaries only stayed until their boat was ready, barely half an hour. Shortly after, Penn described Catholic Cologne as a "great Popish city" where Protestants were "in no ways allowed" – but unlike Mainz and the area surrounding Kriegsheim, he did not denounce the city as "dark." The missionaries profited from social networking in Cologne. After contacting the merchant David van den Enden, who arranged for a Quaker meeting to be held, they stayed on for two days. Penn used pastoral

imagery to describe their conversations with van den Enden: “We gave him an Acc^t [of] how the Lord appeared in the Land of our Nativity, & how he had dealt with us: which was as the cool & gentle showers upon the dry & scorched Desert.”

In a similar vein, Penn recounted his visit to Broich, today part of Mühlheim, on the river Ruhr, in September 1677. Count Wilhelm Wirich of Daun-Falkenstein had the missionaries driven away as soon as they arrived, making it clear that they were unwelcome in his dominion. Penn was obviously piqued and wrote the Count a scathing letter condemning this harsh treatment. But he knew of several pious sympathisers in the area, including the Count’s own daughter, Charlotte Auguste, who corresponded with him and seemed inclined to receive his visit. He later complained to her that he was not used “to be so treated” in England, where Quakers were “generally . . . in good esteem, even with the great ones of this world,” but nevertheless refrained from calling Broich “dark.”⁷⁸ Eloquent and strategically minded, he likely considered potential future alliances. If the ambivalent relationship between the different dissenters required certain compromises, approaching those at risk because of their non-conformism called for considerable diplomatic skill, since the German clergy unanimously vilified the Quakers as heretics. In the German territories, the term “Quaker” had become a generic term for religious dissent, and Penn describes how he was shunned by some who had previously been attacked as Quakers for fear of persecution.⁷⁹ Charlotte Auguste was strictly surveyed by her unsympathetic father.⁸⁰ Under such circumstances, condemning the whole area as enveloped in spiritual gloom might have been counterproductive. Instead, Penn followed the pragmatic strategy with its emphasis on social networking and a more conciliatory rhetoric, and opted for the second set of images.

Adams’ second vision is another example of this modified use of imagery. Although it is clearly set off against his first vision, the contrast is not symmetrical: Adams does not imagine the black figure as smothering the scene in darkness (as opposed to the Christ figure in the first vision, who radiates light). Instead, he encounters Satan in a bleak desert devoid of human habitation. The oppressive scenery reflects the fact that Friedrichstadt was a religious enclave, surrounded by a territory hostile to the Quakers’ evangelical mission.⁸¹ At the time of Adams’ journey, the continental meetings were already in decline. The nearest active meeting was in Amsterdam, and only two years later, the Friedrichstadt Quakers would urgently request financial aid and visits from the London-based Meeting for Sufferings. The transdenominational web that missionaries had previously established was likewise wearing thin. During the same journey, Adams and his travelling companion Joseph Richardson failed to locate the radical Pietist Christian Anton Römeling, whom they had hoped to meet near Bremen.⁸²

5. Distances

If the missionaries’ pronouncements on places and spaces increasingly varied in accordance with networking opportunities, descriptions of distance also changed over time. While physical distances were often recorded in early modern travel

diaries, the missionaries' descriptions of distances can be read specifically as symbolising Truth's progression – like the place names read out at the Skipton General Meetings and compiled by Philley. Fox logged all the intervals between stopovers on the 1677 tour in the margins of his journal. From Emden to Leer, he travelled 15 English miles, Friedrichstadt "was ye furthest place" that he reached. He even added up all the distances: "772 miles, vizt, in England 149. . . and in Holland 612."⁸³ Penn treated distances in a slightly more nonchalant fashion. He noted that Kriegsheim is "about 6 English miles from Worms" and Hambach "6 German miles" from Mainz, but left out the distances between some other places that he visited.⁸⁴ The obituary for missionary Robert Haydock, by contrast, stated precisely that he had travelled "by Sea, and by Land, by Computation, Thirty Two Thousand Seven Hundred, Twenty Seven Miles."⁸⁵

Other texts mirror the shift in missionary strategy more clearly. In the early years, missionaries emphasised that they travelled long distances. Like Crisp, they depicted themselves as strangers and highlighted their linguistic handicap: "Tho[ugh] in an unknown Land, and with an unknown Speech . . . I declared the Truth to the refreshing of many."⁸⁶ Indeed, in the beginning of the missions, some seemed to believe that their message was intuitively intelligible even if their speech was not – an idea that was firmly rooted in the early Quakers' millenarian, visionary outlook.⁸⁷ Conversions effected despite the language barrier could be interpreted as an especially hopeful sign of the expected approach of the Kingdom. The emphasis on strangeness carried a double meaning. Not only did the missionaries come from afar; having turned towards the Light, they were also enjoying divine grace although the rest of the world was not (or not yet) – while physically living "in the world," they were "not of it."⁸⁸

Because other religious dissenters with similar eschatological expectations shared this idea of isolation in an erring world, as well as the view that the missionaries' mileage could signify the progress of salvation's history, highlighting distance and strangeness could (paradoxically) help in establishing a common basis. Some of the religiously minded especially welcomed the missionaries' arrival as confirmation that religious renewal was simultaneously happening in different parts of the world. For example, when Roger Longworth visited a community of Schwenckfelders in Silesia in the 1670s, he did not manage to convert anyone (perhaps because he overtly criticised the Lutheran mystic Jacob Böhme). But one of the Schwenckfelders wrote to some Quakers in England that "it was joy to us, that in other countrys faithfull men were found," and he hoped that "many might be awaked to Godliness, perceiving that a godly people were to be found in other countreys."⁸⁹

Again, changing circumstances and shifting goals involved modifications in spatial rhetoric. When the Quakers began to set up organisational structures on the continent in the 1670s, this affected communication and travelling as well as the way missionaries and converts described the physical distance between themselves and co-religionists. Because meetings remained small and scattered, distance turned from a hopeful sign into a problem, and was exacerbated by internal conflicts.⁹⁰ Instead of emphasising that they came from afar, the Quakers

increasingly strove to minimise distance, both in practical terms and metaphorically. Fox and Penn began to set up a system of business meetings for the Dutch and German Quaker converts in 1677: national Yearly Meetings in Amsterdam and Danzig; regional Monthly Meetings in Rotterdam, Harlingen, Friedrichstadt, Hamburg, and Krefeld; and local meetings in many other places.⁹¹ New meetings were integrated into the Quaker correspondence system, regularly exchanging news and consulting with committees in London.⁹² A centralised, London-based relief system began to take care of persecuted and impoverished members in England, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as further afield.⁹³ The London Yearly Meeting started to send epistles to other Yearly Meetings to assure converts everywhere of its support. It began to receive, register, and archive foreign epistles informing English Quakers of the situation in the Dutch Republic and the German territories.⁹⁴ Delegates from the different countries began to attend Yearly Meetings mutually.

Crisp, in particular, strove to reduce the distance between English and Dutch Quakers. Of Dutch ancestry and married to a Dutchwoman, he was particularly well equipped for this task. At times commuting between London and Amsterdam, constantly corresponding and fostering personal relationships, he linked both sides over a period of twenty years. When his collected writings were published in London after his death (1692), the Dutch Yearly Meeting contributed a “testimony” recounting his achievements in “spreading the Truth” and lauding him as a father figure who, even during his sojourns in England, “held a constant Eye upon” the Dutch Quakers despite “that outward distance.”⁹⁵ Clearly, in the 1690s, Truth’s triumphant progression was no longer evident in distance. English and continental Quakers now sought to overcome distance in their declarations of mutual fellowship, responsibility, and solidarity. In other words, defying the very obstacle they had highlighted before, they now underlined their closeness instead.

The hierarchy of Quaker meetings in Europe only existed for a short while. The groups along the Rhine (Krefeld, Kriegsheim) emigrated collectively to Pennsylvania in the 1680s, and those in northern Germany (Hamburg, Danzig) soon began to disintegrate. While Dutch urban Quakerism continued to flourish for another two decades, only a few Quakers remained in Germany at the time of Adams’ visit. Confronted with the deaths of first generation “weighty Friends” like Caton and Crisp, the temptation to try their luck in the American “Quaker colony,” and finally war, the scattered groups thinned out drastically.⁹⁶ Distance eventually seemed all but insurmountable. The earlier continental networks had largely broken down when the Quakers’ missionary zeal revived in the middle of the eighteenth century, leading to a second missionary campaign that goes beyond the scope of this chapter.

6. Conclusions

This chapter has revealed both a physical and a symbolic level in the missionaries’ relation to space. Following their collective millenarian vision, they began to proselytise in the 1650s. In their travel journals, they expressed their individual

spiritual condition as well as the spreading of their collective faith in spatial metaphors. As soon as they realised that their hope of Truth's progression across the globe would not materialise, they began to concentrate on a limited area and to tackle specific practical issues, increasingly relying on personal contacts that extended beyond denominational boundaries. As their ambitions turned from a global undertaking to local and regional transdenominational networking, and their attention from outreach to the consolidation of the continental meetings, their spatial imagery transformed.

This representation of evolving social formations in the missionaries' spatial imagery confirms the view, formulated by Henri Lefebvre and others, that space depends on and reflects social practices and has an important part in the establishment of social relations.⁹⁷ Yet while flexible and socially constructed, spatial conceptions are inevitably affected by physical realities, as the missionaries soon realised. Edward Said, Edward Soja, and others have shown how spatial constructions can be politically charged, reflecting power relations.⁹⁸ As the Quaker example demonstrates, however, spatial constructions can also be charged with religious meaning – especially where religious affiliation was a contentious issue.⁹⁹ To those Quakers who travelled in Europe between the mid-1650s and circa 1720, seeking out, engaging with, and trying to win over other religious dissenters from different backgrounds, spatial metaphors were crucial as a creative mode of expression, but also as an alternative to normative representations. With few exceptions (like that of the Dutch Republic, the Palatine Electorate during Charles Louis's reign, and sanctuaries like Friedrichstadt, Altona, or Neuwied), territories in early modern Europe were considered exclusively Catholic, Calvinist, or Lutheran, depending on the sovereigns' authoritarian choices. The missionaries, by contrast, disregarded such clear-cut divisions.

The Quakers formulated their own assessments by referring to areas (in biblical language) as "wild" or "dark," "ripe unto harvest," or penetrated by divine "light." While territories where religious heterodoxy was persecuted were most likely to be classified among the first, the examples of Cologne, Kriegsheim, and Broich show that heterodox spatial conceptions could sometimes be entirely incongruent with officially decreed confessional zones. The Quaker texts indicated social spaces and arenas for communication; the functional value and the significance of places and spaces to salvation history were at the heart of these texts. Instead of the officially codified confessional boundaries, they represented the "use value" of such spaces. Similarly, the detailed listing of place names and the accurate counting of miles did not gauge the mission field physically; instead, they confirmed the collective agenda and gave account of its progress and prospects. In a way, such descriptions constituted an alternative denominational map – one that showed contested religious boundaries, interstices, and niches not represented in the officially sanctioned confessional order, in which control over territorial churches lay in the rulers' hands. This topography of dissent emerged in the Protestant Reformation and evolved during the early modern period. For a long time, it remained below the radar of a continental historiography that focused on

Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist confessional cultures and marginalised dissenting communities, hardly noticing the connections between them.¹⁰⁰

Lastly, Quaker mission accounts proved to be fundamentally dual in character, merging individual ambitions with community interests, and lived experiences with conventions of expression. While usually recounted according to established patterns, movement through space was conceived as an essentially individual experience. Visions, although guiding missionaries' actions in a collective project, were experienced individually. Adams' account further illustrates this point. At the climax of his second vision, the devil warned Adams to go home, telling him that his wife had died, his business was foundering, and his friends had forsaken him. When Adams challenged him for proof, the devil conjured up a ghostly coffin "sliding along the ground" towards him, the lid opening "of its own accord" and showing "an appearance, as if it had been really & perfectly my wife's Corpes." Finally, his neighbour appeared and confirmed the devil's warning. Overwhelmed, Adams forgot his cautions ("touch not the dead nor believe the living"). The aspect of the "grim & frightful" looking devil and his two witnesses filled him with utter despair. Alarmed, he awoke "under a sense of horror" and was about to flee when his travelling companion Richardson received a letter informing him of the well-being of all his family, business, and friends. Realising his error, Adams was relieved and expressed his conviction "that I was in my place & that it was Satan by his transformation who had so Deceived me – and then I resign'd to stay and do what Service the Lord had for me in those parts."¹⁰¹

Both visions represent Adams' personal, as well as the community's, missionary calling. They disclose the missionary's personal worries and emotional response to the challenges he saw ahead of him. Meanwhile, Adams embodied for other Quakers and potential converts the qualities required for the missionary task. As well as showing him as an individual, his account distinguished him as a role model for his community at a time when it was becoming clear that missionary success on the continent would remain limited. While spaces are social constructions and networks social formations, spatial imaginations originate in individual minds and networks are made up of individual people. In this respect, the chapter has also been an attempt at personalising the concept of communication networks.

Notes

* The author would like to thank Friends' House Library (London) for permission to quote from the Swarthmore Manuscripts and Sarah Crabtree (San Francisco State University) for her generosity and highly valued comments on the text.

1. John Adams, 'An Account of Some Remarkable Visions of John Adams of Yorkshire a Little Before, & in the Time of His Travels into Holland & Germany,' quoted from manuscript in the Library of the Religious Society of Friends (LSF), Port 1.2, 3; printed in *The Irish Friend*, 4 (1841), 150–1.
2. With specific reference to women's prophecy, see Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Elizabeth Bouldin, *Women Prophets and Radical Protestantism in the British Atlantic World, 1640–1730* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015);

- Rebecca Larson, *Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700–1775* (New York: Knopf, 1999).
3. Carla Gerona, *Night Journeys: The Power of Dreams in Transatlantic Quaker Culture* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2004), 10; reference to Adams, 'Account,' 117–18.
4. Frederick B. Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York: Macmillan, 1960); Carla Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and The Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2009); Sarah Crabtree, *Holy Nation: The Transatlantic Quaker Ministry in an Age of Revolution* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015); Jordan Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic World: The Creation of an Early Modern Community* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
5. Stefano Villani, *Tremolanti e papisti: missioni quacchere nell'Italia del Seicento* (Roma: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1996); Sünne Juterzenka, *Über Gott und die Welt: Endzeitvisionen, Reformdebatten und die europäische Quäkermission in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008); Stuart Carroll and Andrew James Hopper, 'A Yorkshireman in the Bastille: John Harwood and the Quaker Mission to Paris,' in *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England*, eds. Nadine Lewycky and Adam Morton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 185–212; Lionel Laborie, 'From English "Trembleurs" to French "Inspirés": A Transnational Perspective on the Origins of French Quakerism (1654–1789),' in *Radicalism and Dissent in the World of Protestant Reform*, eds. Bridget Heal and Anorthe Kremers (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 225–44. For Quaker relations with Muslims, see Justin Meggitt, *Early Quakers and Islam: Slavery, Apocalyptic and Christian-Muslim Encounters in the Seventeenth Century* (Uppsala: Swedish Science Press, 2013). The Quakers' intense interest in the Jews reflected their millenarianism and played a certain role in the continental missions. See, for instance, Richard H. Popkin and Michael Signer, eds., *Spinoza's Earliest Publication? The Hebrew Translation of Margaret Fell's a Loving Salutation to the Seed of Abraham Among the Jews, Wherever They Are Scattered up and Down Upon the Face of the Earth* (Assen: van Gorcum, 1987).
6. Luella M. Wright, *The Literary Life of the Early Friends* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932); Kaspar von Greyerz, *Vorsehungsglaube und Kosmologie: Studien zu englischen Selbstzeugnissen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990); Thomas Corns and David Loewenstein, eds., *The Emergence of Quaker Writing: Dissenting Literature in Seventeenth-Century England* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1995); N.H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1987); David Loewenstein and John Morrill, 'Literature and Religion,' in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern Literature*, eds. David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 664–713, at 703–5.
7. Paul Delany, *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1969), 98, 100. Others have attempted to read Quaker journals against the grain and to combine them with additional sources. Daniel B. Shea, *Spiritual Autobiography in Early America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968); Howard Brinton, *Quaker Journals: Varieties of Religious Experience Among Friends* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1972); Mack, *Visionary Women*. Also see the literature quoted in Gerona, *Night Journeys*, 258, note 28.
8. Despite increasingly restrictive gender roles within the Religious Society of Friends, Quaker women asserted their capacity to mould the Quaker identity, especially by collaborating in collectively authored tracts and pamphlets. See Catie Gill, *Women in the Seventeenth-Century Quaker Community: A Literary Study of Political Identities*,

- 1650–1700 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). Similarly, Gerona highlights the Quakers’ “ability to fantasize collectively” and to capitalise on individual members’ imagination in constructing their group identity. Gerona, *Night Journeys*, 3; also see 12, 28–9.
9. Thomas P. O’Malley, ‘Defying the Powers and Tempering the Spirit: A Review of Quaker Control Over Their Publications, 1672–1685,’ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), 72–88.
 10. Most empirical data and source material presented in the first two sections of this paper are based on Juterczenka, *Gott und die Welt*.
 11. *A Declaration of the Harmless and Innocent People of God Called Quakers . . .* (London: R. Wilson, 1660). On Quaker pacifism and the historiographical debates surrounding it: Hermann Wellenreuther, *Glaube und Politik in Pennsylvania, 1681–1776: Die Wandlungen der Obrigkeitsdoktrin und des Peace Testimony der Quäker* (Köln: Böhlau, 1972); Meredith Baldwin Weddle, *Walking in the Way of Peace: Quaker Pacifism in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); also compare the literature quoted in Gerona, *Night Journeys*, 263, note 23. For a recent reevaluation that also stresses the Quakers’ involvement in revolutionary politics, see Kate Peters, ‘The Quakers and the Politics of the Army in the Crisis of 1659,’ *Past and Present*, 231 (2016), 97–128.
 12. See, for example, Rosemary Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: Early Quakers in Britain, 1646–1666* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).
 13. Steven Crisp, *A Memorable Account of the Christian Experiences, Gospel Labours, Travels and Sufferings of That Ancient Servant of Christ, Stephen Crisp* (London: T. Sowle, 1692), 216, 338.
 14. Wilmer A. Cooper, ‘Truth,’ in *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*, eds. Margery Post Abbott et al. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2003), 286–7.
 15. Adams, ‘Account,’ 1.
 16. Norman Penney, ed., *The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox: In Commemoration of the Tercentenary of His Birth (1624–1691). Now First Published for Friends’ Historical Association Philadelphia, Pennsylvania* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), 246.
 17. *Ibid.*, 44.
 18. Crisp, *Memorable Account*, 41.
 19. “How the Lord by his power and spirit did raise up Friends, etc.,” quoted from Henry J. Cadbury, *Narrative Papers of George Fox Unpublished or Uncollected, Edited from the Manuscripts with Introductions and Notes* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1972), 19–20. Many of these epistles were printed, see Joseph Smith, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends’ Books, or Books Written by Members of the Society of Friends . . .*, 2 vols. (London: Kraus Reprint, 1970; repr.), i. 644–97.
 20. LSF Port. 16.3. Also see Ormerod Greenwood, *Vines on the Mountains* (York: William Sessions, 1977), 20; William Charles Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 337.
 21. Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers . . .* 2 vols. (London: Luke Hinde, 1753), ii. 424.
 22. From the substantial body of literature on the English Quakers’ American and Caribbean presence, recent titles include Larry D. Gragg, *The Quaker Community on Barbados: Challenging the Culture of the Planter Class* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009); Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic World*; Crabtree, *Holy Nation*; Adrian C. Weimer, ‘Elizabeth Hooton and the Lived Politics of Toleration in Massachusetts Bay,’ *William and Mary Quarterly*, 74 (2017), 43–76.
 23. Fox’s account, “How the Lord,” survives in manuscript and seems to have been used in Gerard Croese, *Historia Quakeriana sive de vulgò dictis Quakeris . . .* (Amsterdam: Henry & the widow of Theodore Boom, 1695). Penn’s account was first published as a preface to Fox’s *Journal* (1694), then separately: *A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers* (London: T. Sowle, 1694).

24. LSF Caton MSS, 3–5.
25. Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 101.
26. *Ibid.*, 105. For an example from the context of the continental missions, see William Penn, 'An Account of My Journey into Holland and Germany,' in *The Papers of William Penn*, eds. Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981–87), i. 428–500, at 496.
27. Richard T. Vann, *The Social Development of Quakerism, 1655–1755* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 199. Of course, visualising religious development as movement in space was not exclusive to the Quakers. The most famous example is probably John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That Which Is to Come* (1678).
28. Elfrida Vipont, *The Birthplace of Quakerism: A Handbook for the 1652 Country*, 5th edn. (London: Quaker Home Service, 1997); Braithwaite called 1652 the 'creative moment in the history of Quakerism'. Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 86.
29. John L. Nickalls, ed., *The Journal of George Fox*, with an epilogue by Henry J. Cadbury and an introduction by Geoffrey F. Nuttall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 19; quote from Cadbury, *Narrative Papers*, 235.
30. See Caton's letter to Fox, 25 Nov. 1660, LSF MS Vol 356 (Swarth MSS 4/273), quoted from transcript, 428.
31. For material substantiating these figures: Juterczenka, *Gott und die Welt*, table 1. For a brief overview of the European missions see Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, chap. xvi; Greenwood, *Vines*. The most extensive (although older) work on this topic is the Swarthmore College Monographs series by William I. Hull. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch Quakerism is treated best in Jan Z. Kannegieter, *Geschiedenis van de vroegere Quakergemeenschap te Amsterdam, 1656 tot begin negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam and Haarlem: Scheltema & Holkema, 1971). For Quaker activities in Germany also see Wilhelm Hubben, *Die Quäker in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (Leipzig: Quäker-Verlag, 1929).
32. On Quaker "signs," see the work of Kenneth Carroll, for instance 'Quaker Attitudes Toward Signs and Wonders,' *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, 54 (1977), 70–84.
33. Stefano Villani, *A True Account of the Great Tryals and Cruel Sufferings Undergone by Those Two Faithful Servants of God Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers. La vicenda di due quacchere prigioniere dell'inquisizione di Malta* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2003); Stefano Villani, 'Una quacchera a Lisbona: I viaggi e gli scritti di Ann Gargill,' *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa – Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, serie 4, 4, 1 (1999), 247–81. On the role of womens' preaching in the Society of Friends more generally, see Larson, *Daughters of Light*.
34. Juterczenka, *Gott und die Welt*, 60–2, 321–6. Notable female travelling ministers of the eighteenth century included Alice Hayes, Susanna Morris, Elizabeth Jacob, Sophia Hume, Sarah Grubb, and Sarah Dillwyn. For an example of a female journalist who wrote about the Atlantic crossing, see Sarah Crabtree, 'Navigating Mobility: Gender, Class, and Space at Sea, 1760–1810,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 48 (2014), 89–106. Excerpts of several women missionaries' journals are included in David Booe, ed., *Autobiographical Writings by Early Quaker Women* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
35. Bill Stevenson, 'The Social Integration of Post Restoration Dissenters, 1660–1725,' in *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520–1725*, ed. Margaret Spufford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 300–87; Simon Dixon, 'The Life and Times of Peter Briggins,' *Quaker Studies*, 10 (2006), 185–202; Sünne Juterczenka, 'Meeting Friends and Doing Business: Quaker Missionary and Commercial Activities in Europe, 1655–1720,' in *Cosmopolitan Networks in Commerce and Society, 1660–1914*, eds. Andreas Gestrich and Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, German Historical Institute London Bulletin, Supplement 2 (London: German Historical Institute, 2011), 187–217.
36. William Caton, *A Journal of the Life of That Faithful Servant and Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, Will. Caton* (London: Thomas Northcott, 1689), 23, 24, 44;

- William I. Hull, *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam, 1655–1665* (Swarthmore, PA: Swarthmore College, 1938), 50–1.
37. Caton, *Journal*, 24.
 38. See Caton's letter to Margaret Fell, 13 Nov. 1657, LSF MS Vol S81 (Caton MSS 3/21), 36–7.
 39. For London see Kate Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 58; for Amsterdam see Piet Visser, *Godtslasterlijck ende Pernicieus: De rol van boekdruckers en boekverkopers in de verspreiding van dissidente religieuze en filosofische denkbeelden in Nederland in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Vakgroep Boekwetenschap en Informatiewetenschap, 1996), 14–15.
 40. Stefano Villani, 'Quakers Between Martyrdom and Missionary Activity,' in *Early Modern Ethnic and Religious Communities in Exile*, ed. Yosef Kaplan (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publications, 2017), 277–88; Villani, 'Una quacchera.'
 41. For a map showing most of these places, see Rosalind J. Beiler, 'Distributing Aid to Believers in Need: The Religious Foundations of Transatlantic Migration,' *Pennsylvania History*, 64 (1997), 73–87, at 74; also see Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 409–10.
 42. Caton, *Journal*, 64–5; Walter Grossmann, 'Städtisches Wachstum und religiöse Toleranzpolitik am Beispiel Neuwied,' *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 62–63 (1980–81), 207–32; Stefan Volk, 'Peuplierung und religiöse Toleranz: Neuwied von der Mitte des 17. bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts,' *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 55 (1991), 205–31, with reference to the Quakers at 219.
 43. Caton, *Journal*, 65. For the historical background to the Quaker visit, see Gustav Adolf Benrath, 'Die konfessionellen Unionsbestimmungen des Kurfürsten Karl Ludwig von der Pfalz,' *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 116 (1968), 188–252.
 44. See John Phillely's letter to Fox, Vienna, 13 Feb. 1662. LSF: Swarth MSS 3/103, quoted from transcript iii. 147. For the Sulzbach connection, see Klaus Jaitner, 'Der Pfalz-Sulzbacher Hof in der europäischen Ideengeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts,' *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge*, 8 (1988), 273–404; Volker Wappmann, *Durchbruch zur Toleranz: Die Religionspolitik des Pfalzgrafen Christian August von Sulzbach 1622–1708* (Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener, 1995).
 45. Wappmann, *Durchbruch zur Toleranz*, 177–84; Jaitner, 'Pfalz-Sulzbacher Hof,' Appendix.
 46. See her letter, 18 June 1677, printed in Karl Hauck, ed., *Die Briefe der Kinder des Winterkönigs* (Heidelberg: Koester, 1908), 253–4. Penn included his own letter of 25 Aug. 1677 in his travel journal. See Penn, 'Account,' 452–3. Also see Helge bei der Wieden, ed., *Elisabeth von der Pfalz, Äbtissin von Herford, 1618–1680: Eine Biographie in Einzeldarstellungen* (Hannover: Hahn, 2008). Benjamin Furly acted as broker, too. See Rosalind J. Beiler, 'Bridging the Gap: Cultural Mediators and the Structure of Transatlantic Communication,' in *Atlantic Communications: The Media in American and German History from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*, eds. Norbert Finzsch and Ursula Lehmkuhl (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 45–64; Juterczenka, *Gott und die Welt*, 152–63.
 47. Penn, 'Account,' 447–8, 456, 457–64, 466, 467.
 48. William I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, PA: Swarthmore College, 1935; repr. 1990); Rosalind J. Beiler, 'Dissenting Religious Communication Networks and European Migration, 1660–1710,' in *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500–1830*, eds. Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2009), 211–36.
 49. Rose Beiler showed the coincidence of Mennonite emigration support networks and Quaker missionary travels, see 'Distributing Aid.'
 50. By 1700, almost as many Quakers lived in North America as in the British Isles. See Gerona, *Night Journeys*, 71.

51. Quoted from William Charles Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism*, 2nd edn. (York: Sessions, 1979), 408. Quakers tried to discourage their co-religionists and others from emigrating, arguing that people "should remain where the Lord has awakened them . . . that shining as Lights in their respective residences, God may be glorified, the good edified, the bad condemned." See Penn's letter to the adherents of Jean de Labadie, *The Papers of William Penn*, microfilm edition (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1975), No. 430. This equally applies to the Mennonites, see Beiler, 'Distributing Aid,' 81.
52. Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 408–10.
53. Peter Thomsen, 'Die Quäkergemeinde in Friedrichstadt,' *Schriften des Vereins für schleswig-holsteinische Kirchengeschichte*, 2 (1904–1905), 435–65, at 459, 464; Sem Christian Sutter, 'Friedrichstadt an der Eider: An Early Experience in Religious Toleration, 1621–1727' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, 1982), 175.
54. See Pieter Hendricks' letter to George Fox, 26 May 1690, LSF MS Vol 323, quoted from transcript ii. 34.
55. See the reports that missionaries sent to the London Yearly Meeting, especially towards the end of the century and after 1700: e.g. LSF YM 2, 233, YM 3, 260, YM 4, 78.
56. Juterzenka, *Gott und die Welt*, table 6, lists burials in the churchyard of the Dutch Reformed church in Landsmeer, based on data in the Amsterdam City Archives. Also see the Mennonite registers in the Hamburg State Archives, 521–5 (Mennonitengemeinde), i (Mitgliedsbücher) and Michael Driedger, *Obedient Heretics: Mennonite Identities in Lutheran Hamburg and Altona During the Confessional Age* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 27. The register of births, marriages, and deaths of Friedrichstadt Monthly Meeting lists ten cases between 1677 and 1715; see LSF MS Vol 123.
57. Kannegieter, *Geschiedenis*, 88–90, 91, 268.
58. Sünne Juterzenka, 'Crossing Borders and Negotiating Boundaries: The Seventeenth-Century European Missions and Persecution,' *Quaker Studies*, 12 (2007), 39–53.
59. One such specialist who printed Quaker tracts was Christoffel Cunradus. Noel Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 374–9; Willem Heijting, 'Hendrick Beets (1625?–1708), publisher to the German adherents of Jacob Böhme in Amsterdam,' *Quaerendo*, 3 (1973), 250–80. The Quaker bookseller Jacob Claus published Quaker and other heterodox literature, most notably Böhme's *Aurora* (1687). See *ibid.*, 279. John Bruckner mentions a "supplementary" network of "trade and private communication," *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Seventeenth Century German Books Published in Holland* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), xii, xix. For book distribution in radical Pietist circles, see Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus: Johann Heinrich Reitz' 'Historie der Wiedergebohrnen' und ihr geschichtlicher Kontext* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989).
60. Andreas Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz und die Anfänge des Pietismus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 322–7, 323. One volume of Quaker pamphlets in the library of Amsterdam University is marked as belonging to Mennonites in Amsterdam (shelfmark UBM: O65-1267).
61. See the maps in Juterzenka, *Gott und die Welt*.
62. Crisp, *Memorable Account*, 220, 244–5; Penn, 'Account,' 442, 450, 459.
63. Adams, 'Account.'
64. Penney, *Short Journal*, 242; Penn, 'Account,' 446.
65. See Caton's letter to Margaret Fox, 30 Nov. 1661. LSF Swarth MSS 1/327, quoted from transcript i. 469.
66. Crisp, *Memorable Account*, 29, 50.
67. Continental dissenters who used the light imagery included the charismatic mystic Antoinette Bourignon, who also came into contact with and fiercely opposed the Quakers. See her biography by Mirjam de Baar, *"Ik moet spreken": Het spiritueel leiderschap van Antoinette Bourignon (1660–1680)* (Zutphen: Walburg, 2004).

68. Penn, 'Account,' 446.
69. Quoted from Cadbury, *Narrative Papers*, 143, 234, 235.
70. Penn, 'Account,' 471.
71. Steven Crisp, "A word of consolation and a sound of Glad Tydings to all the mourners in Germany. . .," *Memorable Account*, 209–21, at 213.
72. Quoted from Cadbury, *Narrative Papers*, 186, 173, 235, 236.
73. Penn, 'Account,' 29, 481; for a similar quote, see 459.
74. The tract is included in Crisp, *Memorable Account*. For an example of trees being groomed in a Quaker dream, symbolising similar pastoral care, see Gerona, *Night Journeys*, 11–12. Gerona contrasts these with Native American dreams that were often about hunting experiences, as reflecting the Quakers' culturally specific "land use and occupancy patterns." *Ibid.*, 14.
75. For wilderness imagery reflecting the discourse of agricultural improvement and as part of the Quaker protest against tithes and slavery, see Erin Bell, 'From Ploughing the Wilderness to Hedging the Vineyard: Meanings and Uses of Husbandry among Quakers, c. 1650–1860,' *Quaker Studies*, 10 (2006), 135–59. The same imagery was simultaneously used by other Protestants. Since Cromwell's biblical allusion to the "howling wilderness" in a parliamentary speech, it has been particularly associated with the Puritan migration to North America. See, for example, Perry Miller's classic *Errand into the Wilderness*, 12th edn. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1996); Ulrike Brunotte, *Puritanismus und Pioniergeist: Die Faszination der Wildnis im Frühen Neuengland* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000). For another example, see Alexander Pyrges, 'Wüsten und Weinberge. Religiöse Raumbeschreibungen und Kolonisierungspraxis in einem transatlantischen protestantischen Kommunikationsnetzwerk des 18. Jahrhunderts,' in *Topographien des Sakralen: Religion und Raumordnung in der Vormoderne*, eds. Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff (München: Oldenbourg, 2008), 370–91.
76. Indeed, Gerona suggests that the "unique Quaker imperialist fantasy" came with "mental maps" that drew on "Quaker dreamwork." *Ibid.*, 10.
77. Lucinda Martin, 'Female Reformers as the Gate Keepers of Pietism: The Example of Johanna Eleonora Merlau and William Penn,' *Monatshefte für Deutschsprachige Literatur und Kultur*, 95 (2003), 33–58.
78. Penn, 'Account,' 454–7, 462–4. Compare N.H. Keeble's assessment of Penn's style and his influence on Quaker publications: 'The Politic and the Polite in Quaker Prose: The Case of William Penn,' in *The Emergence of Quaker Writing: Dissenting Literature in Seventeenth-Century England*, eds. Thomas Corns and David Loewenstein (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1995), 112–25.
79. Penn, 'Account,' 467–8, 491.
80. *Ibid.*, 464–5.
81. See the minute books of Friedrichstadt monthly meeting, LSF MS Vols 122–26.
82. Juterczenka, *Gott und die Welt*, 101, 199.
83. Penney, *Short Journal*, 239, 243; Cadbury, *Narrative Papers*, 63.
84. Penn, 'Account,' 454–5.
85. Quoted from LSF, Dictionary of Quaker Biography (typescript).
86. Crisp, *Memorable Account*, 26. This was not specific to the Quakers' European journeys; see Peters, *Print Culture*, 80.
87. Caton, *Journal*, 23. For further examples, see Richard Bauman, *Let Your Words Be Few: Symbolism and Silence Among Seventeenth-Century Quakers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 27; Mack, *Visionary Women*, 143.
88. Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society 1655–1725* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 36–7. Penn expressed this idea in a letter to Anna Maria van Hoorn at Herford included in his "Account," 495.

89. See contemporary translation of a letter from the Schwenckfelder Martin John to Quaker convert Johann Georg Matern, 18 Feb. 1676, Albert Sloman Library (University of Essex): Crisp Collection of Quaker Letters and Papers 77 fol. 128r–v. Quakers also used the vastness of the ocean as a metaphor for distance in the Atlantic Quaker community. See Crabtree, 'Navigating Mobility,' 92–3.
90. On the internal controversies, see Clare J.L. Martin, 'Tradition Versus Innovation: The Hat, Wilkinson-Story and Keithian Controversies,' *Quaker Studies*, 8 (2003), 5–22. The hat controversy had direct implications for the continental missions, as one of their key figures was involved. See Stefano Villani, 'Conscience and Convention: The Young Furly and the "Hat Controversy",' in *Benjamin Furly 1646–1714: A Quaker Merchant and his Milieu, Studi e testi per la storia della tolleranza in Europa nei secoli XVI–XVIII*, vol. 10, ed. Sarah Hutton (Firenze: Olschki, 2007), 87–110.
91. Penn, 'Account,' 432–4. A Yearly Meeting for Germany was set up in 1683. It was to be held in Danzig, but no records survive. See Henry J. Cadbury, 'First Settlement of Meetings in Europe,' *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 44 (1952), 11–12.
92. Since 1682, London Yearly Meeting in London recorded the names of foreign correspondents in the same lists as county correspondents in England. See LSF YM 1, 121.
93. The Meeting for Sufferings recorded cases of persecution and supported local communities financially. Between 1678 and 1706, it paid £565 to Quakers in Danzig who were unable to earn a living because of repressions. See LSF, Meeting for Sufferings minutes.
94. LSF Epistles Received.
95. Crisp, *Memorable Account*, no pagination.
96. Caton died in 1665 and Crisp in 1692; during the Great Northern War (1700–1721), the meeting house in Friedrichstadt was temporarily seized by Russian forces.
97. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991).
98. See, for instance, Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1993). Arguing from a postcolonial perspective, Said focuses on later periods. But since the Quakers, as mentioned previously, tapped into the colonial imaginary to describe the European mission field, it is worth noting his emphasis on the use of language in the colonial rule over territory. Also see Edward Soja, 'Taking Space Personally,' in *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, eds. Barney Warf and Santa Arias (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 11–35. For a concise overview of spatial theories, see Doris Bachmann-Medick, 'The Spatial Turn,' in *Cultural Turns: New Orientations in the Study of Culture* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), chap. VI, 211–344; specifically on Soja, 'Taking Space Personally,' 215–19, 225–37.
99. In addition to "built environments" such as churches, landscapes can be invested with symbolic meaning through different forms of religiously motivated mobility, such as migration and pilgrimage. For an overview, see John Corrigan, 'Spatiality and Religion,' in *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, eds. Barney Warf and Santa Arias (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 157–72.
100. But compare Howard Louthan, Gary B. Cohen and Franz A.J. Szabo, eds., *Diversity and Dissent: Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500–1800* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011).
101. Soja, 'Taking Space Personally,' 6, 11–35, at 13, 6.

5 The English and the Italian Bible

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“Don’t you know” – Pope Paul V once shouted at Francesco Contarini, the ambassador of *La Serenissima* in Rome at the time of the Venetian Interdict crisis – “Don’t you know that too much reading of Scriptures damages the Catholic religion?”¹ The sentence encapsulates the breakdown between the Counter Reformation in Italy and the reading of the Bible. In post-Tridentine manuals for the education of the Italian clergy, it was even sometimes believed necessary to specify that, albeit a prohibited book, the Bible was not in itself an heretical book.²

Censorship has been a major theme for historians of early modern Italy in the last forty years.³ Looking at how and when the reading of Scriptures became a prohibited practice has been an important way to examine the internal struggles of the Counter Reformation.⁴ The prohibition on translating the Bible into vernacular languages, made final by the Clementine Index in 1596 – a victory of the Holy Office over the will of the Pope himself – can be taken as a clear example of the takeover by the Inquisition of the leadership of the Catholic Church: the many ambiguities in the history of the *Indexes of prohibited books* show a story that is in fact complex, nuanced, and often contradictory.⁵

The parabola of the Italian printed translations of the Bible starts in 1471 and closes in the 1590s, after a century filled with editions, either authorised or heterodox.⁶ Undoubtedly, in the fluid and conflicting world of Italian printing and religious propaganda of the late sixteenth century, there was still ample space for reading dissenting materials, and for the juxtaposition of Catholic devotional tracts and heretical publications.⁷ Far from a conformist monolith, the last decades of the Cinquecento present many cracks on a Counter-Reformation façade which was still under construction. Brundin, Howard, and Laven are right in pointing to the plurality of Italian centres of printing, often far from well-known publishing places like Venice, and, as argued by Barbieri, to the late sixteenth-century increase in vernacular works aimed at broader audiences, including women and the unlettered.⁸ Some of these many texts had, of course, an echo of biblical stories, and, for sure, relics of the Bible can be found in many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian literary works. But it must be made clear that only a very fragmented experience of the Bible was then permitted to the faithful. Far from being an enabling process meant to “seek to open up fundamental questions of

faith in an accessible and approachable way,”⁹ the contact between those biblical fragments and the reader was mediated by a good deal of annotations and authorised comments, creating “an unavoidable diaphragm between the believer and the word of God.”¹⁰ Despite the presence of this significant devotional production, it is also not possible to forget the normative frame, and the repressive side, of the Counter-Reformation. Although not an immediate success for the Inquisition (but it was indeed a medium-term one), laity were prohibited from reading the Bible in the vernacular, and only a few, by special permissions of bishops, were authorised to read the Latin Vulgate. Only in 1757 did the Congregation of the Index permit the translation of the Bible into modern languages, although those versions needed to be approved by the Church and accordingly annotated, and could only be read by the clergy. But it would be a mistake not to think that, in the end, the Bible was *de facto* and for the vast majority eradicated from the piety of Italians. In the Italian Catholic imagination this ended up creating – as the manual for clerical trainees and many other sources can show – almost a semantic overlap between the Bible and heresy.

Most probably, between the early seventeenth and the mid-twentieth century, the only biblical version that an Italian would have possibly encountered, often distributed by a missionary of some sort, was a Protestant one. In 1607, in the world of Calvinist exiles, a new reformed translation of the Bible had been produced. Giovanni Diodati, a professor at the Academy in Geneva, a second generation exile from Lucca, a patrician with solid knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, and later a representative of Calvin’s city to the Reformed Synod of Dort, had published a version in the Tuscan language.¹¹ It was printed in three volumes in semifolio by Ian de Tournes, the official printer of the city of Geneva. The translation was then revised by the author in 1641.¹²

Diodati’s Bible became “the” Bible of the Italian-speaking Protestant community. In this Italian “Bible vacuum,” the Diodati was not only the key devotional object of the exiles, but the main link with what was left of the sixteenth-century Reformation. The version acquired a centrality not only because of its status for Protestant theologians, but as an identity marker. It reconnected the faithful in exile with their ancestors, but also was the main vehicle for learning literary Italian. But the place of the Diodati Bible among Italian religious exiles (essentially a phenomenon lasting no more than fifty years, until the full integration of those communities in their new countries) it is only a minor aspect of its impact outside Italy. The Bible, and its lack thereof, became a symbol for Protestants in Britain, Switzerland, and Germany – and later on, the US – of the Italian religious struggles, a fundamental building block in every narrative of persecution and martyrdom, as well as in the understanding that international Protestantism had of the nature of Catholicism. For these reasons, it is important, for example, to study the editions and adaptations of the Diodati between the late seventeenth and the early nineteenth century, many of which have been neglected by scholars. This ceases to be the story of Italian dissent, and becomes the history of the Protestant imagination of Catholicism. A narrative indeed fed by the role of Protestant exiles, but that intertwined with the anti-Catholicism already present in Britain or Germany.

The study of the Bible is today a significant field of enquiry. Of course, because of the entanglement between the Scriptures and both orthodox and dissenting identities, we can look at Bibles in a plurality of ways.¹³ The works of Mack P. Holt, as well as the history of reading developed by Tony Grafton and Roger Chartier, have clearly shown how size, print, and typography change the way in which the Bible is used, and therefore the meaning given to the object.¹⁴ In the long early-modernity, Bibles had the highest number of *marginalia* than any other book (up to three times the rest of the print in early-modern France, Holt demonstrates). Crawford Gribben has rightly shown the “commodification of Scriptures” that happened in the seventeenth century, whilst Lori Anne Ferrell has made clear its importance in creating new hybrid intellectual spaces in American colonial markets, as well as becoming a new social symbol and travelling companion in the nineteenth century.¹⁵ But this chapter wants to move beyond the study of the Bible as an object, instead identifying it as a catalyst of imagination. It shows how the English thought of the Bible in a foreign language: a thinking process different indeed from the one they applied to their own familiar Bibles, used for their devotion. The Bible became a gate to an imagined world, made of religious zeal and geographical stereotype, of political action and misunderstanding. A field open to millenarist passions and conversionism, conflict and hopes of spiritual renewal. The history of Bible translations into Italian is therefore key to understanding Protestant missionary attitudes towards Catholic countries. For these reasons, this chapter will pay particular attention to the role of international networks abroad more than to religious dissenters in Italy.

The argument of this chapter, built through a series of case studies, can be divided into four main points. First, it demonstrates that the study of Bible translations is a way to trace relevant shifts in the history of international Protestantism: from the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century shipping of heterodox Bibles in Catholic countries, and a broad activity of “propaganda,” to the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century creation of specific support to Protestant minorities. Secondly, via the lenses of Bible translations, we can observe the progressive emergence of England, and later Britain, as the new main interlocutor for European Protestant minorities, and the partial decline of French-speaking Protestantism in this role. This experience of continental religious activism became a sort of “laboratory of empire” for Protestant missions, since the late seventeenth century actively engaged with the British colonial world. Thirdly, in the nineteenth century, the Bible was not only a defining tool of memory and self-identification for Protestant minorities, but also an instrument in creating the myth of Southern European dissenters cultivated in England. Finally, this essay shows how Italy and Spain, with their “backwardness” and “incivility,” joined – albeit with some difference – India and Africa in an “imagined world” created by British Protestants.¹⁶ A specific visual culture was produced to nourish this narrative. Sending Bibles to a place like Italy also became a supposed contribution to the “progress of civility” in the country. Elements of this “imaginary colonialism” were adapted from British orientalist attitudes. Nevertheless, Italy remained an ambivalent place, at the border, infused by colonialist discourse but at the same

time with a somewhat different status, due to its role in developing the Western civilization, and largely due to its classical past. Admiration for antiquity and revulsion of “popish superstition,” strangely, did not seem to clash.

1. “The Heretics in England Have Printed Many Books”

In August 1609, Cardinal Pompeo Arrigoni wrote from the Holy Office to the Archbishop of Florence: “We have got news that the heretics in England have printed many books in Italian and Spanish that are full of heresies, with the purpose to distribute them in Italy, Spain, and Portugal.”¹⁷ The document is far from surprising, or isolated. International Calvinism tried to keep the Protestant cause alive in Italy, as well as in Spain, attempting to effect an actual Calvinist “Reformation in Italy.”¹⁸ This intended reformation was very different from that “Italian Reformation” of the early and mid-sixteenth century, with its doctrinally fragile boundaries, and its spiritualistic and often elite nature. It was a Reformation whose outcome was often exile – and indeed, the exiles were the main protagonists of later Protestant activity in Italy.¹⁹ Most of this propaganda never found a sustained group of readers. But it shows the constant attention paid to the Italian context by Calvinists, even if they were often totally unable to understand the continual flux in the political and religious situation. Its high point came during the Venetian Interdict crisis, when the Pope forbade the celebration of the Mass in the Republic.²⁰ Protestants were active in trying to introduce a Reformed presence in a conflict between a proud independent state like Venice and the papacy. It was a religious cold war, a war of words fought between the Jesuits and the Calvinists on the Venetian Lagoon.

The role of England in this crisis has been carefully studied, as well as its role as a geopolitical balancing act between France and Spain.²¹ The anti-Spanish interests of Venice and those of King James were increasingly aligned. As the Venetian ambassador in London wrote, “The English Crown is like a young lady making love with two great kings, that are France and Spain: if she turns too much to one, the other will scorn and hate her.”²² For the Protestant powers, a jurisdictional clash in Venice was an extraordinary opportunity to bring the wider international conflict against Habsburg and papal interests into the Italian peninsula: directly into the Pope’s back garden.

One of the aims of International Calvinism was to create a reformed congregation in Venice. There were two instruments: on one hand, William Bedell, chaplain to the English ambassador Sir Henry Wotton translated for the first time into Italian the Book of Common Prayer.²³ On the other hand, Diodati’s Bible was ready to be used. In fact, Diodati said, his work was meant “to open to Italians the doors of the heavenly truth.”²⁴ The description of events appears clear from the correspondence between Diodati and the Huguenot leader Philippe Duplessis-Mornay:

After the presentation to the English ambassador in Venice of my translation of the Bible, he made me understand that a version of my New Testament, separately, in a small size, without annotations, could be greatly helpful in

this holy work . . . I also sent some copies of our Bible . . . that will be distributed in the hands of some of the most remarkable people of that Republic. . . . *Ecclesiae Venetae reformationem brevi speramus.*²⁵

Nevertheless, hopes were soon frustrated. Through a series of accidents, the plot by Wotton, Sarpi, and their faction was soon out in the open. The final nail in the coffin of the project came with the assassination of King Henry IV of France, believed to still be a secret supporter of the Protestant cause. Sarpi wrote: "Hope, as the King of France, is now dead."²⁶

This story shows that in the early seventeenth century there was still space and opportunity for religious dissent in Venice. The Venetian crisis represented the last political opportunity on the part of a recognisably Protestant interest to reintroduce Protestantism into Italy. After its failure, dissent in Italy became more individualised and atomised: never again a political driving force or a conduit for political reforms and regime change. Protestant books were still available in Italy, but more because of curiosity. They were bought via the black market, instead of being sent as a result of an organised project of propaganda. Reading a Protestant book became a way to start dismantling the Catholic dogma – a path to free-thinking – rather than to Protestant conversion. In the later seventeenth century, most reprints of Diodati's Bible were used by the Italian congregations abroad: a world of exiles that, by the end of the seventeenth century, became less Italian, and much more integrated into their new countries. But this story also sheds some light on English religious attitudes towards Europe. English activism in Venice, albeit the work of a small network of people, was probably the first historical attempt to translate the ways of the English church into a continental European context. The English church, some started believing, had a special instrument, the Book of Common Prayer, that turned out to be perfect for missionary work, and for a gentle approach in converting Catholics. The duo of Bible/Book of Common Prayer would subsequently become a significant pair of tools in English missionary efforts in Italy. And, if in the seventeenth century the idea of using the English liturgy was just a practical suggestion and the pragmatic solution of a diplomat, in the nineteenth century it became a symbol of the new invention of the Anglican "*via media*." A *via media* – some believed – that would bring Italians away from the papacy, without necessarily making them Protestants.²⁷

What we can observe during the seventeenth century, after this failed experiment, is a progressive move from a broad Protestant propaganda approach towards Catholic countries, made of pamphlets and book dealers trading on the black market, to a clear support for confessional minorities. England was emerging as the new interlocutor for dissenting communities on the Continent. This is evident looking at the English support for the Waldensians – the medieval heretics that during the sixteenth century had been transformed into a reformed church on the Swiss model. Since the Treaty of Cavour in 1561, the Waldensians had been enclosed in an Alpine ghetto in the Piedmontese valleys at the border with France. In 1655, after a bloody anti-Protestant Easter massacre, Oliver Cromwell

diplomatically and militarily pressured the Duke of Savoy for their relief, and organised a collection of money in their favour.²⁸ This would only be the first act of English support to the Waldensians. Donations resumed with the so called “Royal Bounty” extended first by Queen Mary after the Glorious Revolution, and then renewed by Queen Anne.²⁹ This money continued to be sent to the Waldensian Valleys until the Napoleonic occupation; the annual royal gift was resumed in 1826, managed by the newly founded Waldensian Church Missions in England. To this was added a “National Subsidy,” promoted by George III in 1768, and administered by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, that would continue to send its contribution to the valleys even after the French conquest.

There were two main reasons for English support of the Waldensians: first, they were now the only recognisable Protestant minority left in Italy; second, they were surrounded by the narrative of their apostolic foundational myth and medieval heretical past. According to it, in the isolation of the valleys, the pure and incorrupt ancient Christianity had always been professed. The Waldensians were Christianised by the apostle Paul himself, who, in the journey that brought him to Rome, stopped in the Alps to preach the Gospel. Another hypothesis was that they were converted by Christians fleeing from Rome during the persecutions of Decius and Valerian in the third century. A sign of this myth is clearly visible in the *History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont* which Samuel Morland (the diplomatic representative that Oliver Cromwell had sent to Switzerland and Italy to defend the Waldensians after the massacres of 1655) published in 1658, and one of the first accounts of Waldensian history written in English.³⁰ In seventeenth-century Protestant England, the narrative of the Waldensians was of course that of the faithful remnant – of the staunch Christian martyrs in the long night of the Medieval apostasy. But it is interesting to note how the story of this myth has a significant twist in the nineteenth century: in the heat of the Tractarian debates, a new idea spread that both the Church of England and the Waldensian Church represented a third way – something special and different – a middle-ground between Catholicism and continental Protestantism. Some started believing that they both shared the original apostolic succession. While far from historically accurate, this narrative renewed the English interest for this Alpine community, producing a considerable amount of histories and travel accounts.³¹ In this respect, Thomas Sims, a graduate of Queen’s College Cambridge turned Welsh vicar, had a crucial role in what Stefano Villani has recently described as “the invention of the Waldensians.”³² He published a *Brief Memoir Regarding the Waldenses* in 1815, full of passion for those “apostolic Christians,” and worked at one of the several translations of the Book of Common Prayer into Italian.³³ But Sims was also pivotal in the constitution of the Waldensian Bible Society in 1816, immediately after the end of the French occupation, a role later replaced by the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society in all of the Italian peninsula.³⁴ This constant storytelling stimulated anew the printing of Bibles and devotional texts in Italian, often paid for by British Protestants encouraged by such missionary zeal.

2. The Bible and its International Networks in the Eighteenth Century

It is possible to test the growing role of English Protestantism in Europe from another Italian-speaking angle, that of Bible translations emerging in early eighteenth-century Anglo-Italo-German networks. In 1702, Christoph Heinrich Freiesleben (1677–1733), or Ferromontanus, a jurist well-known for his comment to the *Corpus juris civilis*, published a small-sized New Testament in Italian in Leipzig. It was a revision of Diodati's New Testament, excised of the most Calvinist bites, unpalatable to a Lutheran.³⁵ Just seven years after this version, in Chur, another New Testament appeared: an elegant, albeit not very expensive, edition.³⁶ Only one year after, in 1710, the printer David Guessener from Zurich again published a small-sized Italian New Testament.³⁷ Both Aldo Landi and the Darlow-Moule catalogue describe it as a reprint of the Chur New Testament, but this is in fact nothing else but a revision of the Freiesleben edition. The Zurich editor, possibly with the aim to contribute to the missionary work at the time happening in the Grisons, felt the need to make some changes from the Lutheran character of the previous translation, giving to this New Testament a new Reformed polish. It was in some ways a *multistrata* publication: a Calvinist Diodati New Testament, made Lutheran, and then made Calvinist again. In 1711, the Ferromontanus edition was republished in Altenburg by Johannes Ludwig Richter.³⁸ It is interesting to notice how the anonymous editor of this version used Freiesleben's work, though often changing the spelling of the Italian, aiming for a linguistically more conservative version. Finally, also in 1711, a certain Matthias von Erberg, already known for some esoteric novels and a German-Italian grammar, published the entire Italian Bible in Nuremberg.³⁹ Actually, it was nothing more than a poor revision of the Diodati. He dedicated the first edition to the Zurich patrician Konrad Orell: or, better, to Corrado Orelli, heir of a well-known family of Protestant exiles from Locarno. Not much importance should be given to this dedication; the year after, von Erberg republished his Bible four times, twice in Nuremberg and twice in Cologne, dedicating each of these imprints to notables of the cities of St Gallen and Nuremberg, but sometimes even forgetting to change the references in his introductions.

A different study would examine the motivations and aims of these translations: they included a mixture of lasting confessional legacies, the devotional needs of what was left of the exiled Italian communities, innovative scholarship, new religious activism, and some maverick translators looking to scratch a living. In this panorama, a fresh awareness of what happened in England, and of the new British religious settlement, was nevertheless emerging. In the same 1711 of the von Erberg publication, a new version of the New Testament was published in two volumes in Erlangen. As the introduction reveals, it was not a translation made possible by “drinking the water of the river Arno” (meaning not written in Florence), but instead it was born in the middle of Germany. The authors were Matteo della Lega and Jacopo Ravizza – at least one of them was a former friar converted to Protestantism.⁴⁰ The translation is highly philological (it is, for example,

interesting in the choice of the word “confederamento” to translate Testament), and is independent from any previous version. It mixes a clear Protestant polemic, against “Catholics, atheists, and libertins,” with the defence of academic theology. This approach was clear in the dedication to Queen Anne of Great Britain. Britain, according to the authors, was now the kingdom Protestants across Europe had to look at as a place of liberty and advancement of true religion. It is visible how the myth of Britain among minority European Protestants started shaping itself. “England” – they wrote – “is today the real centre of erudition, even more than the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, or Geneva.” The della Lega-Ravizza New Testament was reprinted at least twice, once in 1715, with a new dedication to King George I, and again in 1735. This last edition clearly circulated in Italy, again with a clear sense of admiration for Britain. Without any doubt, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, French Protestantism was no longer the place to look to for minority communities around Europe. Geneva itself had stopped being a major place of attraction for Protestant theologians. Britain was now perceived to be the bastion of the International Protestant cause.⁴¹

This was, of course, also the age of the expansion of the Grand Tour, with renewed European interest into Italy. In 1743, the Lutheran minister Johannes Glück published another translation of the Italian New Testament, printed by Paul Emmanuel Richter (the son of the printer of the Ferromontanus edition).⁴² Traveling in Italy, Glück observed that “so few copies of the Bible are in the hands of the public.” Glicchio, as the Italian transliteration goes, did not hesitate to attack Della Lega and Ravizza, indicting them as too academic. A new season was starting, again inspired by the appeal to popular conversion, favoured by Pietist and awakened preachers. The following year, again in Leipzig, a new edition of the Diodati Bible was printed, revised by Johann David Müller.⁴³ He clearly had travelled in Italy and wanted to conform his translation to the rules – he says – of the current “virtuosi” of the language, but was probably mostly influenced by revivalist convictions.

If many of these printed eighteenth-century translations show a complex and nuanced story, it is impossible to neglect how the apex of the production abroad of Bibles in the Italian language was reached thanks to the Christian renewals that took place at the end of the century. The evangelical transformation of part of European Protestantism – far from being the only origin of missionary activism in southern Europe, as was once believed – was nevertheless a powerful agent of change and propagandist commitment. Bibles were now the solid rock of the imagined return to the foundations of the faith. Conversionism was the polar star of the churchmanship of many, and missionary activity was the visible sign of a Church fulfilling its mandate. Indeed, there were few places on Earth where the need of spreading the word of God was as significant as attempting to convert the land of the Pope.

3. A Bible for the Converted: the Risorgimento

The Bible is central to the saga of the Protestant Risorgimento, extensively studied since Giorgio Spini’s pioneering book.⁴⁴ Of course, there is no historical link

between sixteenth-century Italian dissent and nineteenth-century Italian Protestantism: the story is broken. The Bible, though, became the main instrument of Protestant historical reinvention, creating a connection with the past and becoming an identity marker for the present. Only “the Protestants” were those who spoke of, and with, the Bible. The Italian Bible – hand in hand with other myths, such as the ones of Savonarola and Sarpi – was then perceived as a sign of the specificity of the Italian Protestant awakening. The Bible was a crucial creative force in connecting Protestant Britain and Italy. This, of course, is true of the relationship between the British and the Waldensians, with the English reinvention of their history on the one side, and significant political activism on the other. After the uprising of 1848, the emancipation of the Waldensians allowed them full civil rights. But only international pressure, and pre-eminently that of British churches, encouraged the start of a serious attempt at conversion of the new Italy, now in the process of being unified.⁴⁵

The extent to which the Bible became a catalyst of imagination in this international Protestant world is very visible not only among the more established churches, but also in the fluid world of religious non-conformity, both in Italy and in Britain.

At the heart of the nineteenth-century Bible initiative was Count Piero Guicciardini, a patrician Florentine who became the patron of Italian evangelicalism.⁴⁶ “Born-again” in 1836 – as the tombstone in his Cusona (San Gimignano) villa states – Guicciardini converted among the foreign Protestant chapels in Florence before becoming the protagonist of the evangelical religious awakening in Italy in the 1840s. An educationalist, and a social and political reformer, he was arrested whilst doing a Bible study with his butler. Today, he is famous not only because of his religious and political activism, but for his astonishing religious book library, spanning from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, housed at the Florence National Central Library. Through this collection, he sought to create a memory of the religious awakening in Italy and of the sixteenth-century Italian Reformation itself.⁴⁷ But the Bible remained his first and foremost love. In 1851, together with George Walker of the British and Foreign Bible Society, he was able to prepare and in part pay for a new revision of the Diodati Bible, to be printed in London. Guicciardini was an anglophile – and indeed, during his forced exile from the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in London he became a British subject. Guicciardini was a believer in the Whig story of Protestant Britain. There he became a personal friend of many in the evangelical upper-classes, and among the Liberal governments. Albeit sharing the “Madeira-style upper class sociability” of the English Plymouth Brethren, he combined it with a radical Reformation austerity, and campaigned for an Italian Bible translated into simple, popular language.⁴⁸ In the correspondence between Guicciardini and the British and Foreign Bible Society, he wrote of “the need to give to everybody a Diodati Bible that would help the current awakening in Italy. An economic edition, not like the in folio exemplar I have sent.”⁴⁹ The Bible, according to Guicciardini, was the real origin of the awakening itself. Continuity with the sixteenth-century Italian Reformation was not established on the basis

of a supposed common Protestant identity; for Guicciardini, the Bible was at the heart of those two revivals, and the connection was purely spiritual, rather than historical. Support for this translation initiative also came from Colonel Tronchin in Geneva, a leading figure of the Swiss Bible Society, and from several organisations of the Swiss *Réveil*. By the mid nineteenth century, the British and Foreign Bible Society was the only international Protestant institution able to carry on a similar project, and it was to them, of course, that Guicciardini was making an appeal.

In this context, then, the Bible became a way to cultivate the English image of southern European dissenters. The Bibles were the instruments of religious conversion, but also of basic education: first and foremost, a way to fight illiteracy in Catholic Europe. They connected the missionary vocation of British Protestantism with the narrative of the social and moral backwardness of Catholic Italy. Missionary compassion and the sense of cultural and moral superiority went hand in hand. The colonial spirit was not just a tool to be used within the non-European Empire.

A clear showcase of this can be found in a collection of lantern slides preserved by the Plymouth Brethren Archive in Manchester; it also a beautiful example of the visual culture of nineteenth-century missionary work.⁵⁰ The slides were used for raising money and the profile of the community's missionary activity. David Maxwell has pointed to the interconnection between photography and religious encounter: images were sometimes turned into lantern slides for the benefit of public events, or added to missionary publications.⁵¹ Photography, as Deborah Poole puts it, "moved away from a concern with representation per se, in favour of the more complex discursive and political landscapes, opened up by the concepts of media and the archive."⁵² The *Brethren Lantern Slides Collection* is composed of a hundred lantern slides that together depict Brethren and evangelical missions in Africa, India, Russia, Iraq, Jamaica, Italy, and Spain. This is a very interesting mental geography, in a juxtaposition of very disparate places. It was a way to "order" the world for the use of pious believers at home, and to give coherence and a sense of common endeavour to a variety of missionary stories. The slides included some protagonists of the Brethren tradition, like Anthony Norris Groves and John Nelson Darby, but contained references to the main symbol of missionary activity, Dr Livingstone. In this panorama, Italy was just another missionary land, but also the place where the past becomes present, with the memory of exiles intertwined to the missionary work of the time.

In this slide (Figure 5.1), the entire story traced in this chapter, retold and reinvented, was coming together. A map of Italy was not only surrounded by the face of the leader of the Italian evangelicals, Count Guicciardini himself, but by a view of the Venetian bridge of sighs – the way of the condemned prisoners to the capital punishment in the Republic of Venice. It was indeed the Venice of Wotton and Sarpi, but also that of the martyrs of the Protestant faith. The same martyrs that had to go into exile. And whilst many miserable Italians, poorly dressed, are prone to popular idolatrous devotion to Catholic saints, today's missionaries – the slide seems to say – have the same spirit as those exiles that look down onto the peninsula



Figure 5.1 Brethren Lantern Slides

Source: John Rylands Library, copyright of the University of Manchester: Northern Italy.

from the top of the Alps in the hope of a spiritual renewal. Past and present were in this way coming together.

This is particularly visible in a slide (Figure 5.2) that puts together a group of supposed sixteenth-century Florentine gentlemen reading the Bible, and a contemporary, nineteenth-century Sunday school class in the same Florence. What is striking, in this mental geography, is the much darker skin of the nineteenth-century children compared to that of the sixteenth-century gentlemen. The projection of incivility, and the need to “civilise,” was the same that was applied to the rest of the British Empire, to Africa, or India. With the exception for the British fascination for the Italian Renaissance past: in some way, the Italian one was a narrative of decadence. But in all this, the Bible was the *trait-d’union*, a tool of



Figure 5.2 Brethren Lantern Slides

Source: John Rylands Library, copyright of the University of Manchester: Florence Sunday School.

memory, the link between past and present, nourished by the myth of Italian dissenters, but made anew by the fresh British vocation in the land of popery.

Between the early modern and modern eras, International Protestantism moved away from seventeenth-century religious “propaganda” in Catholic countries to the creation of specific support to Protestant minorities: first among them, the Waldensians. In this story, and amongst the changes in the history of European Protestantism, England emerged with a central role, in constant dialogue with the world of Italian religious exiles. By the end of the eighteenth century, new mental worlds were crafted in the aftermath of religious awakenings, with the Bible becoming a memory-maker, and Italy a land for missionary work. Bible translations mirror these changes. To this, in the long nineteenth century, was to

be added the new evangelical fervour, with more than a tinge of millenarianism to it. Italy, albeit associated with the larger missionary activity within and outside the Empire, was not just another place for mission. The papacy represented the presence of the Anti-Christ in the world. Fostering the end of its temporal power would mean accelerating the end of times, enhancing the building of a new kingdom, and putting a full stop to centuries of superstition. New Christian apologues were therefore created, good for preachers in Italy and for the collection of money abroad. In many of those, the Bible had a crucial role. Like the story of the first non-military person who entered Rome in September 1870 after the fall of the papacy. The man, the story goes, was of course an evangelical missionary, accompanied by a St Bernard dog carrying a cart full of Protestant Diodati Bibles. The name of the dog was Pius IX: indeed, a very millenarian dog.

Notes

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9. Brundin et al., *The Sacred Home*, 248.
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11. Emanuele Fiume, *Giovanni Diodati. Un italiano nella Ginevra della Riforma: traduttore della Bibbia e teologo europeo* (Rome: Società Biblica Britannica e Forestiera,

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Section III

Missions and Church Unifications in the Age of the Enlightenment



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6 “True Catholic Unity”

The Church of England and the Project for Gallican Union, 1717–1719

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At a dinner table in Paris in 1717, the Anglican chaplain William Beauvoir reportedly heard members of the Sorbonne’s Faculty of Theology declare that they “wished for an Union with the Church of England.”¹ The year 1717 was a heady time for the Sorbonnists and, indeed, for the whole of France’s national church. At war with Pope Clement XI over his condemnation of a Jansenist devotional text, four French bishops had just called for a general council to review the Pope’s decision and settle the matter once and for all.² To English observers like Beauvoir it seemed possible that the Sorbonnists might be willing to go one step further still and declare the Gallican church independent from the papacy.³ So Beauvoir set about arranging for a coterie of Gallican theologians, led by Dr Hyacinthe Ravechet and Dr Louis Élie Du Pin, to correspond with William Wake, the Archbishop of Canterbury. For the next three years, Wake, Beauvoir, Ravechet, Du Pin, and an Irish Catholic theologian named Piers Girardin traded ideas for a possible union between the Gallican church and the Church of England.

Wake’s negotiations for a Gallican union were part of the Church of England’s intensified outreach to Christian Europe in the first decades of the eighteenth century. During the Anglican revival that occurred after the Revolution of 1688, Anglican clergymen and laymen from across the ideological and theological spectrums came to agree that the Church’s mission in Europe was to bring the Reformation to fruition.⁴ Many Anglicans conceived of this project as an exclusively Protestant internationalist one and, as a decade of scholarship has demonstrated, they believed the Church’s mission was, above all, to protect European Protestantism against popery and to reconcile Reformed Protestants with Lutherans.⁵ Indeed, as Alexander Schunka has recently shown, in the 1700s, Anglican theologians corresponded with German irenicists about the possibility of reuniting the Lutheran and Reformed confessions, but strongly opposed the proposals of those, like the Lutheran theologian Johann Fabricius and the scholar Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, who saw a closer union between Lutherans and Reformed Protestants as the first step towards an eventual reunion with Catholic Europe.⁶ A decade later, however, William Wake was more willing to consider such a possibility. Wake believed that in order to finish the work of the Reformation, the Church of England would need to reconcile European Protestants and engage in irenic dialogue with European Catholics.⁷

The archbishop's irenicism was shaped by his confessional convictions.⁸ From the early days of the Reformation, as several historians have pointed out, negotiations for Christian peace often continued confessional conflict and reinforced confessional boundaries even as they purported to end them.⁹ Irenicists attempted to reunite the different confessions by persuading their members to adopt a shared Christian faith based on *fundamenta* – the truths they believed were common to all Christians.¹⁰ But despite irenicists' emphasis on shared Christian *fundamenta*, they continued to believe that their own confession embodied Christian orthodoxy and to insist that their confession's doctrines or ecclesiology should form the basis for any union.¹¹ In the late seventeenth century, William Wake and other English divines argued that the Church of England most closely preserved the creeds and teachings of the primitive Christian church.¹² As Brian Young has observed, by "laying claim to the common heritage of orthodox Christianity," these clergymen at once positioned the Church of England within a European catholicity and asserted the Church of England's status as orthodoxy.¹³

This claim to Christian orthodoxy influenced William Wake's negotiations for Gallican union. Although he did not require Gallican Catholics convert to Anglicanism, Wake did demand that the Gallicans reject the pope's authority as a precondition for union with the Church of England.¹⁴ His insistence on a union of independent episcopal churches was intended to end the papacy's authority in France and was part of his broader effort to promote an Anglican version of Christianity in Europe. In the same years that Wake corresponded with Élie Du Pin and his circle, he also attempted to wrest the Catholic church of Minorca away from the papacy's jurisdiction and tried to negotiate a reconciliation of Lutherans and Calvinists in the Holy Roman Empire along Anglican lines.¹⁵

Wake's desire to widen the breach between French Gallicans and Clement XI in 1717 was also sharpened by his support for the new Whig ministry's anti-Spanish foreign policy. Like other members of the ministry led by Charles Spencer, third earl of Sunderland, and James Stanhope, Wake imagined that because French Gallicans had challenged the pope's authority in 1717, they would be more likely to support Britain's foreign policy interests in Europe. The Sunderland-Stanhope Whigs arrived at this positive assessment of the Gallican church after they allied Britain with Philip II, duke of Orléans and Regent of France, in 1715.¹⁶ They identified the Gallican clergy who appealed for a general church council, sometimes referred to as the *appellants*, as a possible counter-weight to what they characterised as a pro-Spanish, pro-papal party within the French church and state. As members of the ministry worked to negotiate a Quadruple Alliance that would contain Spanish expansion in Italy and the Mediterranean, they tried to strengthen the opposition to *Unigenitus* at the French court. Wake's attempt to spark a reformation among his Gallican correspondents was part of this effort.

Yet William Wake's irenicism should not be reduced to antipathy towards the papacy.¹⁷ The archbishop's project for Gallican union was also shaped by his commitment to a spiritually independent, episcopal Christian church. Wake and other high churchmen saw the Gallican church as a potential ally because of the

affinities they perceived between Gallican ecclesiology and their own. They cited Gallican theologians, including Élie Du Pin, Wake’s primary correspondent, to buttress their claims that the Church of England was and ought to be independent of the British state in their debates with Dissenters and low churchmen. The archbishop’s interest in promoting a catholic, episcopal church at home and abroad shaped his outreach not only to Du Pin, but also to Lutherans and Reformed theologians in the Holy Roman Empire. His proposals to spread an Anglican ecclesiology were intended to do away with not only papal authority, but also Lutheran and Reformed models of church government.

Wake’s irenic negotiations were part of an ongoing revival within the Church of England, which encompassed not only projects to make the Church of England the leader of European Christianity, but also efforts to expand the Church’s ministry within Britain’s maritime empire.¹⁸ Both forms of mission were intended to spread the true Christian faith and expand the Church of England’s influence beyond England’s borders. However, the history of the Reformation and the Christian past that Catholics and Protestants shared distinguished Catholic Europe from other fields of mission for Anglicans like William Wake and William Beauvoir. The archbishop’s goal was not to convert his French correspondents to the Church of England, as was the intent of Anglican missionaries in Britain’s Atlantic empire. Rather, he hoped to encourage them to reform their own national church and become good Protestants, thus finishing the work begun by the sixteenth-century reformers and reuniting European Christendom.

1. The Project for Gallican Union and British Foreign Policy

In 1720 William Wake told William Beauvoir that, “we should encourage them [Louis Élie Du Pin and his colleagues] all we can to account of Us as of Brethren.”¹⁹ The Church of England, Wake went on, had “only thrown off, what they are weary of, the tyranny of the Court of Rome; without any change in any fundamental article either of the doctrine or Government of the Catholic Church.”²⁰ Wake’s outreach to the Gallican church was motivated by his assumption that French Gallicans shared – or would soon come to share – his own Anglican and anti-popish view of the papacy as a “tyranny.”²¹ This vision of Gallicans as fellow antagonists of the papacy was articulated in British political culture between 1715 and 1719, after the Whig ministry led by James Stanhope and Charles Spencer, earl of Sunderland, allied Britain with Louis XV’s France. Members of the ministry believed that Bourbon Spain, not France, represented the greatest threat to the balance of power in Europe. In printed propaganda and private correspondence, Sunderland-Stanhope Whigs characterised the *appellants* as potential allies in Britain’s efforts to contain Spanish ambitions in Europe and, more broadly, to counter the threats posed by the pope’s spiritual tyranny and secular universal monarchy.²² William Wake shared this view and saw the Jansenist controversy as an opportunity to promote British interests by persuading Gallicans like Du Pin to reject papal authority and unite with the Church of England.

British observers hoped that the *appellants* might be convinced to join the struggle against universal monarchy because of the ongoing controversy between the Gallican church and the papacy. In 1717, when William Beauvoir first suggested to William Wake that the Gallican church might be open to a union with the Church of England, the French church was in crisis. Four years before, Clement XI had promulgated a papal bull, *Unigenitus*, which condemned 101 heretical propositions found in the *Réflexions morales* of the French Jansenist theologian, Pasquier Quesnel.²³ The *Réflexions* was a Jansenist devotional text, which had been circulating in France for thirty years by the time it was condemned. The bull caused an uproar when it was published, but Louis XIV forced the Sorbonne, the French bishops, and the Parlément of Paris, as well as other parlements and theological faculties to accept it. After Louis's death in 1715, however, sixteen bishops, the Oratorians, the Maurists, and a number of theologians at France's universities called for a General Council of the Church to revise the bull. They protested that a number of the bull's 101 propositions should not have been condemned.²⁴ The conflict gradually became a struggle over whether papal bulls were immediately infallible or whether the Gallican church needed to accept the bulls *before* they became irreformable.²⁵ As the controversy over *Unigenitus* went on, Gallican or conciliar positions on church polity grew deeply intertwined with defences of Jansenist doctrines.²⁶ Observing the situation from his post in Paris as the British ambassador's chaplain, William Beauvoir took the brewing controversy as a sign that the Gallican church might be ready to break away from the papacy. In July 1716, the Oxford antiquarian Joseph Wilcocks told Wake that Beauvoir believed, "that there is a warm propension to separate from Rome and that some considerable Divines there have told him [Beauvoir] that they should be glad to be supported by the Church of England."²⁷

It was not just British clergymen who interpreted the *Unigenitus* controversy as a sign that the Gallican church opposed the papacy and secular universal monarchy. This view was also articulated by Whig propagandists after the Sunderland-Stanhope ministry allied with France in 1716.²⁸ The alliance represented a reversal of twenty-five years of British foreign policy. It was born out of the dynastic changes that altered European international politics at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession. The treaty of Utrecht, negotiated in 1713, had settled the question of the Spanish succession – Louis XIV's grandson, Philip, renounced his claim to the French throne and ascended instead to the throne of Spain as Philip V. In Britain, George, Duke of Hanover, succeeded to the British throne in 1714 and successfully put down a Jacobite rebellion – which would have restored the Catholic son of James II to the throne – the following year, in 1715. That same year, Louis XIV died, leaving the French throne to his great grandson, Louis XV, a boy of five. Philip II, Duke of Orléans, Louis XIV's nephew, was appointed Regent and first minister, to rule in Louis XV's stead until he reached his majority. By 1716, the Duke of Orléans and the French foreign minister, the Abbé Dubois, feared that Philip V might attempt to claim the French throne. In response to this instability, Orléans and Dubois approached Britain and negotiated an alliance.²⁹

After 1715, two Whig propagandists defended the alliance as both a continuation of traditional Whig principles and a necessary counterweight to Spanish ambitions in Europe. To do so, they portrayed the Duke of Orléans and the Gallican church as antagonists of secular and spiritual tyranny.³⁰ One anonymous author argued that since the Duke of Orléans had "no Views of Universal monarchy" himself, he would be willing to oppose Spain's ambitions for one.³¹ He also noted that the Regent would not "suffer the Pope to oppress the Cardinal de Noailles, who has so bravely defended the Rights of the Gallican Church against Papal Tyranny."³² Another anonymous pamphleteer celebrated the Duke of Orléans' decision to appoint the Jansenist Cardinal de Noailles to head the *Conseil de Conscience*, which was created to govern Church affairs in the Regency.³³ Noailles, the author observed, would rather "suffer even Martyrdom itself, than to give up his Judgement, Knowledge, Conscience, or Honor" by accepting *Unigenitus* and its propositions.³⁴ As part of their efforts to show that the Duke of Orléans was a new ally in the old struggle against louisquatorzean universal monarchy, these propagandists portrayed French Jansenists as principled defenders of liberty, willing to risk everything rather than betray their judgements and consciences.

At the same time, in their private correspondence, the Whigs of the Sunderland-Stanhope faction began to characterise French Jansenists as a "party" that could serve Britain's strategic interests. By the autumn of 1717, Sunderland and Stanhope had singled out Spain as the greatest threat to the balance of power in western Europe and the Mediterranean.³⁵ In order to contain Spanish expansion in the Mediterranean and the Italian peninsula, they sought a Quadruple Alliance with France, the Dutch Republic, and the Holy Roman Emperor. However, Sunderland and Stanhope – as well as their ambassador to Paris, Lord Stair – feared that the "Jesuit" pro-Spanish faction at the French court might convince the Duke of Orléans to oppose the Emperor's entry into the alliance or even side with Spain.³⁶ To counter the influence of this pro-Spanish faction, Whig ministers and diplomats urged the Duke of Orléans to ally himself with what British diplomats called "the Jansenist party," led by the Cardinal de Noailles and his brother, the Duc de Noailles.³⁷ If only because the Jansenists were opposed to the Jesuits and to Clement XI, Stair believed that the "Jansenists and the parlements" were "the only party which is truly attached to him [the Duke of Orléans]."³⁸ Only the Jansenists, he argued, could provide Orléans with the political support necessary "for his own establishment and security" as Regent.³⁹ Members of the Sunderland-Stanhope ministry thus made it their mission to push Orléans into the arms of the Jansenist "party," especially after Britain and France went to war with Spain in January 1719.⁴⁰

The Sunderland-Stanhope ministry's assessment of French Jansenists' strategic value also circulated in print. In his periodical, the *Freethinker*, the Whig polemicist Ambrose characterised Jansenists as Britain's natural allies in France and in European affairs. Using the language of anti-popery, he suggested that the pope had excommunicated French Jansenists who refused to accept *Unigenitus* as part of a plot to create "a Party [at the French court] to support the Pretensions of the King of Spain, to the Regency and Crown of France."⁴¹ Philips reasoned

that, because of the pope's hostility, the Jansenists would and should ally with the Duke of Orléans, thus protecting Britain's alliance with the Duke and thwarting the papal plot to aid Spain.⁴² Indeed, Phillips went even further than the ministry's leaders in his appreciation of the Jansenist party. He portrayed Jansenists not just as useful for Britain's interests, but as like Britons. Their struggle to "vindicate their Liberty in religious matters" against "spiritual usurpation and tyranny," Philips exhorted his readers, should "animate us to *think like Men* upon all Occasions; that we may not (to the Dishonour of *Great-Britain*) be surpassed by any Nation in the World, in any Sort of virtuous Freedom."⁴³

William Wake was aligned with such arguments about the strategic potential of a possible union with the Gallican church both for the Church of England and for Britain. Although more sceptical than William Beauvoir about the union's chances of success, he was in favour of encouraging the Gallican church to "throw off the Pope's pretensions" in 1717, when the French bishops appealed against *Unigenitus*.⁴⁴ "Whatever be the Consequence of our Corresponding with the Sorbon Drs about matter of Religion," Wake confided to Beauvoir the following year, "the present situation of our affairs plainly seems to make it necessary for us to do."⁴⁵

2. The Project for Gallican Union and Anglican Ecclesiology

William Wake viewed his correspondence with Élie Du Pin and the rest of the Sorbonnists as a means of limiting the papacy's power and Spain's aggression in Europe. That he concurred with the Sunderland-Stanhope ministry's assessment of European affairs and, moreover, conceived of his own outreach as supporting the ministry's foreign policy is surprising, considering that Wake's ongoing opposition to the ministry's religious policies – including to its efforts to repeal the Test Act in 1717 – was quickly alienating Sunderland, Stanhope, and their Whig supporters.⁴⁶ In fact, however, Wake's opposition to the ministry's religious policies at home and his support for their pro-France, pro-Jansenist foreign policy were born of the same convictions. The archbishop favoured high church ecclesiology and sacramental theology, and his attempts to reconcile European Christendom – including both his negotiations with both Protestants and Gallican Catholics – were shaped by this affinity.⁴⁷ In each case, he proposed that his interlocutors adopt the Church of England's model of episcopal polity. Like other nonjuring and juring high churchmen in the 1700s, Wake believed that Gallican theologians like Du Pin shared a commitment to primitive episcopacy and, for this reason, he reasoned that they might be willing to negotiate "true Catholic unity and communion" with the Church of England.

The archbishop's conviction that Gallican Catholicism shared some *fundamenta* with the Church of England had precedents in seventeenth-century Anglican thought. Under the early Stuarts, Laudian divines had developed a "catholic" framework for the Church of England's history, which asserted that the Church of England was and had always been part of a universal Christian communion.⁴⁸ For these authors, even Catholic national churches remained a part of this communion.⁴⁹ During the later seventeenth century, Anglican

clergymen like Edward Stillingfleet and William Wake himself continued to lay claim to the common heritage of the early church, once again locating the Church of England within a "catholic" framework.⁵⁰ As Gabriel Glickman has observed, Anglican Royalist pamphleteers noted "similarities between 'the Liberties of the Gallican Church' and the 'Prelacy and Prerogatives of the Church and Monarchy of England.'"⁵¹ Such arguments were rearticulated in the context of heated post-Revolutionary debates over the Church of England's ecclesiology, when nonjuring Anglican clergymen and a few juring high churchmen cited Gallican theologians to buttress their arguments that the Church of England was possessed of a spiritual authority distinct from, if not independent of, the British state.⁵²

The first Anglican clergymen to regularly invoke the Gallican church in the 1700s were nonjurors who had remained loyal to James II after the Revolution of 1688. They drew on Gallican positions and examples while arguing for the authority of the lawful episcopate, the independence of the church from the state, and a more catholic vision of the Church of England.⁵³ These issues had preoccupied nonjurors since 1690, when the English state had deprived a group of non-juring bishops of their offices for refusing to swear the oath of allegiance to the new monarchs, William and Mary.⁵⁴ In the aftermath of the deprivation, nonjurors argued strongly against the British state's Erastianism, that is, its subjugation of the Church of England to state authority. They contended that the state had no right to meddle in the Church's affairs since the Church of England's authority – as embodied in and wielded by its bishops – was fundamentally different from and distinct from that of the state.⁵⁵ It was in this context that nonjurors first began to mention the Gallican church.

In their critiques of Erastianism, nonjurors drew on Gallican sources as well as on Restoration Anglican ecclesiology. In particular, some turned to the writings of Wake's interlocutor, the Sorbonnist Louis Élie Du Pin.⁵⁶ During the 1670s and 1680s, Gallican theologians had engaged in a series of disputes over the King of France's right to collect revenues from dioceses without a bishop, on the one hand, and the nature of the pope's authority over the Gallican church, on the other.⁵⁷ In the course of these controversies, Gallican theologians, including Du Pin, had called for a return to a primitive episcopal model of church polity and asserted the church's independence from both papal and temporal authority.⁵⁸ Nonjurors cited these arguments in their own polemics against the royal supremacy.

The nonjuring bishop and polemicist, George Hickes, for instance, cited Du Pin's 1686 *De antiqua Ecclesiae Disciplina Dissertationes Historicae* to prove that the church's authority was qualitatively different from that of the state and, therefore, that it must be protected from the incursions of the state.⁵⁹ Calling Du Pin "one of the greatest Men in his time," Hickes explained that the Gallican theologian had shown that "there are two most noble and excellent Societies among Men, the Civil and Ecclesiastical" and, moreover, that, these two "Societies" are "Powers of a different kind and nature, and tend by different Means to different Ends: For the end of the Ecclesiastical Society is Eternal Life, but of the Civil, Peace and tranquillity of the Commonwealth."⁶⁰ For Hickes, Du Pin's argument

proved that the Church's authority had to be protected from the "Invasions and Usurpations of the State," just as much as the state's authority had to be protected from the "Invasions and Usurpations of the Church," which, Hickes noted, was what Du Pin had actually been arguing in the *De antiqua*.⁶¹

For the influential Irish nonjuror and Jacobite Charles Leslie, Gallican theologians' assertion that the episcopacy had once been independent of both state and pope – and ought to be so again – made the Gallican church an ideal ally for the Church of England. In *The Case of the Regale, and the Pontificate Stated*, Leslie asserted that the true Christian church was neither Erastian nor papal, but episcopal: it should follow the example of "the Primitive Episcopat, free from the Encroachments of the Pontificat and the Regale, that have agreed to support and Maintain Each Other."⁶² Given this, Leslie imagined that European Christendom could be reformed by returning both Protestant and Catholic churches to a primitive, episcopal model of polity. Anglicans, Leslie mused, would "amend what we found amiss on our side," while

many and pious men in the Church of Rome, who do wish and have laboured for a Reformation there: But dare not push it on, for fear of falling in with the Regale Erastianism . . . would gladly avow, what they now secretly approve in our Reformation.⁶³

Leslie cited the Gallican church as an example of a Catholic church ready for further episcopal reformation: "I am sure," he averred, "the English and the Gallican Churches are Nearer one another, upon this Point [of episcopal authority] than the Churches of France and Rome."⁶⁴ He concluded by urging the Church of England to "enter upon a treaty" for communion with the Gallican church.⁶⁵

Nonjurors' arguments about the independence of the Church from temporal authority influenced debates among juring clergymen of the Church of England during the first decade of the eighteenth century.⁶⁶ A small group of high churchmen, themselves increasingly interested in re-asserting the Church of England's independent spiritual authority, not only cited nonjurors like Hickes and Leslie approvingly, but also went straight to the nonjurors' Gallican source, Louis Élie Du Pin. In his 1710 *An account of church-government, and Governours*, Thomas Brett quoted from Du Pin:

the magistrates power is purely Civil, and tho' he may Decree and Judge in Ecclesiastical Affairs, yet it must be in a temporal, not a spiritual manner: For his Authority is purely temporal, and so is his Person also, and has ever been esteemed so.⁶⁷

Brett and another high churchman, John Johnson, also used Du Pin's works on the history of the primitive church to support their arguments for a sacramental priesthood, ordained by the lawful episcopate.⁶⁸ Theirs was still a minority position – one which was strenuously critiqued by their low church opponents – but, nonetheless, by the 1710s, nonjurors and juring Anglican clergymen like

Brett and Johnson looked to Du Pin and the Gallican church as useful resources in their own attempts to remake the Church of England along "primitive" lines.⁶⁹

William Wake was influenced by high churchmen's interest in creating a more "primitive," spiritually independent Church of England. The archbishop asserted the superiority of episcopal polity and differentiated between the authority of the state and that of the Church: he argued that the state had only deprived the nonjurors of their civil rights, it had no power to deprive them of their "orders."⁷⁰ However, unlike nonjurors and some high churchmen, Wake believed that the state still had the power to establish a Christian church as the national church, obligating subjects to pay tithes to their parish minister and clergymen to fulfil their pastoral duties.⁷¹ Wake, in short, was not as extreme as Thomas Brett and, indeed, he condemned the idea that the Church was entirely independent of the state.⁷² He asserted that although the Anglican episcopate enjoyed a spiritual authority distinct from the power of the state, the state still had a role to play in creating a nationally established church.

Between 1716 and 1721, Wake countered government measures and low church polemics that he believed struck at the Church of England's privileged status as the lawful established church. During the Bangorian controversy, which continued debates about the state's authority over the Church begun during the 1700s, Wake opposed the radical latitudinarian bishop of Bangor, Benjamin Hoadly, and allied with the high church bishops Francis Atterbury and George Smalridge.⁷³ In 1716, Wake campaigned against the Whig ministry's Select Vestries Bill, which would have prevented clergymen from participating in parish government and excluded churchwardens from the newly created vestries.⁷⁴ The following year, he opposed the Sunderland-Stanhope ministry's attempt to repeal the Test Act that prevented dissenters from holding political office, on the grounds that the act ensured the Church of England's constitutional position as Britain's national church.⁷⁵ Wake, then, was preoccupied with the challenges that Erastianism and disestablishment both posed to the Church of England's polity and he acted accordingly. His efforts to oppose these threats the Sunderland-Stanhope ministry and its supporters, low churchmen, and other high church Whigs.

As Wake defended the Church of England's episcopal establishment – and lost political influence at home – he also sought to promote his vision of episcopacy abroad. At a time when members of the Anglican societies – the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel – were pursuing a variety of projects to expand the Church of England's influence abroad, Wake's own initiatives were shaped by his high church leanings.⁷⁶ His correspondence with the Sorbonnists was only one part of a broader effort to convince Protestants and Catholics alike to adopt a reformed episcopacy on the Church of England's model.⁷⁷ Wake believed that both intercommunion between churches – which he proposed to Gallican theologians and Swiss Reformed theologians – and union between confessions depended on the restoration of an episcopacy.⁷⁸ Between 1717 and 1725, he attempted to negotiate intercommunions and unions with Gallicans in France, Reformed churches in

the Swiss Cantons, and Reformed and Lutheran churches in Germany.⁷⁹ In each case, Wake worked to convince his correspondents that the Church of England's polity was a necessary precondition for Christian unity. When William Beauvoir broached the idea of a correspondence with Louis Élie Du Pin and his colleagues in 1717, Wake agreed, noting that Du Pin was "a Gent. by whose labours I have profited these many years."⁸⁰

3. Negotiating Union: Competing Catholic and Protestant Irenicisms

William Wake's correspondents at the Sorbonne were equally interested in expanding the influence of the Gallican church abroad, both within and beyond the Catholic world. They, too, hoped to spread a form of episcopal polity modelled on the early church. But while their similar missions brought the Sorbonnists and Wake together, those same agendas impeded the progress of negotiations. Just as Wake imagined that the Gallican church might break away from Rome, so the Sorbonnists hoped to convince the Archbishop to return to the Catholic fold.⁸¹ From the first, both sides sought to push their own polity and doctrine.

Discussions of a possible union began in 1716, when the Syndic of the Sorbonne, Dr Hyacinthe Ravechet, approached William Wake through the Anglican antiquarian Joseph Wilcocks.⁸² Ravechet's outreach led to a correspondence between the Church of England and doctors of the Sorbonne. Using William Beauvoir as an intermediary, Ravechet and two other Sorbonnists – Louis Élie Du Pin and Patrice Piers Girardin – began corresponding with the Archbishop about a possible union between their two churches. The following winter, in 1718, Du Pin drew up a *Commonitorium* – that is, a project outlining the terms of union between the two churches.⁸³ Later that spring, Girardin gave a speech to the doctors of the Sorbonne about the union and, in 1718, Du Pin reportedly showed the correspondence to the Cardinal de Noailles and other members of the Faculty of Theology at the Sorbonne.⁸⁴ The correspondence – and with it the possibility of a union – ended with Du Pin's death in 1719.

From the first, William Wake envisaged a union based on the Church of England's polity, rather than on a shared set of doctrines. As he told William Beauvoir in the winter of 1717, the Church of England's most important condition was that the Gallican church "in good earnest throw off the Pope's pretensions."⁸⁵ Once the Gallican church was independent of the papacy, Wake was willing to concede that "She may establish a different worship, discipline, &c. and in some points continue to differ from us in doctrine, too."⁸⁶ Indeed, Wake noted, "to frame a common confession of faith or Liturgie or Discipline for both Churches is a project never to be accomplish'd."⁸⁷ This emphasis on polity over ritual, discipline, and doctrine "of lesser moment" was characteristic of Wake's approach to expanding the Church of England's influence abroad.⁸⁸ The following year, for instance, Wake proposed that the Catholic church on Britain's newest colony, Minorca, be removed from the pope's jurisdiction and transferred to that of the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁸⁹ Here, too, Wake was willing to leave Catholic worship on the island

intact so long as the Minorcan church was governed by the Church of England's bishops.⁹⁰

Like Wake, his correspondents at the Sorbonne expected that the Gallican church's model would serve as the basis for Christian reunion. During the controversy over *Unigenitus*, Ravechet – along with other members of the faculty who opposed the bull, including Louis Élie Du Pin and Piers Girardin – sought to develop a Gallican theology and ecclesiology capable of reuniting both erring Catholics and other Christians.⁹¹ The doctors intended to create a "pure" Christianity based on the doctrines of the primitive church which would restore power to bishops and limit papal authority.⁹² When Ravechet and his colleagues approached Wake in 1716–1717, they were at work on several projects for promoting their "Gallican model" of Catholicism within France and beyond its borders. Between 1717 and 1721, Ravechet, Du Pin, and others drafted a *Corps du doctrine* that would have served as the official doctrine of the French church and the Sorbonne, and began negotiating a union with the Russian Orthodox church.⁹³ The group's goal for their correspondence with Wake, Jacques Grès-Gayer has suggested, was most likely to bring the Church of England back to a Gallican form of Catholicism, which would have entailed convincing the Archbishop to accept some measure of papal authority.⁹⁴ If successful, the reconciliation would have strengthened the Sorbonnists' project to reform the French church along Gallican lines and dealt a blow to the influence of French clergy who had accepted *Unigenitus* and, with it, papal infallibility.⁹⁵

The opposite and opposing projects for Christian reunion which brought William Wake, Hyacinthe Ravechet, and Louis Élie Du Pin together ultimately stymied their discussions. After Du Pin drafted a plan for union along Gallican lines in the summer of 1718, Wake roundly rejected it. The Archbishop told Beauvoir, "if [Du Pin] thinks we are to take their Direction what to retain and what to give up, He is utterly mistaken."⁹⁶ Indeed, he argued, "we are no more to receive Laws from Them, than we desire to impose any upon Them."⁹⁷ This was, perhaps, a rhetorical flourish because, in point of fact, Wake imagined that the Gallican church would make substantial changes to its government and doctrines. In his reply to Du Pin's proposal, Wake insisted, "whatsoever they think, they must alter some of their Doctrines, and practices too, or a Union with them can never be effectual."⁹⁸ A few months later, he wrote to persuade Du Pin and one of his colleagues, Piers Girardin, that they must "embra[ce] the present opportunity of breaking off from the Pope, and g[o] one step farther than they have yet done in their opinion of his authority; so as to leave him only a primacy of place and honor."⁹⁹ The problem – as Wake's reaction to Du Pin's proposal demonstrates – was that neither side was willing to compromise on what each saw as the "Fundamentals" of doctrine and church government.¹⁰⁰

By the summer of 1718, Wake was sceptical that the Gallican church would break with the papacy and he turned his attention, instead, to laying the groundwork for a future French Reformation.¹⁰¹ Wake's intermediary in Paris, William Beauvoir, opined that "a friendly correspondence may in time open insensibly their Eyes; & perhaps afterwards incline the Court to shake of the Yoke of Rome."¹⁰²

Wake, for his part, observed that “it cannot be amiss to cultivate a friendship with the leading men of that side; who may in time be made use of to the good work of Reforming in earnest the Gallicane Ch.”¹⁰³ In 1719, he described the correspondence as “a consultation in order to find out a way, how a Union might be made, if a fit occasion should hereafter be offered for the doing of it.”¹⁰⁴

4. Catholic Europe as a Field of Mission

Christian Europe – and, especially, Catholic Europe – made a unique mission field for members of the Church of England like William Wake and William Beauvoir because of the past Protestants and Catholics shared. In the early eighteenth century, Wake, Beauvoir, and members of the SPCK believed that the Church of England’s mission to Europe was to complete the work of the Protestant Reformation. This was to be done by negotiating reconciliation among Reformed Protestants, Lutherans, and perhaps even Catholics. This mission differed both in aims and strategy from the kind of missionary activity that Anglican clergymen and laymen were pursuing in Britain’s empire, as they sought to expand the Church of England’s ministry to include British colonists, travellers, members of the British Navy, slaves, and Britain’s indigenous allies in North America.¹⁰⁵ Although both forms of activism aimed to spread the Christian orthodoxy embodied by the Church of England, Wake’s negotiations for Gallican union and Protestant reconciliation were not intended to make his interlocutors paid-up members of the Church of England. Rather, he hoped to persuade them to reform their own territorial churches according to a broadly Anglican model of ecclesiology – if not of doctrine, liturgy, or ritual – thus creating orthodox Christian churches throughout Europe.

Wake’s outreach to the Gallican church distinguished him from most other Protestant internationalists in England and on the Continent in the early eighteenth century. Brent S. Sirota has argued that many low-church, Whig members of the Society – and their European correspondents like the Swiss theologian Jean-Frédéric Ostervald – understood the Church of England’s mission to European Christians in the 1700s as a mission to *Protestant* Europe, one which would complement the Whig ministry’s interventionist, anti-French foreign policy during the War of the Spanish Succession.¹⁰⁶ By contrast, Alexander Schunka has suggested that in the 1700s, Tories and high churchmen were most likely to support plans for Protestant union in Europe because such a union would “secure Anglicanism at home” against the Catholic threat.¹⁰⁷ Wake’s case shows that within the early eighteenth-century Church of England, irenicism and Protestant internationalism was neither the provenance of only one political party or ecclesiological position, nor motivated solely by anti-popery. As Wake’s Gallican negotiation demonstrates, by the 1710s, high church ecclesiology – just as much as anti-popery – could generate interest in irenic outreach to Catholic Europe. William Wake did not see Catholic Europe as a monolithic “other,” or necessarily as an enemy.¹⁰⁸ Quite the contrary, as his negotiations with Gallican Catholics show, the archbishop distinguished between the Catholic national churches of Europe

and the papacy, and sought to exploit the power struggles between the two when the opportunity presented itself.¹⁰⁹ In Wake's view, the Gallican church was a fellow episcopal church, even if an erring one.

Wake and his Gallican interlocutors both recognised that the Church of England and the Gallican church shared a common Christian heritage and had once been part of the same church. It was this common assumption that made their negotiations possible. For Wake's part, his Anglican, high-church ecclesiology and his belief that the Church of England was a true "Catholic" church because it preserved the doctrines of the primitive church led him to see the Gallicans as part of the same Christian communion, even if they erred in continuing to acknowledge the pope's authority. His Gallican interlocutors took a similar view of the Church of England – once a part of the true Catholic church, Anglicans had wandered into heresy when they renounced papal authority, but might be persuaded to return to the Catholic fold. But if these histories of the Christian church made it possible for Wake and Du Pin to imagine a Christian reunion between the two churches, the opposing claims to true Christian orthodoxy at their heart proved irreconcilable.

Notes

1. I use the following abbreviations in this chapter: Lambeth Palace Library, hereafter LPL; Christ Church College Library, hereafter CCL; British Library, hereafter BL; The National Archives, Kew, hereafter TNA. LPL, MS 1552. William Beauvoir to William Wake, Dec. 11, 1717 (OS).
2. On the origins of the Jansenist controversies in the seventeenth century, see John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France: Volume 2. The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 345–422. For a brief explanation of how Gallicanism, which defended the liberties of the French crown against the papacy and affirmed the superior authority of general councils over the pope, became intertwined with Jansenism, which among other things put forward a theology of predestination, see Dale Van Kley, "Civic Humanism in Clerical Garb: Gallican Memories of the Early Church and the Project of Primitivist Reform, 1719–1791," *Past & Present*, 200 (2008), 78–85. For two overviews of the literature on eighteenth-century French Jansenism, see Nicolas Lyon-Caen, *La boîte à Perrette: Le jansénisme parisien au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2010); Dale Van Kley, "The Rejuvenation and Rejection of Jansenism in History and Historiography: Recent Literature on Eighteenth-Century Jansenism in French," *French Historical Studies*, 29, 4 (2006), 649–84.
3. CCL, Joseph Wilcocks to William Wake. Jul. 29, 1716. Microfilm. "The Papers of Archbishop Wake: 1683–1727 from Christ Church Library, Oxford," reel 41.
4. See Brent S. Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680–1730* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), esp. 133–38; Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), esp. 340–43.
5. On Anglican efforts to aid Continental Protestants, see Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, 110–48, esp. 133–35; Claydon, *Making of England*, esp. 122–24, 340–45; Sugiko Nishikawa, "English Attitudes Toward Continental Protestants with Particular Reference to Church Briefs, c.1680–1740" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1998); Stephen Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Similarities, Connections, Identities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 162–80. For an interpretation that characterises early eighteenth-century British foreign policy

- as centrally concerned with protecting the Protestant Interest, see Andrew Thompson, *Britain, Hanover and the Protestant Interest: 1688–1756* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006) 1–24; Andrew Thompson, “The Protestant Interest and the History of Humanitarian Intervention, c. 1685–c. 1756,” in *Humanitarian Intervention: A History*, eds. D.J.B. Trim and Brendan Simms (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 67–88. For views of the Protestant Interest as one important domain among several in British foreign policy, see Claydon, *Making of England*, 125–219, esp. 135–45; Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe*, 48–75.
6. See Alexander Schunka, “Irenicism and the Challenges of Conversion in the Early Eighteenth Century,” in *Conversion and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Germany*, eds. David M. Luebke, Jared Poley, Daniel C. Ryan and David Warren Sabean (Oxford-New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 101–18.
 7. *Ibid.*
 8. On William Wake’s proposals for Gallican union see Norman Sykes, *William Wake: Archbishop of Canterbury, 1657–1737*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), esp. 253; Jacques M. Grès-Gayer, *Paris-Cantorbery, 1717–1720: Le dossier d’un premier oecumenisme* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989); Claydon, *Making of England*, 343–44; Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe*, 166–67.
 9. See Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 234–238; Teresa Bejan, *Mere Civility: Disagreement and the Limits of Tolerance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 20–49; Jeremy Fradkin, ‘Protestant Unity and Anti-Catholicism: The Irenicism and Philo-Semitism of John Dury in Context,’ *Journal of British Studies*, 56 (2017), 276–7. <https://doi.org/10.1017/jbr.2017.2>. For interpretations of Reformation or post-Reformation irenicism as toleration or ecumenicism, see Sykes, *William Wake*, esp. 253; Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 132–33.
 10. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 129–32.
 11. See note 8.
 12. On the “catholic” tradition of Anglican ecclesiastical history that traced the Church of England’s origins back through the medieval Catholic church to the primitive church, and interpreted the Church of England as a local branch of a universal communion, see Claydon, *Making of England*, 102–14. For a broader interpretation of English patristic scholarship, which sees identification with “primitive purity” as a rhetorical strategy common to all parties in the ecclesiological and theological debates within the eighteenth-century Church of England, see Brian Young, “A History of Variations: The Identity of the Eighteenth-Century Church of England,” in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650–c.1850*, eds. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 112–13.
 13. Young, “History of Variations,” 112–13.
 14. On irenicism and conversion as two different strategies to achieve Christian unity in the wake of the Reformation, see Schunka, “Irenicism and the Challenges of Conversion”; Duane Corbis, “Paths of Salvation and Boundaries of Belief: Spatial Discourse and the Meanings of Conversion in Early Modern Germany,” in *Conversion and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Germany*, eds. David M. Luebke, Jared Poley, Daniel C. Ryan and David Warren Sabean (Oxford-New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 14–30, esp. 21.
 15. Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, 133–5, 236–9.
 16. For an earlier English Catholic project for union with the Gallican church, see Gabriel Glickman, “Christian Reunion, the Anglo-French Alliance and the English Catholic Imagination, 1660–72,” *The English Historical Review*, 128 (2013), 263–91.
 17. For an interpretation of Wake’s negotiations as motivated primarily by anti-papal prejudice, see Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe*, 166–67.

18. On the Church of England's missionary activities in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, see Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, 223–51; William Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and its Empire, 1648–1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), esp. 41–70; Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 1–38; Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700* (New York–Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), 1–52; James B. Bell, *The Imperial Origins of the King's Church in Early America, 1607–1783* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 58–71 and 90–120; Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c. 1700–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 41–117; Stephen Taylor, "Whigs, Bishops and America: The Politics of Church Reform in Mid-Eighteenth Century England," *The Historical Journal*, 36, 2 (June 1993), 331–56. On the Church of England's evangelism to African slaves, see Travis Glasson, *Mastering Christianity: Missionary Anglicanism and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
19. LPL, MS 1552. William Wake to William Beauvoir, Feb. 9, 1720 (OS).
20. Ibid.
21. This view had been a staple of British anti-popery since the sixteenth century. For the seminal account of early Stuart English anti-popery, see Peter Lake, 'Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice,' in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603–1642*, eds. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London: Longman Group UK, 1989), 75–77. On English divines' views of the papacy and the Roman Catholic Church in the later seventeenth century, see Claydon, *Making of England*, 67–125.
22. On the concepts of the liberties of Europe and universal monarchy in post-Revolutionary British foreign policy-making, see Steve Pincus, 1688: The First Modern Revolution (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 305–66. For an interpretation which emphasises the religious overtones in British discourses of universal monarchy, rather than seeing it as a secular, nationalist discourse, see Claydon, *Making of England*, 152–92, 252–3. This view of Louis XIV as a would-be universal monarch was not limited to British or Protestant authors. On how the Habsburg version of this anti-French polemical discourse circulated throughout Europe in the 1660s and 1670s, see Charles-Édouard Levillain, *Le Procès de Louis XIV: Une guerre psychologique*. François-Paul Lisola, *citoyen du monde, ennemi de la France* (Paris: Tallandier, 2015).
23. On the Jansenist controversy and its origins in seventeenth-century France, see McManners, *Church and Society*, 345–422.
24. Ibid., 354–69.
25. Ibid., 373.
26. Van Kley, "Civic Humanism," 83.
27. CCL, Joseph Wilcocks to William Wake. Jul. 29, 1716. Microfilm. "The Papers of Archbishop Wake," reel 41.
28. On the Sunderland-Stanhope ministry and their conflict with Charles Townshend and Robert Walpole, often referred to as the Whig Schism, see W.A. Speck, "The Whig Schism Under George I," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 40, 2 (1977), 171–75; Brendan Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat: The Rise and Fall of the First British Empire, 1714–1783* (London: Penguin Books Limited, 2008), 113–29; A.A. Hamham, 'Stanhope, James, First Earl Stanhope (1673–1721),' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26248
29. Simms, *Three Victories*, 112–13.
30. Such arguments had pervaded Whig polemic during Britain's wars against Louis XIV from 1690 to 1715. See note 22.
31. Anon., *Reflections on the Present State of Affairs in France . . . In a Letter to the Right Honourable the E. of S-* (London, 1715), 10, 34–36.
32. Ibid., 10.

33. Anon., *Secret Memoirs of the New Treaty of Alliance with France: In Which Some of the First Steps in That Remarkable Affair Are Discovered with Some Characters of Persons* (London, 1716), 5–6.
34. *Ibid.*, 5.
35. See the two pro-Sunderland-Stanhope pamphlets discussed previously for this view. Anon., *Reflections*, 10; Anon., *Secret Memoirs*, 5–6.
36. On Stair's view that the Jesuits were necessarily pro-Spanish, see BL, Stowe MS 235/fos. 69–70. John Dalrymple, second Earl of Stair to Jean Robethon. Oct. 5, 1717 (NS). For Stair's biography, see H.M. Stephens, "Dalrymple, John, Second Earl of Stair (1673–1747)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Rev. William C. Lowe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7053
37. Stair identified the Jansenist faction with the Noailles. See BL, Stowe MS 235/fos. 102–3. John Dalrymple, second Earl of Stair to Jean Robethon. Dec. 20, 1717 (NS). BL, Stowe MS 235/fos. 120–24. John Dalrymple, second Earl of Stair to Jean Robethon. Jan. 31, 1718 (NS). BL, Stowe MS 246. John Dalrymple, second Earl of Stair to Sir James Craggs. Feb. 11, 1719. The duc de Noailles was a former president of the *Conseil des finances*. See Peter Campbell, *Power and Politics in Old Regime France, 1720–1745* (London: Routledge, 1996), 51–52.
38. BL, Stowe MS 235/fos. 82–83, John Dalrymple, second earl of Stair to Jean Robethon, Oct. 25, 1717 (NS). My translation. "Vous voyez Mons le Duc d'Orleans quitter le seul parti qui luy est véritablement attaché, les Jansenistes et les parlements, et se jeter entre les bras des Jesuites, et du vieux ministère, le Torcy ayant depuis peu toute la direction des affaire étrangères."
39. BL, Stowe MS 246/fos. 144–5. John Dalrymple, second earl of Stair to James Craggs, Secretary of State for the southern department. Dec. 29, 1718. The Sunderland-Stanhope ministry agreed with Stair's assessment of the Regent's position. See TNA, SP 104/30. James Craggs to John Dalrymple, second Earl of Stair. Mar. 26, 1719 (OS); TNA. SP 104/30. James Craggs to John Dalrymple, second Earl of Stair. Apr. 28, 1719 (OS).
40. Britain declared war on Spain in Dec. 1718. France followed suit in Jan. 1719. Simms, *Three Victories*, 141.
41. Ambrose Philips, *The Free-Thinker*, 56, Oct. 3, 1718 in Ambrose Philips, *The Free-Thinker: Or, Essays on Ignorance, Superstition, Bigotry, Enthusiasm, Craft, &c. Intermix'd with Several Pieces of Wit and Humour*, 2nd edn., vol. 2 (London, 1733), 3. On Ambrose Philips, see Andrew Varney, "Philips, Ambrose (*bap.* 1674, *d.* 1749)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn., Oct. 2007. www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22119. Fears of popish plots and conspiracies occupied a central place in late seventeenth-century anti-popery. For an overview of the literature on Restoration anti-popery, see Scott Sowerby, "Opposition to Anti-Popery in Restoration England," *Journal of British Studies*, 51 (2012), 26–49.
42. Philips, *The Free-Thinker*, 3.
43. *Ibid.*, 1–2.
44. BL, Add MS 22880. William Wake to William Beauvoir, Feb. 14, 1717 (OS). By April 1718 Wake was extremely sceptical about the possibility of a union, see LPL, MS 1552. William Wake to William Beauvoir, Apr. 15, 1718 (OS).
45. LPL, MS 1552. William Wake to William Beauvoir. Oct. 8, 1718.
46. Andrew Starkie, *The Church of England and the Bangorian Controversy, 1716–1721* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 19–20, 75–76, 126–128; Stephen Taylor, "William Wake (1657–1737)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/28409.
47. On Wake's high church leanings, see Sykes, *William Wake*, vol. II, esp. 1–153; Jeremy Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660–1828* (Oxford: Oxford

- University Press, 2000), 97–99; Starkie, *Bangorian Controversy*, 28–9, 75, 128, 140; Taylor, "William Wake."
48. Claydon, *Making of England*, 101–17.
49. *Ibid.*, 103.
50. *Ibid.*, 107–17; On Wake's use of the language of the primitive church, see Young, "A History of Variations," 112.
51. Glickman, "Christian Reunion," 282.
52. Brent S. Sirota, "The Backlash Against Anglican Catholicity, 1709–1718," in *The Hanoverian Succession in Great Britain and Its Empire*, eds. Brent S. Sirota and Allan I. Macinnes (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, forthcoming).
53. Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, 154–62.
54. *Ibid.*, 154–55.
55. *Ibid.*, 157.
56. On Du Pin's career, thought, and reception in England see Jacques M. Grès-Gayer, *Théologie et Pouvoir en Sorbonne* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1991); Dennis DiMauro, 'Gallican Vision, Anglican Perspectives: The Reception of the Works of Louis Ellies Du Pin into England' (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 2012).
57. DiMauro, "Gallican Vision," 5–6.
58. *Ibid.*, 42–44. See also Van Kley, 'Civic Humanism,' 77–78.
59. Hickes made this argument in *A Letter Written for the Use of a Gentleman, Who Lived in the Communion of the Faithful Remnant of the Church of England*, which was published in a posthumous collection of his writings in 1716 entitled *The constitution of the Catholick Church. George Hickes, The Constitution of the Catholick Church, and the Nature and Consequences of Schism, Set Forth in a Collection of Papers, Written by the Late R. Reverend George Hickes, D.D.* (London, 1716). On Hickes, see Theodor Harmsen, 'Hickes, George (1642–1715),' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/13203. On Du Pin's *De antiqua ecclesiae* and its circulation in England see DiMauro, 'Gallican Vision,' 42–46.
60. Hickes, *Constitution*, 113–14.
61. *Ibid.*, 117. Gallicans like Du Pin argued that neither the pope nor a church council could interfere with the temporal authority – in this case the French monarchy – in its own territories. Van Kley, 'Civic Humanism,' 78.
62. Charles Leslie, *The Case of the Regale and of the Pontificat Stated. In a Conference Concerning the Independency of the Church, Upon any Power on Earth, in the Exercise of Her Purely Spiritual Power and Authority*, 2nd edn. (London, 1701), 150–51.
63. *Ibid.*, 162.
64. *Ibid.*, 262–63.
65. *Ibid.*
66. On the way in which a minority of juring high churchmen adopted the positions of the nonjurors during the 1700s, see Sirota, 'Backlash,' 1–2, 16–17. My thanks to Professor Sirota for pointing this out to me.
67. Thomas Brett, *An Account of Church-Government, and Governours: Wherein Is Shewed, That the Government of the Church of England Is Most Agreeable to That of the Primitive Church. By Thomas Brett, L.L.D. And Rector of Betteshanger Near Canterbury*, 2nd edn. (London, 1710), 46. On Thomas Brett, see Robert D. Cornwall, "Brett, Thomas (1667–1744)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/3349. See also Sirota, "Backlash," 16–17.
68. Thomas Brett, *An Enquiry Into the Judgment and Practice of the Primitive Church: In Relation to Persons Being Baptized by Lay-Men* (London, 1713), 23; Thomas Brett, *The Doctrine of Remission of Sins, and the Power of Absolution, as Set Forth*

- in a *Late Sermon, Explain'd and Vindicated: In Remarks on Dr. Cannon's Account of His Two Motions in the Lower House of Convocation* (London, 1712), 22; John Johnson, *The Clergy-Man's Vade Mecum. Part II. Containing the Canonical Codes of the Primitive, Universal, Eastern, and Western Church, Down to the Year of Our Lord, DCCLXXXVII* (London, 1709), see for instance iii, v, xiviii.
69. On Brett's influence over the mainstream of conformist Anglicanism, see Sirota, 'Backlash,' 20–21. For Brett's low church critics, some of whom explicitly warned that Brett and the nonjurors were leading the Church of England back to Gallican Catholicism, see *Ibid.*, 20–25.; White Kennett, *The Witchcraft of the Present Rebellion: A Sermon Preach'd in the Parish Church of St. Mary Aldermary. In the City of London, on Sunday the 25th of September 1715* (London, 1715), 21; Benjamin Wills, *Divine Mercy Conspicuous in Our Deliverance from Popery: A Sermon Preach'd at Appledore, on the fifth of November 1715* (London, 1716), 32–33; Presbyter of the Church of England, *A Seasonable Expostulation with the Disaffected Clergy, at This Juncture: By a Presbyter of the Church of England* (London, 1715), 24–25; Ezekiel Standfast, *A Letter of Advice to Thomas Brett, L.L.D. and with It, a Seasonable Rebuke for Late Offences Given by Him to God and the King, &c. to Which Is Added a Sermon Also for His Instruction, Upon Heb. xiii. 10. By That Famous Professor of Divinity Dr. Francis Turretin* (London, 1715), 47. On Brett's critics among Dissenters, who also pointed out that Brett was trying to create a Catholic church without the pope, see *A Collection of the Occasional Papers for the Year 1716: With a Preface* (London, 1716), 19–20; Ferdinando Shaw, *The Validity of Baptism Administered by Dissenting Ministers, and the Unreasonableness of Refusing Burial to Children so Baptiz'd* (London, 1716), 26.
 70. See Sykes, *William Wake*, vol. II, 10–13; William Wake, *A Vindication of the Realm, and Church of England, from the Charge of Perjury, Rebellion & Schism, Unjustly Laid Upon Them by the Non-Jurors: And the Rebellion and Schism Shewn to Lie at Their Own Doors* (London, 1716), 49.
 71. Wake, *Vindication*, 52.
 72. Sirota, "Backlash," 26.
 73. See Starkie, *Bangorian Controversy*, 75–76, 126–28; Taylor, "William Wake."
 74. Taylor, "William Wake."
 75. Starkie, *Bangorian Controversy*, 35–37.
 76. On the societies' various efforts to expand the Church of England's influence abroad, see Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, 224–50, 135–41.
 77. See Sykes, *William Wake*, vol. II, 1–88.
 78. *Ibid.*, 82–3. Some of the SPCK's Swiss correspondents proposed a Protestant union on the basis of a shared liturgy. Many English churchmen from across the ideological spectrum saw the revised liturgy of Neuchâtel, which borrowed from the Book of Common Prayer, as a model for Protestant reconciliation along Anglican lines. See Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, 135. On the Prussian court preacher, Daniel Ernst Jablonski's attempts to create a Prussian episcopal church modelled on the Church of England, see Norman Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker: Aspects of English Church History, 1660–1768*, 1st paperback edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 136.
 79. Sykes, *William Wake*, vol. II, 1–88; Taylor, "William Wake."
 80. LPL, MS 1552. William Wake to William Beauvoir, Jan. 2, 1717.
 81. Many Gallican theologians viewed the Church of England as heretical. The Gallican theologian and bishop, Jacques-Benigné Bossuet, for instance, argued that since the church in England had been founded by Pope Gregory the Great, the Church of England had weakened the authority of its ancient traditions when it broke away from the papacy. Bossuet hoped, however, that English theologians might eventually be convinced to return to the Catholic fold. See Young, "A History of Variations," 110–11. On English Catholic plans for Anglo-Gallican union in the 1660s, see Glickman, "Christian Reunion," esp. 282.

82. CCL, Joseph Wilcocks to William Wake. Jul. 29, 1716. Microfilm. "The Papers of Archbishop Wake," reel 41.
83. CCL, William Beauvoir to William Wake, Feb. 1, 1718 (OS). Microfilm. "The Papers of Archbishop Wake," reel 41.
84. CCL, William Beauvoir to William Wake, Apr. 5, 1718 (OS). Microfilm. "The Papers of Archbishop Wake," reel 41. LPL, MS 2665. William Beauvoir to William Wake, Aug. 18, 1718 (OS).
85. BL, Add MS 22880. William Wake to William Beauvoir, Feb. 14, 1717 (OS).
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. LPL, MS 1552. William Wake to William Beauvoir, Apr. 15, 1718 (OS). Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, 236–39.
89. Ibid., 237.
90. Ibid., 236.
91. Grès-Gayer, *Théologie*, 180–83.
92. Ibid., 183.
93. Ibid., 182.
94. Grès-Gayer, *Paris-Cantorbery*, 13.
95. Ibid.
96. LPL, MS 1552. William Wake to William Beauvoir, Aug. 30, 1718 (OS).
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
99. LPL, MS 1552. William Wake to William Beauvoir, Oct. 8, 1718 (OS).
100. LPL, MS 1552. William Wake to William Beauvoir, Apr. 15, 1718 (OS).
101. Ibid. LPL, MS 1552. William Wake to William Beauvoir, Aug. 11, 1718. LPL, MS 1552. William Wake to William Beauvoir, Aug. 30, 1718.
102. LPL, MS 2665. William Beauvoir to William Wake, Aug. 27, 1718 (OS).
103. LPL, MS 1552. William Wake to William Beauvoir, Dec. 2, 1718 (OS).
104. LPL, MS 1552. William Wake to William Beauvoir, Feb. 5, 1719 (OS).
105. See note 18.
106. See note 5. Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, 133–5.
107. Schunka, "Irenicism and the Challenges of Conversion," online edn., paragraph 14.28.
108. For a similar argument that late seventeenth-century British Protestants did not view Protestant Europe as an undifferentiated whole, see Claydon, *Making of England*, 122–4. On eighteenth-century British views of Catholic Europe as a dangerous "other," see note 5, especially Thompson, *Protestant Interest*, 7–11, 42. See also Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*, 5th edn. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 18.
109. Other Anglican divines drew a similar distinction between Catholic national churches and the papacy under the later Stuarts. See Claydon, *Making of England*, 343.

7 “Promoting the Common Interest of Christ”

H.W. Ludolf’s “Impartial” Projects and the Beginnings of the SPCK

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The name of Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655–1712), like that of his disciple, spiritual heir, and biographer Anton Wilhelm Böhme (1673–1722), is closely associated with the early period of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), since he was among its founding members.¹ On 3 February 1712, at St James in London, Böhme delivered Ludolf’s funeral sermon, later published with the title *The Faithful Steward* and “dedicated to the Honourable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.”² That same year, Böhme brought out a collection of writings by Ludolf, meaningfully titled *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, which was published by the SPCK printer Downing.³ Ludolf and Böhme were the main mediators in the relationship between the Anglican SPCK and the German Pietist centre in Halle founded by A.H. Francke (1663–1727). Various studies have examined these significant and complex relationships, revealing the harmony achieved between the German Pietists and their English partners, their shared projects, and the forms of cooperation that were promoted in the name of goals that did not always coincide.⁴ Scholars have devoted considerable attention to what Renate Wilson has defined as “the intricate network that had connected the English movement of charity and educational reform to the North German Pietists and their associates in commerce and the nobility,”⁵ reconstructing the modes of these Anglo-German relations and their forms of communication. Various studies have shown that the main issue at stake was the safeguarding of Protestant interests, both in Europe and further afield, in the face of an increasingly global and extremely threatening Catholic offensive.⁶ The Anglo-German network played an active role in protecting threatened Protestant minorities in Catholic countries, sheltering Protestant refugees and actively participating in missions outside of Europe.⁷ To some extent, it was also involved in a number of irenic attempts to unite Protestants.⁸

In the following pages, which focus on Ludolf in particular, I will seek to shed some light on a frequently mentioned aspect that deserves to be studied in greater depth: I am referring to confessional “impartiality,” a category that emerged between 17th and 18th century in the religious discourse.⁹ In the sources that I am

going to analyse, this notion can be considered as the criticism of confessional barriers, or as the refusal to accept dogmatic and doctrinal distinctions, or even as the attempt to establish contacts or a dialogue between individuals and/or groups belonging to different confessions (in some cases existing on the margins of these confessions or even outside of them). I will try to show that this term does not infer mere latitudinarianism or lack of a clear confessional identity.¹⁰ I maintain that confessional impartiality is an important facet of relations between German Pietists and the SPCK, as well as a distinctive feature of the religious vision of some of their protagonists – like H.W. Ludolf, A.W. Böhme, and A.H. Francke – albeit with different emphases and nuances.¹¹

1. A Very Particular "Christian Pilgrim"

Ever since my youth I have wished to talk and travel. . . . To those inquiring about my religion I would reply *Christianus*, and it consists in that [Author's note: in the sense of the Bible verse]: *induite novum hominem renovatum*.¹² And to those wishing to know more about my origins and homeland, I would reply using the same words that I wrote in a book . . . for the Fathers of the Holy Land in Cairo: *Natus Erfordi in Germania mira providentia transplantatus in Angliam et variis casibus eruditus, viro bono ubique quidem esse Patriam, sed viro regenito extra hunc mundum quaerendam esse Patriam*.¹³

In these few introductory lines, Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf distills the essence of his character and history, and evokes the occasion that was the turning point of his life: the journey that took him to the Holy Land between 1699 and 1700.¹⁴

Ludolf belonged to a patrician family from Erfurt and was the nephew of the famous orientalist Hiob who was a diplomat and agent at the Gotha court, and had contacts with Pietism through Philip Jakob Spener and Francke.¹⁵ Heinrich Wilhelm shared some of his uncle's interests, studying Oriental languages at Jena, and spent a period in Holland before moving to England, which became his second home. He was secretary to Prince George of Denmark (later Queen Anne's husband, 1653–1708) from 1686 until 1691, when he stepped down, officially for reasons of health.¹⁶ The prince subsequently paid him an annual pension that allowed Ludolf to live comfortably and devote himself to his studies and travels.¹⁷ He continued serving both English and Danish interests, and – as pointed out by Alexander Schunka – moved in that "grey area between unofficial diplomacy and espionage" typical of the period.¹⁸ Between 1692 and 1693, Ludolf travelled to Russia, where he learned Russian and acquired numerous contacts within the entourage of Peter the Great, as well as with leading politicians, scholars, and members of the Orthodox church.¹⁹ On his return to Oxford in 1695, he published a Russian grammar book intended for merchants. During Peter the Great's visit to Europe in 1697–98, he became an important liaison figure. Although his journey to Russia was officially made for political and commercial reasons, here as elsewhere, Ludolf was also motivated by his own religious purposes: an interconfessional dialogue aiming to bring about a "universal

church” that would overcome confessional divisions – a project to which he remained devoted all his life.²⁰

In 1697, Ludolf was among the diplomats participating in negotiations leading to the Peace of Rijswijk.²¹ It was during this period that his contacts with Francke in Halle became deeper. The two men shared converging though not identical positions and aims, and were attuned to each other, both on a religious level and with regard to more specific projects for missions and relationships with other Christian churches.²² Ludolf paid a visit to Halle at the start of his journey to Palestine, described in the following, and kept Francke briefed during the various stages of his trip. Their correspondence is extraordinarily full of information on the networks of relations – commercial, diplomatic, and broadly cultural – on the places and people, as well as providing future travellers practical advice on routes, means of transport and the costs involved.²³ The Italian stages of his journey were to prove of vital importance in bringing Ludolf’s plans to fruition. First, he stayed in Venice as a guest of Francke’s brother Heinrich Friedrich, who was a merchant there (1661–1728). From Venice he travelled to Livorno, where he spent the months of August and September 1698, and from where he hoped to embark on the final leg of his journey to Jerusalem: “I went for Venice, from thence to Livorno, and if God granted health. . .²⁴ might pursue my long designed voyage for Jerusalem.”²⁵ After making the acquaintance of local scholars in Livorno, he wrote to Francke with details of contacts that might be of use to future travellers. They included the apothecary and scientist Giacinto Cestoni, who had once had problems with the Inquisition – “he was once put into the Inquisition” – and who was apparently a “lover of strangers [who] can give a good account to those who want information at this place.”²⁶ Then there was Elia, “an old Jew of Constantinople who teaches me Turkish and keeps a coffeehouse here, [who] is my very good friend, but speaks little Italian, so that to converse with him one must know Turkish,” as well several Russian merchants, some of whom he had already met in Venice. His relations with the English community were extremely important, especially those with merchants like Jacob Turner and his sons, Edward Gould and Francis Harrimann. Ludolf believed that Livorno’s air and climate were unhealthy, and its prices too high, and advised travellers to spend as little time as possible there. He informed Francke about the links between Livorno and Syria, Egypt and Tripoli, pointing out that anyone wishing to travel to the Orient “hath great need of Italian language.”²⁷ In Livorno, he set sail on a ship heading for Smyrna, where he stayed with the Turner family for two months, devoting himself to his studies of Turkish and modern Greek.²⁸ On 11 March 1699, he arrived in Constantinople where, protected by an Ottoman pass, he boarded an English ship carrying mainly Armenian and Greek pilgrims that took him first to Jaffa (5 October) and from there to Jerusalem (9 October), the final destination on what had been long, exhausting, and perilous journey.²⁹

The importance of Ludolf’s journey to the Holy Land is confirmed by various sources, including an oil portrait by an anonymous painter that is now in the Kunst- und Naturalienkammer of the Franckeschen Stiftungen, Halle³⁰ (Figure 7.1). The subject of the painting, convincingly identified as Ludolf, is shown turning his



Figure 7.1 Portrait of Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf

Source: Anon., Kunst-und Naturalienkammer, Franckeschen Stiftungen, Halle.

bare right forearm towards us to reveal a tattoo typical of pilgrims to Jerusalem, along with the date 1699. In this same hand, Ludolf held an object with an oriental appearance, probably a bezoar encased in metal or possibly an ampulla. We must not forget that the practice of going on pilgrimages was met with scepticism, if not outright disapproval, in Protestant circles – both Lutheran and Reformed – who held it to be a useless endeavour.³¹ Moreover, several sources indicate that the

custom of tattooing – forbidden in the Old Testament³² – was considered a superstition held by papists or members of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

The tattoo shown in the centre of this painting consists of two superimposed images: the top³³ image portrays a crucified Christ above the skull of Adam, the first man, while the bottom image shows the holy sepulchre with a Risen Christ holding a banner. Although widespread, this particular design was not the most popular tattoo, which would have been the Jerusalem cross. Robert Ousterhout points out that “the image of Christ’s Resurrection . . . is also significant, for it would qualify as *locus sanctus* art . . . site-specific pilgrimage art.”³⁴ The tattoo, therefore, combines the sacred image of the Resurrection with a reference to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre – a key site in the city of Jerusalem that Ludolf had actually visited.

Writing to Francke from Jerusalem in October 1699, Ludolf dwells at length on those sites and on the Franciscan orders of the Holy Land who had provided him with lodgings during his stay. He underlines that there are friars from different European countries and that “Italian is the *lingua communis*.”³⁵ He reports that the Ottomans often burst into the church, extorting money from the pilgrims, and he adds some details on his stay in the church:

On the 16th of this month, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was opened for me and I let myself be shut in. I spent two nights with the Fathers; in order to make my devotions there but even more so in order to be able to see it better. In fact, when the Turks open the church, it usually stays open for a couple of hours and people rush to visit the so-called *Sanctuaría*, kneeling to kiss them, which is rather irritating.³⁶

Ludolf goes on to write a detailed description of the visitation of the holy places and the emotions displayed by the visitors.³⁷

The symbols present in the tattoo in the foreground of the portrait “evoke” the physical and spiritual experience of Ludolf’s pilgrimage that can be read on several levels: they allude both to the construction of his religious identity as a Christian pilgrim and to his plans for a dialogue between Christians from different groups. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the places linked to it – the “*locus inventionis crucis*,” Calvary, the “*lapis unctionis*,” etc. – symbolise the encounter between Christians from different denominations. He writes that “the majority of the altars and chapels are for use by the Latins, but even the Greeks and Armenians have altars where they can celebrate their masses.” The votive lamps at the Holy Sepulchre belong to different countries and churches.³⁸ At least seven nations were present in that place, all organised according to a specific hierarchy: “Due to their lack of funds, the Abyssinians, Georgians, and Syrians stay outside, and only the Latins, Armenians, Greeks, and a single Copt live inside.” Ludolf tells Francke that he approached Armenian and Greek priests in particular, speaking “in Turkish to the former and in Greek to the latter” and receiving expressions of honour from those “good people.” The Greeks, in particular, who were particularly impressed by the fact that he was well acquainted with several

of their number, including the Archimandrite Chrysanthos, helped him establish contacts with leading members of their church.³⁹ Lastly, he mentioned among "the signs of divine providence" the fact that during his journey from Ramah to Jerusalem, the Turks protected him from the Arabs who "act as if they were the rulers" of those places, to the extent of carrying out violent attacks against the Turkish authorities.⁴⁰

The letter ends with a description of the meeting between Ludolf and an Ethiopian residing with the Copts: the two men had an intense, lively exchange concerning several linguistic and religious matters, especially with regard to the translation of a number of terms and passages from the Sacred Scripture.

The vivid accounts of his pilgrimage contained in this letter to Francke showcase some of the key themes of the religious ideas and projects that inspired Ludolf throughout his life: the search for contacts and for a dialogue with Christians of every denomination, the knowledge of languages as a fundamental tool for religious communication – as a means, therefore, and not as an end – and his particular interest in Christians of the Eastern churches.⁴¹

2. Oriental Christianity and the Proposal to the SPCK

From the time of his sojourn in England and during his journey to Russia, Ludolf devoted particular attention to the Orthodox Church and to the Christians in the East in general, especially to those groups and communities considered to be under threat. This is one of the main themes running through his extraordinary multilingual epistolary correspondence.⁴² This was one of the main goals of his journeys and lay at the heart of his collaboration with Francke and the SPCK. The Protestant world had first become interested in Oriental Christianity in the 16th century as part of its efforts to establish an anti-Roman network based on a shared adherence to early Christianity.⁴³ Ludolf's interest, which concerned all Christians from the East as well as Christian minorities, was expressed above all through his personal individual contacts. It was this approach that informed the way that he built networks of relations that extended beyond confessional barriers and reflected his own particular vision of the church and of religion. During his journey to the Near East, Ludolf became convinced that the Ottoman Empire's relative openness might favour missions to the Greeks and Abyssinians and allow Greek and Coptic clerics and scholars to travel to Protestant universities in order to study and work as translators.⁴⁴ Francke and Ludolf worked tirelessly to achieve this, motivated as much by their desire to promote the training of these students as by their linguistic expertise and by the possibility of establishing contacts with the Oriental churches through them, and with Greek and Armenian clergy and the Coptic clergy of Ethiopia in particular. We get a distinct sense of the struggle taking place in this terrain with the Church of Rome and with Catholic countries in terms of their patronage and reception of Oriental Christians. In a letter written to Francke in Latin from Smyrna in 1698, Ludolf notes that they should be concerned by the interference in the schooling of young Greeks by Roman clergymen who ran several schools. However, he believed that divine providence was

preparing the way for a “better light to rise in the Oriental Church,” recalling the fact that five Greek youths had been sent to study in England, and hoping that they would acquire a “sound Christianity” there in order to be able to spread it among their own people on their return. He went on to mention that if “one of you went to Oxford, he could learn modern Greek from them,” supporting the type of mission in which he was interested.⁴⁵ In another letter to Francke, written from The Hague in November 1701, Ludolf mentions the Catholic attempts “to caress” the Armenians, writing that “the King of France must have set up a Jesuit foundation for a certain number of young Armenians.”⁴⁶ He returns repeatedly to the subject of competition with the Catholics, as for example, when writing about Ethiopia: in 1702, he writes to Francke that the French consul in Cairo told him that he had sent two Jesuits to Ethiopia in 1698, along with a doctor and a Franciscan sent to the Negus by the Pope.⁴⁷

One of the aims that Ludolf pursued most tenaciously was that of bringing out a new edition of the New Testament in modern Greek to make it accessible to the younger generations who might cross the borders of the Ottoman Empire to go abroad. He eventually managed to carry out this plan, which turned out to be very time-consuming and expensive. It involved overcoming many difficulties and even gave rise to disagreements with the Patriarch of Constantinople. Among those funding this editorial initiative were prominent members of the Anglican clergy along with pious benefactors, most of whom were wealthy London merchants, including Henry Hoare, son of a banker, and eventual supporter of the East India mission; Sir John Philipps; and Dr. Frederick Slare.⁴⁸ Slare was a physician of German origins who, together with his sister, was one of the English benefactors of Francke’s foundations.⁴⁹ A school for Greek students was established in London, rivalling the Oxford school, although both institutions turned out to be short-lived. The Pietist initiatives in Halle were more successful in terms of longevity: as he had done on the occasion of his journey to Russia, Ludolf played on Francke’s interest in Oriental languages and in the possibility of collaborating with native speakers. The Halle foundations played a key role in promoting this aim, both with regard to educational institutions and to the printing press and communicative networks. As their correspondence consistently reveals, both Ludolf and Francke were aware “of the close linkage between their missionary objectives and the use of commercial and diplomatic channels to promote them.”⁵⁰

Trading interests in the Near East mainly involved the English Levant Company and German merchants from cities like Nuremberg, Augsburg, Regensburg, Frankfurt, and even Venice, who were engaged in trade with Smyrna, Aleppo, Tripoli, and other Near Eastern ports. Ministers were sent from England to hold religious services for English merchants living in trading bases in Smyrna, Aleppo, Cairo, and Constantinople. This also gave rise to a flow of clergymen to Europe from the East as well as vice-versa. There was a need to establish “correspondence with well-intentioned people from the English Church” [“eine correspondenz mit wohl intentionirten leuten von den Englischen Kirche zu suchen”], and to prepare young men for ordination and to be sent East as chaplains or preachers

["Englische Chapplains oder Prediger"].⁵¹ In that area, there were German Pietist Lutheran missionaries trained in Halle and funded by nobles and wealthy citizens with Pietist leanings, who had also used their Danish and English connections to support the Danish-Halle mission in Tranquebar and other English East Indian missions.

Francke showed great interest in the relationships that English merchants had with the East. The most significant example probably concerned the Turner family, especially Jacob, the head of the household, who was an "exceptional English merchant" who entrusted one of his sons to Ludolf on the journey from Italy to the family's commercial base in Smyrna, and sent other sons to study in Halle at the school for English students.⁵²

We should remember that Ludolf maintained constant close relations with Halle and with the SPCK and its supporters, even while pursuing objectives that did not always coincide. Their collaboration began with the Eastern Christians. The SPCK pursued its own objectives in the context of a far-reaching mission project that was intended to bring about the global diffusion of Christian principles and literature. However, Ludolf's aim was not to convert Oriental Christians to the Church of England or even Lutheran belief. In fact, his idea of conversion was more of an interior conversion involving the regeneration of true Christians and rebirth of "true Christianity." Yet he was well aware that this kind of cooperation and relations with England would be key in allowing him and the Halle Pietists to proceed with their projects. In fact, the project, which promoted the translation and publication of a New Testament in modern Greek, led to the foundation, in 1702, of a *Collegium Orientale* in Halle whose aim was to train pastors specialised in Oriental and Slavic languages.⁵³

The pillars of Ludolf's projects for the East were described and explained in *A Proposal Relating to the Promotion of Religion in the Oriental Churches, offered in the Year 1700 to the Honourable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge*.⁵⁴ From the very first lines, Ludolf refers to what he defines as "the Church of Christ" – a church overcoming all denominational divisions. The birth of a society whose declared aim was the promotion of Christian knowledge could only be met favourably by those truly devoted to the only true church. He believed that the more the church of England promoted real Christianity in its relations with other churches, and not just within its own ranks, the greater its glory would be:

The *Correspondencies* which are establishing with some good Souls among the rest of Protestants, will make these Partakers of what Favours God shall be pleased to bestow on his Church here. . . . And should we be induced here to make it part of our Care, that the Brightness of our Light might dart forth some Rays into the Churches in the East, our Charity would then move in a larger Sphere than what is usual in this cold and degenerate Age.⁵⁵

In his premise, Ludolf uses a number of key concepts of his vision of the Christian faith and of the church to explain the meaning of his proposal to the SPCK, beginning with the "correspondencies" at the centre of his thoughts. Seen from

an impartial perspective, “correspondence” refers to the relationship between true Christians who recognise each other and choose to cooperate regardless of their denominations. “Correspondence” is the only way to make the universal church that Ludolf considered the only true Christian church both visible and real. The cooperation he encouraged the SPCK to promote could shine a ray of light into the Oriental churches. The role of the intermediaries, of those not only able to enter profound communication with others so as to bring them the Word of God, but also capable of recognising the seeds of “real Christianity,” is therefore fundamental for bringing the divine plans to fruition.

After this introduction, Ludolf listed five points describing his proposal in practical terms: (1) Given that the prime aim was to earn the respect and love of the Oriental churches, it would be necessary to send them “such patterns of Christian virtues” whose meek behaviour and prudent example would make their conversation acceptable and edifying for Oriental Christians. In order to have a mutual conversation, the knowledge of languages was required. Therefore, it was necessary that: (2) those who are thinking of going to the East acquire a certain familiarity with oriental languages before “they did go on so laudable an errand.” The best way to meet this need would be by creating a kind of Oriental college in England, where it would be possible to choose the people best suited “for serving as chaplains to the factories, which the honourable company, trading in England to the Levant, hath in Turkey.” While attending the college, they would learn modern Greek and possibly also Turkish and Arabic. Writing on the subject of Greek, Ludolf added:

The vulgar Greek will be easie to those that have learned the Book Greek. But they ought to use themselves to the modern pronunciation of the Grecians. This will not only prove useful in quoting some passages out of the New Testament, but will also be more acceptable to the Grecians themselves upon several account.⁵⁶

Should it prove impossible to found a college of this type – he continued – the men planning to travel East would have had to acquire “all such ways and methods as in any manner might prove serviceable for supporting religion and piety among the gentlemen of the factories themselves, and then for scattering also some good seed among other nations in that parts.”⁵⁷ (3) Alongside this, and for the same reason, it would have been necessary to establish a “seminary of young men, chosen out of the Oriental churches themselves,” “for the good of the nations in the East.”⁵⁸ I believe his advice to the person in charge of running the seminary reveals his “impartial” attitude:

the managers of such a constitution, should be entirely concerned about inculcating general and essential principles of christianity, without tampering at all with new *forms, modes, schemes, ceremonies* and *circumstances* of religion; whereby the best contrived methods would be render’d altogether fruitless.⁵⁹

Also, at this point, in the context of this apparently practical guidance, Ludolf introduces his radical criticism of churches and confessions:

For whilst we take the form of worship itself, we must, of necessity, instead of the substance of religion, propagate a bare scheme thereof, which will in no wise be able, to stop the torrent of corruption among the differing parties of Christendom. Not to mention here, that every *particular* church would at this rate engross heaven to herself; consequently no man would be able to do much good without the pales of his own church and party.⁶⁰

While the younger generations belonging to the Oriental churches were to be taught the principles of Christianity: "the fundamentals of religion only," and "a sound *practice* of evangelical truths, without breaking in upon their external *form*, and peculiar way of their church-worship." In this way, the younger generations would be more receptive to evangelical truth and suited to "propagate them again among their brethren at home."⁶¹ (4) The "above-said honourable society" was to appoint a board ("committee") from among its members that would be responsible for caring about the Oriental churches and charged with "a useful correspondence with some of the most eminent and best disposed men in the East, for carrying on the work of Reformation among them."⁶² In time, the board would acquire an in-depth knowledge "of the state of these churches, of the various lets and impediments obstructing a sound Reformation, of the causes of their decay," seeking the means to assist them. On the one hand, it would have to instruct those preparing to travel to such places "as chaplains to the factories there" or with other missionary goals, and, on the other, it would have to "encourage ingenious young men to come from the Levant, amongst us, and then send 'em back with good instructions, to further the work of God in their native country."⁶³ (5) One of the indispensable instruments for this missionary endeavour would be "a small scriptural-catechism, containing the principles of sound Christianity, laid down in the very words of Scripture, and distributed among the Levantines, might do good to a great many souls." A booklet that would be preferable to any kind of confessional book given that "every particular church making it a point both of honour and conscience to stoop too much to another church."⁶⁴ It's worth noting that in Ludolf's original manuscript, the same passage – quoted by Renate Wilson – was quite different:

A small scriptural catechism where the idea of Christianity *is laid down only by passages of the Bible dispersed* among them might do good to a great many souls and would be lyable to less exceptions than books of our Church. Every particular Church for reasons above said making it a point of conscience and honor to stoop to another Church. *The common prayer book printed in Arabick at Oxford and distributed in the Levant*, did not meet with so kind a reception as could have been wished.⁶⁵

The reference to the *Book of Common Prayer* has been deleted by A.W. Böhme in the printed text, addressed to the SPCK. At that very time, the SPCK was involved with the Swiss reformers in promoting a universal adoption of the *Book of Common Prayer* and based its teaching on the Church of England catechism.⁶⁶

According to Ludolf, there was a great need for small books to be used for teaching, so that “the poor school masters are forced to set down in writing the several lessons the children are to read.” And, in order to clarify who was responsible for disseminating that booklet, he suggested adding “a word or two . . . by way of preface, intimating, that some christian souls here, had done this by a motive of hearty love to their brethren of the Greek-Church.” This would have convinced them “of our love and kindness to them, and engage ‘em in a like return of cordial love and friendship; love being always the surest and safest inlet into other people’s minds.” Even the conclusion of the proposal was completely in line with Ludolf’s religious views, describing religion as love and an experiential and experimental knowledge of God: “May the Lord teach us all an experimental knowledge of this divine truth: God is love, and he that abideth in love, abideth in God, and God in him!”⁶⁷

3. Ludolf’s “Universal Church”

Ludolf’s involvement in the SPCK, his links to Halle, and his projects in general should all be interpreted in the context of the “Universal Church” – “Ecclesia Universalis,” “Allgemeine Kirche” – that was at the heart of his religious vision.⁶⁸ He had a Pietist idea of “real Christianity” as inner regeneration and new birth in Christ: the church – the only true church possible – was a universal community of men and women who had been “reborn” in Christ. Ludolf’s universal church was an impartial church: an invisible “imagined” church that could become visible whenever networks and shared projects came into being between “true Christians.”⁶⁹ He believed that the universal church could be found wherever the “converted,” “regenerated,” or true Christians congregated or joined together. Although impossible to attain in this world, it remained a project that he would constantly pursue throughout his life. Therefore, Ludolf’s aim was not proselytism to a universal church structure. His goal was to create links and develop shared actions between true Christians regardless of their confessional membership (or lack of it). He wished to set aside the confessional divisions of the Orthodoxies, the divisions between churches, which he defined as “sects” or “partial churches,” made up of a small number of true Christians, but in which the majority are hypocrites and Pharisees. This idea of impartial or “Universal Church” – to use Ludolf’s definition – that runs through all Ludolf’s letters is also the subject of one of his writings published by Böhme as part of the *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*: the *Considerations on the Interest of the Church Universal*.⁷⁰

From the very first lines, Ludolf makes it quite clear that “The interest of the Church Universal lieth doubtless in the raising, enlarging and adorning of that mystical building, which is called the City of God, Christ’s Spouse, and Christ’s

body." The single "members" of that mystical body are all joined to each other and to their "head," Christ, who animates them with his vital spirit. The essence of the universal church is what Ludolf defines as "the real Christianity," which consists solely of following and imitating Christ's example:

in following the Steps of our Saviour, and expressing by our Life this Pattern, as far as Divine Grace enables every one of us; we may term true Christianity a Resemblance to Christ, the Restorer of God's Image in the Soul of Man, and the Beginner and Fulfiller of our Faith.⁷¹

The theme of the imitation of Christ is a recurrent one in Ludolf's writings and, according to his disciple, friend, and biographer Böhme, on his bedside table during his final days was the *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas à Kempis, a book that played a vital role in his life.⁷² Seen in this light, denominational divisions were not just overcome but condemned as an expression of pride, selfishness, and sectarianism: "Though it be one of the greatest absurdities to think, that Christ died for this or that Sect barely, and that Heaven must be stocked only out of one particular Church."⁷³ Such divisions, which were based solely on external forms of worship and different doctrinal opinions ("the performing of divine worship after this or that Form"),⁷⁴ would have produced inauspicious results. At this point, Ludolf takes a stand on denominational irenicism and the various projects for unification between Protestants that were being discussed at that time.⁷⁵ Despite being promoted by "divers pious souls," they could only be sterile and useless given that they merely concerned outward forms:

it would not signifie much neither, if all the Men in the World resolved upon using the same external form and expression, and the same church-service, continuing all the while slaves to the Kingdom of Darkness. Whereas Holiness, or real christianity, sincerely pursued, in the several particular Churches, would bring people over to that sweet and heavenly Temper, to which jarring and disquiet is a perfect stranger.⁷⁶

The focus was the salvation of all believers, since "Christ did not die for this or that sect, barely." This theme often emerges from Ludolf's correspondence, as in a letter written to G.W. Leibniz from Copenhagen on 19 November 1703, where he writes to be "more and more convinced" that all the projects to unite Christians "in a certain system of opinions and outward worship" will fail.⁷⁷ In fact, Ludolf's project was an alternative to that kind of irenicism, and was based on other premises:

Instead I felt deeply united with some good souls whom God had led to the centre of the love through an outward worship quite unlike the one in which I have been raised. However, it is a great satisfaction for me to realise that *in almost all the sects God begins to enlighten somebody*, to recognise the absurdity of imagining that heaven is tied to the System of a single sect.⁷⁸

During those same years, Leibniz was engaged in the so-called “negotium irenicum,” aiming at a theological reconciliation among the Protestants, thus Ludolf was taking a critical position towards his project.⁷⁹ Whether Ludolf was also trying to persuade Leibniz of the righteousness of his position through a “missionary” letter, remains – in my opinion – an open question. Ludolf believed that rather than seeking to promote the universal church through denominational irenicism and protestant union – as Leibniz did – they should engage in a continuous endeavour to build contacts and links between the “real” Christians belonging to the different churches. In his *Considerations*, on this point, he stated that it would be far better

if the differing parties, instead of compiling Confessions to be received by all churches, and instead of arguing against one another’s tenets, would vye with one another, who could produce most instances of such souls, as in their several churches, have attained to the glorious renovation of God’s image in the hearth.

This was, for Ludolf, “the sign and effect of that faith, which overcomes the world, and by which Christ dwelleth in us, inabling those that receive him to become children of God.” In his view, the “children of God” are the reborn Christians (“*new creatures*”), united with Christ “who is the Head of the Church,” as “the Christians did of old.”⁸⁰

I maintain that the “*pars construens*” of Ludolf’s proposal – that is, the possibility of creating a universal church by building up links and “correspondences” between individuals – represents the most radical and original aspect of his concept of impartiality, which did not mean neutrality between the different churches, but a relationship between “real Christians,” beyond the confessional boundaries. Ludolf’s transconfessional, universal church is a spiritual rather than an institutional union, based on a voluntary choice by “reborn” Christians. Although numerically few, its members are called upon to be the leaven and “salt of the earth” in their own churches.⁸¹ This is a conception that evokes Spener’s idea of an “*ecclesiola in ecclesia*,” while projecting it into a trans- and inter-confessional dimension.⁸² In his aforementioned letter to Leibniz, Ludolf went on to write:

Though I cannot boast of having met a great number of such Christians to whom one may apply the glorious characters that holy Scripture gives to the true faithful: namely, persons whose deified souls reflects the rays of Divinity united with humanity by a living faith in Jesus Christ. However, even amidst the ignorance of the Eastern Church, I met a Metropolitan in Constantinople, who believed that the bond, which was to unite all Christians as one body, was only in the spirit of Jesus Christ.⁸³

All the churches – or “sects,” in Ludolf’s words – had experienced the same process of corruption during their historic development (“the common corruptions that have spread themselves through all the parties of Christendoms”).⁸⁴

However, by establishing correspondences and shared projects, the handful of real Christians within the churches would be able to contribute to the construction of the universal church ("every particular congregation contributing what they can, towards building up the walls of Jerusalem on their side").⁸⁵ Once again, as in his *Proposal* concerning Oriental churches, Ludolf lists the pillars of his project: 1) religious guides with "an experimental knowledge of the abovementioned real Christianity" and preachers capable of showing the true Christian principles of "repentance and faith" who provide the communities with an example of true Christian living; 2) schools where they could be educated.⁸⁶ In this case too, the emphasis is upon the experiential, inner dimension of faith, while the theological and doctrinal – but also the philosophical – aspect recedes into the background. An anti-intellectualistic streak emerges occasionally in Ludolf's *Considerations*, along with his impatience with the subtleties of the doctrinal controversies of his time:

If people of differing persuasions did fall into *company*, they should avoid all manner of controversies; the handling whereof seldom betters men, but often inflames animosities to a higher degree. Most men do think it a lessening of their own reputation, and that of their masters, if they should yield but one tittle of their scheme of religion, and of the system of divinity they have received from their fathers.⁸⁷

Ludolf believed that establishing links, dialogues, and connections by focusing on the truths of the Christian faith was the only way of "promoting the common interest of Christ against the kingdom and power of darkness."⁸⁸

In an apocalyptic perspective, he considered his times as the final phase of a battle between darkness and light whose "signs" could be distinguished in the agitation sweeping through churches of all denominations and shaking their foundations.⁸⁹ In a letter to the Catholic abbot Ivan Paštrić (1636–1708), member of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, with whom he came in contact when he was in Rome, he writes that "in this country, as elsewhere, there is a spiritual ferment of souls":

Yet only a few make true progress along the road of light. In general, the learned men are more zealous in defending the opinions and external worship of their *sect* than in promoting the *essential practice of Christianity* through their example. . . . The glorious period of the church, when the gospel of Christ is put into practice, will come about on the day when the examples of those who have experienced *metamorphosis* become more frequent.⁹⁰

Ludolf invites the Catholic Paštrić to a cooperation, in spite of their confessional differences, trying to "convert" him to his universal project:

Although our hypothesis may differ on this point, I nonetheless hope that we can practice Christ's great law by loving one another. The greater light our

light, the greater our reason and our capacity to pray to God and involve the other.⁹¹

Ludolf ends his *Considerations* with a reference to several passages from the *Homilies* of the Oriental monk Macarius, an author he was very fond of and to whom he dedicated another one of his works.⁹² The writings of the Oriental monk Macarius were, for Ludolf, a kind of bridge to the Eastern churches. The quotations from Macarius allow Ludolf to develop his arguments on true Christians as “new creatures” who must seek to follow the celestial image of Christ during their earthly lives.⁹³

This conception of the universal church not only underpins Ludolf’s relations with the Oriental churches, but also with a number of Catholics he considers to be “real Christians.”⁹⁴ During Ludolf’s travels in Italy, he established contacts with a number of people including abbot Francesco Bellisomi, the aforementioned Croatian theologian Ivan Paštrić, and the French consul Benoit Maillet, who all became his epistolary correspondents.⁹⁵ Ludolf held these men to be valid interlocutors with whom he could share his ideas on common projects. Ludolf sent an account on Pietism, written in Latin, to Bellisomi, who entered into contact with Francke and Halle through him.⁹⁶ Writing to Francke in 1700, Ludolf claims that the most significant event during his journey to Rome was his meeting with the Catholic prelate Bellisomi, who “recognises essential Christianity” and who, presumably, with the help of God, is capable of acting as an instrument of much “true knowledge.”⁹⁷ As “real Christians,” these Catholics were fully entitled to become part of Ludolf’s universal church. In a letter sent from London to Benoit Maillet, the French consul in Cairo, on 17 September 1702, Ludolf writes: “I hope you will forgive me for using the word Church with a meaning corresponding to *my hypothesis*, and that is that the Church of Christ is made up of good people, whether Catholic or Protestant.”⁹⁸

The religious network built up by Ludolf, also through his continuous travels as a “Christian pilgrim,” and the correspondences that he sought to establish between Christians from different churches, were all pieces belonging to the impartial universal church that he envisaged and to which he dedicated his every effort throughout his entire life. It was at the same time, from a historical point of view, a utopian project, but also a concrete and realistic one.

The image of Ludolf that Böhme wished to bequeath after Ludolf’s death, both through his funeral sermon and the publication of the *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, was yet again distinguished by a marked confessional impartiality.⁹⁹ Moreover, for Böhme, a dissenting Lutheran with later ties to the Anglican church, translator of numerous works – including Pietist spiritual literature into English, Anglican literature, and Catholic mystical literature into German – impartiality would ultimately result in a kind of religious indifferentism.¹⁰⁰ In his sermon, titled “The Faithful Steward,” dedicated to the SPCK, Böhme recalled the milestones in Ludolf’s earthly journey, presenting this experience above all as a conversion narrative:

I have often wished to see a collection of the lives of the most eminent saints in the several parties and nations of Christendom, together with their inward

trials, spiritual conflicts and agonies, and the whole practice of virtue shining in their life and conversation, whilst they were among us.

It was possibly Böhme's intention to include the life of Ludolf in a larger collection of lives of regenerated men and women, in line with a Pietistic vision that made "impartial" collections of lives one of its preferred literary genres.¹⁰¹ And it is this perspective that would cause the life of Ludolf to be taken from the funeral sermon and included in the fourth volume of the most celebrated of these collections: the *Historie der Wiedergeborenen* by the radical pietist Johann Heinrich Reitz.¹⁰² Ludolf's *Lebenslauf* ends with the translation of verses that Böhme put at the end of his sermon:

Now Ludolf rests, who liv'd a true Pilgrim.
And wheresoe're he went had Heav'n in View.
Like Moses, thro' the Wilderness he walk'd,
And still to God he look'd, of God he talk'd;
Hence his Seraphic Soul was grown so bright,
He every Object round him ting'd with Light.
From his Instructive Converse none cou'd part.
Without a wiser Head, or warmer Heart
Faithful unto his God, his Prince, his Friend,
Pious his Life, and bless'd and calm his End.
Keep his Exemple, Reader in thine Eye,
And live like him, if thou like him wou'dst die!¹⁰³
(Translated by Oona Smyth)

Notes

1. Robert Stupperich, 'Ludolf, Heinrich Wilhelm,' *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 15 (1987), S. 304 f. [online version]. www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd115754571.html#ndbcontent (Last accessed: 7 Jan. 2019); Hermann Goltz, 'Ecclesia Universa. Bemerkungen über die Beziehungen H.W. Ludolfs zu Rußland und zu den orientalischen Kirchen (Ökumenische Beziehungen des August-Hermann-Francke-Kreises),' *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, 28 (1979), 19–37; Daniel L. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993); Eamon Duffy, 'The Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge and Europe: The Background to the Founding of the Christentumsgesellschaft,' *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 7 (1981), 28–42; Renate Wilson, 'Continental Protestant Refugees and their Protectors in Germany and London. Commercial and Charitable Networks,' *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 20 (1994), 107–24; Renate Wilson, 'Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf, August Hermann Francke und der Eingang nach Rußland,' in *Halle und Osteuropa: zur europäischen Ausstrahlung des hallischen Pietismus*, ed. Johannes Wallmann (Tübingen: Verl. der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Niemeyer-Verl., 1998), 83–108; Alexander Schunka, "'An England ist uns viel gelegen.'" Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655–1712) als Wanderer zwischen den Welten,' in *London und das Hallesche Waisenhaus. Eine Kommunikationsgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Holger Zaunstöck et al. (Wiesbaden: Verl. der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle, Harrassowitz, 2014), 43–64; Alexander Schunka,

- ‘Zwischen Kontingenz und Providenz. Frühe Englandkontakte der halleschen Pietisten und protestantische Irenik um 1700,’ *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 34 (2008), 82–114; Arno Sames, *Anton Wilhelm Böhme (1673–1722). Studien zum ökumenischen Denken und Handeln eines Halleschen Pietisten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990); Scott Kisker, ‘Pietist Connections with English Anglicans and Evangelical,’ in *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660–1800*, ed. Douglas H. Shantz (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 225–55.
2. *The Faithful Steward: Set Forth in a Sermon, Preach’d at St. James’s, the Third Day of Feb. 1712, on Occasion of the Funeral of Mr. Hen Will. Ludolf, Herefore Secretary to His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, &c. of Blessed Memory; Who Departed This Life at London on the 25th Day of Jan. in the Said Year by Anton Wilh. Boehm, Chaplain to His Royal Highness. Publish’d in English at the Request of Several Friends of the Deceased, and Dedicated to the Honourable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* [. . .] London, printed and sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew Close, near Smithfield, 1712. See note 3. The German translation of this sermon was later printed in Anton W. Böhme, [. . .] *Sämtliche Erbauliche Schriften* [. . .] (Altona: Korte, 1731), 787–866.
 3. *Reliquiae Ludolfianae: The Pious Remains of Mr. Hen. Will. Ludolf; Consisting of: Meditations Upon Retirement from the World; Also Upon Divers Subjects Tending to Promote the Inward Life of Faith etc.; Considerations on the Interest of the Church Universal; A Proposal for Promoting the Cause of Religion in the Churches of the Levant; Reflections on the Present State of the Christian Church; Homily of Macarius,* [. . .]. *To Which Is Added, His Funeral Sermon Preach’d by Anthony William Boehm, Chaplain to his late Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark.* London, printed and sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew Close near West-Smithfield, 1712.
 4. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*; Wilson, ‘Continental Protestant Refugees’; Sugiko Nishikawa, ‘The SPCK in Defence of Protestant Minorities in Early Eighteenth Century Europe,’ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 56, 4 (2005), 730–48.
 5. Wilson, ‘Continental Protestant Refugees,’ 113.
 6. Efforts were being made by Catholic missions to recatholicise rural and urban areas in Europe, as well as worldwide outreach. Brunner underlines that the sense of Protestant unity in Europe was “reinforced by the common fear of France and Catholicism, a fear especially common in England after 1688 because of the intermittent warfare with France, which recognised the Catholic Claimant to the throne” (Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 183). England took the role of a protector of the Protestant Interest in Europe, which seemed to be threatened by the aggressive forces of Catholicism.
 7. Nishikawa, ‘The SPCK in Defence of Protestant Minorities’; Kisker, ‘Pietist Connections,’ 236. Through its cooperation with Halle, the SPCK became involved with the resettlement of Protestant refugees from Catholic territories on the continent (particularly in Ireland and the English colonies in America).
 8. Duffy, ‘The Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge’; Schunka, ‘Zwischen Kontingenz und Providenz’; Alexander Schunka, ‘Irenicism and the Challenges of Conversion in the Early Eighteenth Century,’ in *Conversion and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Germany*, eds. David M. Luebke, Jared Poley, Daniel Ryan and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 101–18. Schunka underlines that “Halle Pietists propagated a union of hearts and spirits rooted in the Lutheran faith. They disapproved of anything they considered worldly efforts, such as a modification of liturgy or ecclesiastical administration”, *Ibid.*, 112.
 9. On the emergence of the notion of “impartiality” in the Early Modern Age, see Kathryn Murphy and Anita Traninger, eds., *Emergence of Impartiality* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). The essays in the volume consider the concept of impartiality on a general epistemological level, exploring especially discourses such as philosophy, law, ethics, science, and politics (impartiality as objectivity). The religious field is not addressed more fully

- in this volume. In the German context, the most important example of the use of this notion both in historiographical and religious fields is Gottfried Arnold's *Impartial History of the Church and Its Heretics (Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie), vom Anfang des Neuen Testaments biss auff das Jahr Christi 1688* (Frankfurt am Mayn: Fritsch, 1699–1715).
10. This position had some points in common with latitudinarianism, but its goal was not to establish the principles of Christianity on their "rational" foundations and it did not aim at a "Broad Church."
 11. Adelisa Malena, 'Ecclesia Universa: "Imparzialità" confessionale e transfer culturali tra Sei e Settecento. Note su una ricerca in corso,' in *Ripensare la Riforma protestante. Nuove prospettive degli studi italiani*, ed. Lucia Felici (Torino: Claudiana, 2015), 283–309; Erich Beyreuther, *August Hermann Francke und die Anfänge der ökumenischen Bewegung* (Hamburg, Bergstedt: Reich, 1957).
 12. Ephesians 4, 24.
 13. AFSt, H/D 71, fol. 57 ("[. . .] promemoria Comitum itineris d.ni. Rombouts", in German), quoted in Joachim Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland* (Berlin: Akad.-Verlag, 1955), 21–2; Schunka, 'An England ist uns viel gelegen,' 63. After his resignation from the office of secretary, Ludolf received an annual pension of 500 Reichstaler by Prince George.
 14. On Ludolf's journey to the Holy Land, see: Hendrik Budde and Mordechay Lewy, eds., *Von Halle nach Jerusalem. Halle – Ein Zentrum der Palästinakunde im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Halle: Druckerei der Martin-Luther-Univ. Halle-Wittengerg, 1994); Anne Schröder-Kahnt, "'beym Ümgange mit allerhand nationen und religionen ein und ander Vergnügen bescheret". Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolfs Reise in den Orient,' in *Durch die Welt im Auftrag des Herrn. Reisen von Pietisten im 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Anne Schröder-Kahnt and Claus Veltmann (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2018), 161–76.
 15. On Hiob Ludolf, see Eike Haberland, 'Ludolf, Hiob,' *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 15 (1987), S. 303–4 [online version]. www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118817167.html#ndbcontent (Last accessed: 7 Jan. 2019).
 16. On this point, see Wilson, 'Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf,' 89–91.
 17. See note 10.
 18. Schunka, 'An England ist uns viel gelegen,' 46: in einer epochentypischen Grauzone zwischen "offizieller" und "inoffizieller Diplomatie".
 19. Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland*; Wilson, 'Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf.'
 20. Goltz, 'Ecclesia Universa.'
 21. Wilson, 'Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf,' 86; Schunka, 'An England ist uns viel gelegen,' 47.
 22. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 43, on Ludolf's project of a "universal church": "The work most accurately modelling this dream of a pan-confessional, inward Christianity was that of Francke at Halle, for whom he became an enthusiastic ambassador. His missionary endeavours took him to Russia in the early 1690s and to the Levant later in the decade, from which he developed a deep interest in and concern for Russian and Greek Orthodox Christianity."
 23. See especially AFSt/H D 23; AFSt/H D 71.
 24. Illegible due to damaged paper.
 25. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Livorno 18 Aug. 1698 (AFSt/H D 71 fol. 9r, in English).
 26. Ibid. On Giacinto Cestoni (1637–1718) see Ugo Baldini, 'Cestoni, Giacinto,' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 24 (Roma, 1980), online edn. [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giacinto-cestoni_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giacinto-cestoni_(Dizionario_Biografico)) (Last accessed: 7 Jan. 2019). On Livorno merchants, see Matteo Giunti: mercantilivornesi.wordpress.com/home/leghorn-merchants/ (Last accessed: 7 Jan. 2019). On Russians in Livorno: Stefano Villani, 'Ambasciatori russi a Livorno e rapporti tra Moscovia e Toscana nel XVII secolo,' *Nuovi Studi Livornesi*, XIV (2008), 37–95.

27. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Livorno 18 Aug. 1698 (AFSt/H D 71 fol. 9r).
28. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Den Haag 18 July 1697 (AFSt/H A 112 fols. 19–22, in Latin) and H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Livorno 10 Sept. 1698 (AFSt/H D 71 fol. 9v, in English). Turner's son John had accompanied him on his journey from the Netherlands to Livorno. Ludolf spent much of his stay in Smyrna recovering from a fever.
29. During the crossing, the ship also stopped at Chios, Cyprus, and Jaffa. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Jerusalem, 19–29 Oct. 1699 (AFSt/H D 71 fols. 26r–27v, in German) published in Budde and Lewy, *Von Halle nach Jerusalem*, 68–74. On Jerusalem in the Protestant imagination, see: Judt A. Hayden and Nabil I. Matar, eds., *Through the Eyes of the Beholder: The Holy Land, 1517–1713* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013); in particular: Joachim Östlund, *A Lutheran in the Holy Land: Michael Eneman's Journey, 1711–12* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 207–24.
30. The identity of the painter and exact date of its execution are currently unknown – as is the identity of the person who commissioned the portrait – we know only that it dates to the early 18th century. We do not even know whether it was painted before or after Ludolf's death. It may have been commissioned either by Ludolf himself or by his pupil and spiritual heir, Anton Wilhelm Böhme, or even by Francke. The identification of the sitter as Ludolf was made by M. Lewy.
31. On the Protestant criticism towards pilgrimages, see Östlund, *A Lutheran in the Holy Land*, 26.
32. Leviticus 19, 28.
33. Copyright: "Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle/Saale, Foto: Klaus E. Göltz."
34. Robert Ousterhout, 'Permanent Ephemera: The "Honourable Stigmatisation" of Jerusalem Pilgrims,' in *Between Jerusalem and Europe*, eds. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 94–109, 104. In fact, Christ is not shown rising from a tomb with the stone rolled away as described in the Gospels, but from "the *aedicula* of the tomb of Christ as it existed in the early modern period. The image is an anachronistic combination of the historical/biblical event and the pilgrim's experience in situ [. . .].", *ibid*.
35. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Jerusalem, 19–29 Oct. 1699 (AFSt/H D 71 fols. 26r–27v, in German) published in Budde and Lewy, *Von Halle nach Jerusalem*, 70. Ludolf also explains that: "The chief custodian or superior is always Italian, the custodial vicar is French, the Father procurator is a Spaniard, and a Swabian German is currently the *praeses* of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where there is always a group of a dozen or so *Franciscan friars* who celebrate their masses and divine offices there."
36. *Ibid*. "Often the door is opened by the Turks – who hold the keys to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre – and then you have to give them a sequin or two and a half thaler. Moreover, on their first visit, pilgrims are required to pay them fifteen thalers if they are Franks and seven and a half if they are Levantines."
37. *Ibid*. "visitors to the place on Mount Calvary where the Cross of Christ was erected and to the very tomb in which our Saviour was laid for us, cannot fail to be moved given that everyone taken there inevitably experiences a feeling of devotion in the depth of their hearts, even though many attribute the emotions they feel [visiting them] to the sanctity of these places."
38. *Ibid*. "At the Holy Sepulchre only the Latins can say mass although other nations are free to pray there and keep their lamps there: the lamps of the European potentates hang in the centre, on the right are those of the Tsar and the Greeks, and on the left [the ones] belonging to the Armenians. In the mornings, after the Latins have celebrated their mass in the Holy Sepulchre, the others enter with their thuribles to diffuse the burning incense."
39. The Archimandryte Chrysanthos Notaras was the nephew of Dositheos Skarpetis (Patriarch of Jerusalem from 1669 to 1707). Both of them were among Ludolf's correspondents. Ludolf met Chrysanthos for the first time during his travel to Russia

- (1692–1694). Goltz, 'Ecclesia Universa,' 26; Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland*, 75–89.
40. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Jerusalem, 19–29 Oct. 1699 (AFSt/H D 71 fols. 26r–27v, in German) published in Budde and Lewy, *Von Halle nach Jerusalem*, 71. "Some time ago an official of the Turk Governor of Palestine has been attacked, and some months ago the Ramah Governor has been murdered in his district; moreover, after my arrival here three persons have been murdered in a Jewish house."
 41. H.W. Ludolf, *Meditations Upon Retirement from the World*, in *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, 1–124; 51. "If a man learned all the languages of the world, they would signifie nothing to him, unless he learns God's language, thereby to converse with him."
 42. In his polyglot correspondence, Ludolf uses many languages: German, Latin, English, Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, Russian, Hebrew, Ethiopian, Ottoman, etc.
 43. Research has shown that Ludolf was very well-informed about ecclesiastical politics in the early Petrine age, about the impact of the Catholic Counter-Reformation in some of the border territories, and about the Lutheran community in Moscow and the presence of Greek prelates at the Russian court. These aspects have been analysed in depth in various studies, especially those examining relationships with Russia. See: Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland*; Wilson, 'Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf.' See also: Asaph Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists and Greek Antiquity: Melancthonian Scholarship Between Universal History and Pedagogy* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009); Dorothea Wendebourg, *Reformation und Orthodoxie. Der theologische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der württembergischen Kirche und dem Ökumenischen Patriarchen Jeremias II. in den Jahren 1574–1581* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986); Dorothea Wendebourg, 'Eastern Orthodoxy and Lutheranism,' in *Dictionary of Luther and the Lutheran Traditions*, eds. Timothy J. Wengert et al. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2017), 196–9.
 44. Wilson, 'Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf,' 102.
 45. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Smyrna, 14–24 Nov. 1698 (AFSt/H D 71, fols. 11v–12r, in Latin). On Ludolf's contacts with Benjamin Woodroffe in Oxford, see Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 156–7.
 46. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, The Hague, 11 Oct. 1701 (AFSt/H D 71 fols. 87–88); Wilson, 'Continental Protestant Refugees,' 113.
 47. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, London, 18 Sept. 1702 (AFSt/H D 71, fol. 112v, in German). A quotation of this letter in: Wilson, 'Continental Protestant Refugees,' 114. As already noticed by Renate Wilson, Ludolf uses the designations Ethiopia and Abessynia interchangeably.
 48. Wilson, 'Continental Protestant Refugees,' 115. A list of financial contributors is contained in AFSt/H D 23, fols. 7–9. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 156–8.
 49. Alexander Schunka, 'Libri, formaggio e vino. Oggetti in viaggio nell'Europa protestante del primo Settecento,' *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà*, 30 (2017), 91–120.
 50. Wilson, 'Continental Protestant Refugees,' 113.
 51. Schunka, 'An England ist uns viel gelegen,' 57.
 52. Wilson, 'Continental Protestant Refugees,' 115. Jacob Turner's sons were sent to Halle to be trained in Latin, Greek, and the Oriental tongues; see also Wilson, 'Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf,' 102.
 53. In 1710, Ludolf tried also to establish a "Seminarium oder Collegium" in Jerusalem to promote the "real Christianity" in the East, opposing to the Catholic offensive. This project failed. See Schunka, 'An England ist uns viel gelegen,' 58. On the Collegium Orientale in Halle, see also Ulrich Moennig, 'Die griechische Studenten am Halenser Collegium orientale theologicum,' in *Halle und Osteuropa: zur europäischen Ausstrahlung des hallischen Pietismus*, ed. Johannes Wallmann (Tübingen: Verl.der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Niemeyer-Verl., 1998), 298–329.

54. *A Proposal Relating to the Promotion of Religion in the Oriental Churches, Offered in the Year 1700 to the Honourable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge*, in *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, 145–52. This writing, presented by Ludolf to the SPCK, was published by Böhme after Ludolf's death.
55. *Ibid.*, 146.
56. *Ibid.*, 148.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*, 149.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*, 150.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*, 151.
64. *Ibid.*
65. Wilson, 'Continental Protestant Refugees,' 115. See also Duffy, 'The Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge,' 38.
66. On Irenicism, German Protestants and Great Britain, see: Eamon Duffy, 'Correspondence Fraternelle: The SPCK, The SPG, and the Churches of Switzerland in the War of the Spanish Succession,' in *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c.1500–1750*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), 251–80; Alexander Schunka, *Ein neuer Blick nach Westen. Deutsche Protestanten und Großbritannien, 1688–1740* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019).
67. *Ibid.*, 152.
68. Duffy, 'The Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge'; Sames, *Anton Wilhelm Böhme*, 133–49.
69. Malena, 'Ecclesia Universa.'
70. *Considerations on the Interest of the Church Universal*, in *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, 126–42. In the frontispiece the text is presented as "second edition": the first edition must have been published by Ludolf himself. Until now, I was not able to find the first edition of this work. A Latin translation was printed (probably in Halle) in 1731: Henrici Guilelmi Ludolfi, Aulæ Anglicanae Secretarii, *Consilium de Universae Ecclesiae Salute Procuranda. Collegit atque Illustravit Christianus Pamphilus* ([s.l.], 1731).
71. *Considerations on the Interest of the Church Universal*, 128.
72. *The Faithful Steward*. See also Goltz, 'Ecclesia Universa,' 31.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*, 129.
75. Such as the projects involving the reformed theologian Daniel Ernst Jablonski and Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz. See D.E. Jablonski, 'Kurtze Vorstellung der Einigkeit und des Unterscheides, im Glauben beyder Evangelischen so genandten Lutherischen und Reformirten Kirchen (1697),' published by Hartmut Rudolph in *Labora diligenter*, eds. Martin Fontius, Hartmut Rudolph and Gary Slimith (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 128–64; Joachim Bahlcke and Werner Korthaase, *Daniel Ernst Jablonski. Religion, Wissenschaft und Politik um 1700* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008); Alexander Schunka, 'Daniel Ernst Jablonski, Pietism, and Ecclesiastical Union,' in *Pietism, Revivalism and Modernity. 1650–1850*, eds. Fred van Lieburg and Daniel Lindmark (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), 23–41; Schunka, 'Irenicism and the Challenges of Conversion'; Howard Hotson, 'Irenicism in the Confessional Age: The Holy Roman Empire, 1563–1648,' in *Conciliation and Confession: The Struggle for Unity in the Age of Reform, 1415–1648*, eds. Howard P. Louthan and Randall C. Zachman (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 228–85. On Leibniz and Jablonski see Maria Rosa Antognazza, *Leibniz. Una biografia intellettuale* (Milano: Hoepli, 2009), 421–3, 449–61. On projects of unification among Protestants see also Maria Cristina Pitassi, "'Nonobstant ces petites differences": enjeux et présupposés d'un

- projet d'union intra-protestant au début du XVIIIe siècle,' in *La Tolérance. Colloque international de Nantes, Quatrième centenaire de l'édit de Nantes*, eds. Guy Saupin, Rémy Fabre and Marcel Launay (Rennes: PUR, 1999), 419–26. Alexander Schunka noticed that whereas Leibniz and the Lutheran theologian Johann Fabricius considered an inner Protestant union "only as a starting point for a confessional unity that would include Roman Catholics. Prussian irenicists such as Daniel Ernst Jablonski aimed at unifying Lutherans and Calvinists in order to strengthen Protestantism against the threat of Popery" (Schunka, 'Irenicism and the Challenges of Conversion,' 103).
76. *Ibid.*, 129–30.
77. H.W. Ludolf to G.W. Leibniz, Copenhagen, 19 Nov. 1703 (AFSt/H D 23, fols. 140v–143, in French) published in Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland*, 134–5: "And I am more and more convinced that all those projects conceived by the human spirit in various places to unite Christians in a certain system of opinions and outward worship will go up in smoke." The letter is published also in: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe* (Berlin: Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990); Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Allgemeiner politischer und historischer Briefwechsel*, Reihe 1 (Leibniz: Forschungsstelle Hannover, 1970); Nora Gädeke, *Januar-Dezember 1703*, Bd. 22 (Berlin: Akad.-Verl., 2011), 685–7.
78. H.W. Ludolf to G.W. Leibniz, Copenhagen, 19 Nov. 1703 (AFSt/H D 23, fols. 140v–143, in French) published in Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland*, 134–5.
79. Antognazza, *Leibniz*, 449–61; Wolfgang Hübener, 'Negotium irenicum. Leibniz' Bemühungen um die brandenburgische Union,' in *Leibniz in Berlin*, eds. Hans Poser and Albert Heinekamp (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990), 103–12; Mogens Laerke, 'Leibniz et le Ius circa sacra,' *Bulletin Annuel. Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation, Genève*, XXX-VIII (2016–2017), 35–52. On Leibniz' view of a "universal church" see Antognazza, *Leibniz*, 383–4.
80. *Considerations on the Interest of the Church Universal*, 130.
81. *Ibid.*, 138: "Those few that really know Christ as the Power and Wisdom of God in the Faithful, and feel by this knowledge eternal Life springing up in them, and have thus attained to the blessed Experience of being one Spirit with Christ, may endeavour to get acquainted together, and settle a Correspondence with one another on account of carrying on the Work of Religion, though Providence hath Provinces of the Lord's Vineyard."
82. On P.J. Spener see M. Brecht, 'Philipp Jakob Spener, sein Programm und dessen Auswirkungen,' in *Geschichte des Pietismus, Band 1: Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, eds. M. Brecht, K. Deppermann, U. Gäbler and H. Lehmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 281–389; Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1986). On this relation between Ludolf's and Spener's view of the church see Goltz, 'Ecclesia Universa,' 21.
83. Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland*, 135 (see note 61). He concluded this passage with a rhetorical question: "But how to convince Ecclesiastics of all confessions, with the exception of a very small number, that in all those fine talents they are so proud of, there is more human spirit than the Spirit of God [?]"
84. *Considerations on the Interest of the Church Universal*, 131.
85. *Ibid.*, 139.
86. *Ibid.*, 132–3.
87. *Ibid.*, 137. He continued: "Whereas some have done good even upon Men of a differing persuasion, by declining on purpose controverted points, and grounding their discourse upon such subjects as are agreed on by all hands, and which, as essential to salvation, are owned by all parties, though practiced but by very few."
88. *Ibid.*, 139.
89. On Ludolf's apocalypticism, see Schunka, 'An England ist uns viel gelegen,' 51–4.

90. H.W. Ludolf to I. Paštrić, Copenhagen, 26 Nov. 1703 (AFSt/H D 23, fols. 142v–143v, in Italian). On Ivan Paštrić, see Tomislav Mrkonjić, *Il teologo Ivan Paštrić (Giovanni Pastrizio) (1636–1708): Vita, opere, concezione della teologia, cristologia* (Roma: Seraphicum, 1989); Tomislav Mrkonjić, 'Pastrizio (Paštrić), Giovanni (Ivan),' in *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, vol. 81 (Roma, 2014), online edn. [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-pastrizio_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-pastrizio_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (Last accessed: 17 Jan. 2019).
91. Ibid.
92. *The Substance of the XLV: Homily of Macarius*. Translated from Greek by H.W. Ludolf, in *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, 171–86. On the meaning Ludolf attributed to Macarius' writings, and on Ludolf's translation of the XLV Homily, see Goltz, 'Ecclesia Universa,' 29.
93. *Considerations on the Interest of the Church Universal*, 140–2 ("Some Passages out of Macarius his Homilies, not altogether unsuitable to the foregoing Discourse").
94. Although I cannot develop this aspect in this essay, I believe it warrants at least a brief mention.
95. See Ludolf's epistolary and in particular: AFSt/H D 23; AFSt/H D 71; AFSt/H F 14. On the diplomat, natural historian and writer Benoit de Maillet, see: Harriet D. Rothschild, 'Benoit de Maillet's Leghorn Letters,' *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 30 (1964), 351–75; 'Benoit de Maillet's Marseilles Letters,' *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 37 (1965), 109–45; 'Benoit de Maillet's Letters to the Marquis de Caumont,' *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 60 (1968), 311–38; 'Benoit de Maillet's Cairo Letters,' *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 169 (1977), 115–85. On his evolutionist theory of the origin of the Earth, see Benoit de Maillet, *Telliamed: ou entretiens d'un philosophe indien avec un missionnaire francais sur la diminution de la mer* (Paris: Fayard, 1984; 1st edn., 1748).
96. AFSt/H D 23, fols. 1–3. I am working on a longer essay on this subject, and on the edition of Ludolf's account. On Francesco Bellisomi, see: *A Short Account, of the Many Extraordinary Mercies, God in His Infinite Goodness Has Conferred Upon Franciscus Bellisomus, as Well in His Almost Ten Years Imprisonment in the Inquisition at Rome, as in His Unexpected Deliverance* (London: Printed, anno 1712); *Species Facti/In Sachen des Herrn Marchesen Francisci Bellisomo, abtens ad S. Mariam ad Perticas, Römischen Prälatus/und Referendarii utriusque signaturae in Rom, mit der Congregation des heil. Officii der Inquisition, vom Jahr 1701 biß 1727*. Jena, gedruckt bey Peter Fickelscherrn, 1728; Berthold Schmidt and Otto Meusel, eds., *A. H. Franckes Briefe an den Grafen Heinrich XXIV. J.L. Reuß zu Köstritz und seine Gemahlin Eleonore aus den Jahren 1704 bis 1727 als Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pietismus* (Leipzig: Dürr, 1905); Gustavo Costa, 'Documenti per una storia dei rapporti anglo-romani nel Settecento,' in *Saggi e ricerche sul Settecento* (Napoli: Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1968), 371–452; On Bellisomi's relationships to Halle see Malena, 'Ecclesia Universa.' On Bellisomi's life and networks see now Nicholas Mithen, 'Mystical theology, ecumenism and church-state relations: Francesco Bellisomi (1663–1741) at the limits of confessionalism in early eighteenth-century Europe', *History of European Ideas*, 45:8 (2019), 1089–1106 <https://doi.org/10.1080/01916599.2019.1653353> (Last accessed: 11 Jun. 2020). By the time Mithen's article came out, this chapter had already been submitted for publication.
97. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Amsterdam, 2 Sept. 1700 (AFSt/H D 23, fols. 45–48). The letter has been published by Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland*, 115–21.
98. H.W. Ludolf to Benoit Maillet, London, 17 Sept. 1702 (AFSt/H D 23, fols. 113–114). Benoit de Maillet (1656–1738) was a French diplomat and natural historian. He was French consul at Cairo (1692–1708) and at Livorno (1712–1717). In his aforementioned letter to Leibniz (see note 61), Ludolf wrote about Maillet: "Mr. de Maillet, French Consul in Cairo was the most curious man I found in these districts. He worked hard to restore the correspondence between Abessenie and those of his Church. He

wrote me last year, that he made two other Jesuits pass there after the one who had accompanied the French physician, who went to Abessinie in 1698, and who provided the Abessine Embassy, who had to go to France, but who was arrested in Cairo. If Mr. de Maillet will publish the observations he made during several years of stay in Egypt, we will find several very pleasant curiosities."

99. On Anton Wilhelm Böhme, see: Sames, *Anton Wilhelm Böhme*; Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*.
100. On Böhme's "impartial" translations, see: Sames, *Anton Wilhelm Böhme*, 100–5, 114–17; Adelisa Malena, 'Migrazioni della mistica. Note sulla fortuna di Caterina da Genova nel pietismo tedesco,' in *Scritture, carismi, istituzioni. Percorsi di vita religiosa in età moderna. Studi per Gabriella Zarri*, eds. Concetta Bianca and Anna Scattigno (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2018), 389–412. Böhme translated Francke's *Segensvolle Fußstapfen* into English with the title *Pietas Hallensis: Being an Historical Narration of the wonderful Foot-Steps of Divine Providence in Erecting, Carrying on, and Building the Orphan-House, and Other Charitable Institutions, at Glaucha Near Hall in Saxony* [. . .] (London: Downing, 1705). He also translated Francke's *Nicodemus* and the letters of the Danish/Halle missionaries Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau. Kisker suggested that the translation and "publication of missionary letters was intended to generate English support for the endeavour", see Kisker, 'Pietist Connections,' 237. On Böhme's translation of Johann Arndt's *True Christianity* see Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 141–8.
101. Adelisa Malena, 'Imparzialità confessionale e conversione come "rigenerazione" nel pietismo radicale. La 'Historie der Wiedergebohrnen' di J.H. Reitz (1698–1753),' in *Les modes de la conversion confessionnelle à l'époque moderne. Autobiographie, altérité et construction des identités religieuses (XVI^e – XVIII^e siècles)*, eds. M.C. Pitassi, D. Solfaroli Camillocci (Firenze: Olschki, 2010), 63–83.
102. Johann Heinrich Reitz, *Historie der Wiedergebohrnen, oder Exempel gottseliger so bekandt- und benant-, als unbekandt- und unbenanter Christen, Männlichen und Weiblichen Geschlechts, in allerley Ständen. Wie Dieselbe erst von Gott gezogen und bekehret, und nach vielem Kämpfen und Aengsten, durch Gottes Geist und Wort, zum Glauben und Ruh ihrer Gewissens gebracht seynd. Ins hochteutsche übersetzt*, Offenbach am Mayn, Druckts Bonaventura de Launoy 1698 [Anastatic edn., ed. Hans-Jürgen Schrader (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1982), 4 vols]. On this work and its genesis see Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus. Johann Heinrich Reitz' "Historie Der Wiedergebohrnen" und ihr geschichtlicher Kontext* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989) On this literary genre see: H.J. Schrader, *Nachwort des Herausgebers*, in Reitz, *Historie*, 4, 127–203. Ludolf's life is contained in *Historie*, 2, IV (Idstein: Johann-Jacob Haug, 1716), 221–9: "Fünffzehnde Historie/von Henrich Wilhelm Ludolff/Gewesenem Secretario des Printzen Georgs von Dänemark in Engeland/und Mitglied der Societät de propaganda fide".
103. *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, 187.

8 Between Anti-popery and European Missions

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and its Networks

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In its founding years, which broadly coincided with the reign of Queen Anne, a sense of a general crisis for Protestantism across Europe vitally united the leading members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). Whilst the English might safeguard Protestant Britain against “popish” advances, they saw the Protestant interest deteriorating in Poland-Lithuania, Silesia, Transylvania, Hungary, Saxony, the Electoral Palatinate, some Swiss Protestant cantons, Piedmont, the principality of Orange, and France. The prolonged contestations with Louis XIV’s France were regarded as a religious war: if not accurately described as an open war of religion, it was definitely a cold war. The leading members of the Society felt they were still living in an era riven by fierce ideological divisions between themselves and “popery”; thus, they were eagerly involved with anti-popish activities and with strengthening Protestant solidarity not only at home but also on the continent.¹ Probing the nature of their activities throws light on several aspects of the SPCK’s networks, as this chapter illustrates.

1. The SPCK’s European-focused Leadership

Examining the leading membership of the SPCK reveals their European-wide commitment to the “Protestant International.”² This may seem surprising since the SPCK was the brain-child of Dr Thomas Bray, a clergyman with high church tendencies who was also a protégé of Henry Compton, the Bishop of London who was definitely regarded as a high churchman.³ However, it is misleading to assume the nature of the SPCK activities sprang from Bray’s theological position or his well-known contribution to Christian education. Bray soon ceased to be at the centre of the SPCK, as has been noted elsewhere.⁴ More importantly, the SPCK archival evidence, such as the Society’s correspondence and minutes of general meetings and standing committees, indicates that for the first two decades following its formation, fewer than fifteen members were involved with its decision-making process. It is worth naming them here in order to understand the lay-oriented and private nature of the Society: Sir John Philipps of Picton

Castle, an MP and gentlemen philanthropist (he was also a relative of Sir Robert Walpole); John Chamberlayne, not only a political figure as a JP in Middlesex and a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Queen Anne, but also an internationally recognised man of letters; Henry Hoare, an influential private banker whose father, Sir Richard, was one of the first directors of the South Sea Company and the Lord Mayor of the City of London in 1712;⁵ Frederick Slare, a second-generation émigré from the Electoral Palatinate, physician, and member of the Royal Society (and laboratory assistant to Robert Boyle); William Melmoth, a bencher and treasurer of Lincoln's Inn; Edward Jennings, also a bencher of Inner Temple and QC; Robert Nelson, a renowned theologian, non-juror until 1710, and heir to a wealthy merchant of the Levant Company;⁶ and Henry Shute, a lecturer at St Mary's Whitechapel and the minister of St Andrew's Holborn.⁷ Anton Wilhelm Böhme, German Pietist chaplain to the Chapel Royal at St James's Palace and a faithful protégé of August Hermann Francke, a leader of Pietism in Halle, Saxony, had been rapidly deepening his involvement with the SPCK ever since he joined in January 1709,⁸ but never conformed to the Church of England. Together with the frequent attendance of Claude Grôteste, Sieur de la Mothe,⁹ a conformed Huguenot minister at the Savoy, Böhme's presence was evidence of the ecumenical inclination of the SPCK. Thus the key activities of the SPCK were guided by a relatively small group of individuals¹⁰ aided by information gathered by corresponding members and their own networks. It seems reasonable to say that the leading members – high-ranking lawyers, a banker and a theologian who were both connected with international commercial networks, an MP, courtiers, well-established men of letters, clergymen based at city parishes, and leading members of foreign Protestant communities in London – could be called a cross-section of the upper political elite, but what seems exceptional is that they also had strong European connections.

2. The “Secret Committee”

With the exception of the Halle Pietists and Swiss divines,¹¹ the SPCK's minutes in the 1700s and the 1710s only occasionally mention news and correspondence from continental Protestants, and this news was typically of persecutions on the continent. However, it should be noted that the SPCK's involvement with the “Protestant International” was greater than appears from the minutes. Indeed, leading members were engaging outside general meetings in various relief activities for continental Protestants. It may be that the lack of formal records about its involvement with them reflects an intention to disguise the full extent of the Society's activities. The Society certainly took this approach with regards to its anti-popish activities: it actually destroyed at least some of the records relating to them.¹²

The most suggestive documents at the SPCK archives are the partly surviving minutes of its so-called “secret committee,” which served from around 1711 to 1715, and the reports from agents, obviously hired by the committee, in Roman Catholic territories on the continent.¹³ As for the former, though the greater part of

the minutes are lost or were destroyed by contemporaries, and most of the names of the attendees remained anonymous, the surviving parts substantiate the view that the SPCK's activities developed in scope. The secrecy may have been partly due to concerns about the Jacobite connections of some members.¹⁴ Another reason could have been fear of popish conspirators. Certainly, the members of the committee believed in the existence of popish assassins. In 1712, Dr Thomas Bray did not reveal his authorship of a Protestant martyrology¹⁵ because he feared that the fate of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, an alleged Protestant martyr at the time of the Popish Plot in 1678–9, would fall on him.¹⁶ Some may argue that the secret committee was “a symptom of temporary fears about the Catholics in the late stage of the reign of Queen Anne,” as Craig Rose has claimed. However, it has also been shown how much information about Roman Catholic activities could be gathered by the committee through the other ordinary members of the SPCK without letting them know of its existence, and accordingly, how far SPCK members were generally conscious of a popish threat.¹⁷ The scale and scope of information amassed by the SPCK was considerable: it could not have been gathered without constant monitoring of Roman Catholic activities.

Thus, it will be argued here that the continental perspective of the SPCK went beyond an *ad hoc* response to current affairs, and that an obsession with combatting popish activities and commitment to the “Protestant International” were fundamental characteristics of the Society in the early eighteenth century.

3. Combatting “Popish” Activities

In late autumn 1712, Dr William Stanley, dean of St Asaph and former Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, was surprised to receive an inquiry from the SPCK about his inclinations regarding “being guardian to the children of Mrs Digby at Luffenham [in Rutland].” The reason for its inquiry seems to be that the Society learnt through its network of anti-popish surveillance that Mrs Simon Digby was assumed to be under the influence of a Roman Catholic priest called “Porter.” The Society immediately traced Porter through its members while distributing extra publications against popery in Rutland, as well as attempting to have Mrs Digby's children adopted.¹⁸ As a result, it singled out Stanley to be their guardian on the grounds that it had discovered he was related to them.

That he does not know that he is related to Mrs Digby. But notwithstanding he should not decline to do such an act of charity as is proposed if it were in his power, he being at present engaged in another charitable affair which will take up his thought.¹⁹

The children of Mrs Digby were not the only case. The Society made a similar effort on behalf of a poor 15-year-old girl in St Martin's parish, London, called Anne Millington.

A popish priest has been often to visit the daughter to instruct her, but the girl will not hearken to him. Her mother has frequently compelled her to go to

Mass with her, but the girl takes all occasions to give her the slip and go to the Church of England, for which she is beaten when she comes home under the pretence that she goes thither, not for the sake of religion, but to fall into ill company. By this means the girl lives a dog's life and would go into any service to be out of reach of her mother.²⁰

The Society seriously considered arranging for the adoption of Millington and looked for "Protestant guardians" for her.²¹ Eventually, she was put in the care of a "charitable lady."²²

More information on "Popish" activities came to the SPCK from all over Britain. The report from John Disney at Lincoln in early 1713 about Roman Catholic practices under the patronage of the Widdrington family constituted another matter for concern,²³ and the opening of a "Mass house" in York was diligently reported to the secret committee.²⁴ Captain Thomas Morris, a corresponding member of the SPCK in Carlisle, was asked to investigate the activities of popish priests in the Highlands in October 1713.²⁵ In reply to a request by Henry Newman, the secretary of the SPCK, in January 1714, Samuel Peploe at Preston in Lancashire sent the Society detailed letters concerning the popish activities in his neighbourhood.²⁶ Furthermore, the committee enquired of their "friends in London and Westminster of the number of popish chapels and the people that resort to them," and made a list of them in December 1712.²⁷ The committee also keenly monitored the Petre family in Essex.

Mr M – o [Mayo] reported that he had received a letter from a friend in Essex wherein he is informed that the Lord Petre's seat is 10 miles from Chelmsford and that there is a great resort of papists about his Lordship's seat and that he keeps 200 horses in his stable.²⁸

... they had been informed from Stanford Rivers near Ongar in Essex that my Lord Petre is Lord of the manor there [and] that the papists have perverted the wife of the clerk of the parish to popery, and the clerk himself is in wavering condition, and often goes to Mass at Lord Petre's, that at Kelvedon about a mile from Ongar Mr Wright a papist is Lord of the manor whose house adjoins to the church.²⁹

Although, some figures in their information were very much exaggerated, the fear of the leading members was not simply paranoid fantasy. For instance, the Petre family, the secret committee's prime target, indeed offered a sanctuary for Roman Catholic missionaries: the chaplaincy at Ingatestone, on the family estate in Essex, was filled by Robert Manning, "one of the foremost Catholic figures of the age."³⁰

4. The SPCK's Continental Agents and Networks

Furthermore, the Society's network of anti-popish surveillance expanded beyond the British Isles. From the continent, corresponding members, such as Jean-Frédéric Ostervald in Neuchâtel, Jacques Basnage in Holland, Daniel Ernst Jablonski³¹

in Berlin, Cyprian and Paul Appia in the Waldensian valleys in Piedmont,³² and chaplains and merchants at English factories or embassies on the continent, such as those at Zürich, Livorno, and Danzig, sent news of popish threats. Added to this, the SPCK hired agents to supplement its networks. In 1712, an agent called Wilkins was sent to investigate the Protestants and the religious situation generally in France.³³ Wilkins picked up the news of the Protestant galley slaves,³⁴ who had been moved from Dunkirk to Marseilles in late autumn 1712, and spied on the Jacobites and English Roman Catholics. He reported to Chamberlayne in April 1713:

For to find out what detachments they [the English Roman Catholics in France] make yearly to England, and what revenues they draw from France, is impossible: they have it *sub sigillo confessionis* never to speak of it, and it is not known but to the treasurer and the prior of every convent; yet as much as I can find by other gentlemen discoursing of it, they cannot have any annual revenues from England except what some young gentlemen and nuns that are in for some few years in such places have allowed them by their relations. The monks and priests themselves live upon the foundation, & if a gentleman of an estate consecrates himself to a certain order after his years of noviciatus, all what he can get returned to that convent falls to the common stock. The same as it is with the nuns in this case. Abundance of English youth live at Nanterre two leagues of Paris in a sort of college, most of them Yorkshire . . . people for to be instructed in the popish religion and some sciences.³⁵

It is likely that Wilkins, or the SPCK through some other route, communicated with other Protestant agents as well, since the Society even had a list of the numerous English Roman Catholic students and clergy living abroad – from Flanders to the Iberian and Apennine peninsulas – with detailed information about them.³⁶ As a consequence of those reports, the secret committee was convinced that Protestant England was in serious danger in the early 1710s. Already in November 1712, Henry Newman wrote to Robert Hales, another SPCK agent,³⁷ in the Hague that

Popish priests come daily over to us from Dunkirk to pave the way for some design which they seem to be big of, and there are already many instances of perversion to their bloody religion, which show that they are not idle.³⁸

In the early spring of 1713, the secret committee was informed:

That from good hands within one year past 400 Jesuits and popish ecclesiastics were embarked for England to carry on their harvests, that they imagine to be so great in their parts that the Society *de Propaganda fide* have ordered all those of the three kingdoms that are abroad and capable to propagate Christianity

to return to those respective countries: That these orders are to be punctually obeyed so that there are not enough left to say mass and some cloisters are entirely deserted by the Britains, and in particular that at Liege &c.³⁹

Responding to this report in May 1713, Newman asked Henry Austen at the King's Head in Dover, who had been introduced to the committee by Wilkins, to send the SPCK a report "concerning such popish priests or emissaries as come into England through your town."⁴⁰ It is easy to see a sense of determination in the SPCK's surveillance to prevent a potential rise of popery as, for many who joined the SPCK, a religious cold war, or the continuation of a long battle against Roman Catholicism, still prevailed.

Our sources are limited as to how the Society used these reports to counter Roman Catholic activities, apart from distributing "Christian literature" in any suspect areas. Certainly, it passed on information to prelates, diplomats, and persons in government. It was also behind the Bill against the further growth of popery in 1711⁴¹ and the release of Protestant galley slaves in Marseilles immediately after the end of the War of the Spanish Succession.⁴² It should be noted that, in the case of the latter, John Robinson, the Bishop of Bristol, the first plenipotentiary for the peace negotiations, as well as William Ayerst, chaplain to Thomas Wentworth, the 1st Earl of Strafford, the second plenipotentiary, were both SPCK members, and sources suggest a frequent exchange of information in 1712–13 between the Society's leading members in London; the Marquis de Miremont and the Marquis de Rochegude, two prominent Huguenot representatives; and continental agent and members of the SPCK, such as Robert Hales in the Hague and D.E. Jablonski in Berlin, pivoted on Ayerst in Utrecht.⁴³ In keeping with the private nature of the Society, the SPCK was never in the foreground, yet there is no doubt it lobbied vigorously on behalf of the Huguenot galley slaves. In the end, the Protestant powers secured the assurance that 136 French galley slaves would be released at almost the same time as some of the articles of the peace treaty were concluded, although this was not included in the Treaty of Utrecht itself.⁴⁴

5. The SPCK and Anti-Catholic Propaganda

It is noteworthy that the books the SPCK distributed on the continents through its agents and corresponding members included anti-popish literature. In February 1713, at the height of political and religious conflicts, it confirmed its non-partisan position by declaring that "we do not meddle" with distributing controversial books, but it also made clear that "Any books relating to popery" were decided on as an exception, and should be included in distributions.⁴⁵ The list of the books that would be sent to Hales at the court of Hanover in February 1714 confirms this approach. It contained *Bp Tillotson's sermon against Popery*, *Mr Marolle's sufferings*, *Marq. de Langalerie's Reasons &c.* [for renouncing the popish religion], *Bp Clogher's sermons &c.*, *Account of the Inquisition in Portugal*, *Monssr.*

*Le Fevre's sufferings &c, Bp William's Popish Cat. with a reply, Art of Restoring &c'.*⁴⁶ In July 1714, Hales reported the Hanoverians' attitudes to the Society's books:

I presented them to the Electoral Princess in the name of the Society: which Her Highness received very graciously, and order'd me to return her thankful acknowledgements to the Society for so good a Present. Her Highness read the title of every Book, and desire'd a Privy Counsellor of the Electors who was there present to give his opinion of them, which he has done and very favourably: Her Highness spoke advantageously of some of the Authors, whose characters were already known to her.⁴⁷

In the letter, Hales also stressed high demand for the SPCK's books at the court of Hanover. This may indicate a growing interest of the Hanoverians in religious and political developments in England at the approach of the Protestant succession, but he claimed the importance of expressing the SPCK's "Zeal for this house [of Hanover] and for the Protestant Interest, whose constant endeavours are for promoting the same &c." While reporting his efforts to distribute anti-popish publications in northern Europe to the SPCK, Hales suggested the Society should help the anti-popish book projects of continental Protestants. In his report about recent Roman Catholic advances in Saxony, he introduced "two celebrated divines at Leipzig named Olearius⁴⁸ and Dumont who intend to expose the errors of Popery by writing against them," and their wish of "having copies of those treatises which have been wrote in England against Popery in King James's time."⁴⁹ By February 1716, Dumont became a corresponding member of the SPCK. Henry Newman put it that Dumont joined "a reciprocal correspondence" of members of "the catholic church" for "the common good."⁵⁰ It may be assumed that the quest for catholicity, or at least the unity of Protestants, had been laid as the foundation of the SPCK's anti-popish project for building up correspondence with continental Protestants.

Members of the secret committee were apparently strong supporters of the Hanoverians. Newman wrote to Hales, still at Hanover, on 27 August 1714:

I did congratulate you by a hasty letter wrote on the day King George was proclaimed and sent by the hand of our friend Mr Hodges who is gone to assist in the train of those that meet his Majesty but I can't help repeating my congratulations for the happy turn that things do seem to have taken in so short a time as his Majesty has reigned. It is not to be imagined what a silence has overspread our party prize fighters so that whereas about a month since a pamphlet war raged with that vehemence that some even dared to give odious insinuations of the most august family of Hanover, we are now in such a profound tranquillity as one would have thought impossible could have succeeded so soon the unnatural ferment we were in.⁵¹

After the accession of George I and the defeat of the Jacobites, there was a considerable sense of relief among the members of the committee. Newman proudly reported its efforts to William Wake, the Archbishop of Canterbury:

A number of gentlemen, both of clergy and laity, of honour as well as fortune in Great Britain and Ireland, did dare to associate themselves in the three last years of Queen Anne's reign to watch the advances to popery, and to meet weekly, to communicate to one another such intelligence as came to their knowledge, and to consider of the best means to countermine the device of the enemies to the Protestant Succession on which all that was dear to them depended . . . several of these gentlemen . . . shew'd a zeal worthy of men that were resolved to be martyrs in the cause.⁵²

Yet, a few years later, the Society again rallied against popery. In 1718, some of the members "resumed the consideration of the materials they [had] collected for a Bill to prevent the Growth of Popery" as a means for strengthening the Protestant interest.⁵³ There was no longer a secret committee, but some active members of the Society joined with the Archbishop of Canterbury and others in 1717 to found the commission for the relief of proselytes.⁵⁴ Moreover, anti-Catholic literature always occupied a certain amount of space in its distribution list and this continued into the 20th century.⁵⁵ The secret committee was an instance of how under the intense fear of popery, the Society became almost militantly committed to the Protestant cause. Under the political stability of the Hanoverians, the Society returned to more modest anti-Roman Catholic activities: relief for persecuted Protestants, cooperation with Protestant missionaries in and outside Europe, and distribution of Protestant literature.

6. Financial Support for European Protestants

With the exception of James II, successive English monarchs officially and repeatedly made claims to be the guardians of Protestant Europe in the long battle against Roman Catholic powers. They offered, from time to time, financial support to their distressed brethren on the continent. For this purpose, letters patent, known as "church briefs," were issued by the sovereign to urge the congregation at every parish church to make generous donations for the afflicted.⁵⁶ Indeed, the issuing of church briefs was expected not only by the continental Protestants but also by the political nation in England whenever Protestant interests were in danger. Take for example James II's church brief for the Huguenot refugees in March 1686 which raised £42,889, the largest sum made among all collections produced by church briefs. This result partly reflected the reaction of the English to the persecution itself and James's attempt to minimise the impact of the news. James's attitudes certainly prompted fears of a Roman Catholic monarch. A month after the revocation of the Edict of

Nantes, John Evelyn wrote down his concerns over the official inaction in response to it:

Whence this silence I list not to conjecture, but it appeared very extraordinary in a Protestant country, that we should know nothing of what Protestants suffered &c.: whilst great collections were made for them in foreign places more hospitable and Christian to appearance.⁵⁷

Meanwhile, the strenuous fund-raising campaign in London waged by Bishop Compton, despite the king's displeasure, likely contributed to the result.⁵⁸

Throughout the following reign of William and Mary, the "Protestant International" was an official banner, and it is therefore no wonder that highly publicised fund-raising campaigns by church briefs – for the Huguenot refugees, the persecuted Waldensians (Vaudois), and even Irish Protestants accompanying the nation-wide fasts – persuaded the nation of the vital importance of Protestant solidarity in Europe. Yet, it is also important to point out that in the reign of Queen Anne, England committed herself to many more relief activities for continental Protestants than in any other period.⁵⁹ While the Huguenots and the Waldensians were now recipients of royal bounty in the form of annual grants paid from the Privy Purse by monarchs, the Orangeois (the Protestants of the Principality of Orange in southern France, subjects of the Prince of Orange); the reformed church of Oberbarmen ("Barmen-Gemarke", now a part of Wuppertal) in the Duchy of Berg, Westphalia; the so-called Poor Palatines, many of them from the Electoral (or Rhenish) Palatinate; and a church in Mitau, Courland (now Latvia) benefited from fundraising by church briefs. Even the Armenians were among the recipients of English charity despite their being Eastern Orthodox, along with a Latin school in Offenbach. As for the Principality of Orange, Queen Anne apparently felt responsibility for the "subjects to our late dear brother" and financed the European-wide rescue operation of its Protestant inhabitants after failing to prevent the annexation of the principality to France, and successfully had them settled in territories of German Protestant princes. In the succession crisis of the Principality of Neuchâtel in 1707, the English government battled alongside Brandenburg and the Swiss Protestant cantons against the French claimant,⁶⁰ and secured its Protestant succession by the House of Hohenzollern, i.e., the King in Prussia.⁶¹ As he had during the reigns of Charles II, James II, and William and Mary, in the reign of Queen Anne, Bishop Compton had a significant influence over relief activities for continental Protestants via his networks, which included the SPCK.⁶² However, his participation in nation-wide relief activities for continental Protestants appeared less prominently after the turn of the century than before.⁶³ This can be explained partly by the fact that several institutions and societies such as the "royal bounty" commissions and the SPCK, were founded and involved the continental Protestants. They must have reduced Compton's work drastically. Indeed, the SPCK became deeply involved with official relief activities for continental Protestants.

7. How the SPCK Influenced Fundraising

It is safe to say that the leading members of the SPCK realised the value of maintaining the Society's private nature. Although some of its activities played a supplementary role for the government or the Church of England, minutes of the SPCK recorded in the 1700s and 1710s rarely mentioned either them or information about distressed continental Protestants. However, sources concerned with fundraising campaigns for continental Protestants, many of which were executed by church briefs, bear out the considerable influence of the SPCK. The fact that some SPCK members came to be chosen as commissioners of the official fundraising for the Orangeois, the Oberbarmen church, and the poor Palatines⁶⁴ often made their meetings look like those of the SPCK, and SPCK members apparently had considerable influence over the conduct of fundraising.⁶⁵ Together with its Europe-wide network, its private nature made it easier for the SPCK to respond to cries for help from the continent.

Continental Protestants soon realised, presumably through the SPCK network, that the SPCK's leading members had come to acquire a general control over official fundraising. Charitable requests from abroad had become so frequent in the early 18th century that some of the English found them too many to cope with. Some applications were inevitably turned down. This means that the would-be recipients of aid still needed to recommend themselves to the English authorities in the hope of obtaining English charity. The English side, too, needed an agent to act as a bridge between the English authorities and foreign applicants. The SPCK fulfilled this role. Some corresponding members on the continent understood the behind-the-scenes activities in the campaigns for church briefs. The following citation from D.E. Jablonski's correspondence shows how well informed he was as to SPCK members' influence on the church brief commission. In 1716, George I issued a church brief for both the Bohemian Brethren in Lissa (now Lezno) in Poland and a Calvinist college in Nagyenyed in Transylvania (now Aiud in Romania). However, both Protestant groups soon learned that they were rivals for a share of English charity. As a member of the Bohemian Brethren, Jablonski in Berlin, believing they "should have a larger share to keep than the Transylvanians,"⁶⁶ pressured some SPCK members including Thomas Bray, Frederick Bonet the Prussian resident, and Johann Jacob Caesar, the minister of the German Reformed congregation in London, because he knew they were working as the commissioners for the brief. Jablonski even knew that Caesar was the secretary of the brief commission and "he can also do a lot as regards the disposition."⁶⁷

8. The Climate Changes

The brief for the Bohemian Brethren and the Transylvanian college serves as evidence that George I positively followed in his predecessors' footsteps as the guardian of Protestant interests in Europe, nevertheless this was the only nationwide fundraising campaign by church brief during his reign. The confessional current in England was already changing against continental Protestants: after

all, they were different confessionally from the Church of England. At the time of George I's brief for them, the Transylvanians and the Bohemian Brethren were ridiculed as "a new race of Episcopal beggars" by the non-juring divine Matthias Earbery. Because they stressed their affinity with the Church of England,⁶⁸ George II issued two briefs: one for the Waldensians and another for French and German Reformed Protestants in Copenhagen. In the course of the 18th century, while the English government as well as the Church of England became so aloof from continental Protestants that they turned down applications from them for help with increasing frequency, the SPCK kept up its network of relations with continental Protestants rather longer. They took care of failed applicants, among whom the most miserable one is perhaps Boguslaw Kopijewicz, a Lithuanian delegate. He visited England in the late 1710s with the hope of obtaining a church brief or permission for a private subscription, but was rejected and ended up living in poverty in Ireland without any prospect until some members of the SPCK arranged enough money for his return journey in 1724.⁶⁹

It was during the early 1730s when the SPCK engaged in its final two relief activities for continental Protestants in the 18th century: one for the Scottish Protestant merchants in Kieydan (now Kėdainiai in Lithuania) in 1730, and another for Protestant immigration from Salzburg in 1732. In both cases, the SPCK set up the subscription rather than lobbying for a church brief. At the time of Kieydan, Henry Newman (the secretary) explained that "this method of private solicitation was preferred to a brief because of the great delay and expense attending briefs."⁷⁰ In both cases, the SPCK demonstrated its abilities as a fundraising machine to the maximum and led the campaigns successfully. However, by the middle of the 18th century, the Society withdrew from cooperation with continental Protestants, except the India mission project with the Halle Pietists. In fact, both the English government and the Church of England carried out some relief activities for five other Protestant groups⁷¹ in the 1750s and the 1760s, but the SPCK did not get involved with them. This could be regarded as a fundamental change because the Society lost its connection with the continental networks which once united Protestants across Europe.⁷² By 1770, when a list of foreign corresponding members was first published, their number had been reduced to just two.⁷³

Since the SPCK was governed by a few leading members, their personal connections were of vital importance. The first generation had strong European connections and an ecumenical bent, and was sufficiently worried by the international Roman Catholic threat to identify itself as a member of the Protestant vanguard; the generation that followed was more insular. While it maintained its anti-popish activities beyond the period of this study, it increasingly cared more about national problems and ecclesiastical issues and does not seem to have regarded the Roman Catholic threat as the urgent, uppermost danger to Protestantism. The memory of the Protestant crisis at the time of Louis XIV was fading by now, and the SPCK was losing its European perspective. In 1732, with Halle Pietists on the continent, the last two surviving members of the first generation of the SPCK, Sir John Phillips and Henry Newman, took considerable pains to carry out a fundraising campaign for the Salzburgers – the last relief activities of the SPCK for the

continental Protestants in the 18th century. The death of Phillips, followed by the death of Newman in 1743, was probably a crucial turning point for Protestant solidarity across Europe. Their successors would focus more on promoting Christian education both at home and in the expanding British colonies in the wider world beyond Europe.

Notes

1. See also, Sugiko Nishikawa, 'The SPCK in Defence of Protestant Minorities in Early Eighteenth-Century Europe,' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 56 (2005), 730–48.
2. As to the 'Protestant International,' see Robin Gwynn, 'The Huguenots in Britain, the "Protestant International" and the Defeat of Louis XIV,' in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550–1750*, eds. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 412–24.
3. As to his high churchmanship and relationship with the SPCK, see Sugiko Nishikawa, 'Henry Compton, Bishop of London (1676–1713) and Foreign Protestants,' in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550–1750*, eds. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 359–65. Most scholars would generally accept that Compton counted as a 'high church' bishop. Cf. Edward Carpenter, *The Protestant Bishop* (London: Longmans, Green, 1956), chap. 10; G.V. Bennett, 'King William III and the Episcopate,' in *Essays in Modern English Church History: In Memory of Norman Sykes*, eds. G.V. Bennett and J.D. Walsh (London: Black, 1966), 124–31; Mark Goldie, 'John Locke, John Proast and Religious Toleration 1688–1692,' in *The Church of England, c.1689–c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, eds. John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 163–4. For the Bishop of London's jurisdiction overseas, see Geoffrey Yeo, 'A Case Without Parallel: The Bishops of London and the Anglican Churches Overseas, 1660–1748,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44 (1993), 450–75.
4. For the discussion about active SPCK membership, including information of individual attendances at general meetings, see Sugiko Nishikawa, 'English Attitudes Toward Continental Protestants with Particular Reference to Church Briefs, c. 1680–1740' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1998), 188–209. Bray often came to the meetings of "the trustees for erecting parochial libraries throughout the kingdom," who were appointed in July 1705 within the SPCK and met occasionally. He obviously paid special attention to the project of the parochial libraries.
5. For Henry Hoare, 西川杉子「よい子のヘンリと兄弟たち—18世紀ロンドン銀行家一族の子弟教育」[S. Nishikawa, "'Good Henry" and His Brothers: Educating the Children of an Eighteenth-Century Banking Family,' *Kobe University Yearbook of History*, xvii (2002), 33–7.]. As to Hoare's Bank, an influential private bank of the Hoare family, Victoria Hutchings, *Messrs Hoare Bankers: A History of the Hoare Banking Dynasty* (London: Constable & Robinson, 2005).
6. Nelson was clearly one of the most dedicated members until his death in early 1715. It is an interesting question whether, if he had lived longer, the Society would have developed differently. Nishikawa, 'English Attitudes,' 197–9.
7. Shute held the office of treasurer of the SPCK from its beginning until his death in 1722, and general meetings were held at his house in Bartlett's Buildings, Holborn, from 1704 to 1714, after which the meeting place was moved to Lincoln's Inn.
8. For Böhme, see Daniel Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

9. La Mothe was wealthy himself and well-connected. His nephew, Jean (John) Robethon was a secretary to Willem III van Oranje, and later served for Georg Ludwig von Braunschweig, George I. *ODNB*.
10. It should also be added here that apart from frequent correspondence between them, they apparently often met outside the Society, at places like coffee houses, chambers in the Inns of Court, or Westminster, where they exchanged information gathered as part of their involvement in the close-knit city life of London.
11. The SPCK's networks on the continent began with the Pietists in Halle and the Swiss divines, and they kept close relationship until the 1740s. See, Nishikawa, 'English Attitudes,' 123–6, 211–18, 220–1. Two articles of Eamon Duffy, "'Correspondence Fraternelle': The SPCK, the SPG, and the Churches of Switzerland in the War of the Spanish Succession,' *Studies in Church History*, 2 (1979) and 'The Society of [*sic*] Promoting Christian Knowledge and Europe: The Background to the Founding of the Christentumsgesellschaft,' *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 7 (1981) have provided an outline of the SPCK's link with Protestants in Swiss cantons and Halle in Saxony.
12. For example, see the SPCK's minutes of "the secret committee'." Added to this, Humphrey Wanley, the second secretary of the Society, was apparently deficient as a record keeper however excellent he was as a scholar. Judging from the sloppy minutes and poor records of other documents during his secretaryship 1702–1708, it is not surprising that John Chamberlayne, who was the first secretary but had to quit the post because of other business commitments, kept complaining about him. See Leonard W. Cowie, *Henry Newman: An American in London 1708–43* (London: SPCK, 1956), 25. Henry Newman, who became the secretary in 1708, tried to keep the records straight: for example, he started to register the membership from 1709. However, the fact that he registered some corresponding members, such as Daniel Ernst Jablonski at Berlin and Johann Jacob Scherer at St Gallen, who should have registered before 1708, underlines how poorly the records were kept before Newman. See SPCK, Miscellaneous Abstracts, 1709–1722, fols. 61–62.
13. SPCK, Secret Committee on Popery; SPCK, French Protestant 2: Letters received 1713–1715. The surviving part of the minutes is only after 1713, nevertheless the committee started its activities around 1711, since their content suggests the SPCK's involvement with the Bill against further Growth of Popery in 1711. Newman the secretary also admitted in 1718 that his friends "used to meet" in the reign of Queen Anne in connection with the bill. SPCK, Newman's Private Letters, vol. 1, CN4/1, fol. 45. See also SPCK, Papers and Memorials 1715–1729, CP1, fols. 3–22. Little attention has been paid to this committee, the MA dissertation of Glenice Siddall being the only one to examine it even briefly. See Glenice Siddall, 'The Movement to Reform and Improve Social Manners and Morality in the Years 1678–1738 with Especial Reference to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge' (unpublished M.A. diss., University of Birmingham, 1978), 79–84. Colin Haydon also has pointed out the anti-Catholic aspect of the SPCK. See, Colin Haydon, 'The Anti-Catholic Activity of the S.P.C.K. c. 1698–1740,' *Recusant History*, 18 (1987), 418–21.
14. In most of the minutes the names of the attendees are blacked out. However, the names of some correspondents are mentioned in 1713 and some members reveal their identities after Aug. 1715 in the latter parts of the minutes. From this evidence, at least the following persons kept in touch with the committee and were also attendees: Henry Newman, Thomas Bray, John Chamberlayne, Sir John Phillips, Henry Shute, Richard Mayo, S. Woodcock, John Gunston, and T. Blunden. Yet, some information at the secret committee was also discussed at the general meetings. Therefore, the leading members seem to have shared the same information.
15. [Thomas Bray], *Papal Usurpation and Persecution, As it has been exercised in ancient and modern Times With respect both to Princes & People; A fair Warning to all Protestants, to guard themselves with the utmost Caution against the Encroachments &*

Invasions of Popery; As they value their Estates, Lives, and Liberties, but above all, as they would preserve their Consciences free from the forest of all Tyrannies and Oppression. The whole divided into two tomes, answerable to the subject matter, as it relates both to Princes and People; And designed as supplemental to the Book of Martyrs, as well in the several ages antecedent to the Reformation, where that is found defective; As by continuing the same most useful part of ecclesiastical History, MARTYROLOGY, down to these present times. By a sincere Lover of our Protestant Establishment both in Church and State. The Heart of the Wise is in the House of Mourning; But the Heart of Fools is in the House of Mirth, Eccles. V. 4. (London, 1712).

16. SPCK, Society's Letters, CS2/2, fol. 3.
17. Craig Rose, 'The Origins and Ideals of the SPCK 1699–1716,' in *The Church of England, c. 1689–c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, eds. John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 186.
18. SPCK, Abstract Letters, Received, nos. 3442, 3445, 3507. SPCK, Society's Letter, CS2/3, fol. 8; SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 6, fols. 37, 53, 55, 59.
19. SPCK, Abstract Letters, Received, no. 3415.
20. SPCK, Society's Letter, vol. 3, CS2/3, fol. 2.
21. *Ibid.*, fol. 3.
22. SPCK, Secret Committee, fol. 4.
23. *Ibid.*, fols. 5, 7, 9. Also, see SPCK, Abstract Letters, Received, nos. 3474, 3497.
24. SPCK, Secret Committee, fols. 3, 6.
25. *Ibid.*, fol. 11. See also SPCK, Society's Letters, CS2/3, fols. 72–73. For the Catholics in Lancashire around 1715, see Colin Haydon, 'Samuel Peploe and Catholicism in Preston, 1714,' *Recusant History*, 20 (1990), 76–80; B.G. Blackwood, 'Lancashire Catholics, Protestants and Jacobites During the 1715 Rebellion,' *Recusant History*, 22 (1994–1995), 41–59.
26. SPCK, Papers and Materials 1715–1729, CP1, fols. 139–142, 146–147.
27. SPCK, Secret Committee, fol. 10; SPCK, Papers and Memorials 1715–1729, CP. 1, fol. 76.
28. SPCK, Secret Committee, fol. 4.
29. *Ibid.*, fol. 6. For the Catholics in Essex, see E.S. Worrall, 'Eighteenth Century Jesuit Priests in Essex,' *Essex Recusant*, 4 (1962), 116–22; J.G. O'Leary, 'Papist Estates,' *Essex Recusant*, 2 (1964), 49–56; J.G. O'Leary, 'Stanford Rivers, the Bellhouse and the Petre Family,' *Essex Recusant*, 16 (1974), 107–11.
30. Stewart Foster, *The Catholic Church in Ingatestone from the Reformation to the Present Day* (Great Wakering, Essex: John Glynn, 1982), 17.
31. For the SPCK's relationship with Jablonski, see Sugiko Nishikawa, 'Die Fronten im Blick: Daniel Ernst Jablonski und die englische Unterstützung kontinentaler Protestanten,' in *Daniel Ernst Jablonski: Religion, Wissenschaft und Politik um 1700*, eds. Joachim Bahlcke and Werner Korthaase (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 2008).
32. For the SPCK's relationship with Cyprian and Paul Appia, the Waldensian brothers who studied at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, see Nishikawa, 'English Attitudes,' chap. 5; Nishikawa, 'SPCK in Defence of Protestant Minorities,' 730–2, 748; 西川杉子『ヴァレド派の谷へ – 近代ヨーロッパを生きぬいた異端者たち』(Sugiko Nishikawa, *To the Waldensian Valleys: The Survival of Descendants of the Medieval Heretics in Modern Europe* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan, 2003)); Robin Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain: Crisis, Renewal, and the Ministers' Dilemma*, vol. 1 (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2015), 206.
33. SPCK, Secret Committee, fols. 4, 6, 10; SPCK, French Protestant 2, Letter Received 1713–1715.
34. For the SPCK's activities for the Protestant galley slaves, mostly Huguenot prisoners, see Sugiko Nishikawa, 'Ending a Religious Cold War: Confessional Trans-State Networks and the Peace of Utrecht,' in *New Worlds? Transformations in the Culture*

- of International Relations Around the Peace of Utrecht*, eds. Inken Schmidt-Voges and Ana Crespo Solana (London: Routledge, 2017), 113–14, 118–22.
35. French Protestant 2, Letter Received 1713–1715, fol. 15.
 36. SPCK, Papers and Materials 1715–1729, CP1, fols. 47–53. The purpose of the list is to show how the Roman Catholic powers were preparing to take over the ecclesiastical government in England. “By this list you see the number of the religious houses & seminaries abroad, and the numbers of persons therein may be easily concluded as full as many if not more than are educated in the universities of England, Scotland and Ireland: for tho the Protestant clergy of those kingdoms are de facto in position of the ecclesiastical benefices, yet the popish clergy affirm themselves to be the true bishops of all the dioceses and churches in her Majesty’s dominions, and so beyond sea keep a form of church government in England by making and appointing bishops and priests for every bishopric and living in England and these they account to be the lawful clergymen because they are admitted by the authority of the Pope, whom they own to be the head of the Church of England.”
 37. Hales was a younger brother of a Kentish baronet. He contributed greatly to strengthening the SPCK’s links with Halle Pietists, Swiss divines and Protestant interests in northern Europe. See, Nishikawa, ‘The SPCK in Defence of Protestant Minorities,’ 738–9, and especially note 39.
 38. SPCK, Society’s Letters, CS2/2, fol. 91
 39. SPCK, Secret Committee, fol. 6. The peak number of the English Jesuits was reached in 1710. According to Geoffrey Holt, the total number of English Jesuits was 353 in 1710; the number of missionaries in England and Wales was 127, in 1710. Geoffrey Holt, *The English Jesuits in the Age of Reason* (Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oates, 1993), 3.
 40. Society’s Letters, CS2/3, fol. 25.
 41. SPCK, Papers and Memorials 1715–1729, CP. 1, fols. 3–22; *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1711–1714, vol. 17, 112, 131, 165, 176.
 42. SPCK, French Protestants 2, MPP/ C/2 et al. See Nishikawa, ‘English Attitudes,’ 103–4 and the note 119 in Chapter 2; Nishikawa, ‘Ending a Religious Cold War’.
 43. SPCK, Society’s Letters, vol. 2, CS2/2, fols. 55–57; SPCK, Society’s Letters, vol. 3, CS2/3, fols. 3–5, 15; SPCK, Special Letters, CS3/2, fols. 71–72; SPCK, Minutes, vol. 6, fol. 16; SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, CR1/3, nos. 3255, 3340, 3380, 3381, 3410, 3489.
 44. Nishikawa, ‘Ending a Religious Cold War,’ 119–22.
 45. SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 6, fols. 52, 54.
 46. SPCK, Society’s Letters, vol. 4, fol. 9.
 47. SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, CR1/5, no. 4084.
 48. He could be Gottfried Olearius, professor of theology, Leipzig. Cf. *Deutsch Biographische Enzyklopädie*.
 49. SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, CR1/5, no. 4084.
 50. SPCK, Special Letters, CS3/2, fol. 140.
 51. SPCK, Society’s Letters, CS2/4, fols. 60–62.
 52. Christ Church, Wake MSS., Epist 15, fol. 442.
 53. SPCK, Newman’s Private Letters, CN4/1, fol. 45.
 54. R.A. Austen-Leigh, ‘The Commission for the Relief of Poor Proselytes 1717–1730,’ *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, 15 (1936), 4–9; Cowie, *Henry Newman*, 135–7. The Commission was a semi-official body of the SPCK.
 55. Based on the list of the SPCK’s publications, which first appeared in 1733, in *An Account of the Origins and Designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London, 1733). Joseph Downing, the Society’s publisher, in 1714 put an advertisement in several publications naming the titles of books against popery. Later in 1735, his widow again published an advertisement of several small tracts against popery in various daily papers by order of the Society. SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 16, fols. 96, 101. The books in the

- advertisement of 1714 are as follows: (1) Anon., *Popery display'd: Or, the Church of Rome described in its true colours. Being a faithful Description of the Romish Religion, and Companion of it with the Reformed: Shewing the Protestant Religion to be the safe Way to Heaven, and that of Rome, the most Unsafe and Dangerous. For a Warning to those who would be saved, to separate themselves from that Corrupted Church*; (2) Anon., *The Maxims of the Popish Polity in England; with the Means to stop its Progress. To which is added, an Abstract of several letters written by the Reverend Dr Talbot, in which many of the articles used by the Popish Missionaries are detected*; (3) Anon., *The History of the Inquisition, with an Account of the Cruelties executed therein. Written by one of the Secretaries to the Inquisition*; (4) Anon., *A Faithful Account of the Cruelties done to the Protestants on Board the French King's Gallies, on the Account of the Reformed Religion*; (5) Anon., *A Specimen of Papal and French Persecution; as also of the Faith and Patience of the late French Confessors and Martyrs*; (6) Anon., *The Marquis de Langalerie's Reasons for Renouncing the Popish Religion: With the Discourse addressed to him in the French Church of Frankfort upon Oder; at his publick abjuration of the errors thereof*; (7) Anon., *An Abstract of the History of the cruel Sufferings of the blessed French Martyr Louis de Marolles, from his condemnation to the Gallies, to his Death in the Dungeon. Translated from the French. To which is added, a Reason of the Barbarities lately exercised toward several eminent persons at Montaubon, in a letter dated Jan. 29, 1713*; (8) Anon., *An Account of the Sufferings and Death of the faithful Martyr Mr Isaac le Fevre, an Advocate of Parliament, who, after 18 years imprisonment, died a slave in the French King's Gallies*. 'The advertisement of Joseph Downing in Bartholomew-Close,' in Anon., *An Account of the Conversion of Fran. de Chalus, Sieur de la Motte, And All His Family to the Reformed Religion* (London, 1714), n.p.
56. For church briefs for continental Protestants, Nishikawa, 'English Attitudes,' especially chaps. 1 and 2.
 57. John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. de Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1955), vol. IV, 487.
 58. Nishikawa, 'English Attitudes,' 26–34.
 59. *Ibid.*, chap. 2. For the Orangeois, F.W. Felix, *Die Ausweisung der Protestanten aus dem Furstentum Orange, 1703 und 1711–13* (Bad Karlshafen and Bern, 2000); Sugiko Nishikawa, 'Protection des intérêts protestants: les activités de soutien des anglais en faveur des orangeois,' eds. C-F. Hollard and F. Moreil, *La principauté d'Orange du Moyen Âge au XVIIIe siècle. Actualité de la recherche historique: Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse*, 9, 4 (2008).
 60. Swiss divines' links with Compton and the SPCK were also used in this event. See, Sugiko Nishikawa, 'The World of J.C. Werndli: Zurich, Sandtoft and Wraisbury,' in *The Huguenots: France, Exile & Diaspora*, eds. Jane McKee and Randolph Vigne (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2013), 166–72.
 61. As to the succession crisis of Neuchâtel, see M. de Montandon, *Mémoire Succint sur la Question Neuchâteloise* (Printed for the use of the Foreign Office: 1 Sept. 1852) [BL, B. S. 14/289]; Jean-Pierre Jelmini, 'La mort de Marie de Nemours et les problèmes de sa succession,' in *Histoire du Pays de Neuchâtel, Tome 2, De la Réforme à 1815* (Hauterive: Editions Gilles Attinger, 1991).
 62. Nishikawa, 'English Attitudes,' chap. III.
 63. Nishikawa, 'Henry Compton, Bishop of London,' 362–4.
 64. It is difficult to identify all the names of commissioners written on briefs which were issued by royal order to raise collections. Added to this, the full membership of the SPCK in its early years is unknown, so the number of SPCK members who were commissioners remains unclear. However, apart from titled nobility and prelates, at least 11 out of 18 commissioners for the Orangeois were probably SPCK members, 4 out of 13 for the Oberbarmen church, and 26 out of 34 for the Palatines.
 65. See Nishikawa, 'English Attitudes,' chap. 2. The commissioners and SPCK members who attended meetings between 20 and 24 May 1709 for the relief of the Palatines

- were Thomas Bray, Sir John Philipps, John Chamberlayne, Frederick Slare, Robert Hales, Robert Nelson, Henry Hoare, Justice Hooke, Henry William Ludolph, John Tribbeko, George Andrew Ruperti, William Dudley, and George Watson. The SPCK membership of the other attendees – James Keith, Rupert Bridges and Mr Freske – is uncertain. There is no clue as to the identity of Mr Voace. Hugh Hastings, ed., *Ecclesiastical Records: State of New York*, 7 vols. (Albany, 1902), vol. III, 1739–42.
66. Unitätsarchiv, Herrnhut, Correspondence of Sitkovius, NSC-10, Jablonski to Sitkovius, 11 Apr. 1716.
 67. Correspondence of Sitkovius, NSC-10, 28 Nov. 1716. See also, 22 Feb. 1717; 23 Mar. 1717.
 68. Nishikawa, 'English Attitudes,' 112–16.
 69. Ibid., 117–19; Nishikawa, 'The SPCK in Defence of Protestant Minorities,' 744–5. For more information on Kopijewicz, see Wojciech Kriegseisen, 'Podroze i Projekty Pastora Boguslawia Jelitko Kopijewicza,' in *Ludzie kontakty kultura XVI-XVIII w*, eds. Jerzy Kowiecki and Janusz Tazbir (Warszawa, 1997), 246–52.
 70. SPCK, Society's Letter, CS2/21, fol. 61.
 71. They were the Debrecen Reformed College, the Waldensians in Piedmont, Johanniskirche zu Hagen, Westphalia, the reformed church in Saarbrücken, and 'Protestant colony of Philippen in Turkish Moldavia.
 72. For those relief activities, see Sugiko Nishikawa, 'English Relief Activities for Continental Protestants in the Eighteenth Century: Perpetuating Religious Networks in the Age of Reason,' in *Huguenot Networks, 1560–1780: The Interactions and Impact of a Protestant Minority in Europe*, ed. Vivienne Larminie (London: Routledge, 2017); Cf. Robert Ingram, 'Archbishop Thomas Secker (1693–1768), Anglican Identity and Relations with Foreign Protestants in the Mid-18th Century,' in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550–1750*, eds. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001); Robert G. Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), chap. 8.
 73. Society's Report, 1770, 36. The next year they added Samuel and J.A. Urlsperger to the list. In fact, the former had joined the Society in 1727 and the latter did so in 1764. Ibid., 1771, 57.

Section IV

A British Missionary Land



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9 **The Evangelical Transformation of British Protestantism for Mission**

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The Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century revolutionised the Protestantism of Britain. Beginning in the 1730s, the revival sprang up in England, Wales, Scotland, and the British colonies of North America. Led by John Wesley and George Whitefield, preachers fanned out over the country to establish bodies of enthusiastic believers. The impetus of the revival did not decay over time, but on the contrary, stimulated increasing church growth during the first half of the nineteenth century. Not only were new denominations formed, but also existing churches were revitalised. The established churches of England and Scotland were affected almost as much as the Dissenters – the Protestants who existed outside their bounds. The movement was rarely called “Evangelical” during its early years, but towards the end of the eighteenth century the term began to be used as its label. An early instance was an essay penned in 1789 by Joseph Milner, subsequently a distinguished church historian, entitled “On Evangelical Religion.” This form of faith upheld, according to Milner, as the first doctrine absolutely necessary to salvation, belief in “a divine light, inspiration, or illumination, in order to understand, to relish, and to practise true Christianity.”¹ The diffusion of that light was the priority of the Evangelicals. Whereas previously the chief preoccupation of Protestant churches in Britain had normally been the vindication of their own distinctive principles, the revival aroused a desire for action. The age of Reformation in which the great aim was conformity to right ecclesiastical patterns gave way to an age of revival in which the propagation of personal religion took precedence. Church order faded in importance before the spread of the gospel. The Evangelical paradigm of religion generated a new insistence on mission as the grand aim of the churches.

1. Protestant Renewal

The novel spirit was evident across the range of Protestant denominations. In the first place there were the Methodists, the followers of John Wesley. The societies that he created as fellowship groups up and down the British Isles did not initially form a separate ecclesiastical body, but their members were encouraged to remain devoted to their parish churches. The Methodists emerged from the Church of England only after the death of Wesley in 1791, forming a separate organisation

under the direction of a conference of preachers. Wesley upheld the distinctive theological position of Arminianism (called after the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius), which Wesley interpreted as the conviction that all human beings, and not just a select number predestined by the Almighty, could embrace the salvation offered by Jesus Christ. He and his adherents engaged in periodic debates with other Evangelicals who maintained Calvinism, with its restriction of redemption to the elect, which had been Reformed orthodoxy in the seventeenth century. The possibility of salvation for anybody was a natural inducement to transmit the glad tidings to all. Wesley sent out “helpers” to travel, like him, around the land to convey the life-giving message. These itinerant preachers evolved into Methodist ministers in the early years of the nineteenth century. They were so effective that in 1811, the Home Secretary, Lord Sidmouth, fearing that they might be infected with radical principles, proposed to restrict their movements by requiring them to obtain a licence to preach in specific places only. The measure was defeated by the exertions of Anglican Evangelicals such as William Wilberforce, but the episode illustrates the alarm of the established order at the mushrooming of the denomination. By the middle of the nineteenth century it catered for no less than 5.1% of the population.² Its evangelistic zeal eventually spilled over into foreign missions, which began on an organised basis in 1813. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, which was not differentiated from the home body, became a major concern of all Wesleyan Methodists. The eagerness to spread the gospel overseas was shared by the lesser Methodist bodies that arose after Wesley’s death – the Methodist New Connexion, the Primitive Methodists, the Bible Christians, and others. Here was a new movement with enormous appeal.

The existing “old Dissent” was drastically affected by the temper of the Evangelical Revival. The English Presbyterians, by far the largest segment of Dissent at the start of the eighteenth century, moved gradually into unorthodoxy during the eighteenth century. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, most of them were willing to avow Unitarian belief and so they were not attracted into the ranks of the Evangelicals. The Congregationalists and Baptists, however, the other two sections of Dissent, were eventually swept along by the revival spirit. At first they were generally wary of its neglect of church order, their reason for standing apart from the established church, but gradually, as converts from the revival entered their membership and their pulpits, they became attuned to the new religious key. A small denomination, the Countess of Huntingdon’s Connexion, which was created by the revival, aligned closely with the Congregationalists and whole congregations set up by George Whitefield joined their ranks. From the 1780s there were itinerant Congregational and Baptist ministers who imitated the successes of the Methodists in gathering new communities of believers. The Congregationalists and Particular Baptists (both of whom were Calvinists) benefited most, but a New Connexion of General Baptists (Arminians like Wesley) also became part of the gospel coalition. The outcome was growth of their numbers, so that by 1851 the Congregationalists served 4.4% of the English population and the Baptists 3.3%.³ The Baptists bore the palm of founding the first British foreign missionary society of the Evangelical era when, in 1792, William Carey’s proposal in *An*

Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen was accepted. The Congregationalists followed in 1795 with the largest share in an interdenominational Missionary Society, which from 1818 was called the London Missionary Society. Once more, the outward thrust of the Evangelical Revival led to overseas mission.

The Church of England contained a significant Evangelical sector. George Whitefield, though eager to help other denominations, was a clergyman of the established church and many of his converts remained within its ranks. Other Anglican clergy such as John Berridge, based in Bedfordshire, travelled around the country delivering awakening sermons – in Berridge’s case, some ten or twelve a week after four in his own parish.⁴ It was the preference of many Evangelical clergy, however, to confine themselves to a single parish. Samuel Walker of Truro, for example, insisted on his responsibility to serve his own parishioners. Charles Simeon of Cambridge likewise encouraged concentration on a single parish when instructing successive generations of intending Cambridge ministers in Evangelical principles down to his death in 1836. Simeon was one of several Evangelicals who endowed trusts to purchase the right to appoint clergy to particular parishes and so ensure that there were pulpits reserved for those preaching the gospel. By the 1850s the Evangelical party was dominant in the Church of England, securing many appointments to the episcopal bench. Its home missionary arm, the Church Pastoral Aid Society, founded in 1836 to assist clergy in needy parishes, made a great impact. J.C. Ryle, later Bishop of Liverpool, declared in 1850 that “no one could now deny that there was as much activity within the pale of the English Established Church as in any branch of Christ’s Church.”⁵ The Church Pastoral Aid Society, according to Ryle, was most responsible for this state of affairs – though allowance must be made for the occasion being the annual meeting of the society. The foreign missionary agency of Anglican Evangelicals was the Church Missionary Society, launched in 1799. Initially intended to concentrate on Africa and the East, it soon extended its activities over many other parts of the world. Like its Dissenting counterparts, it was a voluntary society rather than a department of the national church. Again, it was an expression of the dynamic unleashed by the Evangelical Revival.

North of the border the established Church of Scotland was Presbyterian. It enjoyed a number of local revivals during the eighteenth century. The most remarkable pair took place in 1742 at Cambuslang and Kilsyth, where traditional communion seasons turned into times of mass conversions. Dedication to whole-hearted evangelism, usually popular with parishioners in general, was often disliked by the landlords who held the right to appoint clergy. The outcome was a series of disputes over such rights of patronage, with Evangelicals often being excluded from parish pulpits. Nevertheless, the proportion of the ministers in the established church who were Evangelical grew steadily over subsequent years and by 1834, for the first time, they could command a majority in the General Assembly. There ensued a ten-year controversy over patronage which led to the departure from the church of about one third of the ministers, led by Thomas Chalmers, in the Disruption of 1843, to form the Free Church of Scotland. Meanwhile,

home mission activities were developing. The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge had, since 1709, provided schoolmasters in neglected areas, especially in the Highlands. In the 1790s Robert and James Alexander Haldane, laymen with their own financial resources, undertook preaching in the Highlands and soon turned to Congregational and eventually Baptist views. In 1796 foreign missionary societies were set up in Glasgow and Edinburgh. The Church of Scotland, controlled by a majority hostile to Evangelical ventures, refused to approve corporate overseas mission in the same year, but in growing urban areas, new ecclesiastical parishes were created and a Church of Scotland foreign mission was at last launched in 1829. Alexander Duff, the first missionary, pioneered evangelism through Western education in India, and he, with all the other missionaries except one, joined the Free Church after the Disruption. Once more, Evangelical opinion led to effective home and foreign missionary schemes.

2. Evangelical Characteristics

The Evangelicals of all parties were conscious of an affinity that transcended other boundaries, whether national, denominational, or theological. The Scots had close links with the English Evangelicals – Thomas Chalmers, for example, owing his conversion to reading a book by William Wilberforce.⁶ Samuel Walker of Truro, though notably loyal to the order of the Church of England, nevertheless rejoiced in the combination of “good men of all persuasions, who are content to leave to each other the liberty of private judgment in lesser things, and are heartily disposed to unite their efforts.”⁷ Likewise, Whitefield commended forbearance over differences of church government – what he called “a catholic spirit.”⁸ The issue that most divided Evangelicals was the Calvinist/Arminian debate, but even that controversy mellowed during the 1790s. The *Christian Observer*, an Evangelical Anglican magazine begun in 1802, avowed its desire “to avoid whatever may tend to lessen . . . Christian love” and rejected criticisms by rigid Calvinists that it was Arminian and by some Arminians that it was Calvinist. The magazine was committed simply to the “system of evangelical truth.”⁹ It was quite natural at the local level for Brunswick Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Leeds, to invite Congregationalists to preach special missionary sermons during the 1830s and 1840s.¹⁰ Especially in mission, there was a powerful sense of unity undergirding the efforts of Evangelicals. They were bound together in a desire to evangelise their own country and the world. That was because they shared a set of fundamental marks.

The first striking characteristic of the Evangelicals was devotion to the Bible. Wesley famously remarked that he was content to be “*homo unius libri*,” a man of one book, by which he meant the Bible.¹¹ The scriptures were his source of spiritual nourishment for all purposes. Others stressed the role of scripture as the most sublime instructor in doctrine. Wesley’s contemporary, John Newton, the leading Anglican Evangelical, declared, “The Bible is my body of divinity.”¹² Evangelicals were committed to believing that the scriptures formed the inspired rule of life. “Their teaching is truth,” claimed *Evangelical Christendom*, the periodical of the interdenominational Evangelical Alliance, in 1850, “without any mixture

of error.” That did not imply an unthinking fundamentalism. Some, according to the *Evangelical Christendom* article, supposed that the Holy Spirit dictated the text, but a larger number held that “there were different degrees of inspiration,” with prophecy requiring a higher superintendence than history.¹³ Yet the message of the scriptures was to be accepted in its totality. The Bible was the supreme tool for evangelism. Hence in 1804, Evangelicals formed the British and Foreign Bible Society, a joint venture of church and chapel, to circulate the scriptures to as wide an audience as possible. It proved astonishingly successful. By 1824, only twenty years after its institution, the society claimed 859 local auxiliaries, with another associated 500 ladies’ auxiliaries, all existing in order to raise money for the cause of circulating the Bible.¹⁴ Consequently, a vast number of cheap Bibles were put into print. In a period of three years between April 1844 and March 1847, the British and Foreign Bible Society reported that 1,900,776 copies of the scriptures had been distributed.¹⁵ Devotion to the Bible, something all Evangelicals held in common, gave them a powerful medium for mission.

A second feature that bound Evangelicals together was an insistence on the centrality of the cross in the scheme of theology. The focus on the atonement differentiated them from the Unitarians, who, as their leading mentor Joseph Priestley put it in 1782, believed in the “natural placability of the divine being.”¹⁶ The Almighty, that is to say, was always kindly disposed towards humanity and needed no sacrifice to persuade him to pardon freely. An answer came from Caleb Evans, principal of the Baptist Bristol Academy, defending the system of “salvation through the blood of the Lamb.”¹⁷ For Evangelicals like Evans, the whole of redemption rested on the doctrine of the atonement. The formulation of the idea took on fresh vigour during the later eighteenth century. In the earlier part of the period, the received Calvinist view was that Christ bore on the cross an amount of suffering equivalent to the number of the elect whom God had chosen for salvation. That was the way in which Robert Hall senior, another Baptist, explained the atonement in a sermon of 1772. Seven years later, however, he altered his position entirely. Now Christ was said to have offered a sacrifice of infinite worth, commensurate with his divine person. The change from holding that the atonement was designed for a few to believing that its scope was boundless was part of the adaptation of the old Dissent to the Evangelical message.¹⁸ When the broader position was upheld, the impulse for mission was greatly enhanced. In that form the cross became the central content of Evangelical discourse. T.H. Horne, a prominent Anglican biblical scholar, published a sermon in 1843 on “Christ Crucified, the great theme of the Christian ministry.”¹⁹ Evangelicals placed the atonement at the heart of their doctrinal scheme.

Equally, as the third aspect, Evangelicals urged that the work of Christ should be personally appropriated in conversion. Justification by faith had Christ crucified as its object, but it could be received only when faith was exercised. Again, there was a difference between the inherited understanding of conversion and the view that arose under Evangelical auspices. Hyper-Calvinists of the mid-eighteenth century believed that unbelievers were incapable of taking any action to receive Christ. Thus John Gill, the dominant Baptist theologian of the period, wrote that it was improper for a minister to make “an offer of Christ” since only the Holy Spirit

could transform a sinner.²⁰ By contrast, only a few years later in 1781, Robert Hall, senior, declared: "If any should ask, have I a right to apply to Jesus the Saviour, simply as a poor undone perishing sinner . . . I answer yes, the gospel proclamation is, Whosoever will, let him come."²¹ There were no restrictions on the way in which a person could come to Christ or on the way in which ministers could offer Christ. The conversion experience was far less stereotyped than might be supposed. Although Methodists normally expected it to happen at a particular juncture, others did not. James Bean, writing as an Anglican to defend the Evangelical clergy in 1808, treated the notion that they contended for "an *instantaneous* change of heart" as a false charge. Although the clergy admitted that such a change was possible, they held that, "in many instances, it begins with some feeble indications of seriousness, gradually advancing."²² What Evangelicals did regard as essential, however, was a turning by some means or other of the natural into the spiritual person. Nobody was automatically a Christian. Hence in their eyes, the regeneration that was the theological label for conversion was required as a passport to heaven.

The fourth characteristic of the Evangelicals was activism. Near the start of his ministry, in 1739, Whitefield wrote that "a true faith in JESUS CHRIST will not suffer us to be idle." "No," he went on, "it is an active, lively, restless principle."²³ This maxim stemmed from the previous marks of the Evangelicals. The Bible taught the need to spread the word, the cross rendered its proclamation an act of gratitude, and the conversion of others made activity essential. Hence Evangelicals were busy people, channelling time into spiritual doings. Of William Romaine, an Anglican clergyman of stern Calvinist views, his biographer stated in 1797: "Unwearied activity – an uninterrupted state of health for 60 successive years of labour – early rising – and diligent improvement of his time – doubled in a measure the period of his mortal days."²⁴ Methodists were no less busy. One of Wesley's helpers, Alexander Mather, had to take time from slumber in order to preach and so frequently had not as much as eight hours' sleep in a week.²⁵ Another, Thomas Hudson, was conscious that the Holy Spirit was constantly urging him, "Spend and be spent for God!"²⁶ By 1829, Charles Simeon was beginning to think the pendulum had swung too far towards being up and doing. "Half a century or more back," he said, "our ancestors had their religion in contemplation; we have ours in action; both are so far wrong, but the last is unquestionably the worst."²⁷ With the rise of Evangelicalism, relentless activity had become the hallmark of British Christianity. When, in 1847, August Tholuck, professor of theology at the University of Halle, returned to Germany after a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in England, he exhorted his fellow countrymen to copy the English and so "to give to their Christianity a more practical form, a more vigorous impulse, and to enter on a course of more active usefulness."²⁸ That was his overriding impression of English Evangelicalism.

3. Enlightenment Affinities

All these qualities held in common by Evangelicals laid the groundwork for a powerful sense of mission. The atmosphere of the times, however, was equally

conducive to fresh initiatives in evangelisation. The Enlightenment of the eighteenth century – the most powerful intellectual current of the era – has often been supposed to have been the antithesis of the Evangelical movement. The age of reason, it is assumed, aimed to undermine the premises of revealed religion. Thus Peter Gay, writing an influential overview of the Enlightenment in 1966, gave it the subtitle “The Rise of Modern Paganism.” It is certainly true that many of the leading thinkers of the century, especially in France, were dedicated opponents of traditional forms of faith. Gay could legitimately call Voltaire’s *Candide* (1759) “a declaration of war on Christianity.”²⁹ It has since been pointed out, however, that in other parts of Europe there was a blend of enlightened principles with religious faith.³⁰ Writers showing typical Enlightenment characteristics were often themselves ministers of religion keeping up with the times. Evangelicals in Britain did not stand apart from this tendency. John Wesley, a deeply learned man, urged his followers to adopt “a religion founded on reason, and every way agreeable thereto.”³¹ Andrew Fuller, the leading Baptist theologian at the opening of the nineteenth century, gave an illuminating analysis of the changed intellectual atmosphere. Times had altered, he wrote, since the Reformation, when superstition reigned and force was habitually employed to suppress opponents and even the Reformers were marked by uncharitable asperity. Instead, Fuller was proud of his own age of “improvement,” which understood “the rights of conscience” and maintained “the sacred duty of benevolence.”³² Fuller was endorsing typical Enlightenment values. It is not surprising that he and his fellow Evangelicals displayed others.

One of the leading features that Evangelicals in general shared with the British Enlightenment was moderation. While the continental Enlightenment, especially in France, had a radical wing, its expression in Britain tended to deplore fierce polemic and extreme positions. Although the early eighteenth-century Deists and popular freethinkers later in the century could be trenchant, the prevailing tone of religious debate was more restrained than in the past. Fuller, looking back on the Reformers, condemned their “unchristian bitterness.”³³ The forceful denunciation of theological opponents was no longer in vogue. Likewise, at the end of its first year, the *Christian Observer* explicitly avowed its commitment to “measures of moderation and charity.”³⁴ This temper affected the matter as well as the manner of doctrinal exposition. The Calvinism that all but Wesley’s Methodists and the General Baptists upheld was modified in the later eighteenth century. The chief influence was the American Congregationalist Jonathan Edwards, whose *Freedom of the Will* (1754) embodied a different understanding of the central Calvinist doctrine of predestination. Edwards drew a distinction between natural and moral inability to believe. Sinners, according to Edwards, possess a natural ability to respond to the gospel, but show no moral ability to do so. Therefore, it was not the Creator who predestined them not to believe; rather they themselves are responsible for their decision and deserve condemnation for not embracing God’s forgiveness. Their eventual perdition is their own fault. That was to reject the doctrine of double predestination, upheld by many earlier Reformed theologians, whereby the Almighty was believed to consign unbelievers to damnation. The

image of God was altogether more beneficent. This view, often called moderate Calvinism, became the norm among British Evangelicals. Fuller spread it among Baptists, Edward Williams did the same among Congregationalists, and Chalmers was its champion among Scottish Presbyterians.³⁵ Evangelical Anglicans often went even further in modifying Calvinism. Simeon, who shared Edwards's belief in human inability to believe as a moral failing, eventually professed not to be a Calvinist at all and encouraged the crowds of Cambridge undergraduates whom he influenced to dispense with it altogether.³⁶ The moderation of the age induced Evangelicals to repudiate the more extreme forms of Calvinism or even the whole doctrinal system.

A second facet of the affinity of Evangelicals with the Enlightenment was a belief in empiricism. The secular world increasingly believed in enquiry based on observable evidence as the proper method for establishing truth. It became fashionable to reject older appeals to authority as obscurantism or to deductive reasoning as unwarranted speculation. Wesley did the same, dismissing ancient ecclesiastical debates as "subtle metaphysical controversies."³⁷ More positively, Henry Venn, a respected Evangelical Anglican leader, described theological method as based not on scripture alone but on "observation and scripture."³⁸ Matters had to be investigated in an experimental spirit as well as in subjection to biblical teaching. Consequently, early Evangelicals held John Locke, the patron saint of empirical method, in high esteem. Wesley, as much as Edwards, though not wholly endorsing Locke's stance, nevertheless owed a great deal of his thinking about religious experience to the paradigm created by the English philosopher.³⁹ In the later years of the eighteenth century, Evangelicals tended to shift their allegiance to the Scottish common sense school of philosophy associated with Thomas Reid, who contended against Locke that certain general human assumptions, such as belief in God, were grasped intuitively. Yet that alteration of allegiance did not call into question their basic attachment to empiricism, since Reid and his disciples supposed that their convictions were based on investigation of the human mind. The outcome of this stance was sympathy for new ways of thinking in many spheres. The novel discipline of political economy, for example, as pioneered by Adam Smith and David Ricardo, was popular among Evangelicals. The orderly running of the universe by its Creator appeared to harmonise with the regularities of cause and effect, supply and demand.⁴⁰ A shared belief in empirical method with the most respected authors of the age led to a worldview that integrated the latest thinking with biblical revelation.

This blend of modern thinking with Christian orthodoxy was nowhere more apparent than in the sphere of natural science. "Nature and Revelation," wrote the leading Congregational theologian John Pye Smith in 1839, "are both beams of light from the same Sun of eternal truth; and there cannot be discordance between them."⁴¹ A few early Evangelicals had been hostile to the scientific enterprise, seeing it as a divergence from proper intellectual submission to the wisdom of the Creator, but most were eager to praise the advances inaugurated by Sir Isaac Newton. To Evangelicals in general, the investigation of the natural world was a way, not of undermining, but of revealing the wisdom of the Creator. In addition,

the laying bare of the structure of the world by Newton and his successors was an aid to devotion. When James Hervey, the Evangelical rector of Weston Favell, Northamptonshire, published his *Meditations and Contemplations* (1748) in order to encourage spiritual reflection on the created order, the frontispiece of the book illustrated a natural philosopher giving instruction on Newtonian principles.⁴² It was not just that religion and science were compatible, but it was almost universally held that they were closely bonded in the synthesis of “natural theology.” Evangelicals, like most other Christian contemporaries, argued that scientific discovery reinforced the traditional theistic argument from design. If we see a house showing signs of design, we know that it must have had a builder; since we see in the world that there are indications of design, we must conclude that there was a Creator. Until the publication in 1859 of Charles Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species*, the argument seemed incontrovertible. The natural order revealed by the empirical methods of science vindicated the Christian religion.⁴³

A further dimension of the common perspective of Evangelicalism and the Enlightenment lay in their optimism. The later Enlightenment in particular developed the idea of progress, according to which the world was improving over time. The increasing respect for reason stemming from wider education and the growing knowledge of the world provided by natural science would lead to greater happiness and a higher standard of civilisation. As stated by the French philosopher the Marquis de Condorcet, future moral advances would bring humanity to perfection. Evangelicals did not concur in Condorcet’s conviction that reason alone would achieve that goal, but they did agree that the human condition would steadily progress. They generally believed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that the gospel would spread so widely that the church would dominate society and that life would be transformed for the better. The millennium, a period of a thousand years when Satan would be bound, would take place on earth. Only after (“post-”) the millennium would the second coming of Christ take place, a standpoint usually labelled “postmillennialism.” During the 1820s, the alternative view that the second coming was imminent and would happen before (“pre-”) the millennium was adopted by a few radical Evangelicals and, though this premillennialism gathered recruits over the next few years, it remained the opinion of a small minority. The expectation of a “triumphant state of the church,” stated a correspondent of the *Christian Observer* in 1829, was “the *orthodox* view.”⁴⁴ It was postmillennialism that motivated Carey to propose a Baptist Missionary Society. The Bible, he wrote, promised a “glorious increase of the church, in the latter days.”⁴⁵ It has been suggested, in fact, that this conviction, which appeared to guarantee the success of the gospel in the world at large, was a primary motor of the whole Evangelical overseas missionary movement.⁴⁶ This optimistic vista undoubtedly undergirded Evangelical confidence.

A fourth feature of Enlightenment thinking that Evangelicals adopted during the same era was pragmatism. Instead of every aspect of ecclesiastical policy being determined by principles extracted from scripture, Evangelicals were willing to modify their ways for the sake of higher causes. Church order, according to Wesley, was designed to bring souls to God and build them up. “Order,

then, is so far valuable as it answers these ends; and if it answers them not, it is nothing worth."⁴⁷ He was therefore willing to commit a drastic breach of church order if it seemed desirable. Thus, he was willing to ordain a superintendent for Methodism in North America once the colonies had separated from Britain, even though the act of ordination was canonically reserved for bishops.⁴⁸ In a similar spirit, the British and Foreign Bible Society adopted a policy of holding business meetings without prayer so that those who might object to Trinitarian formulae would not be alienated and so withdraw their support.⁴⁹ It was probably protests against this stance on the ground that religious principle was being surrendered to mere expediency that prompted Simeon to declare that "*Expediency* is too much decried."⁵⁰ Other controversies arose from a comparable flexibility. The Scottish Relief Church that left the Church of Scotland in 1761 because of its Evangelical objections to patronage caused dismay among other Presbyterians by admitting believers of any denomination to the Lord's Table.⁵¹ The Baptists also were torn apart by Robert Hall's appeal for his co-religionists to allow those not baptised as believers to receive the bread and wine at communion.⁵² In each case the breakers with tradition were stoutly Evangelical, wanting to use fresh methods because they would be more effective for the cause of the gospel. What, they asked, would benefit the greatest good of the greatest number? The utilitarianism of the secular Enlightenment was matched by the pragmatism of Evangelical Christianity.

The adaptability of the Evangelicals was given a theological rationale in the doctrine of "means." Protestants of an earlier day had been content to let divine sovereignty run its course without human interference. The first cause of human affairs – providential guidance – must be allowed to fulfil its purposes. Evangelicals, however, typically emphasised that secondary causes were equally, though in a subordinate way, the acts of God. Christians could legitimately use such means for the furtherance of the divine objectives, even though there was no scripture warrant for them.⁵³ Thus, for instance, Sunday schools could be founded to educate the multiplying poor in the growing industrial towns. If children could read, they would be able to find the way of salvation in the Bible for themselves. Consequently, Evangelicals often threw themselves into the Sunday school movement as it gathered force during the 1780s. That necessarily meant teaching on a Sunday, which older Protestants would have condemned on sabbatarian grounds. Yet Evangelicals were willing to participate because the outcome would strengthen the cause of the gospel. The school at Burslem, a pottery town in Staffordshire, founded in 1787 aimed "not to promote the religious principles of any particular sect, but, setting aside all party distinctions, to instruct youth in useful learning, and in the leading and incontrovertible principles of Christianity."⁵⁴ This non-partisan approach, typical of the early years of the movement, set the venture outside the control of the denominations. Church order was sacrificed to practical outcomes. In subsequent years, the various denominations took measures to seize control of most of the schools, but initially they were interdenominational because that was the most convenient way of providing Christian instruction for the masses. If the means resulted in good, then it was acceptable.

The proliferating facilities of the modern world could be treated similarly. Although other instances such as commercial shipping and the penny post could be cited, the medium of print is perhaps the most obvious case. Wesley was personally responsible for 371 separate publications.⁵⁵ When he launched the *Arminian Magazine* in 1778, he acquired his own printing presses.⁵⁶ By his death in 1791, the circulation of the magazine was as high as 7,000 monthly, by comparison with the 4,550 copies of the secular general interest *Gentleman's Magazine* six years later.⁵⁷ More broadly, a flourishing Evangelical literary culture grew up offering biblical commentaries, sermons, prayers, works of devotion, pious lives, letters and journals, poetry and hymns.⁵⁸ The Religious Tract Society, founded in 1799 on a pan-Evangelical basis, was designed to publish popular Christian literature on a broad scale to cater to the tastes of the sorts of people who had passed through the Sunday schools. Supported by over 400 local auxiliaries, by 1850 it expanded its list into larger books on a wide range of subjects including geography, history, biography, and science, as well as theology. Its trade branch operated on commercial principles, competing successfully with other publishers and contributing its profits to the charitable fund to finance cheaper literature for the masses.⁵⁹ The whole publishing enterprise constituted an effective technique for reaching the people with the gospel. As the Church Missionary Society explained in the annual report for 1801, the press was "a most powerful auxiliary in their grand design." Why? "Books can teach," it remarked, "where Missionaries are not admitted."⁶⁰ The plethora of agencies dedicated to the publishing and distribution of literature formed an outstanding example of the seizing of a contemporary opportunity. It was pragmatism at its most powerful.

4. Continental Missions

The battery of Evangelical propaganda was inevitably trained on the continent. There were sporadic efforts to introduce gospel influences in the 1780s and 1790s, but little sustained effort was practicable during the Napoleonic Wars. Immediately after their termination in 1816, Robert Haldane, the well-to-do Scottish patron of Evangelical causes, travelled to Geneva determined to revive the principles of the Reformed Christianity at its original centre. Lecturing to theological students on the book of *Romans*, Haldane roused a movement of *Réveil* that, in conjunction with some local and Moravian influences, stirred Protestant Switzerland and, in due course, France. A Continental Society, interdenominational and resolutely Evangelical, was established in 1818 to permeate Europe with agents and literature. The organisation's purpose, according to the banker Henry Drummond at the annual meeting of 1828, was to "send preachers into the heart of Christendom to tell the inhabitants that they are not Christian."⁶¹ The society, however, foundered in the crisis surrounding the rise of premillennial teaching during the next few years and the initiative passed to other bodies. By 1847, for example, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society possessed thirty-five chapels, eighty-nine preaching places and 1,071 members in France and Switzerland.⁶² The Evangelical assault on Europe was in full swing.

The process was evident in many lands. In Lutheran Sweden, for example, where religious dissent was prohibited, a legal loophole was found because other churches catering for foreigners were permitted in the capital, Stockholm. In 1826 an English manufacturer invited the Wesleyans to send an English minister there and five years later, his more enterprising successor, George Scott, started preaching in Swedish. Despite attempts to stop his use of the vernacular, Scott persisted, welcoming preachers of other bodies and injecting an undenominational pietism into the Lutheran Church. From 1832, Scott acted as Swedish corresponding secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, managing to circulate over 300,000 copies of the scriptures, and soon the Religious Tract Society made grants for millions of tracts. Although in 1842 Scott was expelled on the excuse that his teaching had fomented a riot, a Swedish Missionary Society, temperance societies, infant schools, seamen's missions, and a monthly periodical – the *Pietist* – all sprang in part from this venture.⁶³ Likewise in the Lutheran city of Calw in Württemberg, a German and Foreign School-Book Association was set up in 1829 to translate children's books published by the Religious Tract Society. Eighteen years later it claimed to have issued about a million copies. It also produced a popular book of *Bible Stories* in German and eleven other languages. Again, the Religious Tract Society supplied much of the association's financial support. Although there were more contacts with Lutheran Pietists on the continent than historians have normally appreciated,⁶⁴ a substantial campaign was under way to spread a British brand of vital Christianity in northern Europe. A version of the faith familiar to English speakers was being diffused in Protestant lands.

Yet the greatest ambition of Protestants from Britain was to overturn the Roman Catholic domination of southern Europe. The introductory address to readers of the first issue of *Evangelical Christendom*, the organ of the anti-Catholic Evangelical Alliance, noted in January 1847 that "the sinister influence" of the papacy was "at work in every quarter of the globe," but affirmed that "Europe must . . . continue to be pre-eminently the scene of conflict and of triumph."⁶⁵ Later in the same year, a correspondent reported from Malta that two converted Catholic priests, one from Rome and the other Maltese, had begun a weekly prayer meeting. Their efforts to begin preaching needed the assistance of "their more favoured brethren in England."⁶⁶ At this stage it was thought that there was little interest among English Protestants in storming the Italian citadel of Catholicism, a task no doubt considered beyond their abilities,⁶⁷ but that was to change. The expulsion of the pope from the Vatican in the convulsions of 1848, the Risorgimento of subsequent years, and the seizure of Rome by the Kingdom of Italy in 1870 aroused fresh hopes.⁶⁸ In 1872 Thomas Cook, the pioneer of the tourist industry, urged his denomination, the New Connexion General Baptists, to start a mission to Rome. On his visits to the city, Cook assured his fellow-believers he found a desire to renounce popery and there could be successful gospel efforts in "the seat and centre of the Papal Antichrist."⁶⁹ A General Baptist agent was duly commissioned in the city, but the papacy did not fall. Yet the aspiration to supplant Roman Catholicism at its core typified the remarkable confidence of British Evangelicals about continental work in the later nineteenth century.

The Evangelical Revival inaugurated a new age of mission among the Protestants of Britain. Methodism sprang up as a new movement. The older Dissenters became keen on home and overseas evangelisation, and substantial sections of the established churches of England and Scotland adopted Evangelical convictions. Recognising their affinity with each other across denominational lines, Evangelicals were devoted to the Bible, placed emphasis on the cross, insisted on conversion, and showed an intense activism. Deeply swayed by the atmosphere of the Enlightenment, they displayed moderation in their debating style and doctrinal statements. Their acceptance of empiricism aligned them with the progressive thought of the day, leading them to integrate science into their theology. Evangelicals were notably optimistic, especially in their postmillennial teaching, and remarkably pragmatic, being willing to modify traditional views on church order and to use fresh methods such as Sunday schools. Other means they adopted included publishing literature in abundance. Naturally, the attention of the Evangelicals turned to the spread of the gospel in Europe. Their characteristic efforts had dramatic effects in many parts of the continent even if the papacy remained largely unscathed. At the opening of 1850, a leading article in the *Record*, the newspaper of Anglican Evangelicals, reflected that the middle year of the nineteenth century was entirely different from the mid-eighteenth century. "Then," it observed, "all was dead, – now all is life."⁷⁰ The sentiment may have been exaggerated, as other chapters in this volume illustrate. Yet during the century down to 1850, the Evangelical movement had transformed British Protestantism into a vibrant missionary force.

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10 The London Jews' Society and the Roots of Premillennialism, 1809–1829

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At the fifth annual meeting of the subscribers to the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity amongst the Jews, held on 7 May 1813, at the Freemasons' Tavern in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the great liberator William Wilberforce moved to invite His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, the fourth son of King George III, to serve as patron of the young society. The motion prompted an extraordinary round of apologetics. The society, Wilberforce averred, was to be recommended "upon the mere ground of humanity and mercy" to the Jewish people. Beyond this, there were what he deemed "higher considerations" to be reckoned with. "We well know," Wilberforce elaborated,

that it has been the opinion of many learned men, and for many hundred years, and their opinion has been confirmed by persons scarcely less able in recent times, some of whom I may say are now present, that we are now approaching towards that period, when we may expect the great event to take place, of the conversion of the Jews.

Wilberforce was clearly uneasy with the general air of eschatological expectancy that permeated the organisational culture of the Jews' Society and lent it something of a reputation for eccentricity and enthusiasm – precisely the sort of qualities that might deter royal countenance. He took pains to clarify to his audience, "My own studies have not led that way." His trepidation was shared by other speakers. Christ's injunction "to go and teach all nations, to declare his word at all times to mankind, to the Jew as well as to the Gentile," Dr. Robert Young, minister of the Scots Church, London Wall, affirmed in turn, was binding on all ages, regardless of their imagined proximity to the end of days. But the sense of the extraordinary could not be evaded altogether. The roar of the cannons of continental Europe and the ovations of the anniversary meetings in London alike, explained the metropolitan clergyman William Mann, announced the coming of the Lord, "to create new heavens and a new earth."¹

1. The Dispensational Question

The London Society for the Promotion of Christianity amongst the Jews, or the London Jews' Society, as it was commonly known, was haunted by what we

might call the *dispensational* question. Even among the other organs of the British “missionary awakening,” all of which were to some extent shaded in apocalyptic colouring by the later eighteenth century backdrop of British global expansion, Atlantic revolutions, and protracted geopolitical crisis in Europe, the London Jews’ Society stood apart.² Throughout the first two decades of its existence, the organisational self-understanding of the Society chafed against the prevailing postmillennialism of turn-of-the-nineteenth-century British evangelicalism. Post-millennial eschatology tended to equate the building of Christ’s kingdom on Earth with the evangelistic and ameliorative efforts of godly men and women, a work wholly continuous with the gospel dispensation – that is, the current epoch of the church.³ But in its sermons, speeches, and promotional literature, the London Jews’ Society evinced some uncertainty over whether its missionary endeavours proceeded under the ordinary imperatives of the gospel, or whether its activities were better construed as partaking in the fulfilment of Biblical prophecy. The latter framework necessarily placed the Society’s efforts in nearer proximity to the end of days, and perhaps, more immediate collaboration with extraordinary manifestations of the supernatural.⁴ From this perspective, then, it is perhaps not surprising that the London Jews’ Society comprised the institutional *milieu* out of which modern premillennial eschatological thought emerged in British evangelicalism.⁵

Premillennialism is, of course, generally understood as an eschatological outlook that postpones any substantive amelioration of the human condition until after the immediate, physical return of Christ to earth. The coming of the Lord, in other words, precedes the inauguration of the messianic or millennial age, which commences long before the events of the Last Judgment. Premillennialism not only re-punctuates human history by distinguishing the cataclysms which will end the present age from those which will ultimately end the world, it also holds open an earthly, but post-historical epoch of messianic kingship as an object of devotional anticipation and hope.⁶ The emergence of premillennialism from the *milieu* of the London Jews’ Society is more frequently noted than explained. Scholars tend instead to attribute the turn towards premillennial eschatology to an ambient “crisis of evangelicalism” in the 1820s and 1830s, a generational shift that saw the moderate Calvinism and social uplift of Clapham Sect evangelicalism give way to a more strident and pessimistic outlook, comprised of vicious anti-Catholicism, narrow predestinarianism, and an utter despair at the prospects for world Christianisation.⁷ In such accounts, pride of place tends to be given to the London-based Scots Presbyterian preacher Edward Irving, whose popularisation of the doctrine of the premillennial advent of Christ the historian Sheridan Gilley credits with “the dissolution of moderate Clapham evangelicalism.”⁸ Other scholars have nuanced this approach by highlighting specifically what David Bebbington calls “the Romantic inflow into Evangelicalism” in this period.⁹ The belief in the imminent personal return of Christ not only reflected the romantic movement’s newfound desire for unmediated spiritual experience, it also gratified the wider cultural taste for cataclysm – the so-called “apocalyptic sublime” – that informed the canvases of John Martin and works like Mary Shelley’s *The Last Man*.¹⁰ One need not denigrate the interpretive value of these approaches by sounding a note of caution about the displacement of the rise of modern premillennialism from

its original institutional *milieu*. The emergence of premillennial thought from the circles around the London Jews' Society and its publications, after all, predated Edward Irving's espousal of these ideas by about five years. Restored to its initial organisational context, the immediate critical force of British premillennialism in the early nineteenth century becomes considerably clearer.

2. The Jews' Society and the Religious World

The theological tensiity that characterised the London Jews' Society throughout its first two decades was fairly unique among the voluntary associations of the so-called "religious world" of early nineteenth-century Britain. Moderate voices among its leadership and subscribers routinely insisted that efforts to convert Jews proceeded according to the ordinary evangelistic responsibilities of all gospel Christianity. More excitable elements, however, imagined the work of the London Jews' Society in expressly eschatological terms. The push and pull between these approaches to Jewish evangelisation, though seldom erupting into open doctrinal controversy, was manifest throughout the Society's meetings, publications, and homiletic output. And the strain of these pressures inflected the development of both the Society's theological self-understanding and its public reputation. Several aspects of this deserve notice. First, the Jews' Society became a virtual clearinghouse for the most arcane forms of eschatological speculation and interpretation. For instance, the Society's original journal, *The Jewish Repository*, was re-founded in 1816, tellingly, as *The Jewish Expositor*. The periodical was so wholly given over to eschatological exposition that it came less and less to resemble the missionary magazines of its sibling societies in the metropolis, and became, in some sense, prototypical of the prophetic journals of the early Victorian era. Second, the culture of eschatological speculation consistently drew the Society's focus away from the immediate spiritual and material needs of Great Britain's small, but substantially free, Jewish population towards ever more remote and exotic objects of concern whose conversion potentially yielded more dramatic eschatological significance. European Jews languishing under the boot of continental absolutisms, Middle Eastern Jews living amidst the decay of the Ottoman Empire, and the imagined remnants of the lost tribes of Israel discovered in Afghanistan or the Caucasus or in Indian country out beyond the American frontier – all were imaginatively enlisted in an eschatological drama of global proportions, the scope and sublimity of which simply eclipsed the plodding work of ministry in the East End of London.¹¹ The idealisation of Jews (and imagined Jews) into what one early Society member deemed "the master-key of the Apocalypse" effectively privileged speculative engagement over material outreach. Finally, the disquiet and controversy such fantastic impulses within the London Jews' Society tended to generate impelled the development of increasingly concrete expositions of the relationship between the current epoch of the Church and its millennial successor. The premillennial eschatology that first emerged within Jews' Society circles was hardly the confession of abject historical despair it would become under Edward Irving; it was

largely soteriological and ecclesiological – an attempt to reorient the Christian economy of salvation around the prospect of future participation in an earthly messianic kingdom. From this perspective, one can draw a parallel between the emergence of premillennial eschatology and the increasingly corporate ecclesiology that characterised the Anglican high church enemies of the “religious world” in the early nineteenth century.¹²

There was little at first blush that distinguished the London Society for the Promoting of Christianity amongst the Jews markedly from the numerous other organs of missionary outreach and philanthropic engagement that comprised the “religious world” of early nineteenth-century evangelicalism.¹³ Originally conceived and undertaken by the Franconia-born convert from Judaism, Joseph Samuel Christian Fredrich Frey, under the auspices of the nonconformist London Missionary Society, the outreach to Britain’s small Jewish population was established on an independent footing in 1809.¹⁴ As Donald Lewis points out, Frey’s mission may be understood as an importation into Great Britain of an impulse to evangelise Jews that had long characterised German pietism.¹⁵ But these foreign origins did little to hinder the easy assimilation of the London Jews’ Society into the broader ecology of evangelical associations, drawing upon the same imperially minded activist bases among the Clapham saints of the metropolis and the circles surrounding Charles Simeon at Cambridge. Simeon himself, for instance, inscribed all of the societies in a common postmillennial framework. Upon attending anniversary meetings of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the London Jews’ Society, and the Prayer Book and Homily Society on successive days in a single week in May, he proclaimed, “The whole Christian world seems stirred up almost as you would expect it to be in the Millennium.”¹⁶ The London Jews’ Society would have been proud to be listed in such ranks. It claimed as its organisational model the interdenominational constitution of the British and Foreign Bible Society, welcoming “the co-operation of Christians of every denomination.” And its activities were a part of the broader missionary awakening. Within its first year, the London Jews’ Society had acquired a French Protestant chapel in Spitalfields. Dubbed the Jews’ Chapel, Frey established a series of weekly lectures there, reportedly well attended by between two and five hundred London Jews. A quarterly lecture series was inaugurated in November 1809 by none less than the illustrious Andrew Fuller of Kettering, founder of the Baptist Missionary Society. The London Society engaged in book publication and distribution, and established a Free School in the Chapel, reportedly educating some three hundred children in its first year.¹⁷ Moreover, the London Jews’ Society was welcomed to the “religious world” with the obloquy with which high church Anglicans had long assailed the other evangelical societies. Like its older sibling the Bible Society, the London Jews’ Society was derided for an interdenominational constitution, which put Anglican resources and legitimacy at the disposal of sectarians and heretics; as well as for its ecclesiological deficiencies, which privileged the bare experience of conversion over incorporation into a liturgical and sacramental community.¹⁸

3. The Prophetic Framework

Interestingly, the London Jews' Society was initially less concerned about the general anti-evangelicalism of high church critics than the more pointed charges that it harboured "foolish and utopian expectations" of Jewish conversion. In response, the governing committee affirmed the eschatological framework, which disclosed that "an important period is fast approaching when there will be some remarkable manifestation of Jehovah's will concerning his people Israel, and the Gentile nations." Nevertheless, the committee reassured subscribers, it proceeded not by "visionary and uncertain calculations," but by sound evangelical truth.¹⁹ The problem, of course, was the crumbling distinction between these bases. At the core of the London Jews' Society's self-understanding was the rejection of what were considered overly "spiritualised" readings of Scripture that displaced the Jews as the object of prophecy. Christians, Daniel Wilson, minister of St. John's Bedford Row, told the Society, "have too generally confined their prophecies of the Old Testament to an analogical and accommodated sense," which substituted the Christian Church for Israel. "It is only of late years that they have begun to consider the literal and immediate bearing of those glorious predictions on the salvation of ancient Israel."²⁰ Prophetic assurance of the ultimate reconciliation of the Jews, that "all Israel shall be saved" (Romans 11:26), lent real urgency to the task of simply determining the place of the present historical moment within an eschatological timeline.

Members of the London Jews' Society turned to the prophetic exposition of the Durham churchman George Stanley Faber, whose *General and Connected View of the Prophecies, Relative to the Conversion, Restoration, Union, and Future Glory of the Houses of Judah and Israel* appeared the year the Society was founded. The learned and exceedingly clever Faber effectively updated the eighteenth-century English tradition of prophetic exposition for the era of the Napoleonic wars.²¹ Like that of his master, the high church bishop of Rochester Samuel Horsley, Faber's work advanced the conservative and nationalistic re-appropriation of apocalypticism from the radicals and republicans of the 1790s.²² In his schema, the prophetic 1260-year epoch of anti-Christian persecution (the "forty and two months" of Revelation 13:5; and the "time, times and a half" of Daniel 12:7 and Revelation 12:14) commenced in the year 606, with the contemporaneous recognition of the universal episcopate of the bishop of Rome and the first retirement of Muhammad to the cave of Hira – the putative "great double Apostasy" in both east and west.²³ This, of course, placed the inauguration of the end times in the year 1866, effectively situating Faber's own momentous era at the antechamber of the millennium. "In the end of days, or at the termination of the great period of 1260 days," Faber explained, "the Jewish Church will begin to be restored to her right of primogeniture. She will join her younger sister, the Gentile Church; and will unite in receiving Jesus as the Messiah."²⁴ Significantly, Faber himself became a corresponding member of the London Jews' Society in its first year, and founded one of its earliest auxiliaries in Redmarshall.²⁵ His prophetic writings and ideas soon became part of the basic fabric of the Society's journals and promotional literature.²⁶

The eschatological sensibility gleaned from George Stanley Faber was effectively translated into an imperial idiom by the East India Company chaplain, Claudius Buchanan, another pervasive influence on the London Jews' Society's early proceedings. The Scots-born Buchanan, an evangelical intimate of the Clapham Sect in London and a disciple of Charles Simeon in Cambridge, is perhaps best known as one of the chief architects of the Anglican ecclesiastical establishment on the Indian subcontinent. But it was the prophetic turn of his final years in India that resonated with the circles around the London Jews' Society.²⁷ Towards the end of Buchanan's tenure with the Company, he undertook two lengthy tours of southern India. His findings on these tours were ultimately digested in a work entitled *Christian Researches in Asia*, which appeared in England in 1811. An absolute sensation, the *Christian Researches* was republished nine times within its first two years. Ostensibly an anthropological study of the extraordinary religious diversity on the Indian subcontinent, the *Christian Researches* was entirely filtered through the prophetic lens that had come to colour Buchanan's general outlook on British India towards the end of his service there.

At the heart of the *Christian Researches* was Buchanan's long rumination on the fate of the Jews scattered in communities throughout the East Indies. Surely, reasoned Buchanan, "their preservation in such a variety of regions, and under such a diversity of circumstances" evinced some divine purpose, which might well be coming to fruition. From his encounters with the Jewish communities on the newly conquered Malabar Coast, the so-called Cochin Jews, Buchanan gleaned their restiveness for return to Israel, and he responded by "press[ing] strongly upon them the prophecies of Daniel," specifically, that the 1260-year epoch of persecution was nearing an end and that the time of their restoration to Palestine was "not very remote."²⁸ Upon returning to England, Buchanan preached a sermon at St. James, Bristol, on behalf the fledgling Church Missionary Society. Entitled *The Star in the East*, Buchanan's sermon charted the intertwined objectives of the propagation of the gospel to the heathens throughout the British empire and the conversion of the Jews.²⁹ The sermon, with its documentation of the "remarkable accomplishment of the various prophecies in the Old Testament," was invoked at the very first meeting of the subscribers of the London Jews' Society in May 1809.³⁰ The following year, Buchanan was urging the London Jews' Society to open up a correspondence with the Jews of Asia. "Inform them of the great events that have taken place in the West," he advised,

namely, that Jews have become Christians; that the Christians are sending forth preachers to teach all nations; that the Messiah is surely come; and that the signs of the times encourage the belief that Israel is about to be restored.³¹

By 1814, Buchanan's friends were pressing him to assume the secretaryship of the London Jews' Society. He refused, interestingly, on account of the Society's interdenominational constitution. Instead, he thought the mission to the Jews might be more safely housed under the auspices of the establishment's own Church

Missionary Society, “the end being the same.”³² Buchanan died in February 1815, ironically, just as the London Jews’ Society was being reorganised along strictly Anglican lines.³³

Such influences lent the early proceedings of the London Jews’ Society a mystique that might not otherwise have attended its modest ministry to a small, largely indifferent population of aliens in the metropolis.³⁴ The prophetic framework, particularly in the imperial register of Claudius Buchanan, diffused the cognisance of the Society outward in both time and space.³⁵ The standing committee assured members in May 1812 that there was

at present amongst all the tribes of Israel, who retain any reverence for the Mosaical Institutions, an expectation (almost as general as that which pervaded Judea and the civilised world previous to the birth of our Lord,) that some great event will shortly happen to that nation.

The Society routinely projected upon Jewish (and putatively Jewish) populations the world over the same imminent messianic hope that animated its contributors.³⁶ Such affirmations reminded members they were participating in a global event – indeed, perhaps one of the final global events of the present age.³⁷

And this pervasive eschatological sensibility tended to elevate the work of the London Jews’ Society, at least rhetorically, above that of its sibling missionary organs. “On the conversion and restoration of the Jews, as upon a mighty pivot,” the general committee reported in 1812, “the grand consummation of the affairs of this world revolves.”³⁸ The Scriptural foundation of this conceit was, above all else, the eleventh chapter of the epistle to the Romans, particularly Paul’s rather cryptic disclosure of the prophetic mystery that the blindness of Israel would persist, “until the fulness of the Gentiles” be gathered in (11:25). It was this chapter, for instance, which awakened the Colchester divine William Marsh – the celebrated preacher who would eventually become known as “Millennial” Marsh – to the eschatological significance of Jewish evangelisation.³⁹ Romans 11 appeared to position Jewish evangelisation as the fulcrum around which the whole of British global missionary endeavour turned.⁴⁰ Preaching on Romans 11 in 1816, Daniel Wilson explained to the Society that the prophecy did not require that the conversion of the Gentiles be completed, but only “the fulness of the Gentiles, shall be coming in, have begun to take place” – a work indisputably unfolding in the worldwide missionary efforts of British evangelicals.⁴¹ Some went so far as to insist that the prophecy revealed that “the general conversion of the Jews must precede that of the Gentiles.”⁴² A correspondent to the Society’s journal, for instance, explained that the converted Jews themselves would be the material instruments of the conversion of the heathen world.⁴³ These escalating claims of global significance and priority, it must be noted, were piled heedlessly atop a rather modest base of converted Jews in London that, by May 1814, numbered no more than forty-five adults and thirty-five children.⁴⁴ And that already unprepossessing figure does not account for backsliding, a perennial problem for the organisation.⁴⁵

4. The High Church Backlash

In the second decade of the nineteenth century, the high church Anglican campaign against the evangelical societies intensified considerably. An 1812 pamphlet by Herbert Marsh, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, sharpened the longstanding high church resentment of the British and Foreign Bible Society into a formidable critique of evangelical soteriology. In protesting the distribution of the Bible without the Book of Common Prayer, Marsh made plain the doctrinal objections latent in high church opposition to the Bible Society: that it was predicated on a defective soteriology which privileged an experience of conversion mediated by the hearing or reading of Scripture rather than incorporation into a sacramental community.⁴⁶ The campaign against the evangelical societies was, in effect, a cipher for the long-running controversy over baptismal regeneration, the major doctrinal fault line that divided evangelicals from their opponents in the early nineteenth century.⁴⁷ From this position, which by 1815–16 had found its way into a number of episcopal charges to the clergy denouncing the Bible Society, the entire “religious world” of voluntary associations, interdenominational unions, subscription lists, and fundraising drives was but a spurious substitute for the body of Christ.⁴⁸ “This is the only true mode of propagating the gospel,” preached Archdeacon Pott at the consecration of a new bishop of Nova Scotia in 1816, “namely, by establishing a Church and a Clergy, as a rallying point of sound and active union.”

All the visionary schemes of fanaticism, all the wild and discordant efforts of unauthorised missions can be productive of little permanent good. The missionary societies, with which this kingdom at present so unfortunately abounds, build their hopes upon sand; theirs is a foundation which the winds and waves will soon dissipate, and the edifice will fall upon the heads of its deluded builders.⁴⁹

In 1817, the protest of Josiah Thomas, Archdeacon of Bath, extended this line of critique to the Church Missionary Society, dismaying Clapham Sect moderates and fostering further controversy over the legitimacy of the evangelical “religious world.”⁵⁰ The London Jews’ Society fixture Daniel Wilson issued a full-throated defence of the evangelical societies, but the controversy ground on.⁵¹

For its part, the London Jews’ Society attempted to keep scandal at bay by reorganising its constitution on a strictly Anglican basis in early 1815, thus divesting itself of the interdenominational character that so incensed critics of the Bible Society.⁵² The suddenly wealthy evangelical layman Lewis Way began to set the Society’s financial house in order by paying down some £12,000 of the organisation’s enormous debt.⁵³ The London Jews’ Society also parted company with its disgraced founder Joseph Frey, who had been accused of an adulterous affair with a married Jewish convert.⁵⁴ More importantly, it was at this point that the London Jews’ Society began to re-orient itself away from the domestic Jewish population and toward Europe. The annual report presented in May 1817 proclaimed the Society’s activities within England to have been “of too limited a nature.”

Frustrated with the meagre harvest of souls at home, the governors directed the Society's attention toward the "two millions of Jews under the Russian sceptre," and the populous colonies of Jews throughout the Mediterranean. "It is the decided opinion of our Committee, that if this Society is to be the instrument of any extensive good to the House of Israel, the great field of its operations must be abroad."⁵⁵ Newly ordained in the Church of England, Way himself undertook a lengthy tour of the Netherlands, Hanover, Prussia and Russia throughout 1817–18 in the company of the Polish convert Benjamin N. Solomon, during which he became a vocal advocate for Jewish emancipation in post-Napoleonic Europe.⁵⁶ But despite these reforms, mainstream evangelicals were still aware that the eschatological extravagancies of the Jews' Society exposed the organisation to censure and ridicule.⁵⁷ Robert Grant, son of the East India Company director and Clapham sect stalwart Charles Grant, addressed these concerns head on at the anniversary meeting in May 1816. "It has been said," he began, "that the whole principle on which we are constituted is wild, and chimerical, and visionary."

And that the very basis of our system is something unsound, and romantic and strange; – that we proceed on rash, arbitrary, enthusiastic interpretations of certain particular and very mysterious parts of prophecy; – that we are acting under violent and fantastic impressions of I know not what mighty revolutions about to take place in the course of the world; – that caught by these extravagant notions, we have cast away the sober maxims of sane reason, and have abandoned ourselves to delusions, which at the best are pitiable, and at the worst may be pernicious.

Grant disputed all of these charges, testifying before the subscribers that the Society was animated only by "the grand Christian duties – of endeavouring to relieve the afflicted, to instruct the ignorant, to reclaim the depraved, to save the lost."⁵⁸ But behind the scenes, the trepidation was unrelieved. "The Jews' Society, somehow or other, does not thrive," Zachary Macaulay told Hannah More. There were numerous problems, but he attributed its struggles in part to the romantic allure of eschatology surrounding the organisation. "Its object," he reasoned, "is one which seizes powerfully the mind of weak religionists."⁵⁹ When the Anglican high church campaign against the evangelical societies finally turned its attention to the London Jews' Society, it lit upon precisely this dimension of its proceedings. A January 1819 review in the organ of Hackney Phalanx high churchmanship, the *British Critic*, excoriated the London Jews' Society for its mismanagement, profligacy, lack of tangible success, and, of course, what the reviewer deemed "the morbid sensibilities" of its prophetic outlook. The Jews' Society, pronounced the reviewer, was guilty of having "squandered thousands upon profligates and hypocrites, in order to gratify the prurient fancy of brainsick enthusiasts."⁶⁰

5. The Premillennial Turn

The expressly premillennial eschatology which emerged from within the ranks of the London Jews' Society bore the unmistakable stamp of these ecclesiastical

pressures. Indeed, the proponents of this outlook virtually echo the ecclesiological misgivings about the legitimacy of the evangelical societies voiced by Anglican critics. Positioned by a prevailing postmillennialism at some indeterminate middle point in the open-ended historical erection of Christ's kingdom on earth, the societies seemed spiritually adrift. And just as orthodox Anglicans could not reconcile the standing committees and subscriptions lists of the societies with their own apostolic vision of a sacerdotal and sacramental church, premillennialist writers struggled to plot the relationship between the bourgeois "religious world" and the divinely transmogrified Earth of the imminent future.⁶¹ In the final weeks of 1819, Charles Hawtrey, editor of the *Jewish Expositor* and minister of the Episcopal Jews' Chapel at Bethnal Green, published a sermon on *The Nature of the First Resurrection*, which took aim at the postmillennial conceit that the "first resurrection" of Revelation 20 denoted little more than a spiritual revival, like that compassed by the missionary and bible societies. The millennium, Hawtrey preached, has been misconstrued as "a more extensive diffusion of spiritual religion in the world" when, in fact, it signified the advent of a material kingdom of Christ on earth comprised of the transfigured bodies of the still living and the freshly resurrected saints. Hawtrey's premillennialism entailed neither the arcane date-setting and sign-reading common to prophetic exposition in that era nor any trace of social or political jeremiad. It aimed, rather, to posit future participation in an earthly messianic kingdom as an immediate object of spiritual hope and devotion. "Endeavour to keep alive in your hearts," Hawtrey extolled, "a joyful and abiding expectation of the second coming of your Lord."⁶²

In January 1820, Hawtrey's *Jewish Expositor* began printing a series of eight letters pseudonymously written by Lewis Way under the pen name "Basilicus," entitled "Thoughts on the Scriptural Expectations of the Christian Church."⁶³ Way's Basilicus Letters demanded nothing short of a complete reorientation of Christian soteriology away from the personal hope of heaven after death towards collective participation in the messianic kingdom of Christ on earth.⁶⁴ Like Hawtrey, Way assailed the postmillennialist conceit that "a great extension of the spiritual kingdom of Christ will take place towards the close of the Christian dispensation," which was then to be concluded by the return of Christ, the judgment of the quick and the dead, and the dissolution of the material universe. The second advent heralded not the end of the world, but its complete renovation.

[A] new order of things, and a distinct period or aera of the world will then commence . . . the change thus effected in the physical and moral, secular and spiritual state of the world, will be so complete, so general, so extraordinary, as to correspond with the nature and signficancy of the expressions by which it is exhibited in Scripture, such as 'a new creation,' a 'new earth,' making 'all things new,' 'restoring all things,' &c.⁶⁵

The proper Christian hope, then, was not life after death, but *apokatastasis*, the restitution of all things – as Way put it, "when the earth, once cursed for the sake of man, shall be blessed again, renewed, and fitted for the habitation of the righteous." The subject of prophecy was identical to that of prayer, Way

affirmed, “a kingdom to come, in which the will of God will be done *on earth* as it is in heaven.”⁶⁶ Also in 1820 appeared London Jews’ Society steering committee member John Bayford’s extraordinary *Messiah’s Kingdom*. Like his colleagues, Bayford hailed the work of the missionary and bible societies as a sign of the end times, but he was careful to distance himself from the blinkered postmillennialism of mainstream evangelicalism. “The most spiritually-minded men,” Bayford complained, “amidst the signs and wonders, which surround them, expect nothing more than a general amendment in the condition of civil society, through the universal spread of the gospel amongst all nations . . . This is their Millennium.” Instead, they must prepare for the physical return of Christ and what Bayford called “the complete establishment of the Millennial Church.”⁶⁷

This literature positively luxuriated in its vision of the corporate life of the coming kingdom – “the Church of the Millennial dispensation,” as Bayford deemed it.⁶⁸ Nowhere was this more immediate than in Lewis Way’s gargantuan didactic poem *Palingenesia, The World to Come*, a delineation over nearly three hundred pages of the contours of an earth transformed by the imminent return and reign of Christ. The saint yet living or newly resurrected at the time of Christ’s return, Way averred, will behold a new world more astonishing than that of Columbus.

“Traversing by faith,” instead of ocean, he
 obtains a view
 Of the celestial city, garnish’d out
 With stones more precious, and refresh’d by streams
 Of life and bliss – adorn’d on either side
 With trees for food and med’cine, yielding fruit
 Each in their season – for that soul is come
 To Zion, and maintains communion there
 With all the just made perfect – and with him
 The Mediator of the covenant,
 Out of whose fulness, he derives all grace,
 Restored in the image of his God,
 And bless’d again with each beatitude!

Way bestowed an opulence and physicality redolent of Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s *Xanadu* on the coming “dominion theocratic and divine”. With its “streets of pure transparent glass/And golden pavement – walls of Jasper built”, the renovated world of the millennium would be rendered a tangible object of ultimate devotional contemplation and hope. Indeed, much of the poem is concerned with restoring the doctrine of the premillennial advent of Christ to the heart of Christian soteriology. Way compared the “professing world” of modern evangelicals to the Jews of old; just as the Jews once rejected the spiritual kingdom of Christ in hopes of a literal kingdom on earth, so now contemporaries reject the hope of the physical millennium in favour of the spiritual one of the bible societies and missionary groups.⁶⁹

Predictably, perhaps, this groundswell of premillennial sensibilities from within the circles of the London Jews' Society scandalised moderate evangelicals as much as Anglican high churchmen. "What heresies I am told are creeping in, even among pious people," exclaimed Hannah More, when first hearing of the premillennial doctrine of the first resurrection. "I fear it will hurt the Jews' cause."⁷⁰ In summer 1825, the Claphamite *Christian Observer* ran a lengthy two-part review of the new premillennialist publications, remarking upon the "delineation of their splendid temporal Millennial Jerusalem; where each is pleased to revel in all the luxury of poetic invention." The *Observer* would not condemn "the sober and serious investigation of prophecy" as a spiritual practice, but worried about the practical and doctrinal consequences of recondite passages of Scripture "literalised, or mystified, into some unknown Palingenesia, some Millennial – we will not, from respect to the subject say – Utopia," which eclipsed the true Christian hope of eternal life in heaven. Moreover, the reviewer bristled at premillennialism's implicit critique of the evangelical societies, opining that "the natural resources of that kingdom of Christ which was established upon earth at the day of Pentecost have not been fully tried," but when fully deployed, they would prove more than adequate for the human construction of "a spiritual Millennial kingdom upon earth."⁷¹ The Hackney Phalanx controversialist Henry Handley Norris's blistering *Origin, Progress, and Existing Circumstances, of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews* appeared the same year – an indictment of over five hundred pages, in which the author charges the organisation with heterodoxy, financial mismanagement and, in his words "missionary Quixotism" for its fruitless efforts at home and abroad. Norris was particularly offended by what he deemed the "prophetical excitement to contribution" – the Society's seeming addiction to eschatology to stoke public interest and solicit donations.⁷² Norris discerned clearly how the London Jews' Society over-reliance on prophecy had rendered Europe a theatre for its eschatology. Missionary encounters with continental Jews, in the teeth of either reactionary Roman Catholicism or emancipatory *Haskalah*, rekindled somewhat an apocalyptic urgency that had naturally cooled in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. Lewis Way, for instance, was stoking messianic expectation among European Jews on his very first tour of the continent in late 1817, urging George Stanley Faber's prophetic chronology on the chief rabbi of The Hague.⁷³ In the wake of that expedition, the Society committed to a permanent presence in continental Europe. Its first continental mission station was established in Amsterdam in 1820 and another in Warsaw the following year. A presence in Berlin and throughout the cities of the Rhineland was cultivated throughout the decade.⁷⁴ In 1821, the Jewish convert and ardent premillennialist Joseph Wolff began a tour of the Mediterranean world that would carry him from Gibraltar through Malta, Alexandria, Cairo and Beirut and Jerusalem.⁷⁵ Norris could not help but notice the virtually stereotyped reportage such missions elicited, almost universally testifying to what representatives in Frankfurt described as "a great stir and commotion among the children of Israel."⁷⁶ The agents of the London Jews' Society reported amongst the Jews of continental Europe a clamor and expectancy which virtually confirmed the advent hope which had become the

centrepiece of the Society's outlook back home—"the 'excitations' upon which they found their auguries," as Norris mockingly deemed them. "Did the Lord promise that upon prophesying to these dry bones, they should all rise up in a minute as a great army?" Charles Simeon asked the Norwich auxiliary in 1822, "No, but first there should be a *motion* among them . . . The early part of the prophecy is now taking place."⁷⁷ The London Jews' Society, it seems, had discovered in Europe exactly what it had brought there.

At the thirteenth annual meeting of the London Jews' Society in May 1821, a resolution was unanimously passed that the "general and simultaneous stir amongst the Jewish people in various parts of the world" and their apparent readiness to accept the Christian faith signalled that "the predicted shaking of the dry bones has commenced."⁷⁸ The subscribers did not take the opportunity to clarify the expected order of eschatological events or formally endorse the premillennial theories already being ferociously debated by Way, Faber, and others in the pages of the *Jewish Expositor* that year. But they had effectively resolved to reaffirm the dependence of the Society's identity and mission upon the imagined fulfilment of prophecy. And this lent at least tacit sanction to the theologically extravagant culture that had grown up around the British mission to the Jews, with its central conceit that the reliance of evangelisation upon eschatology made a more intimate and thoroughgoing understanding of the last things necessary. The emergence from the London Jews' Society of the Society for the Investigation of Prophecy in 1826; and soon after, the annual prophetic conferences at Albury Park, the gorgeous Surrey estate of the wealthy and eccentric banker Henry Drummond (Vice President of the Jews' Society in 1823), were part of the development of prophetic exposition – of "watchfulness," as it was called – as a spiritual and devotional practice in its own right.⁷⁹

We are thus confronted with the irony of the most controversial and arguably ineffectual endeavour of the British missionary awakening of the turn of the nineteenth century as one of the most theologically generative. A set of ideas and practices cultivated largely to account for and justify the highly suspect mission to the Jews were fed back into the bodies of metropolitan Christianity as a radical reimagining of the economy of salvation. That these were couched in terms of a more corporate, spiritually immanent, indeed one might even say, romantic ecclesiology suggests perhaps a kinship with the Oxford Movement in their shared disaffection with the bourgeois and associational basis of mainstream evangelicalism.⁸⁰ From this perspective, premillennialism might best be understood not as a confession of despair, a curdled and pessimistic philosophy of history that condemns to judgment an earth unworthy of fruitless Christianisation efforts. Rather, it might more profitably be seen as an alternate catholicity, a universal churchmanship glimpsed but only to be realised in the fullness of time.

Notes

1. *The Jewish Repository*, I (June 1813), 260–71, 294.
2. James A. De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea: Millennial Expectations in the Rise of Anglo-American Missions, 1640–1810* (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1970), 159–98; Stephen Orchard, 'Evangelical Eschatology and the Missionary Awakening,' *Journal of Religious History*, 22, 2 (1998), 132–51.

3. See Crawford Gribben, *Evangelical Millennialism in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1500–2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Stephen Hunt, 'The Rise, Fall and Return of Post-Millenarianism,' in *Christian Millenarianism: From the Early Church to Waco*, ed. Stephen Hunt (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 50–61.
4. The distinction between general and special providence in evangelical social thought is treated at length in Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought 1785–1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); and see Ralph Brown, 'Victorian Anglican Evangelicalism: The Radical Legacy of Edward Irving,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 58, 4 (2007), 675–704.
5. Donald M. Lewis, *The Origins of Christian Zionism: Lord Shaftesbury and Evangelical Support for a Jewish Homeland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 67–103.
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11 Missions on the Fringes of Europe

British Protestants & the Orthodox Churches, c. 1800–1850

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The end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 ushered in an era of assertive Protestant missionary expansionism.¹ The mood is captured by *Britannia Recommending the Sacred Records to the Attention of the Different Nations of the World*, a painting given to the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) in 1825 by the Baptist publisher, miniaturist, and entrepreneur Robert Bowyer (1758–1834).² It was painted by Thomas Stothard (1755–1834), probably to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Society, which fell in 1824. The original does not seem to be extant. But from a rare contemporary print, which survives in the British Museum, the main lineaments are clear. Britannia points to a Bible, which is being wafted from heaven by attending angels, dispelling as it comes the darkness of ignorance, or perhaps of warfare. The Bible Society itself was central to the vision thus invoked. As its spokesmen loved to emphasise, this was a patriotic venture but also a peaceable one; an engine of moral rather than military pre-eminence that had been founded amid fears of invasion in 1804 and whose success, against a background of triumph over the French, bore witness to the peace-bringing qualities of the Gospel.³ It was also part of a broader providential picture. For if blood and gold spent in defeating France bought Britain the right to act as a European power, the more important ingredient in her victory, many religious commentators argued, was her moral pre-eminence. Her abolition of the slave trade in 1807, above all, represented credit in the celestial bank.⁴ In the aftermath of a war widely seen as a cosmic struggle between Christianity and its foes, victorious Britannia, preachers insisted, was discovering her missionary destiny. Her helmet and trident are laid conspicuously aside: instead of seeking to do violence to her companions, she points them towards the source of eternal life.

These high-flown themes were underpinned by a philanthropic revolution. An upsurge in the income of London-based evangelical societies was already evident in the early 1810s, but by 1815 growth had become exponential, thanks chiefly to the use of local auxiliaries, which made hitherto metropolitan bodies into some of the first genuinely national concerns.⁵ This was coupled with shrewd publicity, which broadened the appeal of such societies beyond their natural evangelical support base. Aristocrats, statesmen, and members of the royal family were recruited as patrons, taking pride of place in annual reports. Exhaustive accounts of books



Figure 11.1 Thomas Stothard, *Britannia Recommending the Sacred Records to the Attention of the Different Nations of the World*

Source: Etching by Henry William Worthington, c. 1824. The original painting was presented to the British and Foreign Bible Society, probably to celebrate its twentieth anniversary in 1824. Its location is now unknown. Copyright: Trustees of the British Museum.

distributed, subscriptions collected, and money raised encouraged individuals across the empire and the Anglo-American Protestant world to see themselves as part of one vast imagined community of activism.⁶ Central to that vision was confident engagement with modern technology. Bulging coffers allowed evangelical societies to become forceful entrepreneurs, whose investment in printing innovations enabled them to pump out Bibles and tracts in ever larger quantities at ever decreasing costs.⁷ Geopolitics thus combined with technological advances to make the universal spread of Protestant Christianity via print seem not just credible, but imminent and perhaps inevitable.⁸ This backdrop is significant in two respects. It highlights a reimagining of what missions were for, as the aim of creating copycat churches overseas was eclipsed by a stress on individual spiritual commitment. This was the epoch of what might be termed the vernacular Bible project, whose staggeringly ambitious but brilliantly simple aim was to provide every inhabitant of the world with a copy of the Christian Scriptures, without note or comment, that he or she could read: an ecumenical cause in which all Christians could unite. It also points up a widening of missionary perspectives.

In the eighteenth century, as Rowan Strong has pointed out, Anglican missionary thought sometimes aspired to universality, but the resources available were limited, and the horizons narrow.⁹ Even now, rhetoric continued to outstrip reality, but it seemed possible to plan for the evangelisation of the globe.

The Bible Society's painting was, then, more than just a stock image. Crucially, the details of the figures surrounding Britannia suggest that she owed a duty not only to far-flung imperial subjects but to nations closer to home, Europeans among them. In a famous 1848 Church Missionary Society (CMS) Jubilee sermon, Edward Bickersteth (1786–1850) combined the Books of Revelation and Acts in a *tour d'horizon* of modern missionary endeavour.

The New Zealander and the North-American Indian, the African and the Hindoo, the Singhalese and the Tamulian, the Greek and the Chinese, all have received of one Spirit, delight in one Father, confide in one Saviour, love each other and love all the brotherhood; sing one song, worship in one liturgy, have everywhere one purpose, seeking to possess the same mind of Christ, and to glorify Him, and pressing to the same heavenly home. We may again say, as in the primitive church, “so mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed.”¹⁰

If Greece seems like the odd one out, it is because evangelical engagement with Orthodox Christianity has been neglected.¹¹ The reasons for this are not difficult to discern. In part it can be ascribed to the priorities of modern scholars of mission, who still tend to focus on North America, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, and who have also perhaps found it more difficult to situate the Greek Church at a time in which political and imperial flux made, and make, the borders of “Europe” difficult to define. It also reflects contemporary perspectives. Evangelicals were understandably muted about one of their least successful ventures. Victorian High Churchmen, and many of their historians, have preferred to believe that “genuine” inter-church dialogue began only in the 1840s and 1850s.¹² They were vaguely aware of earlier endeavours, piecing together an ecumenical lineage out of links with the “Calvinistic” Patriarch of Constantinople Cyril Lukaris (1572–1638) in the seventeenth century, the short-lived Greek College at Oxford between 1699 and 1705, correspondence between the Nonjurors and the Eastern patriarchs, and attempts by Archbishop Wake (1657–1737) in the 1720s to establish what the two churches held in common.¹³ Evangelical efforts in their own time, however, they disdained or ignored. American Protestant missions in the Levant have attracted much more scholarly attention.¹⁴

This chapter delineates an intense period of evangelical interest in the Greek Church. Initially, it sets it against the emerging geography of Anglo-American missions in the Levant in the 1800s, 1810s, and 1820s. Next, it explores the historical and eschatological underpinnings for engagement with the Greek Church, arguing that evangelicals were motivated less by pragmatism than by providentially infused romanticism. They envisaged a second age of the apostles, where Bibles and education would first reinvigorate a moribund communion and then empower it to reconquer lands lost to Islam. The third section examines how this

vision began to fray, as the alliances which missionaries forged with ecclesiastical and imperial authorities enmeshed them into, and clashed with, the fraught politics of a nascent nation, and as other English churchmen began to take a greater interest in the region. As will become clear, what made the Greek Church alluring was also what made it problematic. Positioned as it was on the fringes of Europe, it represented both an opportunity and a problem: one that missionaries expended considerable energy and money trying to solve.

1. Protestant Missionary Networks in the Levant

In mid-August 1819, a British traveller set out across the Gulf of Aegina in a small boat. He arrived off Piraeus in early morning sunlight and was captivated. “At the first sight of Athens,” he rhapsodised,

the birth-place of those arts and sciences which have contributed so much to meliorate the condition of Europeans, and render their quarter of the world superior to all others, one is filled with sensations of wonder and regret at the view of the Akropolis, the Academic Groves, the Temples of Minerva and Theseus, the Areopagus, with the surrounding mountains . . . the mind retires into the ages of antiquity, and the memory brings up before it a multitude of images of the greatest men, and the grandest events, recorded in profane history.

He was saving the best until last. “I have news to communicate which will fill your hearts with joy,” he told his correspondents. “Athens also is become the seat of a Bible Society!”¹⁵ The traveller was Robert Pinkerton (1780–1859), roving agent for the BFBS. During the summer and autumn, Pinkerton roamed the Levant like a latter-day Apostle Paul, witnessing an eruption of Mount Etna, suffering from fever, enduring tedious voyages and time in quarantine, gingering up missionary agents, and setting up a chain of Auxiliary Bible Societies in the British-governed Ionian islands. Thence to Athens, after which Pinkerton embarked on another epic voyage, this time to Constantinople, where he hobnobbed with the British Ambassador, cultivated relationships with the Greek and the Armenian Patriarchs, wrote to the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, and set in order the Society’s forthcoming Greek Bible translation, returning via Odessa, Kiev, and Moscow to his family at St Petersburg, where he arrived in January 1820.¹⁶

Lest Pinkerton’s pious jubilation seem overdone, contemporary readers of his letters, circulated widely in Bible Society reports and missionary periodicals, echoed it wholeheartedly. For if Byron and Shelley helped to fix romantic eyes on Greece during the opening decades of the nineteenth century, British Protestants could add further compelling reasons to be fascinated with it. To them, the downtrodden Christians of the Ottoman Empire were dry tinder waiting for a flame. Pinkerton’s elation at the prospect of middle-class Greeks and ecclesiastical authorities signing up to the Bible Society was thus understandable. His vision for the Mediterranean and Middle East was to prove far-fetched. But it is worth

remembering that between 1812 and 1826 Russia was a signal success story, as the enthusiastic support of Tsar Alexander (1777–1825) brought about the foundation of a Russian Bible Society, and with it modern vernacular translations, stereotype printing, and missionary schools to stimulate the literacy necessary to capitalise on this.¹⁷ Might the Russian recipe be applied to a church which, after all, was separated from it only by national boundaries? It is worth remembering, too, that the recent war perceptibly destabilised an Ottoman order that had once seemed impervious to Western influence. Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and Syria in 1798–1801 sparked an orgy of prophetic speculation. Britain's growing influence in the region gave credence to the idea that she might have a pre-ordained part to play not just in the defeat of the Corsican Antichrist, but in forwarding eschatological timetables by restoring the Jews to the Holy Land.¹⁸ The details were, of course, disputed, while plenty of contemporaries were scornful about the whole exercise. Nevertheless, the formal accession of Malta and the Ionian Protectorate to British rule in 1815 helped to foster a sense of fulfilment that had obvious providential undertones. "Britain has acquired a high character and a commanding influence among the people of the East," proclaimed one missionary spokesman, "and she exercises her power for the protection and benefit of others."¹⁹ New-fashioned rhetoric about the defence of Christian civilisation was readily superimposed onto older assumptions about Protestant-Catholic and Christian-Muslim conflict. An awareness that Rome was more active in the region undoubtedly pricked Protestant pride, while initial evangelical successes in turn provoked renewed Catholic sponsorship of the "Uniate" churches of the Balkans and the Middle East (i.e., Orthodox Christians in communion with Rome) as the century went on.²⁰

Particularly interesting to evangelicals was what they called the "Greek Church". That interest owed much to its size: it covered an area much larger than modern Greece, including much of the modern-day Balkans, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, and Turkey, also maintaining a presence in the Levant down as far as Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula. It encompassed a number of different vernacular languages and had four Patriarchs – Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople – of whom the latter was "first among equals". In 1802 an early CMS correspondent recommended the introduction of a man of "the right stamp" as chaplain "to an English Consul, or Factory, in Asia Minor, or elsewhere," who could ascertain the state of religion among the Greeks, learn their language, and distribute evangelically inflected tracts in order to revive "Spiritual and Evangelical religion" in their Church. Here, as elsewhere, there was a grudging awareness that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) had got there first when it printed the New Testament and Psalters in "Arabic, &c." in the 1720s for the benefit of the Orthodox Community of Syria and Palestine.²¹ Nevertheless, the correspondent sniffily added, "much more ought to have been attempted by Protestants in this way than has ever yet been done".²² Evangelical interest in such communities was in some senses a means to an end: a way of hastening the evangelisation of Islam. This relatively new concern owed much to the "martyrdom" of the East India Company chaplain and evangelical missionary Henry

Martyn (1781–1812) at Tokat in 1812. He was hailed almost immediately as a champion of “the Cross” against the crescent: the “first modern missionary to the Mohammedans,” as he would later be dubbed.²³ Martyn’s translation of the New Testament into Persian came to be seen as highly significant, while its printing at St Petersburg (1815) and Calcutta (1816) highlighted the connections evangelicals were beginning to build between the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and India.²⁴ Yet even the most cursory examination of the region revealed considerable difficulties in consummating what Martyn had supposedly begun. Missionary resources and manpower were finite. British influence, while growing, was patchy. And, just as importantly, the Ottoman *millet* system was designed to tolerate religious minorities while discouraging conversion, especially conversion from Islam. Two conclusions flowed from such reflections. One was an emphasis on print, which was cheap to produce, easy to distribute, and might travel where missionaries could not. The other was a growing interest in the possibility of using Bibles, tracts, and education more generally to breathe new life into the ancient churches of the region, thereby raising large numbers of indigenous missionaries who required no wages or cultural acclimatisation.

All this meant that when the Reverend William Jowett (1787–1855) was sent to Malta in 1815 by the CMS, he was despatched as the Society’s “Literary Agent,” with instructions not to proselytise but to travel among the countries around the Mediterranean.²⁵ His brief was to study the languages and religions of the inhabitants, to search for ancient manuscripts that would help translators to produce new versions, and to discern ways of propagating “Christian knowledge”.²⁶ He was joined in early 1818 by the Reverend James Connor (c. 1792–1864). Accounts of their visits to Corfu, Egypt, Greece, the Holy Land, and Constantinople were relayed back to the parent society in London, being published in missionary journals and later gathered into two volumes of *Christian Researches*, published in 1822 and 1825.²⁷ Malta made sense as a base for their endeavours. It was well-placed for establishing links with ports like Leghorn, Trieste, Smyrna, Acre, and Alexandria, all of which had expatriate merchant communities who might act as agents or patrons.²⁸ Less well-publicised but also important was the expertise of learned figures across Europe, and presses in Vienna and Venice with the ability to print in the relevant characters. Here, the indefatigable Pinkerton was again an invaluable go-between. Such connections serve as a reminder that although most BFBS members were evangelicals, and many of them strongly anti-Catholic, the operations of the Society necessarily brought ecumenical entanglements, a fact that generated splits within the Society in the 1820s.²⁹ The CMS book depot and printing press also fitted into a much wider set of overlapping spheres: India, Persia, the Ottoman Empire, Asia, and even East Africa. “The Christian and Mahomedan Pilgrims might perhaps be supplied,” ran Jowett’s instructions,

as cheap articles of commerce, with the Scriptures and Tracts, at the places to which they resort, on their respective pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Mecca – the Christians at Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta, and other towns: and the Mahomedans at Cairo, which is the great resort of the African Pilgrims; and

at Damascus, which is the place of meeting of those of Europe and Asia. Arabic and other Bibles and Tracts might, by these caravans, be conveyed, on the one side, into the interior of Africa, to the kingdom of Fezzan, and even to Darfur; and, on the other, to all parts of Europe and Asia from which the pilgrims resort.³⁰

By the early 1840s, the *Missionary Register* could observe with relish that publications from the Malta press were to be found “on the tables” of the Pasha’s harem.³¹

It was an alluring picture. And during the ensuing decades, a number of other organisations would develop overlapping visions for the region, coordinated chiefly from London. The London Missionary Society (LMS) had a sporadic presence on Malta from 1808, shifting its base to Zante in 1819 and Corfu in 1822, from where its agents concentrated on organising elementary schooling among the Orthodox. Missionaries from the Basel *Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft* were active in the Russian Caucasus from 1821, being chiefly concerned with German-speaking immigrants, but also making contacts among Armenians and Muslims. Agents from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) travelled from Malta to Syria and Palestine in 1819–25, and through Turkey and western Persia in the late 1820s with a view to establishing mission posts there. The eccentric German Joseph Wolff (1795–1862) and the Dane “John Nicolayson” (Hans Nicolajsen: 1803–56) traversed the region on behalf of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (LSPCJ). The CMS, for its part, used Malta as a base from which to establish daughter stations: its “Paedagogion,” or Greek school on the island of Syra in 1828 and its Asia Minor Mission at Smyrna in 1830, both aimed chiefly at the Greeks; and missions in Egypt (1825) and Abyssinia (1830), which focused on Coptic Christians. Further permanent bases were set up by the ABCFM in Beirut (1824), Constantinople (1831), Smyrna (1834), and elsewhere, and by the LSPCJ in Constantinople (1826) and Jerusalem (1833). While the latter society, naturally, worked among the Jews, these missions chiefly dedicated their energies to working with Christians: the Greeks and the collection of autocephalous ancient churches usually known as the “Churches of the East”. Early successes among such communities seemed to promise much.³²

2. “Those First Enlighteners of the World”

It has often been assumed that evangelical relations with the Christians of the Levant were essentially utilitarian. Missionaries appear frequently in histories of Mediterranean travel and tourism, but usually as narrow-minded Bible- and tract-distributors who despised the cultures they encountered there.³³ Some fitted this mould well. The canting Congregational minister Samuel Sheridan Wilson (fl. 1810s–1860s), for instance, hated monks and scolded a Greek bishop for the “intolerably nasal” music of his entire Church in terms that were crude even by the standards of the time.³⁴ It is also true that missionary commentary invoked

standard anti-Catholic tropes, often portraying the Christians of the region as backward, ill-educated, and superstitious, blaming “priestcraft” for their ignorance and illiteracy, and painting their faith as quasi-idolatrous and “material” rather than inward and “spiritual”. At the same time, however, there was a keen awareness of the part those ancient churches had played in the early spread of the faith. “[I]t is our earnest desire to discharge, in some measure, that debt of gratitude which we owe to those first enlighteners of the world,” the CMS instructed Connor, “by awakening the fire which has long slumbered on their altars.”³⁵ Missionary travellers such as Connor and Jowett and their American counterparts displayed a keen awareness of the region’s history and antiquities.³⁶ They devoured seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travellers’ accounts, as well as writing new ones of their own, roaming the Levant imagining the trials and triumphs of the early Church. They particularly relished material evidence of the victories of Christianity over ancient paganism. Jowett was thrilled to find in Athens that “Primitive Christians” had rededicated the “Temple of Minerva,” i.e., the Parthenon, to Hagia Sophia, while in his *Christian Researches* he provided a full-page facsimile of a Greek ecclesiastical inscription he discovered on a pillar at Karnak, in Egypt, adding to the palimpsest by leaving his own name scratched nearby.³⁷

Seldom noticed are the close parallels between the “Christian Researches” of Jowett and his ilk and contemporary “scientific travellers,” such as Edward Daniel Clarke (1796–1822) and William Leake (1778–1860), whose intrepid examination of place names, topography, and ancient inscriptions promised new ways of confirming the accuracy of, and resolving problems with, ancient classical and biblical texts.³⁸ For if philologists leaned heavily on the discoveries of explorers, missionary thinkers, too, constructed their picture of the present out of past materials. Prescribed reading for those about to set out included Johann Lorenz von Mosheim’s *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History* (1726), the standard Protestant historical survey for a long time; Joseph Bingham’s *Origines Ecclesiasticae; or, the Antiquities of the Christian Church* (1710–22); and the Evangelical historian Joseph Milner’s more recent but not necessarily more up-to-date *History of the Church of Christ*, published between 1794 and 1809.³⁹ Notwithstanding the later annexation of the Church Fathers to advanced High Church opinions, evangelical Anglicans, like most of their pre-Tractarian contemporaries, had a healthy respect for the leading patristic authorities.⁴⁰ Although they were careful not to invest them with more-than-human authority, they respected the faith and eloquence of giants like Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 329–390), Origen (c. 184–c. 253), and John Chrysostom (c. 349–407) all the same. Moreover, although many Philhellenes certainly saw the “Glory that was Greece” in classical terms, the most concrete manifestation of Greek culture before it became a nation state was its church. While by the end of the nineteenth century the Parthenon had become the heart of a geographically defined nation-state, in earlier years commentators usually pushed the pin into the map at Constantinople.⁴¹ The High Church historian Edward Augustus Freeman (1823–92), writing in the 1870s, reflected numerous hackneyed travellers’ accounts and acres of terrible poetry in recognising the “Church of St. Sophia” as the lost “hearth and home of the Greek nation”. “Till

the worship of the Eastern Church again goes up within its walls in the tongue of Chrysostom and Photios," he declaimed, "the Greek nation must still be looked on as strangers and pilgrims in its own land."⁴²

Evangelicals would have echoed this, but they could also cite more hard-headed reasons for talking about the Fathers. "It is easily perceived by every traveller," Jowett explained in one of his letters home;

That the Greeks pride themselves highly on their national character; not only as having given to the world the most splendid and perfect models in every department of the arts and sciences, but on account also of their rank among Christian Churches. Nearly all the original books of the New Testament, many of the works of the earliest Fathers, the first seat of Christian Empire, and the first National Establishment of a Christian Church, having been Greek, it is easy to account for their hereditary pretensions.⁴³

Missionary organisations, Jowett suggested, could therefore sugar the pill by printing excerpts from patristic writers commending Bible reading as tracts in Modern Greek, demonstrating that their own authorities approved of the practice. Being aware that some of his readers might doubt the utility of this, Jowett drew a double parallel. The revival of religion in Britain in their own day, he reminded them, had been fuelled by "diligent study" of the lives of "our Reformers," and to lift from their "silent obscurity" the works of great Greek Christians would be to perform something similar, playing into rising nationalism as well as religious feeling. He was at pains to point out that the sixteenth-century Fathers of the English Church had themselves drawn on the joint testimony of Scripture and the Fathers. "They rested, indeed, in 'the Bible, and the Bible alone,' yet in the very front of the Book of Homilies, we learn that . . . they were the best and most Ancient Fathers that they imitated."⁴⁴

Such efforts were necessary, however, it was widely supposed, because religious texts were parroted by ignorant priests in tongues that neither they nor their congregations understood, or else lay mouldering unread in monastery libraries.⁴⁵ In his prestigious 1821 Church Missionary Society Anniversary sermon, delivered in London while on furlough, Jowett developed his findings into a grand historical narrative that connected the political subjugation of Christians in the region with their spiritual decay. Taking as his text Revelation 3:22 ("he that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches"), Jowett found the warnings therein amply fulfilled in the present day.

Humble yourselves, ye churches of Greece, of Armenia, of Syria, of Egypt, of Abyssinia! . . . Your unblest sufferings of a thousand years bespeak . . . your sinful condition; and the judgments of God are made manifest . . . Where are the hundred bishoprics of Egypt? Reduced to fewer than twenty! – Where are the churches of Arabia, of Nubia, of Lybia, and the four hundred and sixty-six bishoprics of North Africa? Extinct! . . . Why groan Syria and Greece beneath the yoke of a Turkish lord?⁴⁶

The answer was simple: they had neglected to distribute the Bible, or to read it themselves. It was this that had caused the spirit-sapping heresies that rotted the Churches of the East from within, rendering them slothful, sinful, and divided, and opening the way for Muslim dominance. In more recent centuries, the nefarious interventions of the Roman *Propaganda Fide* and the alleged involvement of the Jesuits in the fall and death of Cyril Lukaris had, it was often argued, only compounded existing divisions. Nevertheless, Jowett also had warnings for those tempted to despise their brethren. "WE were not the first to embrace and pay honour to the Christian Revelation: to THEM, we owe the rudiments of our Christian education: we caught the living coal from their altars."⁴⁷

Cultivating links with the Greek Church appealed to British Protestants, then, in romantic as well as practical ways. This makes sense in the light of other missionary encounters with ancient churches in an age when earlier constructive interest with such communions had often given way to hackneyed stereotypes that owed much to broader anti-Catholic prejudice.⁴⁸ It helped that evangelicals came to such subjects at a time when the fortunes of other missionary groups such as the SPCK were at a low ebb, and when the Pietist activity that had hitherto connected together Anglophone and Germanophone missions was disrupted by war and Napoleonic invasion. The Syrian or "Jacobite" Christians of southern India were, for instance, hardly unknown, but their "rediscovery" by Claudius Buchanan (1766–1815) on the Malabar Coast in the early 1800s was the prelude to decades of CMS activity as it sought, with the aid of influential evangelicals in the East India Company, to kick-start the churches there into growth.⁴⁹ Here, too, the lack of vernacular Bibles and literacy was diagnosed as the main problem. Henry Martyn's *Christian India: or, an appeal on behalf of the 900,000 Christians in India, who want the Bible*, a sermon preached at Calcutta in 1811 for the BFBS, used Galatians 6:10 ("As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith") to garner interest and raise funds both from white Calcutta and from supporters in metropolitan Britain.⁵⁰ Closer to home, renewed interest in the Waldensians of Piedmont evoked similar themes: the desire to forge connections with non-Catholic Christians, optimism about the effects of modern education on a downtrodden population, and a diffuse but tantalising sense that these congregations were living time capsules that might contain documents or doctrines preserved unsullied from the earliest days of the faith.⁵¹ Joseph Milner placed them on a pedestal as "the middle link, which connects the Primitive Christians and Fathers with the reformed," helping to pave the way for intense post-war interest among a wide range of British Protestants.⁵² If the Copts, the Abyssinian or Ethiopian Orthodox churches, the Armenians, the Nestorians, and later the Assyrians were never quite embraced in the same way by evangelicals, here too a similar tale can be told. Early modern scholarship on such groups was recycled or cannibalised by eager travellers, and all had their periods of vogue among British Christians hungry for manuscripts and missing links.⁵³ In assessing this phenomenon, therefore, it is important not to draw misleadingly sharp lines between missionary readers and biblical scholars, believers and sceptics, or indeed high and low churchmen. There existed a strong

thirst for Christian antiquities well before the 1840s and 1850s, and this, in turn, drew heavily on the interest of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Protestant internationalists in such subjects. It makes more sense, then, to think in terms of overlapping audiences whose fascination with “Christian aborigines” was part of a wider cultural obsession with the ancient world: a place whose perceived timelessness made it a rich site for imaginative travel writing, archaeology, historical painting, and novels, as well as a destination for missionaries.⁵⁴

3. The Era of Greek Independence

Success was not, however, a matter of simply turning the clock back. Greek cultural revival was in the air long before Jowett and his ilk ventured into the Mediterranean, and the golden age conjured up by many patriots and philhellenes was not one of faith but of philosophy. The rediscovery of ancient literature and the importation of enlightened European works was driven by, and in turn drove, a boom in Greek language publishing which intensified in the 1800s and 1810s. Classical names for children replaced those of saints, while there was a new concern for the physical remains of classical antiquity. For the great Paris-based classicist Adamantios Korais (1748–1833), the Church was a hindrance rather than a help to his scattered nation. He deplored the stripping from Greece of “all the memorials of her ancient glory,” referring in part to Elgin’s purchase of the Parthenon Marbles, but saving his bitterest comments for the monks of the monastery of St John the Divine on Patmos, whose sale of the codex containing Plato’s dialogues he lambasted. “The savage peoples of Africa who know neither good nor bad letters,” he fumed, “could not have acted worse.”⁵⁵ Elsewhere, he claimed that reading even a single page of a Byzantine text brought on his gout.⁵⁶ Ecclesiastical commentators, for their part, found enlightened nationalism equally hard to stomach. The Orthodox hierarchy spearheaded what has sometimes been called a Hellenic “Counter-Enlightenment” that saw Western rationalism and their own classical heritage as twin evils to be avoided. Instead, contended one cleric, people should study grammar and exegesis of the Fathers, for: “the Platos and Aristotles, the Newtons and the Descartes, triangles and logarithms lead to indifference in matters divine.”⁵⁷

Missionaries thus faced an uncomfortable balancing act. In some respects, they shared the progressives’ opinion of what the Greek Church had become. They also knew that clergymen often regarded them as dangerous fifth columnists. But at the same time, they saw numerous potential openings. Initially, then, optimism trumped wariness. And there were good reasons for this. In 1814, for instance, the Reverend Henry Lindsay (1790–1859), Chaplain to the British Embassy in Constantinople, secured the written approbation of Patriarch Gregory V (1746–1821) for the circulation of the Bible Society’s 1810 reprint of a much older diglot translation, in its original Septuagint/Koine Greek and in “Romaic,” i.e., Modern Greek.⁵⁸ The Society was so delighted by his imprimatur that they reproduced it in facsimile, as well as providing a translation of it for their admiring supporters. Like many early Bible Society publications, however, problems

were soon raised with it: it was thought to have too many Turkish words and to be over-literal and unidiomatic. A new translation was therefore commissioned from Archimandrite Ilarion (?1765–1838) of Mount Sinai, a native of Crete who was *egoumenos* or abbot of St Catharine's Monastery. Here the go-between was the Reverend Charles Williamson (d. 1820), chaplain to the Levant Company's factory at Smyrna, whose connections in the region and friendship with another Orthodox metropolitan, Dionysius Kalliarkhis (d. 1821) of Ephesus ("the person of the greatest weight in the Synod of Constantinople"), did much to oil the wheels.⁵⁹ It was to be printed at the press of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, where native Greek printers and correctors would help to prevent the orthographic errors that made the Greek clergy so suspicious of the earlier version. A similar story can be told for the Bible Society's printing of a Bible in Turkish written in Greek characters – *karamanlidika* – intended for the Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians of Asia Minor. Richard Clogg has detailed the controversies this project aroused, both among linguistic scholars in Britain and among those for whom the work was intended.⁶⁰

Nevertheless, it is easy to see why readers of missionary and Bible society reports were so optimistic. The energy and funds poured into these projects were prodigious. Missionary presses in various places, most notably those of the CMS and LMS at Malta, pumped out vast quantities of such literature: Wilson of the LMS reckoned that he had printed "upwards of 132,000" books for Greece between 1825 and 1834, while the BFBS had distributed well over a quarter of a million copies of the Scriptures, Gospels, and Testaments in Modern Greek by 1844.⁶¹ There were also Bible translations into Greek-Turkish dialect, Arabic, Kurdish, Bulgarian, and Albanian. While nineteenth-century missionary organisations often saw success in terms of weight of print, other observers were more sceptical. Lieutenant Adolphus Slade (1804–77) of the Royal Navy observed snidely that if donors could see how the Society's Bibles were good-humouredly accepted by Turkish Muslims, taken and torn up by Jews, used by Albanian *klepthes* to make wadding for their muskets, and simply rejected by the Greeks, they might rather give their money to the British poor instead. "When a Greek has done his work he goes to dance, and to sing, and to drink; attending mass satisfies his conscience."⁶² Yet missionary diplomacy, too, seemed to be having positive effects. Pinkerton, for one, was euphoric when Patriarch Gregory agreed to work alongside the BFBS in 1819. "I consider this interview as the finishing stroke to all my arrangements at Constantinople, and, indeed, to all my previous labours in Greece," he exulted. "May we not now say, that the Greek Church has made the glorious cause of the Bible Society *her own* cause? What blessed consequences may we not expect to flow from this source."⁶³ The opening of the press of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to Williamson in the late 1810s was hailed as a seminal moment. "[T]hose priests that are hostile to the protestant doctrines dare not open their mouth in disapprobation seeing the Tracts stamped with the Patriarchal authority," he rejoiced to one correspondent.⁶⁴ These schemes had, however, to be suspended when the Greek War of Independence broke out in 1821, sparking reprisals against Orthodox Christians in Constantinople and sending missionaries scurrying for the safety of

British possessions. In London, Jowett concluded his CMS sermon with a vision of ecumenical unity in “eclipsing the crescent by the Cross.” He was not to know that only a week earlier, on Easter Day, Patriarch Gregory had been dragged from his cathedral by the orders of the Sultan and lynched in his vestments in front of the gate of the Patriarchate.⁶⁵

The other prong of the evangelical strategy was, as we have seen, education. The Lancasterian schools planted across the Ionian islands under the auspices of the British and Foreign Schools Society (BFSS) from 1820 onwards were particularly successful.⁶⁶ Although in some senses led by missionaries, they appealed to different groups for different reasons. To the British authorities, and indeed to Greek “modernisers,” they were a way of civilising a purportedly barbaric populace; to Orthodox clerics, they offered the possibility of countering a “pagan” emphasis on the classical past; to aristocratic families, as Thomas Gallant has argued, compliance offered a way of aligning themselves with the Western European values of their rulers.⁶⁷ Missionaries thus found themselves enmeshed in a variety of complex and sometimes contradictory imperatives. Not everyone was hostile: the educator and priest Neopyhtos Vamvas (1770–1856), for example, was known to be friendly to the British and American missionaries who criss-crossed the region. Based at the Ionian Academy in Corfu in the 1830s, Vamvas became the key figure in yet another effort by the Bible Society to produce an acceptable translation.⁶⁸ Yet already in the 1820s, the shifting political tectonics of the region that had given evangelical missionaries their opening had begun to work against them. Archimandrite Ilarion’s modern Greek translation was eventually published in 1828, but he had long been despised by progressives for his attempted prohibition of enlightened European texts. Vamvas was attacked, meanwhile, by conservatives who deplored all efforts at translation: he argued in vain that even their beloved Septuagint was itself a translation.⁶⁹ By the 1830s the Orthodox hierarchy was becoming increasingly hostile to all aspects of Protestant activity, seeing missionaries and Protestant schools as incubating “Luthero-Calvinist” heresy.

Given that reactionaries in Russia had the Bible Society proscribed in 1826, this resistance cannot have been a surprise. Nevertheless, missionary hopes were dealt a decisive blow in 1836 when Patriarch Gregory VI issued a pastoral, signed by many among the Orthodox hierarchy, forbidding under pain of excommunication the reading of anything published by the Bible Society, and prohibiting Greek Christians from sending children to missionary schools.⁷⁰ “You will be sorry to hear that in many places they have destroyed every book they could lay hold of,” wrote one agent despairingly to the committee of the Religious Tract Society in London.

At Brusa, in ancient Bithynia, they burnt alone upwards of six hundred volumes – Scriptures and others – in the churchyard, and this was done by a priest, at the time when the people left the church! They were and still are quite mad against us. We cannot distribute any Greek books whatsoever.⁷¹

4. Changing Attitudes to Other Churches

In 1843, the academic and clergyman Anthony Grant (1806–83) delivered the Bampton Lectures at Oxford on *The Past and Prospective Extension of the Gospel by Missions to the Heathen*. Grant had sharp words for evangelicals. Although they were well-meaning, he conceded, their work “was discredited by others, because it was disconnected from the authority and direction of the Church”. “The treatises and writings of many Protestants,” he added,

seemed composed under the impression that no such thing as Roman Catholic missions existed; that, at least before the Reformation, the design of evangelising the world was a thing unheard of; that it had been reserved for this age almost to commence the work, for which a new theory of missions, new methods, and machinery, and system of action were to be provided.⁷²

Evangelicals might, of course, have replied that High Churchmen were equally amnesiac: that unfriendly competition with Rome, often in conjunction with foreign Protestants, had been a feature of SPCK activity in North America, India and elsewhere throughout the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, Grant was preaching against a backdrop of burgeoning High Church interest in the global extension of the Church of England. The foundation of the Colonial Bishops' Fund in 1841 crystallised a longstanding desire in SPCK and SPG circles to develop a more churchmanlike approach to church extension abroad. Culturally and architecturally, this encouraged a degree of cross-pollination with other, more ancient churches, as those seeking to develop an authentically Anglican aesthetic cast about for stylistic exemplars.⁷³ But it also entailed an aversion towards poaching converts from other communions. The consecration in 1842 of the first Anglican Bishop of Gibraltar, George Tomlinson (1794–1863), and the construction of his new cathedral in Valletta, were intended less to prompt a wave of Catholic conversions than to provide Malta's rulers with a fitting place of worship.⁷⁴ In one sense, then, it was apt that on his arrival on the island Tomlinson bought the CMS Valletta printing press. The CMS was making economies, and although it retained stations elsewhere in the Levant, it withdrew from Malta in 1842–3.

Nevertheless, the foregoing chapter serves to underline the importance of studying failures as well as success stories. For if the possibility of kindling a blaze in the East remained beguiling but distant in our period, that does not make it any the less genuine. It is mistaken and anachronistic to suggest that there was no “genuine” Protestant interest in the Orthodox Churches – a loaded word – before Oxford-inflected High Churchmen like John Mason Neale (1818–66) and William Palmer (1811–79) took up the baton in the 1840s and 1850s. A range of views on such subjects always existed. Even if others were allergic to making proselytes from other churches, this did not, for example, prevent British evangelicals or Mediterranean Catholics from seeing the new Maltese cathedral as an aggressive statement of Protestant intent. Moreover, evangelical engagement with the Greek church did not fizzle out in the middle decades of the century. Benjamin Barker

(1797–1859) at Smyrna, Isaac Lowndes (1790–1843) in the Ionian islands, and Henry Daniel Leeves (1789–1845) at Syra and then Athens remained active on behalf of the Bible Society. Samuel Gobat's appointment in 1846 as Anglican-Lutheran Bishop of Jerusalem was intended to entice Jewish converts, but he too showed a marked interest in the Orthodox churches of the region – too much interest, according to his High Church critics.⁷⁵ Yet the optimism that had gripped the missionary world in the 1810s and 1820s had dissipated. Combative spokesmen like Hugh Stowell (1799–1865) now readily disparaged the “childishness, formality, and imbecility” of the Orthodox Church alongside the “paganised,” “grovelling,” and “secularised” Church of Rome.⁷⁶ Attention had, moreover, swung elsewhere among a missionary public eager for success: to the prospect of the restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land, and to new potential fields of activity among the Coptic and Abyssinian Churches of East Africa, and the tiny pockets of Nestorian and Syrian Christianity scattered across Asia, all of which at least promised the possibility of success in converting the Islamic world. Among the most eloquent signs of this shift was the foundation of the Malta Protestant College in 1846, which purposed to train young men from across the Levant to be missionaries and scripture readers among their own people. Protestant seceders from the ancient churches were in 1847 granted their own *millet*, being officially recognised as a distinct religious community within the Ottoman Empire. So far had attitudes shifted that this elicited plaudits from evangelicals, who now hailed the Ottoman authorities as potential allies in the struggle against priestcraft. “The chief of the great infidel power has thus been wonderfully chosen by God as the promulgator of his holy law and testimony in opposition to its prohibition by a faithless and apostate Christian priesthood.”⁷⁷ Instead of reviving local churches, Protestant agents sought increasingly to bypass them.

This change of heart was understandable. But it also reflects the difficulties inherent in operating on the fringes of Europe, in a place and period in which religion, nationalism, and imperial interests, as we have seen, were closely but complicatedly intertwined. The decline of one empire, the Ottoman, and the rise of the European Great Power rivalry that gradually displaced it, disrupted what had hitherto been a settled system. Some among the Orthodox welcomed Protestant interest as providing tools for national self-determination, not least among them education, as well as the broad sympathy of a powerful British religious public. Yet although evangelicals cheered on Greek independence, it was already becoming clear that their missionary priorities cut across those of both modernisers and conservatives. As Stephen Batalden has argued for Russia, the Bible Society was initially welcomed, but came to be regarded as a threat to religious authority, circumventing censorship by introducing the marketplace and the threat of its democratising values into the sphere of sacred and political authority.⁷⁸ For the Greek Church as for the Russian, translation also disrupted settled ideas about biblical language: the idea that holiness inhered in archaic or even dead tongues, and that it was not to be cheapened by being taken out of its liturgical context and put into everyday idioms. Missionaries, then, both capitalised on a Mediterranean world in a state of flux and helped to reshape it in influential ways. They

took advantage of imperial interest in the region, but also helped – sometimes unwittingly or unwillingly – to provide the justification and the tools for different strands of nationalism. As Effi Gazi helpfully points out, the idea of a national church coeval with the boundaries of the nation state of Greece had much to do with contact with Protestant state churches in the early nineteenth century: a fact that has tended to be obscured by the centrality of Orthodoxy to notions of Greek identity, and by the vigorous mid nineteenth-century repudiation of the influence of “*loutheroikalvinoi*” (Luthero-Calvinists) by the authorities.⁷⁹ That story has only been hinted at here. Evangelicals continued to seek converts in lands on and around the “fringes” of Europe: in the Holy Land, Asia Minor, the Caucasus, and the Middle East. Unwittingly, perhaps, they were among several groups whose interest and input helped to ensure that Greece would become a nation, and that the new nation would take its place as part of Europe.

Notes

1. Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 91–135.
2. *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society . . . Volume the Eighth, for the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, n.d. [1827?]), 113.
3. For context, see Stewart J. Brown, ‘Movements of Christian Awakening in Revolutionary Europe, 1790–1815,’ in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume VII: Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution, 1660–1815*, eds. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), esp. 587.
4. Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Boyd Hilton, ‘1807 and All That: Why Britain Outlawed Her Slave Trade,’ in *Abolitionism and Imperialism in Britain, Africa, and the Atlantic*, ed. Derek H. Peterson (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2010), 63–83; Gareth Atkins, *Converting Britannia: Evangelicals and British Public Life, 1770–1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, forthcoming).
5. Roger H. Martin, *Evangelicals United: Ecumenical Stirrings in Pre-Victorian Britain* (Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow Press, 1983), 80–122.
6. Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 93–113.
7. Leslie Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
8. Joseph Stubenrauch, *The Evangelical Age of Ingenuity in Industrial Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1–57.
9. Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c. 1700–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Carla Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).
10. *The Jubilee Volume of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East. 1848–1849* (London: Seeleys, Hatchard and J. Nisbet and Co., 1849), 126–7.
11. Although see Stephen K. Batalden, *Russian Bible Wars: Modern Scriptural Translation and Cultural Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
12. See e.g. comments in J.F. Coakley, *The Church of the East and the Church of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 20; Leon Litvack, *John Mason Neale and the Quest for Sobornost* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 40; Geoffrey Rowell, ‘Eastern Horizons: Anglicans and the Orthodox Churches,’ in *Religious Change in Europe*,

- c. 1650–1914, ed. Nigel Aston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 382; Mark D. Chapman, *The Fantasy of Reunion: Anglicans, Catholics, and Ecumenism, 1833–1882* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 208–12.
13. The best guide to contemporary High Church awareness of this history is George Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century: Being the Correspondence Between the Eastern Patriarchs and the Nonjuring Bishops* (London, Oxford and Cambridge: Rivingtons, 1868). For modern assessments of Lukaris, see esp. Paschalis M. Kitromilides, ‘Orthodoxy and the West: Reformation to Enlightenment,’ in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume V: Eastern Christianity*, ed. Michael Angold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 193–202; Vasileios Tsakiris, ‘The “Ecclesiarum Belgicarum Confessio” and the Attempted “Calvinisation” of the Orthodox Church under Patriarch Cyril Loukaris,’ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63 (2012), 475–87. For the Greek College, see Peter M. Doll, ed., *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy 300 Years After the “Greek College” in Oxford* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006).
14. See e.g. A.L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria, 1800–1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966); Heather J. Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008); Samir Khalaf, *Protestant Missionaries in the Levant: Ungodly Puritans, 1820–1860* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012).
15. *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society . . . Volume the Sixth, for the Years 1820 and 1821* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, n.d. [1827?]), 14.
16. *Ibid.*, 1–42.
17. Batalden, *Russian Bible Wars*, 12–88.
18. Stuart Semmler, *Napoleon and the British* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 72–106; Donald M. Lewis, *The Origins of Christian Zionism: Lord Shaftesbury and Evangelical Support for a Jewish Homeland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 36–48; Gareth Atkins, ‘“Isaiah’s Call to England”: Doubts About Prophecy in Nineteenth-Century Britain,’ *Studies in Church History*, 52 (2016), 381–97.
19. ‘Appendix V: Instructions to the Rev. William Jowett,’ in *A Sermon Preached . . . on Tuesday, April 30, 1816, Before the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East* (London: L.B. Seeley, 1816), 151.
20. Robert J. Taft, ‘Between East and West: The Eastern Catholic (“Uniate”) Churches,’ in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume VIII: World Christianities, c. 1815–c. 1914*, eds. Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 412–28.
21. See Simon Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge: Trade, Religion, and Scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, 1620–1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming). Henry Martyn prepared himself for debates with learned Persian Muslims by reading the Augustan Anglican orientalist George Sale’s 1734 English translation of the Koran.
22. ‘Appendix III: Letter of 16 June 1802,’ *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East*, 3 (1803), 238.
23. George Smith, *Henry Martyn, Saint and Scholar: First Modern Missionary to the Mohammedans, 1781–1812* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1892).
24. Avril A. Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1993), 76–103.
25. Gareth Atkins, ‘William Jowett’s *Christian Researches: British Protestants and Religious Plurality in the Mediterranean, Syria and the Holy Land, 1815–30*,’ *Studies in Church History*, 51 (2015), 216–31.
26. ‘Appendix V,’ 141.
27. William Jowett, *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean, from MDCCCXV to MDCCCXX* (London: L.B. Seeley and Son and J. Hatchard and Son, 1822); William

- Jowett, *Christian Researches in Syria and the Holy Land, from MDCCCXV to MDCCCXX* (London: L.B. Seeley and Son and J. Hatchard and Son, 1825).
28. 'Malta – Church Missionary Society,' *Missionary Register*, 4 (1816), 246.
 29. Richard Clogg, 'The Publication and Distribution of Karamanli Texts by the British and Foreign Bible Society Before 1850: I,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 19 (1968), 78–81.
 30. 'Appendix V,' 149.
 31. 'Mediterranean,' *Missionary Register*, 30 (1842), 285.
 32. For a summary, see Heleen Murre-Van Den Berg, 'The Middle East: Western Missions and the Eastern Churches, Islam and Judaism,' in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume VIII: World Christianities, c. 1815–c. 1914*, eds. Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 458–72.
 33. See e.g. William St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2008), 195–204.
 34. S.S. Wilson, *A Narrative of the Greek Mission: Or, Seven Years in Malta and Greece* (London: John Snow, 1839), 279–80.
 35. 'Appendix I: Instructions to Missionaries,' *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East*, 18 (1818), 171.
 36. David Gange and Michael Ledger-Lomas, eds., *Cities of God: The Bible and Archaeology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 6–18.
 37. Jowett, *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean*, 77–8, 146–50.
 38. Gange and Ledger-Lomas, *Cities of God*, 11–12.
 39. See J.D. Walsh, 'Joseph Milner's Evangelical Church History,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 10 (1959), 174–87.
 40. Peter Benedict Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1860–1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 104–45.
 41. Robert S. Nelson, *Hagia Sophia, 1850–1950: Holy Wisdom, Modern Monument* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
 42. Edward Augustus Freeman, 'The Present Position of the Greek Nation,' *Panhellenic Review*, 1 (1879), 3. See e.g. 'The Author of Frankenstein' [Mary Shelley], *The Last Man*, 3 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), vol. II, 64; Eliot Warburton, *The Crescent and the Cross*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1845); Aubrey De Vere, *Picturesque Sketches in Greece and Turkey*, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1850), vol. II, 181.
 43. 'Malta – Church Missionary Society,' *Missionary Register*, 5 (1817), 93.
 44. *Ibid.*
 45. An idea powerfully reinforced in Robert Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant* (London: John Murray, 1849).
 46. Cited in 'Church Missionary Society,' *Christian Observer*, 20 (1821), 834.
 47. *Ibid.*, 838.
 48. See e.g. Alastair Hamilton, *The Copts and the West, 1439–1822* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 190–2.
 49. Claudius Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia* (Cambridge: J. Smith, 1811), 88–123. For a summary of Buchanan's career, see Allan K. Davidson, *Evangelicals and Attitudes to India, 1786–1813* (Sutton Courtenay: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1990). Syrian Christians in Tranquebar were the focus for the Halle Pietist Bartolomäus Ziegenbalg (1682–1719). Buchanan seems to have been unaware of his work – and was, in any case, concerned with a different region and with the ancient biblical manuscripts he hoped to discover.
 50. Henry Martyn, *Christian India: Or, an Appeal on Behalf of the 900,000 Christians in India, Who Want the Bible* (Calcutta: P. Ferris, 1811).
 51. R.D. Kernohan, *An Alliance Across the Alps: Britain and Italy's Waldensians* (Exeter: Handsel Press, 2005). As Mark Smith argues, earlier interest in Waldensians had waned given the greater prominence accorded to more recent Protestant refugee communities,

- in particular the Moravians and Salzburgers. See Mark Smith, 'The Pastor Chief and Other Stories: Waldensian Historical Fiction in the Nineteenth Century,' *Studies in Church History*, 48 (2012), 296–307, at 300.
52. Joseph Milner, *The History of the Church of Christ*, rev. and corr. Isaac Milner, 2nd edn., 5 vols. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1810), vol. III, 511.
 53. See e.g. William Francis Ainsworth, *The Claims of the Christian Aborigines of the Turkish or Osmanli Empires Upon Civilized Nations* (London: Cunningham and Mortimer, 1843).
 54. John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), 182–96.
 55. Cited in Richard Clogg, 'Sense of the Past in Pre-Independence Greece,' in *Anatolica: Studies in the Greek East in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, ed. Richard Clogg (Aldershot: Routledge, 1996), chaps. 11, 19.
 56. Richard Clogg, 'Elite and Popular Culture in Greece Under Turkish Rule,' in *Anatolica: Studies in the Greek East in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, ed. Richard Clogg (Aldershot: Routledge, 1996), 77.
 57. Cited in Clogg, 'Sense of the Past,' 22.
 58. For details of the otherwise elusive Lindsay, see 'Obituaries,' *Gentleman's Magazine*, 207 (1859), 651.
 59. Richard Clogg, 'Enlightening "a Poor, Oppressed, and Darkened Nation": Some Early Activities of the BFBS in the Levant,' in *Sowing the Word: The Cultural Impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804–2004*, eds. Stephen Batalden, Kathleen Cann and John Dean (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2004), 240.
 60. Clogg, 'Publication and Distribution,' 57–81, 171–93.
 61. Wilson, *Narrative*, 109; William Canton, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 5 vols. (London: John Murray, 1904–10), vol. II, 272–3.
 62. Adolphus Slade, *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece, &c.*, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1833), vol. II, 465, 479.
 63. *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society . . . Volume the Sixth*, 26.
 64. Cited in Clogg, 'Enlightening,' 242.
 65. 'Church Missionary Society,' 838–9.
 66. See Deborah Harlan, 'British Lancasterian Schools of Nineteenth-Century Kythera,' *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 106 (2011), 325–74.
 67. Thomas W. Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity, and Power in the British Mediterranean* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 59.
 68. Canton, *Bible Society*, vol. II, 15–16.
 69. Charles A. Frazee, *The Orthodox Church and Independent Greece, 1821–1852* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 136–7.
 70. *Ibid.*, 20–1.
 71. Cited in Clogg, 'Publication and Distribution,' 176.
 72. Anthony Grant, *The Past and Prospective Extension of the Gospel by Missions to the Heathen*, 2nd edn. (London: Francis and John Rivington, 1845), viii–x.
 73. G.A. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, c. 1840–1870* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).
 74. Nicholas Dixon, 'Queen Adelaide and the Extension of Anglicanism in Malta,' *Studies in Church History*, 54 (2018), 281–95. A similar point about the gap between official concern for the spirituality of Anglicans abroad and the proselytising instincts of those expatriates is well made in Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe, 'Residenti Anglicani Inglesi: una Sfida per il Vescovo di Gibilterra,' in *Il Protestantismo Italiano nel Risorgimento: Influenza, miti, identità*, ed. Simone Maghenzani (Turin: Claudiana, 2012), 265–75.
 75. David D. Grafton, *Piety, Politics, and Power: Lutherans Encountering Islam in the Middle East* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2009), 127–30.

76. Cited in Charles Bullock, *Hugh Stowell: A Life and Its Lessons* (London: Home Words Publishing Office, 1882), 37.
77. *Journal of a Deputation Sent to the East by the Committee of the Malta Protestant College, in 1849*, 2 vols. (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1854), vol. II, ix.
78. Batalden, *Russian Bible Wars*, 82–8.
79. Effi Gazi, 'Revisiting Religion and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Greece,' in *The Making of Modern Greece*, eds. Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 98–101.

12 Sermons in Stone

Architecture and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts within the Diocese of Gibraltar, c. 1842–1882

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Writing from Yarmouth one cold and blustery autumn day in 1883, retired Admiral and erstwhile Arctic explorer Sir Erasmus Ommanney anxiously pressed the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), the Rev. E. P. Sketchley, on a matter he considered of national importance. Far from expressing disquiet over the spiritual condition of sailors, however, the contents of the letter concerned instead the building of a proper church for Anglican worship in Rome. Ommanney, who had served in the Mediterranean during his naval career, was scandalised at the mean and precarious circumstances that the English community in Rome faced with regard to the observance of religious rites. He was not alone; many considered it a longstanding and grievous set of circumstances. But with Rome now the capital of the new Italy, and the tyrannical forces of the Vatican finally at bay, it was only right that the Church of England take an “exalted position” in that great centre of ancient Christianity, insisted Ommanney, “so as to command the dignity and respect of other great nations, and to be worthy of our own.”¹

Indeed, by the time Ommanney wrote to Sketchley, plans were already well underway for the erection of a new church building inside the old city walls, designed by none other than George Edmund Street, one of England’s most accomplished and sought-after ecclesiastical architects. Despite ongoing difficulties and persistent delays, expectations remained high. Ultimately, it was hoped, a building would rise in which both the nation and the Church of England could be proud.² After all, reassurance was to be found not far away in the recently completed and magnificent American Episcopal church on Via Nazionale, St Paul’s Within the Walls (1872–6), also by Street.³

What this anxiety points to, of which there are numerous instances, is the heightened sense of awareness during the nineteenth century of the role that good and “correct” architecture played in promoting the interests of Anglican faith abroad.⁴ As one former chaplain to the English church in Rome put it: not only was the Church of England present in that city, but that it ought to be seen to be present.⁵ This draws attention to the “externals” of divine worship, particularly in the wake of the Oxford Movement, and within the general context of Anglican

renewal, of which architecture was a major and keenly debated part. These anxieties also reveal a not uncommon perception concerning the extent to which the Church of England, via the SPG and the Diocese of Gibraltar, ought to have been agitating for ecclesiastical reform on the Continent as well as proselytising the Anglican confession.⁶ In other words, was the Diocese of Gibraltar (as legally defined) erected merely for the episcopal oversight of those pockets of English community found in many of the leading political and commercial centres skirting the Mediterranean Sea and Black Sea, or was it understood to have a wider remit? Moreover, what was the SPG's obligation to the continent of Europe as a whole? Commonly associated with missionary and church extension work in Britain's colonies, the SPG, in the eyes of some, had been remiss with regard to what might be achieved closer to home. Could not Malta, for instance, a British colony in Europe, be used effectively as a base of missionary education and operation, it was asked.⁷ The SPG was also understood to have a basic duty to English men and women abroad, wherever they might be, including in continental Europe.⁸ Thus, as it turned out, the major part of the SPG's and bishopric of Gibraltar's work in Europe came to entail ministration of the gospel, along with the performing of certain offices and rites, to these scattered English communities, both permanent and seasonal (i.e., tourists).⁹

Although these instruments of Anglican extension in Europe generally refrained from pursuing an open policy of proselytisation, it would be wrong to think they were entirely devoid of missionary aspiration. For a start, and at least since the Crimean War (1853–6), the SPG had expressed concern for the moral and spiritual welfare of British merchant sailors residing at Mediterranean ports, and this became a principal aspect of its missionary work.¹⁰ The other matter that was at least tacitly acknowledged, if not openly avowed, was agitation for church reform, particularly in the Roman Catholic south. As Henry Thompson noted in his history of the SPG in 1951, a decision had been made to employ the Society's continental chaplaincies *inter alia* for the purpose of "diffusing" information regarding the principles of the English Church.¹¹ This was in aid of what had earlier been termed the incitement to "self-reformation" among Roman Catholics, and the cleansing of "error and superstition."¹² In this sense, indirect rather than direct methods were preferred, eschewing tactics of missionary conversion altogether.¹³

The SPG and the bishopric of Gibraltar were, of course, not alone in these initiatives. American Episcopalians, along with other English societies, including the Anglo-Continental Society (est. 1853), had been active in this capacity across the Continent.¹⁴ Indeed, making provision for the encouragement of church reform in Spain and Italy was a clear policy within the diocese of Gibraltar as early as the 1860s.¹⁵ In addition to these schemes, both institutions actively supported Church of England chaplaincies throughout Europe, in terms of personnel and church-building activity, with the SPG offering assistance, including financial aid, to persecuted minority Protestant communities such as the Waldensians.¹⁶

But the prohibition on proselytisation applied only, it seemed, in those places where already-established Christian polities existed (which was most of the

Continent). In the near east, however, where “Europe” abutted Asia, the situation was considered different. Shortly after establishing a memorial church and mission at Constantinople following the Crimean War in 1856, the SPG instructed its clergymen there to “take such opportunities as may occur of making known to inquirers of every race and communion the pure doctrines of Christianity which are taught by the Church of England.”¹⁷ This strategy quickly developed from a “conversing with Turks” (i.e., Muslims) to efforts at full-blown conversion. Ultimately, this project was doomed to failure, but it demonstrates the will on the part of the SPG to act in a missionary capacity on the continent of Europe where the opportunity existed. Moreover, whether with regard to the tacit “diffusion” policy adopted for Western Europe, or the more direct conversion strategy in the East, the SPG’s and the wider Church of England’s efforts in Europe reveal not only a certain confidence in the righteousness (if not superiority) of their confession, but also an unabashed belief in its purity and powers of persuasion.

There are many “English chapels” in Europe that one could point to in a study such as this, not only Anglican but Nonconformist, too. As merchants, diplomats, labourers, and later tourists from the British Isles had been sojourning to the Continent for hundreds of years, many of the communities they formed were firmly established by the mid-nineteenth century, providing means for their own spiritual welfare in the form of a “Protestant” chapel or church.¹⁸ It was owing precisely to the perceived neglect of these communities that by the 1840s calls for dedicated episcopal oversight of Anglicans in Europe led to the bishopric of Gibraltar being erected. But even this was inadequate. As the bishopric of Gibraltar’s see only initially covered the Mediterranean and Black Sea areas, plans were launched in 1867 by the SPG to erect a bishopric at Heligoland, a British territory in the North Sea, to accommodate Anglican communities in Northern Europe. However, these plans came to nothing.¹⁹

Given the limited parameters of this study, I will only consider two churches by way of example. Both of these were erected in the Diocese of Gibraltar and reveal something of the importance attached to architecture in supporting not only the local chaplaincies in each case, but also the wider causes of the bishopric and the SPG. The two examples concern centres of spiritual and political significance during the mid- to late nineteenth century: the one, Rome, at the heart of the Catholic south in Western Europe; the other, Constantinople (Istanbul), at the perceived frontier between Christian “Europe” and Muslim “Western Asia.” In the one, matters of religious liberty, dignity, and reform were to the fore, with architecture seen as a means of marking out and thus symbolising religious and political liberty. In the other, notwithstanding the overt commemorative dimension, the idea of a church building as a mechanism (and therefore tool) of spiritual amplification and conversion was key, with architecture understood as the monumental embodiment of the Church in its missionary capacity. As we shall see, in the case of both buildings, form and appearance were subordinated to what ecclesiologists termed “appropriateness” in an attempt to capture a sense of being and purpose in their respective contexts.

1. Being and Being Seen: the Case of All Saints', Rome

In the case of the English Church and its community in Rome, this context was the so-called conquest of Rome and the overthrow of papal rule in September 1870. Although Church of England services had been held in the city since 1818, they were only permitted in the confines of an official foreign legation or embassy. Eventually, the English community was allowed to rent a room for church services outside the walls of the old city, just beyond the Porta del Popolo.²⁰ But this solution was never wholly acceptable, riddled as it was with inconveniencies such as being located in a less than respectable part of the city, surrounded by animal sties and like nuisances. To be relegated and deliberately humiliated by the Vatican in this way was perceived by the English community as a basic indignity. But the capture of the city by Italian national forces changed all this. The community's long-held vision for a new and proper church worthy of the name was now tantalisingly within its grasp.

As with the American Episcopalians, the English moved quickly to acquire a more convenient site within the walls of the old city following the events of 20 September 1870.²¹ After some amount of indecision and frustration, they opted for a site at the corner of Via di Gesù e Maria and Via del Babuino, near the Piazza di Spagna, an area traditionally associated with the English community in Rome.

It was around this time that the eminent architect George Edmund Street (1824–81) became associated with plans for a new English church in Rome. Indeed, a design for the church by Street was exhibited at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1872.²² But it was not until the early 1880s that work began on erecting a revised design on the Via del Babuino site, with the foundation stone being laid in April 1882 for what would become known as All Saints' (Figure 12.1). By this time, the church and its property had passed into the trusteeship of the SPG.²³

It is interesting to note that the English church in Rome was often referred to as "Protestant." This had much to do with how the congregation and clergy wished to present the church and its brand of worship, despite its increasing move towards the high church (Tractarian) end of the Anglican spectrum, which caused its own problems.²⁴ It also had to do with the church being in Rome – the heart of the Roman Catholic world – and therefore an apparent desire to highlight a clear distinction between itself and the Church of Rome. This is something that was also done by the American Episcopalians.²⁵

Concerns over the nature and identity of Anglican worship in Rome inevitably extended to appearances. In 1864, for instance, the Rev. Francis Blake Woodward, then presiding English chaplain, wrote to the SPG on the importance of the manner in which the English Church presented itself in Rome, observing how:

The Roman Committee are deeply impressed with the conviction that it is essential to the best interests of our Church on the Continent, that she should be exhibited to the foreigners which surround her, whether Romanists or Protestants, in her real character; that she should be *seen* to be what she *professes* to be; in short, that her system, as set forth in the Prayer-book, should,

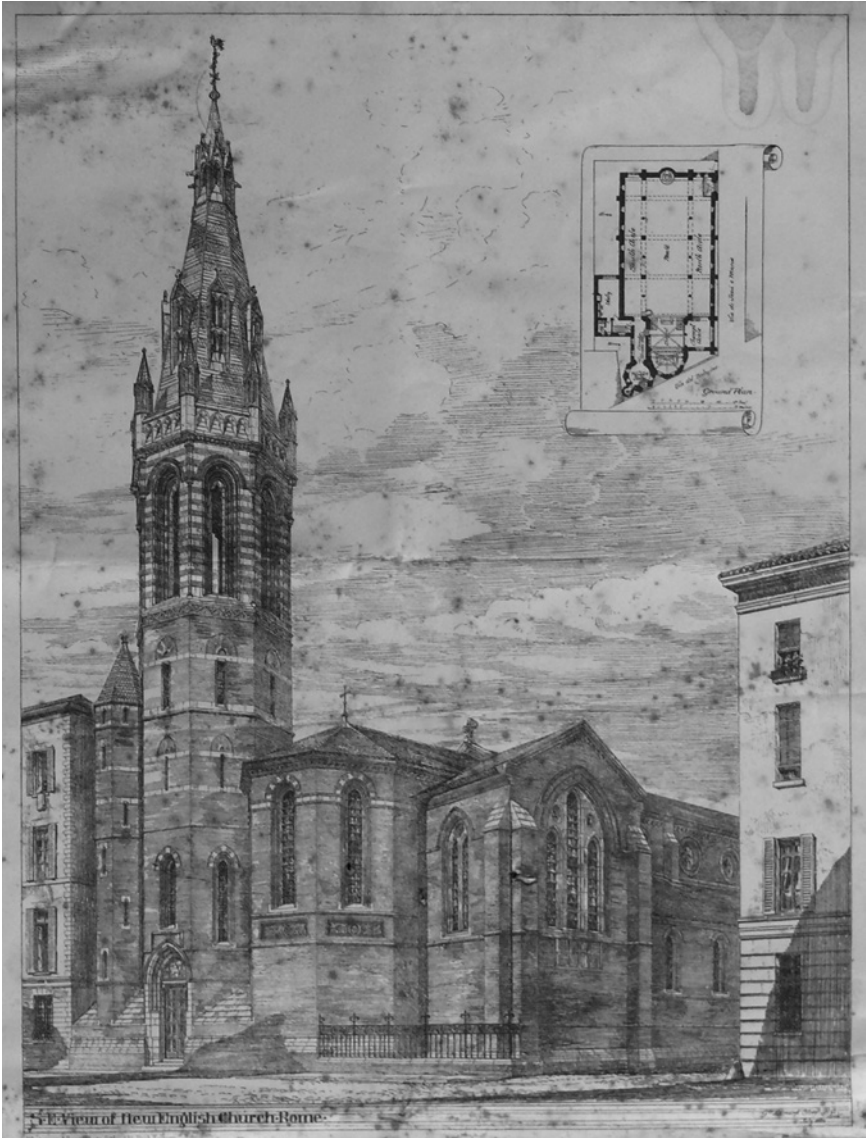


Figure 12.1 G.E. Street's Final Design (c.1880) for All Saints', Rome

Source: USPG Archive, Bodleian Library, Oxford, C/EUR/21b: permission United Society Partners in the Gospel.

so far as circumstances in each case admit, be carried out in its integrity. In no place is it of more vital moment that this principle should be adhered to than at Rome.²⁶

As the opening reference to Erasmus Ommanney's anxieties over the raising of a proper English church in Rome testifies, this was elevated to a matter of "national" honour. The official fundraising literature at the time echoed these concerns. We find on a number of occasions phrases being employed such as "national undertaking" or "worthy of our country and our Church," as well as how important it was in Rome that the Church of England have a "material building" of which it "need not be ashamed."²⁷ Again, the spectacle of the American church was invoked as a means of reminding would-be donors in England not only of the possibilities that lay within their grasp, but also the embarrassing consequences of their neglect.²⁸ Of all the places in the world, it was felt, surely it was in Rome that the Church of England had to stand conspicuous and proud.²⁹

But in the minds of some, the English Church in Rome, as an outward symbol of reformed churchmanship, ought to do more than merely bask in the glory of its newfound worthiness as a work of architecture. For instance, Ommanney, after expressing his initial concerns to Sketchley, went further in noting that once the Church of England had firmly established itself through conspicuous and monumental form in Rome, that city would become "much the chief base for the expansion and establishment for our Church in S[outhern] Europe."³⁰ Such a comment indicates that some among the supporters for a new church in Rome were wont to equate a "worthy" building with authoritative presence (and responsibility); that such a structure would represent a serious intent to act on a wider front with respect to the spread of reformed Christianity. Much like the American Episcopalian church, St Paul's Within the Walls, this notion suggests that All Saints' would both symbolise and move to encourage the coming of a new order. Given that Rome was now the capital of a secular and liberal Italy, it also hinted at a certain freedom of conscience, as well as a particular right to proselytise. Indeed, with the chaplaincy at Rome having been under the patronage of the SPG since 1866, the church might have been seen as having more than a few missionary associations.

The man who did the most to see that a church addressing these concerns was erected was the Rev. Henry Watson Wasse (1831–91) (Figure 12.2). Little is known about Wasse, except that he was a rather controversial figure during his time in Rome.³¹ Despite his Tractarian sympathies, Wasse was, by all accounts, unwavering in his allegiance to the reformed, anti-Catholic bearing of the Church of England. As one of his obituarists observed, he had done "a great deal to spread a knowledge of reformed Christianity amongst the Italian populations."³²

Wasse came to Rome in 1872, at first to take up the assistant chaplaincy, before becoming chaplain proper in 1875.³³ He also came armed with a decent knowledge of, and enthusiasm for, ecclesiastical architecture. Indeed, so determined was Wasse to see All Saints' completed within a reasonable timeframe, and to the highest of standards, that he lent the trustees over £2500 of his own money

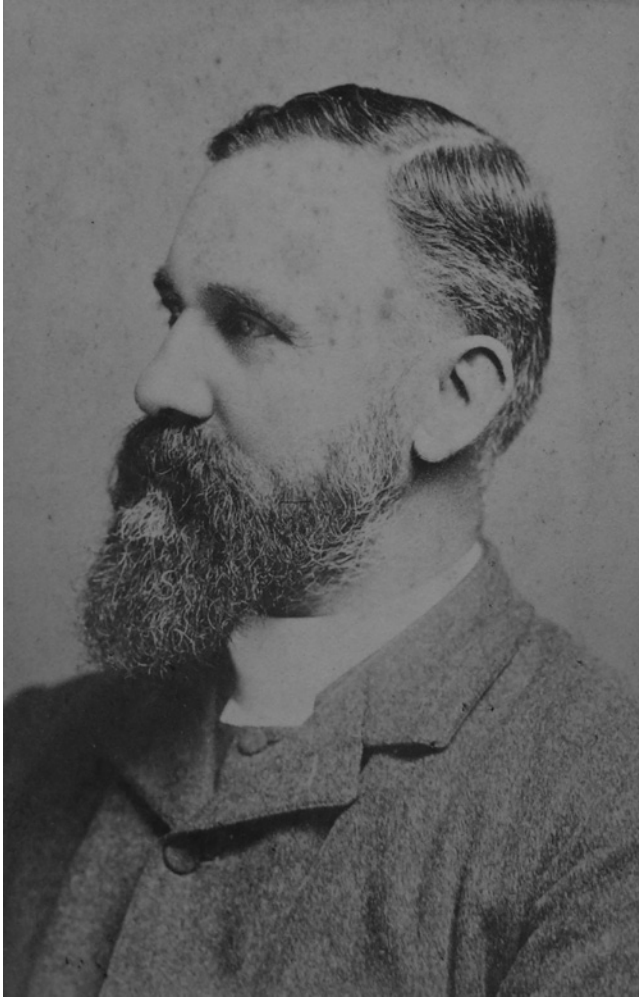


Figure 12.2 Henry Watson Wasse (1831–91), Chaplain of the All Saints’, Church of England Church, Rome

Source: Vestry Archive, All Saints’ Church, Rome.

(Figure 12.3). Moreover, being alive to the subtleties and meanings of ecclesiastical architecture, especially as these had developed within the Church of England throughout the course of the mid-nineteenth century, Wasse understood the symbolic power of erecting “a Gothic church worthy of its object, worthy of our country and our faith.”³⁴ To Wasse’s way of thinking, the connection between Gothic architecture and a new English Church in Rome seemed basic if not obvious, especially in the context of the religious politics of the new Italian state. As



Figure 12.3 Photograph (c.1900) Showing Interior of All Saints', Rome

Source: PRJ/1/21, Paul Joyce Archive, GB3010 The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London, UK.

a style of architecture widely associated with social and ecclesiastical reform in the Anglophone world, the Gothic Revival was seen by Wasse as signifying a type of revolution.

In this respect, the building and its architecture is closely associated with the American Episcopal church, St Paul's Within the Walls, designed by the same architect (Figure 12.4). The rector of that church at the time of its construction was the Rev. Robert Jenkins Nevin. As with Wasse, and despite his high church leanings, Nevin was a stout opponent of the Vatican. He saw the building of his own church as a nakedly religious and political act. In publishing a circular letter for the raising of funds in 1872, his language and intent were clear.³⁵ The promotion of religious liberty was obviously one goal, but the potential moral effect of architecture was also high on the agenda. In soliciting donations, it was noted how a new building would be expedient to the extent that it would not only stand as a symbol of religious freedom in the new Italy, but also bear witness to the continuing efforts to rid Christianity in Rome of "Papal corruptions" through genuine reform. This appeal appeared to take the necessity for a new building beyond any kind of special pleading, for it may well have been just as expedient (financially)



Figure 12.4 St Paul's Within the Walls, Rome (1872–6)

Source: G.E. Street, PRJ/1/21, Paul Joyce Archive, GB3010 The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London, UK.

to acquire and refurbish an existing structure. Only a new building with a *new* architecture, it was claimed, could hope to achieve the aims of reformed Christianity in Rome.³⁶ This is an important idea. As the published circular insisted:

to a people like the Italians – all eye and ear – the very stones, the spire and chimes, of a distinctive Church building, will teach more of the strength and reality of our Christianity, than any account of writings that might be distributed among them; and, will be, as well, a constant, visible witness to them that religious liberty, and the rights of the human conscience, have at last found a home in the city of the Popes and the Caesars.³⁷

The architect, too, obviously understood gothic architecture as harbouring notions of reform, renewal, and religious “truth.” For Street, like many Gothic revivalists at the time, good and therefore *true* architecture must necessarily be “real.” “Reality” was a term that had freighted meaning in the context of English nineteenth-century architectural theory and practice, mapping onto wider notions of truth and rationality in Protestant theology. A work of architecture was only “real” if it remained true to itself, visually and structurally, as a consciously conceived work of art; that is, only if it displayed a certain integrity (and thus basic dignity) in its assemblage. Again, this had much to do with the concept of transparency regarding truth and honesty in design, having its basis in the “true principles” of A.W.N. Pugin. One can already see here how such an architecture could be (indeed was) interpreted as a panacea to falseness, deceit, and corruption – features that staunch Anglicans associated with Roman Catholicism. Thus, in the mind of Nevin and his associates, there was a necessary connection between a building in a “distinctively Gothic style” and the need for it to be a “type and representative of our pure branch of the one Holy and Apostolic Church.”³⁸ Moreover, in embodying these attributes, the Gothic style would make for a building that stood out in Rome as a “memorial and exponent of that freedom of conscience and religious liberty.”³⁹

As Wasse had a similar outlook on Anglicanism to Nevin (although not quite as extreme in his militancy or outspokenness), and espoused the merits of proper Christian architecture, we may assume that he would have understood All Saints’ as having analogous symbolic value to St Paul’s. This would certainly have been the case for the architect. In this sense, the new church, via the moral and spiritual lessons that its architecture might impart, was to do its silent work as a beacon of “soft power” in the Church of England’s endeavour to encourage church reform in the heart of the Roman Catholic world.⁴⁰ One of the chief agents of this moralising agenda was the particular type of gothic architecture to be employed. In consideration of the geographical context, as well as his own deep admiration for the medieval architecture of northern Italy, Street opted consciously for a Lombardic version of the style based on models from Verona, Pavia, and Cremona.⁴¹ The choice of this particular mode of gothic architecture was as if to suggest to the Italians that, when it came to reviving an architecture of integrity and worth in the new Italy, there were plenty of perfectly appropriate local traditions to draw upon.

For Nevin, so “real” and convincing was this type of architecture that he believed that those tradesmen responsible for erecting St Paul’s would be inspired, in the manner of a Damascene-like conversion, to an honest and truthful way of not only plying their trade, but also conducting their lives.⁴² Indeed, at precisely the moment the plans for All Saints’ were being finalised, the then Bishop of Gibraltar, Charles Wentworth Stanford, had implored the Church of England to extend its sympathy and support to those within the Roman communion who sought genuine reform.⁴³ If architecture could “reform” in the way both Street and Nevin believed it could, then Stanford’s plea did not go unheeded.

Essentially, Stanford’s appeal emphasised the fact that the Church of England, and its officers and supporters, had a type of responsibility (if not duty) to promote and encourage church reform when and where their assistance was called upon. It was his belief, especially following Pope Leo XIII’s decree against Anglican orders in 1896, that the Vatican had failed to understand that the English Church was as resolutely determined now as it had been three centuries ago “to stand fast in the liberty with which Christ hath made us free.”⁴⁴ Many believed this idea of religious freedom (of conscience and association) was fundamental and unassailable in the teachings of Christ. But there was an obligation to practice what was preached. As the *Colonial Church Chronicle* had observed fifty years earlier, those adherents of the Anglican confession in Italy ought to “show the purity of their faith, not with their lips but with their lives.”⁴⁵ In this sense, outward demeanour was considered important in cultivating a favourable impression of the English Church in the minds of those among whom Anglicans dwelt in Italy. According to this outlook, All Saints’ may be interpreted as more than just an impressive and convenient place of worship for the English resorting at Rome, but equally an emblem of liberty and reform, with its architecture (and the ideas invested therein) bearing witness as the medium through which this might speak to the “eyes and ears,” as Nevin would have it, of those around it. Erasmus Ommanney may not have seen his call for the English Church at Rome to become the “chief base” of operations for the Church of England’s extension throughout Europe, but the Rev. Francis Blake Woodward could certainly rest assured that, through this new building, the Church would now be seen to be what it professed to be in that important centre of religion.

2. Persuasive Intentions: Crimean Mission and War Memorial Church

On the diocese of Gibraltar’s eastern borders, something altogether different had been taking place. There, in Constantinople (Istanbul), at the western perimeter of imperial Ottoman territory, the SPG in conjunction with the Bishop of Gibraltar, were urgently at work establishing a mission and erecting a church. Both of these – the mission *and* the church – were the coordinated arms of official Church of England activity in the region.⁴⁶ The apparent urgency of the matter was long-standing and manifold. To begin with, and as discussed further in Gareth Atkins’s chapter in this volume, one of the original purposes of the Diocese of Gibraltar

was to establish better relations between the Church of England and the ancient and “long-neglected Churches of the East,” including the Greek Orthodox and “Oriental” churches of Armenia, Syria, and Egypt (Coptic). Rome, the American Episcopalians, and numerous other independent Protestant churches and organisations, including the Church Missionary Society (CMS), had already started work in this direction, and the Church of England now felt obliged to enter the fray in an official capacity or lose any influence it might usefully gain.⁴⁷ Efforts at proselytising British sailors, who were often seen drunk and disorderly, thereby leaving a misleading impression of “Englishmen” on the local population (it was feared), were also high on the agenda.

But relations with other Christians (different or indifferent) was not the mission’s only concern. Work among “Mohammedans” was considered vital, too. Indeed, the question had been raised in the 1840s, not long after the establishment of the See of Gibraltar, as to what exactly the Church of England had been doing in this important sphere of responsibility. Now that other Christian churches had begun the work of proselytisation, the Church of England looked slow and neglectful by comparison. Britain obviously considered Constantinople important in terms of commerce and diplomacy, having lashed out on an expensive new embassy (1844–56), but no church worthy of the name was to be found in which the Anglican faith could be professed.⁴⁸ Worse still, it was being reported that the local population of Constantinople was beginning to believe that the English were not religious at all, or at least not serious about their faith. The whole situation in Turkey vis-à-vis the English Church was considered a sad and embarrassing indictment, many believed.⁴⁹ “For the last 300 years our Church has been used to pray for them [Muslims] by name,” declaimed one correspondent to the *Colonial Church Chronicle* in 1847, “but, where the Church is brought into actual contact with them, what aspect does she wear?”⁵⁰

The final clause of this complaint is crucial in the context of the current study, for it points not merely to the presence, but to the visibility (and audibility) of the English Church. Muslims in Constantinople had come to believe that the English were irreligious because they could see no evidence of their faith, especially in the form of a church building. As in the case of Rome discussed in the previous section, this raises once again the question of what a church building is supposed to do. In a location such as Constantinople, where opposing ideas not only on religion but on civilisation coalesced and competed, a Christian church would have been understood as more than merely a place of worship and symbol of organised religion. It stood as an emblem of identity and the myriad associations that might be attached to this. Protagonists for the diffusion of Anglican principles in the Mediterranean were no strangers to this line of argument, having employed it on previous occasions.⁵¹ In the case of an English Church in Constantinople, such a building would have been seen as “English” as much as Anglican (in the narrower sense). It would be a default marker of English (British) culture, morality, and civilisation.⁵² This is certainly how the building that became the Crimean War Memorial Church was seen by those who promoted it: an outward sign not only of the orderly and reverential nature of the English Church, but also the modern

and liberal nature of the British state.⁵³ This was despite the fact that the Church of England was only the national church of England, not Britain (a cultural and political nicety that was no doubt lost on Ottoman observers).

Conflation (and confusion) of this kind meant that the Crimean War Memorial Church, as a monument in the urban landscape of modern Constantinople, spoke ultimately with a forked tongue. On the one hand, it wished to present itself as a “national” memorial, as a monument and “symbol of peace” to those who had died in the late war; while, on the other, it set its stall out as a religious institution that, in addition to ministering to sailors and English merchants, had wider designs on the Turkish populous as potential converts.⁵⁴ In this sense, it was not only a structure that marked a particular moment in time and space but also a staging post from which the Church might launch a continued cultural crusade. But, as we shall see, these overlapping and somewhat conflicting considerations would ultimately compromise the project.

This dual purpose had its origins in proposals for the church and its design. Being a very mid-Victorian conflation of memory and religion, it was seen from the beginning as a “most worthy thank-offering to Almighty God.” But even at this early stage, a tension arose between wanting a building that was conspicuous yet unobtrusive. Questions of architecture informed these concerns almost immediately, and were considered vital in striking the right religious and cultural tone. For instance, the published resolutions of the public meeting held to launch the subscription fund in April 1856 observed how the church would be identifiable “by its architectural style and character.”⁵⁵ Indeed, two years earlier, the Rev. Alfred Child, sometime chaplain to the British embassy in Constantinople, gave his considered opinion as to the critical importance of this idea of outward expression. If a church were to be raised, he remarked, it:

Ought to be so built, and its services so conducted, as to *invite observation*, without descending into display. Whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the most fitting mode of conducting public worship amongst ourselves at home, it cannot, I think, be denied, that in the midst of those who profess a false religion and those who corrupt the true, a more marked observance of religious *forms*, a more *visible* service, one more active in *externals* is required of us, that by those things which meet the eye the misbeliever may have his attention drawn to truths which cannot in any other way be presented to him.⁵⁶

Likewise, one Edward Pyddoke, having taken a straw poll of serving British soldiers, reported from the scene that a building “positive, definite, and intelligible [in] Character” was required, with one officer exclaiming how he would “give 3 times as much, if there is choral service and a peel of Bells.”⁵⁷

As had been noted in a printed circular by the SPG in November 1855, entitled “Memorial Church, and Mission at Constantinople,” the religious principle behind this caution was simple: that any such church would be “a witness of the true faith to the Mahometan,” and would “present in its stated Services, to inquirers

of every other race and communion, an example of the manner in which the pure doctrines of Christianity are taught by the Reformed Church of England.”⁵⁸

By 1856, the English had managed to erect a tiny wooden chapel in the port district of Ortaköy, a few miles up the Bosphorus from Galata.⁵⁹ But here was to be a monument on an altogether different scale. It would not only be visible but also characteristic, in a “style” of architecture at once truthful, enticing, and persuasive.⁶⁰ Previous scholarship on the architecture of the Crimean War Memorial Church has highlighted its political, imperialist, and artistic intentions, focusing on matters of style and meaning.⁶¹ But little has been made of the church’s specifically religious purposes, or its association with the SPG mission in Constantinople. We may ask how the building was understood and used as a vehicle for promoting this cause in conjunction with the stated aims of the See of Gibraltar. By focusing on the building as a work of architecture for the remainder of this chapter, and considering how architecture as a medium of cultural and religious expression was imagined and employed, we can arrive at a better understanding of the church in its intended missionary capacity. The available documentary evidence sheds light on its perceived role as such, revealing in detail how the building’s monumental ambitions overlapped with this missionary agenda.

Although a “national” war memorial, the initiative intersected with the interests and objectives of both the diocese of Gibraltar and the SPG from the beginning, and was in a sense led by them. The nature of this connection was observed by the Rev. Henry Knight in 1917. Recording the Bishop of Gibraltar’s letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) of 1854 initially broaching the idea of a memorial church, he noted how,

[a]s the proposal was considered, the purpose was widened, and ultimately the church was designed to fulfil a fourfold aim: to serve as a Memorial of the War; to be a worthy presentation of the English church and centre of spiritual life for the English residents; to be the seat of a Church Mission to the Turks; and the centre of growing communication with the Greek Church.⁶²

To this end, the SPG sent two clergymen, C.G. Curtis and C.P. Tiley, to extend religious rites to “English sailors and residents” in Constantinople, Galata, Pera, and Ortaköy (Ortakioi), among other places. These were later followed (1860) by the Syrian Christian, and St Augustine’s College-educated priest, Antonio Tien, and a school master by the name of Sangar.⁶³ However, as observed by Knight, the “mission” of these men was somewhat “wider” than merely ministering to resident English. Their activities were to form a base of proselytisation and conversion, with the Memorial Church acting as the “centre” (physically and symbolically) of operations. “Communication” with the ancient Greek Church was considered fundamental to this objective. For, as the *Colonial Church Chronicle* bemoaned, it was only through the patient and full-scale reinvigoration of that Church that they could hope for any reasonable prospects of success.⁶⁴ Only in the “quickenings of the Eastern Churches” could “the conversion of that vast Mahometan population”

be accomplished, “whose stubborn unbelief and sad corruption is the reproach of Christendom, and the curse of the world.”⁶⁵

This takes us to the design of the church. Following the public meeting of April 1856, an open competition was held among architects, with a deadline of January 1857. Forty-six entries were received, comprising some 370 drawings.⁶⁶ Stipulations concerning the style of the building were carefully articulated. According to one of the judges of the competition, A.J.B. Beresford Hope, a leading ecclesiologist, the question was one of suitability. There were only two credible options of forms of Christian architecture: Byzantine and Gothic. Objections to the idea that Gothic was a style peculiar to northern Europe, and therefore unsuitable to a warmer, Mediterranean-style climate, were to be countered by reference to the numerous examples that existed in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Palestine.⁶⁷ The published brief and regulations to competing architects stipulated that no reference be made to either Islamic or Byzantine architecture: the first for being un-Christian; the second for being associated too closely with the ancient Greek Church and, later, mosque architecture.⁶⁸ Indeed, architects were explicitly instructed to produce designs “in the recognised Ecclesiastical Architecture of Western Europe, known as “Pointed” or “Gothic.”⁶⁹ For fear of causing offence, it was also clearly specified that no ornament representing humans or animals be incorporated.⁷⁰

But, in the minds of some, this last stricture was no mere cultural courtesy. Importantly, the idea had been circulating some time before the architectural competition got underway. In his 1854 letter to *The Guardian*, Alfred Child noted how eschewing such “idolatrous” excrescences (liturgical and architectural) would convince “the Turk” of the “simple” and “reasonable” nature of Anglican worship, acting as a bridge between the worlds of Islam and (“true”) Christianity, and thus paving the way to conversion.⁷¹ The idea was to demonstrate that Islam and Christianity were perhaps not so far apart, and that, with some coaxing, conversion would follow, with the “truer” form of religion emerging ultimately (and rightly) triumphant.

For architects and ecclesiologists, adaptation to context in this case was concerned with a deference to “appropriate” formal concessions, all within the given framework of the Gothic style. But for clergymen, such adaptations had wider strategic implications in terms of conversion; that is, how such a building would serve as a useful vehicle for the purposes of proselytisation. Architects responded to the given brief in various ways. Most took the advice on offer and designed buildings that nodded to well-known exemplars of Gothic architecture in warmer climates, such as the medieval church of St Andrea at Vercelli in Piedmont. A number of leading critics made this observation of William Burges’s winning design, the principal feature of which was its rich polychromatic surfaces, reminiscent not only of Italian medieval architecture, but also the ancient (even Islamic) architectures of the Levant (Figure 12.5). Devoid of figural ornament, these adaptations made Burges’s design both sensitive and appropriate to context, all within what was a distinct Christian edifice. From an artistic point of view, it seemed to fit the bill.



Figure 12.5 Perspective Drawing of William Burges’s First Design for the Crimean War Memorial Church, Constantinople, from *The Builder* (1857)

But beneath the spectacle of outward appearances lurked a spatial adaptation that spoke more to the needs of the resident missionary clergymen than to the niceties of architectural discourse. In the plan, Burges's final (and many times altered) design incorporated a narthex. This peculiar feature was evident in a number of the other competition entries, including that by G.E. Street, whose design would eventually be built following Burges resigning the project in 1863. In contemporary ecclesiological circles, the revival of this feature, which was a characteristic element of early Christian architecture, had been encouraged in colonial and missionary contexts. It was a space into which "inquirers," catechumens, and penitents could be corralled without needing to enter (or be seen to enter) the sacred space of the church, and from where divine service could be observed without interference.⁷²

Such a feature would have suited Curtis and his colleagues. Reports in Anglican missionary journals of their activities in Constantinople noted how "inquirers" had been attending church services, in some cases hiding behind curtains so as to remain unseen. Indeed, aware of this problem, *The Ecclesiologist* remarked how architectural devices at the extremity of the building were necessary for the accommodation of "native attendants."⁷³ To entice and engage these onlookers, the missionaries had begun to conduct occasional services in Turkish. The Rev. Antonio Tien reported how he had been approached by several "mollahs" seeking conversion, noting how they were impressed by the "purity and holiness" of Anglican doctrine.⁷⁴ Encounters of this kind would have further emphasised the perceived need for a church building that was decoratively discrete yet spatially flexible. Here we can begin to see how a building of this type was understood as not only a conventional church for resident Anglican worshippers, but also a device or machine for conversion. In short, it was a consciously conceived missionary architecture; a building that was at least liturgically "armed" and ready for such a purpose, if not wholly designed for it.

The church that was actually built was designed by G.E. Street (Figure 12.6). Unlike Burges's polychromatic marvel, Street's scheme – a compact and vigorous rendition of revived Gothic forms – was more circumspect in terms of its references to southern European architecture. To be sure, Italian medieval inflections were evident, but these were subservient to a more robust and self-consciously "national" aesthetic. As we have seen, this is something that satisfied the demands of those from outside the architectural profession. Believing Street's design to have been the best in any case, *The Ecclesiologist* observed that in his original design he preferred

a process the very reverse of that pursued by his successful competitor, to clothe a Northern thought in the expression and detail of the South, rather than to borrow the original idea from the South, and translate it into a Northern dialect.⁷⁵



Figure 12.6 Perspective Drawing and Plan of G.E. Street's Final Design for the Crimean War Memorial Church, Constantinople, from *The Building News* (21 Aug. 1868). Street was commissioned to design the church after William Burges withdrew in 1863.

In this respect, the journal continued,

Mr Street has here realised, more happily than Mr Burges, the conception of a grand Architectural Monument, the impressive exterior of which, with its distinctive national characteristics (only so far modified as to suit the locality), would be an unmistakeably English memorial in Constantinople of the Crimean dead.⁷⁶

This was high praise indeed from an habitually acerbic organ such as *The Ecclesiologist*.

In modifying his design to “suit the locality,” Street had incorporated an elaborate exterior spatial device in the form of a cloister-cum-narthex, which wrapped itself around the nave of the building, including across the west front. This feature was clearly considered fundamental, and remained part of his redeveloped scheme of 1863 (when the commission was transferred to him) (Figure 12.6). Although its apparent primary purpose was to protect the building’s interior from intense heat and light, it was precisely the kind of space that would allow the gathering of “inquirers” to observe divine worship at a safe distance. A rare late nineteenth-century photograph of the interior of the church as built, looking towards the west front, reveals how this would have worked (Figure 12.7). Here, two amply-sized openings can be seen, with cast-iron grills and closable shutters piercing the west wall on either side of the main nave portal. It is through such openings that divine service could have been witnessed (Figure 12.8).

Moreover, the building’s strong forms (bordering on aggressive) were described by *The Ecclesiologist* as “rugged,” being likened to John Ruskin’s notion of

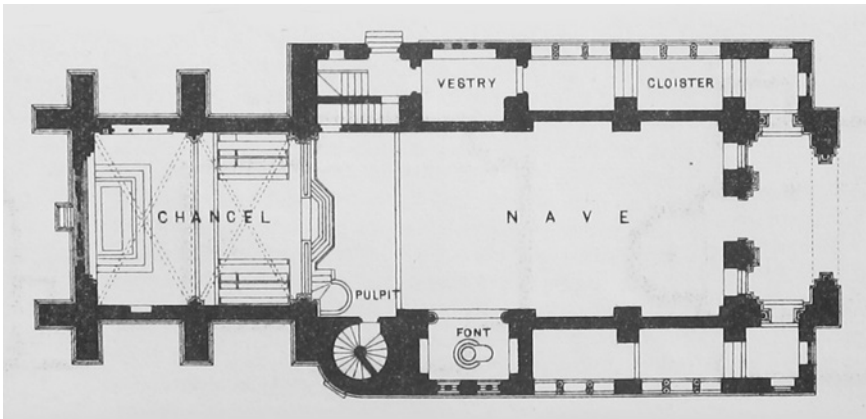


Figure 12.7 Plan of G.E. Street’s Final Design for the Crimean War Memorial Church, Constantinople, from *The Building News* (21 Aug. 1868). This shows a “cloister” wrapping around the nave section of the building, forming a narthex as it crosses the west front.



Figure 12.8 Photograph (c.1880) of the Interior of the Crimean War Memorial Church, Constantinople (Istanbul), looking west towards the entrance

Source: USPG Archive, Bodleian Library, Oxford: permission United Society Partners in the Gospel.

“savageness” in his essay *The Nature of Gothic* (1851).⁷⁷ This characteristic was calculated to distinguish the building both markedly and appropriately from its surroundings, even if its southern European inflections were intended to put it in dialogue with the wider context more generally. Given the building’s implied missionary dimension, the “militant” flavour of Street’s design certainly lent the church an air of imposing resolve. Again, if one of the principal objectives of the Memorial Church was to attract the attention of the local populace, operating as a locus and mechanism of conversion, as well as a beacon of true and reformed Christian faith, then one can understand how Street’s design addressed these concerns.

Ultimately, despite the highest and most earnest of hopes, the experiment that was the Constantinople mission of the SPG and the Diocese of Gibraltar ended in failure, at least as far as the ambition to convert Muslim Turkey was concerned. The number and frequency of non-Christian attendees at church services was persistently low, as was the much hoped-for torrent of conversions. The school had

some success in educating local children in the ways of European knowledge and “civilisation,” but it too was largely unsuccessful as a gateway to spiritual reform. Indeed, the cultural and political atmosphere was hardly conducive to success. There was quite active discrimination and even persecution of the SPG mission and its few converts by the Ottoman authorities, in some cases arresting and imprisoning them.⁷⁸ Part of the reason for this was the zealous enthusiasm of some Protestant converts in Constantinople, who were beginning to preach against the perceived “falsehoods” of Islam among their own people. This resulted in a degree of social disquiet (or “religious excitement,” as it was called), landing both the SPG and the CMS in hot water with the British embassy and Foreign Office.⁷⁹ Naturally, Curtis did not come out of the predicament entirely innocently, especially given the broader aims of his mission.

The Memorial Church was eventually built over a period of four years (1864–8), but it never really served as an active centre of proselytisation as anticipated (Figure 12.9). Ironically, given the animosity that had grown up around the activity of Protestant missionaries in Constantinople, rather than serving as a beacon of encouragement to “true faith,” it became more of an object of suspicion and mistrust. Despite the nationalist sentiment and rhetoric that surrounded its initial proposition, by the 1880s the building was in a semi-ruinous condition, having suffered weather damage from its exposed site.⁸⁰ In a way, it had become emblematic of the thwarted and ultimately failed state of the mission itself.

3. Conclusion

The two case studies explored here, although partial and fragmentary, offer a glimpse into the function of architecture in the missionary ambitions of the SPG and Diocese of Gibraltar during the latter part of the nineteenth century. They show what manifestations these missionary ambitions took, in different contexts, and how architecture was seen to serve and represent them. Common to both (apart from the same architect) is the idea that architecture could be deployed to symbolise and communicate notions of religious teaching and identity, and therefore was perceived as an aid – a most conspicuous aid – in realising the SPG’s and Diocese of Gibraltar’s objectives. They capture the very Victorian concept that buildings could “speak” and were thus didactic instruments in the fashioning of social and cultural mores. In the case of Rome, architecture was even perceived, in its process of assemblage, as a means of inculcating reformed religious principles, with the builders being forced to confront the falsehood of their ways in the “truth” of “real” architecture.

Above all, the case studies reveal the value of considering the material cultural dimensions of religious and missionary history. It almost goes without saying that wherever Church of England clergymen were present, the need of a decent church for divine worship became increasingly important throughout the course of the nineteenth century. Much can be revealed concerning the mentality of these clergymen, their institutional sponsors, and their collective aims in examining attitudes towards the material manifestations of their faith and its wider social,

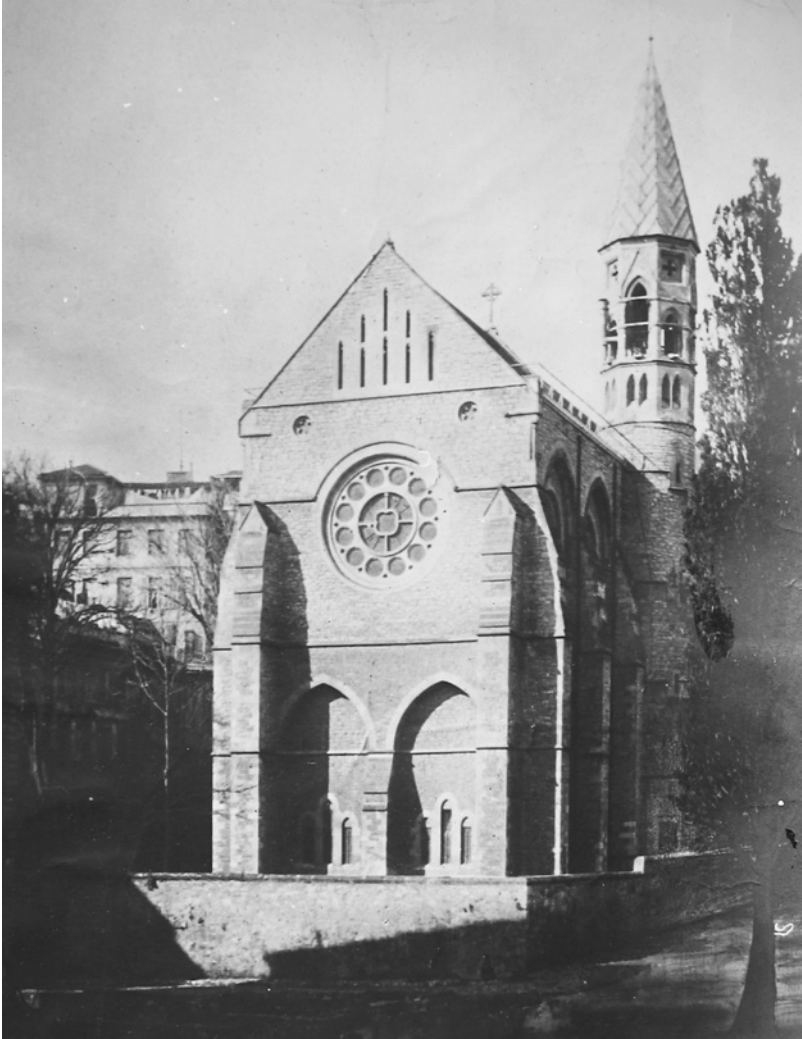


Figure 12.9 Crimean War Memorial Church (1864–8), by G.E. Street, as built, Constantinople (Istanbul), c.1880.

Source: USPG Archive, Bodleian Library, Oxford: permission United Society Partners in the Gospel.

religious, and even political goals. It is clear that in these two examples, which, although limited in scope, may be considered somewhat representative, architecture and its place in the discourse around religious reform and extension was important. A not inconsiderable amount of time and resources were spent in discussing, debating, and realising buildings of this kind.

Such buildings are also important from the perspective of how they speak not only to the oftentimes improbable determinations of Christian missionaries, but also their vacillating fortunes, remaining as physical remnants with an enduring power to provoke inquiry. They are also valuable forms of evidence in their own right. As I hope this study has shown, a proper understanding of what the Church of England had intended for Roman Catholics in southern Europe and Muslims in Eastern Europe, under the auspices of the SPG and the Diocese of Gibraltar, is not wholly possible without giving serious consideration to church buildings.

Notes

1. E. Ommanney to E.P. Sketchley (SPG), unpublished letter (24 Nov. 1883), Oxford, Bodleian Library, United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG) Archive: C/EUR/21a.
2. For instance, see 'English Church in Rome', fundraising pamphlet (c.1880), USPG Archive: C/EUR/21b; *The Mission Field* (1 June 1885), 193 and (1 Dec. 1887), 381. See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, USPG Archive, Building Committee Minute Book (7 July 1882), C/EUR/21b.
3. Street designed a third Anglican church in Italy, the Church of the Holy Ghost, Genoa (1872). See C. Di Fabio, 'George Edmund Street e il *Victorian Gothic* a Genova,' in *Genova e l'Europa atlantica. Opere, artisti, committenti, collezionisti*, eds. P. Boccardo and C. Di Fabio (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2006), 267–76.
4. For another prominent example of this in the Mediterranean context, see N. Dixon, 'Queen Adelaide and the Extension of Anglicanism in Malta,' *Studies in Church History*, 54 (2018), 281–95. For the wider context, see G.A. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, c.1840–1870* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013).
5. F.B. Woodward to the Continental Chaplaincy Committee (SPG), unpublished letter (8 Apr. 1864), USPG Archive: C/EUR/21a.
6. A flavour of this concern can be found in the pages of the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, for instance. e.g., 'Religious Perplexity in Spain,' *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, 7 (Oct. 1853), 121–4.
7. Some rather grandiose schemes were to be proposed in this regard in the lead-up to the erection of the diocese of Gibraltar in 1842, including the establishment of a "Bishop's College" for the education of foreign missionaries. For instance, see unpublished letter to the bishop of London (19 Dec. 1839), USPG Archive: C/EUR/29. A "Protestant College" was eventually founded in 1846, but it was short lived, closing in 1866. See S. Mallia, 'The Malta Protestant College,' *Melita Historica*, New Series, 10, 3 (1990), 257–82.
8. *An Enquiry into the State of the Church of England Congregations in France, Belgium, and Switzerland* (London: F. & J. Rivington, 1850).
9. For brief histories of the SPG in Europe, see C.F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.: An Historical Account*, 2 vols. (London: SPG, 1901), vol. II, 734–42; H.P. Thompson, *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701–1950* (London: SPCK, 1951), 467–70.
10. Petitions along these lines were being made even before the war. For instance, see 'Proposal to Make Provision for the Spiritual Destitution of British Seamen in Foreign Ports,' 17 Nov. 1851, USPG Archive: C/EUR/D1.
11. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, 469. In the Journal of the SPG for 21 Nov. 1862, the exact form of words used in relation to the continental chaplaincies is: "To watch over the interests of the Church of England on the Continent, and to encourage the diffusion of

- information regarding its principles – & generally to advise the Society on the subject.” See SPG Journal (microfilm), USPG Archive.
12. ‘Present State and Prospects of the Church of England in the Mediterranean,’ *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, 1 (Oct. 1847), 126.
 13. A sense of Bishop Charles Stanford’s attitude towards church reform among Roman Catholics, and the tactics to be employed by the Church of England in Europe, can be found in *A Pastoral Letter from the Right Reverend C. W. Stanford, Bishop of Gibraltar* (Oxford: James Parker & Co., 1880), 63–5. An example of the abiding caution that many within the Church of England hierarchy had over the tactics necessary for “internal reform” of the Roman Catholic Church can be found in Bishop Samuel Wilberforce’s note on the matter to William Gladstone in 1870. See R.G. Wilberforce, *Life of the Right Reverend Samuel Wilberforce, D.D.*, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1882), vol. III, 340–1.
 14. Carroll Peeke, ‘The Episcopal Church in Action: Bishop Kip and Efforts to Establish the Church in Italy in the XIXth Century,’ *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 36, 1 (1967), 81–6; C.R. Conybeare, *Church Reform Movement at Rome: The Italian Catholic Church* (Winchester, 1883); R.J. Nevin, ‘A Notable Secession from the Vatican,’ *The Nineteenth Century*, 11, 62 (Apr. 1882), 606–25. As Stefano Villani has shown, there were also attempts throughout the first half of the nineteenth century to use Italian translations of the *Book of Common Prayer* as a means of encouraging reform within the Roman Catholic Church. See S. Villani, ‘Anglican Liturgy and a Model for the Italian Church? The Italian Translation of the Book of Common Prayer by George Frederick Nott in 1831 and its Re-edition in 1850,’ *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, XXII-1 (2017). For the Anglo-Continental Society and its objectives, see *What Is the Anglo-Continental Society* (London: Rivingtons, 1874); in Italy, see S. Villani, ‘L’Anglo-Continental Society e l’Italia,’ *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 130, 1 (2018), 74–117. Other missionary organisations that were active in these areas included the Church Missionary Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the London Jews’ Society. E.g., Charles T. Bridgeman, ‘Mediterranean Missions of the Episcopal Church from 1828–1898,’ *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 31, 2 (1962), 95–126.
 15. H.J.C. Knight, *The Diocese of Gibraltar: A Sketch of its History, Work and Tasks* (London: SPCK, 1917), 72–5.
 16. For instance, see *Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London: SPG, 1857), cxxvi; Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years*, 735.
 17. *Report* (1857), cxxvii.
 18. A brief contemporary overview of these churches and their locations can be found in the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, 1 (Dec. 1847), 201–9.
 19. See SPG Journal (microfilm) in the USPG Archive for 17 May and 20 Dec. 1867. See also Thompson, *Into All Lands*, 469.
 20. For histories of the English Church in Rome, see Henry W. Wasse, *An Account of Building a Church for the Anglican Communion in Rome* (Aylesbury: n.p., 1885); M. Talbot Wilson, *The History of the English Church in Rome from 1816 to 1916* (Rome: La Speranza, 1916).
 21. For instance, only two days after the conquest of Rome, Joseph Severn, then British Consul in Rome, wrote to the SPG to express his keen desire to have the church relocated within the walls as soon as possible. See unpublished letter, J. Severn to SPG (22 Sept. 1870), USPG Archive: C/EUR/21a.
 22. This drawing was dated Jan. 1872. See *The Builder* (11 May 1872), 359; *The Building News* (10 May 1872), 381; and illustrations sections of *The Building News* (24 May 1872), n.p.
 23. This occurred in 1875.

24. As to be expected, there were tensions between “high” and “low” Anglicans in Rome, which on occasion led to schism. See Talbot Wilson, *The History of the English Church*, 84–91. Rome was, of course, not the only English community in Italy affected by such schism. For that at Bordighera, and for the challenges of the Diocese of Gibraltar in general, see Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe, ‘Residenti anglicani inglesi: una sfida per il vescovo di Gibilterra,’ in *Il Protestantismo Italiano nel Risorgimento: Influenze, miti, identità*, ed. S. Maghenzani (Torino: Claudiana, 2013), 265–75.
25. For instance, see R.J. Nevin, *St Paul’s Within the Walls* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1878).
26. F.B. Woodward to the Continental Chaplaincy Committee (SPG), unpublished letter (8 Apr. 1864), USPG Archive: C/EUR/21a.
27. ‘English Church in Rome’ (fundraising pamphlet), c.1880, USPG Archive: C/EUR/21b; *The Mission Field* (1 June 1885), 193, and (1 Dec. 1887), 381. See also entry for 7 July 1882 from the Building Committee Minute Book, USPG Archive: C/EUR/21b.
28. ‘The English Church in Rome’ (n.d.), USPG Archive: C/EUR/21b.
29. In the minds of some this was considered all the more important because, from January to April, the congregation of the English church in Rome was “perhaps the most highly educated and important in the world.” See unpublished letter from William Lea to SPG (22 Apr. 1869), USPG Archive: C/EUR/21a.
30. E. Ommanney to E.P. Sketchley (SPG), Unpublished letter (24 Nov. 1883), USPG Archive: C/EUR/21a.
31. Wasse was known to be rather obstinate, and he fell out with a number of prominent church committee members at All Saints’ such as J.C. Hooker. These episodes are recorded in the correspondence for 1886 in USPG Archive: C/EUR/21a.
32. Obituary in *The Guardian* (8 Apr. 1891), 8.
33. Ibid. See also Bishop of Gibraltar’s pastoral letter of 1891, 12.
34. See ‘The English Church in Rome,’ in Building Committee Minute Book, USPG Archive: C/EUR/21b.
35. ‘To the Friends of the American Chapel, Rome,’ circular letter, 1871, St. Paul’s Vestry Archive, Rome.
36. Ibid. It was also observed here that: “Moreover, for us to occupy a Roman Church would excite much ill-feeling against us among the superstitious people, and greatly impair our influence with the liberal Catholics.” See, ‘To the Friends of the American Chapel, Rome,’ circular letter, 1871, St. Paul’s Vestry Archive, Rome.
37. Ibid.
38. These are the words of the Rev. William Bacon Stevens, Bishop of Philadelphia, who was in charge of Episcopalian churches on the continent of Europe at the time. See Nevin, *St Paul’s Within the Walls*, 45.
39. Ibid.
40. This view concerning the persuasive powers of architecture in such a context was hinted at as early as 1847, with respect to the building of the English church at Malta. See, *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, 4 (1847), 125–6.
41. For Street on north Italian architecture, see G.E. Street, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes on Tours of Northern Italy* (London: John Murray, 1874).
42. Nevin, *St Paul’s Within the Walls*, 77–8.
43. C.W. Stanford, ‘Speech Delivered at the Church Congress at Leicester, Sept. 28, on “The Condition of the Greek Church and Other Churches of the East in Relation to the Church of England”,’ in *A Pastoral Letter*, 64–5.
44. Knight, *The Diocese of Gibraltar*, 161.
45. *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, 1 (Dec. 1847), 202.
46. The centrality of both these components of the Church of England’s presence in Turkey are clearly delineated in a fundraising pamphlet published c.1856. See ‘Memorial Church, and Mission at Constantinople,’ USPG Archive: C/EUR/D29c (2421).

47. Knight, *The Diocese of Gibraltar*, 57–60.
48. *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, 9 (Nov. 1855), 165.
49. E.g., *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, 9 (Apr. 1856), 391.
50. *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, 4 (Oct. 1850), 141. See also *Report* (1857), cxxvii. See also the Rev. Alfred Child's letter to the editor, *The Guardian* (c.1854), clipping in USPG Archive: C/CRIMEA/3(f3).
51. E.g., Dixon, 'Queen Adelaide'.
52. The Royal Institute of British Architects went so far as to say that they hoped the church would be "a record [in 'the East'] . . . of the art of Western Europe." *The Builder* (12 July 1856), 386.
53. For instance, in the subscription circular for the Memorial Church published in Apr. 1856, the sense conveyed was that the project was not only a national undertaking but an imperial one too. See 'Memorial Church at Constantinople,' in USPG Archive, Bodleian Library, Oxford: C/CRIMEA/3(f2). Serving British soldiers also felt that the building 'should fitly represent the Church of England and the English nation'. Edward Pyddoke to SPG, unpublished letter (Mar. 1856), USPG Archive: D2 (1856–63).
54. The condition and behaviour of English sailors was considered to be particularly disgraceful. See the Rev. Alfred Child's report to the SPG on the matter. A. Child to SPG (E. Hawkins?), unpublished letter (28 Apr. 1852), USPG Archive: C/CRIMEA/3(f3).
55. 'Memorial Church at Constantinople,' USPG Archive: C/CRIMEA/3(f2).
56. Letter to the editor, *The Guardian* (c.1854), clipping in USPG Archive: C/CRIMEA/3(f3).
57. Edward Pyddoke to SPG, unpublished letter (Mar. 1856), USPG Archive: D2 (1856–63).
58. 'Memorial Church, and Mission at Constantinople,' USPG Archive: C/CRIMEA/3(f2).
59. M. Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), 137.
60. For instance, see quote from *The Saturday Review* in *ibid.*, 145–6.
61. *Ibid.*, 136–66; J.M. Crook, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream* (London: John Murray, 1981), 175–9; A. Lepine, 'Gothic Portability: The Crimean Memorial Church, Istanbul and the Threshold of Empire,' in *Sacred Precincts: The Religious Architecture of Non-Muslim Communities Across the Islamic World*, ed. G. Mohamad (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 203–18.
62. Knight, *The Diocese of Gibraltar*, 59.
63. *Report* (1857), cxxvii; *Report* (1860), 178.
64. 'On the Proposal to Establish a Church or the Anglican Communion in Turkey,' *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, 9 (Nov. 1855), 161–9.
65. *Ibid.*, 168–9.
66. *The Builder* (21 Mar. 1857), 157.
67. A.J.B. Beresford Hope, 'The Memorial Church at Constantinople,' USPG Archive: D29b/1591–9.
68. Competition regulations reprinted in *The Builder* (12 July 1856), 386; *The Ecclesiologist* (Aug. 1856), 79, 295. See also Professor Robert Willis's comments in *The Builder* (28 Feb. 1857), 116. A copy of the original printed instructions can be found in USPG Archive: 'Instructions to Architects' (issued 4 June 1856), C/EUR/D2. See also Crinson, *Empire Building*, 137–41.
69. *Ibid.*
70. This was of course rejected by some, who believed such concessions to "the prejudice of the Turks" as being indignant. *The Builder* (25 Oct. 1856), 586. As early as May–June 1856, Charles Curtis, SPG missionary at Constantinople, had warned against introducing figural imagery into any new church. See C.G. Curtis to Ernest Hawkins, unpublished letter (8 July 1856 [rec.] and 27 Nov. 1856), USPG Archive: C/CRIMEA/3(f3).
71. Letter to the editor, *The Guardian* (c.1854), clipping in USPG Archive: C/CRIMEA/3(f3). A similar notion to this is conveyed towards the end of a communication

- from Charles Curtis to the SPG, where he observes, in relation to the use of images in sacred spaces, that Turks would sooner be “Protestants & not Christians.” C.G. Curtis to W.T. Bullock, unpublished letter (29 Dec. 1856), USPG Archive: C/CRIMEA/3(f3).
72. G.A. Bremner, ‘Narthex Reclaimed: Reinventing Disciplinary Space in the Anglican Mission Field, 1847–1903,’ *Journal of Historical Geography*, 51 (2016), 1–17.
73. *The Ecclesiologist* (Aug. 1861), 235.
74. *Report* (1860), 179.
75. *The Ecclesiologist* (Apr. 1857), 104.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*, 105.
78. *Correspondence Respecting Protestant Missionaries and Converts in Turkey*, Parliamentary paper (London, 1865).
79. *Ibid.*
80. ‘Crimean Memorial Church, Constantinople’ (appeal 1889), USPG Archive: C/CRIMEA/3(f4).

13 The Land of Calvin and Voltaire

British Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century Paris

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Like many nineteenth-century Protestants, the Reverend George Theophilus Dodds of the Free Church of Scotland found the Continent hard to stomach. Poisoned by an imprudent dish of toadstools while holidaying in the Sologne, he died in September 1882 at the age of thirty-two and was buried in the Parisian cemetery of Passy after a solemn funeral at the Oratoire in Paris. To Horatius Bonar, the Free Church minister, best-selling hymnodist and fluent missionary propagandist who was also Dodds's father-in-law and biographer, his life offered

a record of self-consecration. It does not connect itself with foreign missions, but simply with European work. Not the less, on that account, is it an example for the youth of all the churches.¹

This chapter insists on the importance of “European work” in the thinking of later nineteenth-century British Nonconformists. As Bonar's slightly defensive tone suggests, the glamorous cause of extra-European “foreign missions” has often overshadowed their ardent and sustained attempts to convert the Continent to evangelical Protestantism. For Dodds himself, Europe had been something of a *pis aller*. A depressive young man who had followed his father into the Free Church ministry, Dodds had been haunted by a fear that he would not be able to allay the religious scepticism of his contemporaries. Like many others, he had looked to allay anxieties about the wobbliness of his own faith by pressing it on the distant heathen. Many of the leaders of his Free Church had made their names in the Church of Scotland as pioneers of missions to the extra-European world, and made frenetic efforts after the 1843 Disruption to redouble their commitment to this work. “I have been thinking much of the foreign field this week,” the young Dodds wrote to his father in a letter of 1875 reproduced by Bonar.

Dr Duff had one of his grand sermons to-day on St Paul; it was really very fine, describing St Paul's missionary spirit. I cannot help feeling the terrible want that exists for missionaries everywhere, – not in India only. How little, – how very little does the Church realise her duty, – the privilege, the blessing that might accrue from greater missionary zeal.²

The elderly Alexander Duff was a Free Church patriarch: a veteran of missionary education in India and the convener of and key fundraiser for its foreign missions committee.³ The mood of rapturous self-sacrifice he induced in Dodds is familiar from many a later nineteenth-century missionary biography. So was Dodds' trust in providence, which persuaded young tyros to take the gospel to China or sub-Saharan Africa. "He would lead us 'in the right way,' the *only* path He means us to take," Dodds thrilled. "I have cast the burden on Him, and it is sweet to have done so."⁴ Yet, in his case, providence had to make allowances for delicate health. In 1877, he chose to go not to India, but at Bonar's urging, merely to Paris. There he became the right-hand man of the Reverend Robert Whitaker McAll, the Congregational founder of the Mission to the Working Men of France (1872), known from 1879 as the *Mission Populaire Évangélique de la France* – under which title it continues to the present – or simply as the McAll Mission.⁵

This essay uses the writings produced by and about McAll's Mission from its creation to its founder's death in 1893 to evoke the deep hold that the Continent still exerted over the missionary imagination of British Protestants. The proselytism of Roman Catholics, and particularly lapsed Roman Catholics, remained just as significant as the war against extra-European heathenism. He may not have had to grapple with "millions of Buddhists and Mohammedans," Bonar admitted, but Dodds had a no less compelling target: "a city of Christendom with its crowds of unbelievers, to whom the Bible was a fable, Christianity an imposture, religion a device of priests for the victimising of the ignorant and the oppression of the poor."⁶ The importance of Paris as a mission field may come as some surprise, because recent historiography has rightly emphasised the resources that British Protestants, especially dissenting Protestants, poured into *extra*-European missions in the later nineteenth century. It has suggested that missionary zeal travelled down the imagined gradient of civilisation, from industrial Britain to the benighted areas of the globe. A first phase of critical scholarship on the missionary enterprise envisaged a mid-century eclipse of its universalist ideals, with confidence waning that savages could be brought immediately to Christ or dragged up to the level of civilisation required to effect genuine conversions.⁷ For Catherine Hall, disillusioned Dissenters turned to the drama of European liberal nationalism for the emotional fix once supplied by global mission.⁸ Yet scholars have lately turned this picture of declining commitment to extra-European missions on its head, noting that numbers of men and women dispatched to a widening number of locations only increased, as did the eagerness of home congregations to read about their activities in missionary periodicals. The 1913 Edinburgh Conference on World Mission now looks like an apogee of the global vision and resilient optimism of British Protestant missionaries.⁹ These missionaries were "good citizens," content to work with imperial authorities and keen to exploit their mastery of medicine and technology to amaze the peoples they encountered into acceptance of the gospel.¹⁰

The history of the Mission shows that while British missionaries undoubtedly contributed to this "imperial culture," they remained no less preoccupied with nearby societies that resembled or perhaps exceeded their own in worldly

accomplishment.¹¹ The prize for conquering Paris for Dodds would be reassurance that the Christian gospel could retain its hold over the most polished urban civilisation that then existed. “Proof has been given,” wrote the French pastor Eugène Réveillaud, a leading publicist for the Mission, that “the language of the Sermon on the Mount . . . answers to the same wants of the heart in the capital of elegant luxury and of refined civilisation as in the rude huts of Kaffirs or Basutos.”¹² As one of a number of later nineteenth-century Dissenting enterprises reaching out urgently across the Channel for kindred spirits, the Mission illustrates the entanglement of global dreams of conversion with the older, markedly Eurocentric vision of a “Protestant international,” in which Anglophone Protestants sought to bolster their Continental allies in the fight against Roman Catholicism and infidelity.¹³

The essay begins by sketching the religious and political context of the Mission’s creation. British missions to Francophone Europe were of long standing. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, Methodists and Presbyterians – fired by patriotic chauvinism and eschatological excitement – had sought to instil in French and Swiss Protestants the intense, sectarian spirituality to which they themselves had succumbed.¹⁴ From the mid-nineteenth century, a new mood of mingled dread and wild optimism informed thinking about the prospects of Continental mission. This reflected a Dissenting analysis of church-state relations and a buoyant anti-Catholicism. McCall’s Congregationalists were sure that Roman Catholicism was losing its grip on the masses. The events of the Paris Commune seemed to indicate that Parisians had rejected the sacerdotal church that had set its face against spiritual and intellectual liberty at the Vatican Council. The risk then was that the Voltairean French would reject Christianity altogether and turn to socialism and materialism, but in this risk lay opportunity for British spiritual entrepreneurs. As early as 1863, leading Congregationalists had backed the creation of a chapel on the Rue Royale in Paris as a showcase for independent evangelicalism in the “gay metropolis,” close to the Église Madeleine, a symbol for the gaudy triviality of Parisian Catholicism.¹⁵ In pitching his first missionary stations in Belleville, McAll continued this work, which seemed newly feasible under a secular Republican government, while extending it to the working-class East. While McAll was tackling Paris, other hitherto impregnable Catholic cities were opening up to Congregationalists. The wealthy Mancunian philanthropists John and Enriqueta Rylands threw their fortune behind the proselytisation of Rome after its conquest by Italian troops in 1870.¹⁶ “All over Europe we detect the same blessed streaks, not only in its great cities, but in many of its provincial towns and humble villages,” enthused Bonar in his 1887 introduction to a history of the Mission’s proceedings. Protestant missionaries might yet only constitute scattered points of light in the Romish darkness, like the fireflies he had seen hovering around Italian villages, but Bonar was optimistic. “The amount of evil is no cause of despair. Our messengers do not go forth in despondency to discharge a thankless errand. They may sow in tears, but they shall reap in joy.”¹⁷

Yet the optimism fuelling the Mission’s creation hid uncertainties about its purpose and strategy. When compared with the Calvinists of the early nineteenth

century, McAll was coy about the doctrinal content of the Christianity to which he was seeking to convert the French. This stance reflected the liberal emphases of his training as a Congregational minister, but his non-denominational Mission quickly attracted collaborators from less flexible denominations. Both Dodds and Bonar were Free Church Presbyterians with a stricter soteriology and a flintier approach to the authority of Scripture. Just as unclear was the relationship between McAll and his French hosts. He had arrived as a standard-bearer for Protestantism in a Roman Catholic culture, but had to recognise that the disasters of the Commune had already prompted French Protestants to embark on the conquest of the city through evangelistic and philanthropic initiatives. Was the aim to build on their work – “stirring up the Reformed Church” – or to supplant it with a new and more vigorous strain of Protestantism?¹⁸ The Mission never found convincing answers to these questions, and its domestic support dwindled accordingly. Yet the third and last part of the essay suggests that it did make a lasting impact: not so much in Paris, but in the United States, where those who sought a nimbler and efficient approach to mission valued its commitment to set simple faith in the Lord above the “paraphernalia” of committee meetings and bureaucratic rule making. The early history of the Mission not only suggests that the conversion of Europe remained important to nineteenth-century Anglophone Protestants, but also that it could cross-fertilise the better-known commitment to the conversion of the world.

1. “A Religion of Freedom and Reality”: Congregationalist Visions of France

The Reverend Robert Whitaker McAll and his wife had taken a Parisian holiday of a kind that only a Dissenting minister could enjoy. In August 1871, they were distributing tracts outside a Belleville café in the intervals of sight-seeing when a worker approached them, who “spoke to this effect”:

Sir, I have something to tell you. Throughout this whole district, containing tens of thousands of *ouvriers*, we have, to a man, done with the priests. We cannot accept an imposed religion. But if anyone would come to teach us religion of another kind, a religion of freedom and reality, many of us are ready for it.

McAll remembered it as a scene from the Acts of the Apostles. The worker was the “man of Macedonia” who came to Paul in a dream, asking him to cross into Europe “to help us” (Acts 16:9). Within a year, he returned to Paris to found the first in what became 136 evangelical halls in 37 different French towns in his lifetime. Given that McAll’s French was initially rudimentary, it is no perhaps surprise that his worker sounds less like Paul’s Macedonian than a mid-nineteenth century English Congregationalist. After all, His analysis of what was wrong with France was spookily close to theirs. McAll’s generation of Congregationalists believed in its mission to Europe. Born in Macclesfield in 1821, the son of a

famous Independent minister, McAll had a conversion experience at seventeen, when he realised that he was an “unworthy creature, deeply sensible of my lost and ruined estate by nature, of the unsatisfactory nature of all earthly things, and of the impossibility of being otherwise saved than by the death of Jesus.” He trained as an architect rather than a minister, before hearing a missionary sermon determined him to enter Lancashire Independent College. This newly founded seminary had as its principal the Reverend Robert Vaughan, a leading man of letters. Vaughan had just published *The Age of Great Cities*, which argued that urbanisation in Western Europe had broken the power of squire and church and was subjecting all political and religious opinions to relentless criticism. The consequences for countries dominated by the Roman Catholic Church or by state-controlled Protestant churches were disastrous, because such institutions stifled the free discussion from which gospel truth emerged victorious. Their cynical ministers and disaffected laity harboured anti-Christian opinions, whether in the form of anti-clerical atheism or the subtler poison of German higher criticism.¹⁹

That gave Congregationalists their cue. Because their polity had as its basis the principle of free association, they could discuss threats to Christianity without fear or favour. The only thing holding their chapels together was vital personal faith, not money or access to power. Because their congregations could not be hollowed out from within, their young men could travel to the Continent, and particularly to Germany, to confront questions raised by Positivism, socialism, or higher criticism. Vaughan encouraged students to visit the Prussian University of Halle to study with its godly critics and theologians. One who went was his own son, Robert Alfred Vaughan, who turned himself into an expert on Schleiermacher. His ministerial career was sadly a flop and he died young, leaving Vaughan senior to explain in a memoir that it had still been a good idea to dispatch him there: like his namesake King Alfred, he had gone into the “camp of the Danes” to discover plots laid against English Christianity.²⁰ Robert Alfred was a college friend of McAll and made a thinly disguised appearance in his novel *Chapeltown* (1857), which he published under the penname of “an English Congregational minister.” “Farnham” is an introvert with an ink-stained carpet and a well-thumbed copy of Schleiermacher who is too metaphysical to preach the gospel. It takes the death of his pious fellow student Clifton, who had made his chapel a centre of revivalist activity, to convince him that there was more to life than metaphysics and to launch into preaching the importance of a personal bond with Christ the Redeemer.²¹

McAll was a Clifton rather than a Farnham. After leaving Lancashire, he had pastored in Sunderland, Leicester, Manchester, Birmingham, and finally bucolic Hadleigh, Suffolk. Despite feeling the pull of “the heathen” and initially wishing to go to Madagascar, McAll had set himself to improve England’s social fabric.²² In his urban parishes, he made determined efforts to preach the gospel to the working classes while avoiding controversy or obscurantism. In Sunderland, he took a stand against local premillennialists, arguing that the business of Protestant ministers “as Christ’s ambassadors, is not to unfold to men coming battles, and pestilences, and earthquakes, and supernatural glories here; but to commend to

them *spiritual religion*, as adapted for world-wide spread, and exactly suited to their own cases.” Instead of seeking to decipher the timing of the second advent from comparing Scripture to world events, Christians ought instead to trust that the “God of love HAS DONE all that love could devise and power could execute to place true joy within their reach . . . by the simple exercise of FAITH in the world’s redeemer.”²³ In his calm approach to eschatological questions, McAll resembled many Dissenters in retaining his confidence in social and political progress at a time when many evangelical Protestants, particularly in established churches, were falling into quietism and pessimism. He was confident in his ability to win back the working classes to Christianity through the lucid exposition of God’s designs.²⁴ In Sunderland, he contributed to a series of lectures “to the working classes,” arguing that the study of nature constantly inspired faith in the existence and goodness of a “Great Artificer.”²⁵ Life in what his tutor Vaughan had called “great cities” also brought McAll into contact with the yearning for political revolution. When Fenians set bombs at Manchester in 1867 to spring their comrades from prison, McAll argued passionately that leniency would be a “wise and brotherly experiment,” convening a meeting at the Corn Exchange to argue for a reprieve for the terrorists. This was in vain, as three of them were eventually executed, but it allowed McAll to claim sincerely enough in Paris that “*dans mon pays je suis radical*.”²⁶

Despite his ropery French, McAll must then have felt equipped on arrival in Paris to win back workers for Christianity. Belleville was not the spiritual desert his Macedonian implied. There was already a non-denominational Protestant mission there, begun by Miss de Broen, a Dutch Protestant resident in England who had arrived just after the fall of the Commune. De Broen set up mothers’ meetings, sewing clubs, and medical missions to convince its anti-clerical and unruly population that there was an alternative to either Roman Catholicism or Communism: the gospel. De Broen had influential backers in England. Lord Shaftesbury, the premillennialist Tory peer, had long advocated philanthropy in great cities as a preservative against both dechristianisation and political instability. In his preface to an 1878 account of De Broen’s mission, he hailed the extension of these tactics across the Channel. Her modest successes were due to “Superintending Providence” and merited support from British Protestants, not least because they had a

vital, and, as it were, personal interest in the real, not the blustering, honour of France, – in her tranquillity, her industry, her wealth, and the moral character of her people. The poor of London will gain not a little when the poor of Paris shall have become industrious and contented, obedient to the laws, to morality, and religion.²⁷

For Christian tourists, both De Broen and McAll’s stations were way stations on any visit to Paris, turning Belleville from a no-go area into a pilgrimage site. Writing in the year of the 1878 International Exhibition, one evangelical journalist sniffed that while worldly tourists flocked to the Champs Élysées, the Invalides, or the Place de la Concorde, “few, very few care to cultivate acquaintance with

Montmartre or Belleville, for these are the centre of the Communists.” Yet evangelical visitors who sought them out would be able to inspect a rousing example of the power of Christian compassion.²⁸

A significant fraction of the Parisian Protestant community also appeared favourable to McAll’s voluntarist efforts. If the Dissenting press in Britain had long criticised French Protestants both for their apparent lack of interest in evangelisation and their passive acquiescence in state control, then they were also constantly looking out for interlocutors who shared their commitment to a biblical faith and a gathered ecclesiology. The British followed the quarrels between liberal Protestants and theological conservatives in France, which they understood through the prism of their own anxieties about theological rationalism. They hailed the creation of the *Union des Églises Evangeliques Independantes*: a cluster of gathered congregations that dissented from the state-controlled church and were therefore outside the Napoleonic Concordat. Struggling to gain recognition and toleration from the Second Empire, the Union had depended on political and financial support from English evangelicals such as Shaftesbury. One of its leaders was Georges Fisch, who had taken part in the 1846 meetings of the Evangelical Alliance and visited England regularly thereafter. Fisch was quick to welcome McAll and to assure him that he was justified in his Pauline vision of bringing a pure gospel to grateful natives. In a letter to McAll in October 1871, he claimed to be glad that his cries for assistance from “Barnabas and Saul” had found a hearing: “a stranger in his broken French brings them words of true love.”²⁹ He was the first in a series of influential sponsors such as Theodore Monod and Eugène Bersier whom McAll relied upon both to preach in his halls and to assure donors that the Mission was welcome in France.³⁰

2. “An Experiment of Faith”: Defining and Debating Conversion

The time then appeared to be propitious to convert Paris and through Paris, all of France. What though did conversion mean in this context? McAll was adamant that his halls were not Protestant chapels, and that he was not seeking to manufacture Gallic Congregationalists. In this he differed from English Methodists, for instance, whose proselytising efforts in Paris reflected a chauvinistic confidence that “in all points [Methodism] suits precisely French likings.”³¹ His cordial relationship with the French authorities rested on the understanding that he would not engage in controversy. He billed his halls as *reunions morales*. If to the English McAll posed as a new Paul, then he featured in French society as a kindly philanthropist, proud of his medals from the *Société Nationale d’Encouragement au Bien* and the *Société Libre d’Instruction et d’Éducation*.³² At his meetings, McAll and his collaborators talked about Jesus Christ, with readings from the Bible, a prayer or two, and hymns. The aim was to introduce individuals to *le vrai Christianisme* and to alert them to the need for redemption. The people thus awakened would experience church life elsewhere, with the Mission’s agents pointing them towards the nearest French Protestant chapel. In 1880, McAll and

Dodds endeavoured to change this dispensation, requesting that French pastors lead communion services in the halls – a proposal that met with a frosty reception and which they accordingly dropped.

If McAll did not proselytise for Congregationalism, then he did not preach against Catholicism either. Roman Catholicism was a busted flush in Dissenting eyes after the fall of the Empire and the foundation of the Third Republic. Its priests had lost privileged access to the state and their moral hold over Parisians. The battle was thus to convert people from what was already a vestigial Catholicism or overt atheism. If this was anti-Catholicism, then it was dismissive rather than vitriolic and confrontational, drawing encouragement from the supposedly widespread popular contempt from the Church. “Clericalism” was dead, said Bonar in *The White Fields of France*, an 1879 fundraising brochure for the Mission. The “old religions” were broken and the French needed a new route out of the “sorrows of negativism.” Any polemic against Catholicism consisted in a quiet demonstration effect, which set lived religion in contrast to its impostures. Priests were obsessed with extorting money; the Mission charged nothing. Catholic churches dazzled with ornament; the Mission set up in old shops or cabarets that were simply white-washed, while “bold calico placards with their bright texts all over the clean walls, make known beyond mistake the creed here taught, – the sin of man and the grace of God.”³³ While this sounds like the pure milk of evangelical Protestantism, Bonar was convinced that any Communard who wandered into such a hall would be puzzled to say whether he was meeting with Protestant proselytisers or rather mere Christians.

If the Mission’s confessional identity was elusive, then so were its yardsticks of success. Dodds became the editor of its *Quarterly Record*, which duly tabulated halls opened and attendance figures, but avoided making systematic claims about conversions. The Mission preferred “incidents” to statistics, for “David’s experience in insisting upon a complete numbering of Israel is not such as to encourage us to do the same.”³⁴ It told endless anecdotes about the unlikely people – soldiers, bus conductors, housepainters, drunks – brought to Christ through chance entry into a hall. The gospel should make its way not through the pressure of argument, but the unforced decision of individuals after their catalytic collision with the Bible. Introducing his Mission at the 1872 meeting of the Congregational Union, McAll said they were “pioneers,” wishing

by Almighty help to clear a few spots of the thorn-infested ground, and to scatter therein the good seed of eternal life. We would therefore present our enterprise only in the light of *an essay*, the hidden results of which rest with our Master.

The missionary was the sower, scattering seeds on the inevitably stony ground of the boulevards. The Mission was thus an “experiment of faith,” not an exercise in “human philanthropy . . . attempting the impossible in the name of the Lord of Hosts.”³⁵ There was to be no worldly bait on the Mission’s salvific hook. This approach reflected a broader disillusionment with the increasingly bureaucratic

approach to mission favoured by many of the larger sending societies. Introducing a report on the Mission to the deep-pocketed membership of the Congregational Union in 1873, Thomas Binney, a cultivated denominational statesman, admitted that “the very idea of the thing will to some seem strange and Quixotic, and may be regarded as something which will turn out to be wanting in depth and permanence.”³⁶ Quixotism, though, was the draw for ardent spirits like Dodds. One reason he had not wanted to go to India was the way in which Indian missionaries from Duff downwards had apparently settled down to running schools and measuring success in the numbers of students enrolled:

I will not go to teach purely moral philosophy, or English literature, or any purely secular branch of knowledge. I agree with you that this is not the work of a preacher of the Gospel, of a missionary; not the manner of winning souls; not the example left by the apostles.³⁷

Neither De Broen nor the McAll Mission had a civilizing mission, nor was one necessary in Belleville, which, as the Mission’s agents and apologists soon realised, was hardly the “East End of Paris.” An English visitor to De Broen’s mission noted the “the spotless white caps of the women were refreshing to the eye, contrasted with the miserable attempts at finery we often meet with among our poor.”³⁸ This was neither darkest Africa nor darkest England: unemployment was its curse, rather than drink. Yet this only deepened the interest of the missionary enterprise there, for “Paris, like Athens,” in the days of Paul was “the most highly civilised city in the world. But the ancient city had more gods than houses in it, whereas the modern one says in its heart, ‘There is no God.’” If atheism could be defeated here, in what had become the archetypal great city, then it could be defeated anywhere.³⁹ So, too, could the fatal tendency of social inequality to provoke violent revolution.⁴⁰ Bonar gamely declared that the McAll Mission had transformed “streets, once smelling with petroleum, and red with blood, and resounding with the cry of massacre.”⁴¹

The Christ that these sharply individualised Parisians unexpectedly accepted was nonetheless the suffering God whose death on the cross was central to evangelical soteriology. The hymns in *Les Cantiques Populaires*, a hymnbook compiled by McAll whose use appeared to have been the biggest draw to the Mission’s halls, are centred upon the cross. In *La Couronne d’Épines*, the singer’s gaze turns to the “Roi, couvert de blessures,/Meurtri pour nous, pécheurs. . . . Ainsi ton sang expie/Mes péchés odieux/Pour me rendre la vie/Tu meures en ces bas lieux.” In another hymn, *La source féconde*, Christ’s blood is the “salut du monde . . . Ce divin Frère,/Sur le Calvaire/Est mort pour l’homme perdu.”⁴² Most of these hymns were free translations by McAll and his French supporters of evangelical standards, so that Toplady’s *Rock of Ages* becomes the *Roc Séculaire* (“Frappé pour moi,/Seul sanctuaire,/Je fuis vers toi”).⁴³

The prominence of this rousing, derivative hymnody raises the question of whether the Mission saw its work as reanimating or supplanting French efforts at evangelisation. The Mission’s literature stressed that France was no virgin field.

Bonar's accounts repeatedly struck a note of "auld Alliance:" Scots, like himself, Dodds, and McAll (by parentage) were aware of what Scotland owed to the Huguenots and were returning that favour by triggering a revival in the French heartland of Protestantism.⁴⁴ "Modern France walks everywhere over the graves of martyrs," he wrote in introducing Dodd's sacrifice,

and no history has been like hers for faith and endurance to the death. It is specially interesting to observe how the martyr-spirit breathes through her ancient hymnology; and to mark the prominent part which hymnology is taking in the present movement, and how, by means of it, the Gospel is penetrating "the masses" of her cities.⁴⁵

Dodds had "feasted on Pascal and Vinet" in preparation for his work in Paris. The name of the Swiss pastor Alexandre-Rodolphe Vinet's was particularly important here, because he was the inspiration behind the *Union des Églises Independantes*. British Dissenters revered him for having declared that strict separation between church and state was the necessary condition of a true evangelical revival.⁴⁶

Yet Bonar's warm words disguised distrust for the Protestants that they were assisting. McAll's founding regulations for the Mission stressed that his speakers must simply present God as a loving father. This reflected the decidedly moderate Calvinism that he would have absorbed at Lancashire Independent College and the need to consider the sensitivities of his French hosts. Yet as ministers in the Free Church, which had split from the Church of Scotland in large part to preserve the austere rigour of Presbyterian Calvinism, Bonar and Dodds worried constantly that the Mission lacked the "clear theology" needed to make genuine conversions.⁴⁷ In their eyes, Christ's substitutionary death on the cross was the only cause of salvation – everything else was "mysticism." Lecturing to Paris's Protestant ministers, Bonar reminded them that the Reformation had established that repentance and contrition did not bring about salvation but merely responded to it. He and Dodds were alert to any evasion of human depravity and God's sovereignty. In 1882, McAll's ally Theodore Monod had to write a public letter assuring English backers that they were preaching the gospel of grace rather than works in the halls.⁴⁸ Dodds raged privately that

Creedless mission . . . might be scientific; it would not be apostolic. It might help to smooth the broad way for the poor *ouvrier*; but it would not lead him into the narrow one. . . . The cross, with its inflexible and unaccommodating dogmas, is rather out of place in any scheme, the object of which is to work by means of religious colourlessness.⁴⁹

If soteriology was one point of divergence, the Bible was another. As a student, Dodds had devoured metaphysics and German philology, but he came around to his father-in-law's view that the higher criticism of an inerrant Bible was mischievous.⁵⁰ Bonar wrote that "without a *certain* Bible, [Dodds] could not have a *certain* hope . . . Without inspired words he could not have inspired thoughts; and if

neither words nor thoughts were trustworthy or reliable, what was he to do?"⁵¹ He was appalled when he sat in on lectures on biblical criticism at the newly opened Protestant Faculty of Theology in which Auguste Sabatier took "a particular pleasure in showing and enumerating the MS variations in the text, and the passages which he said had been inserted."⁵² Eugène Révillaud, who travelled with Dodds to raise funds for the Mission in America, gently remembered his "narrow" theory of Scriptural inspiration was "Judaical" in its "literalism." It appeared "antiquated" to him – a revival of thinking of Gaussen and Malan, theologians of the early nineteenth-century *Réveil*.⁵³ Dodds fretted, too, that his colleagues did not have a requisitely strong sense of sinfulness. They felt they were Christians because they had read Lamennais's *Paroles d'un Croyant*, a flimsily romantic, not to mention Roman Catholic, production.⁵⁴ Just before his death, Dodds wanted to produce a new series of pamphlets that harped on justification by faith alone. Yet he recognised that their message would not be

a very intelligible or a credible thing to one who has been steeped in Popery, and taught that his acceptance with God is to turn upon what he himself is able to do, and upon the way in which he performs this doing of his.⁵⁵

Bonar and Dodds had entered the same kind of bind that affected extra-European missions in this period: it was necessary to respond to the host culture in such a way that the missionary's message was understood, but not so far that it was watered down altogether.

The ardent premillennialism of Bonar and Dodds further disposed them to impatience with French colleagues. A youthful encounter with Edward Irving had permanently persuaded Bonar that the Second Coming was imminent and that it was as important an article of Christian faith as the Incarnation or the Resurrection.⁵⁶ Having courted much controversy in the Free Church for expressing these views, he grew cagier over exactly when the Second Advent might happen. "I am still a learner with regard to the Apocalypse," he declared in 1879, about the time he began to propagandise in earnest for the Mission. Yet he remained certain that it was imminent and that political and social crises would most likely precede it. The "awful winding up may be nearer than we think. 'The harvest of the earth' is ripe; and, as for 'the clusters of the vine of the earth,' are they not long since 'fully ripe?'"⁵⁷ Post-revolutionary Paris fitted neatly into this notion of harvest time. Although the Mission's stated purpose was to train French disciples who would evangelise their country's people better than any foreigner could, for the time being, "experienced sickles" were needed to reap the whitening crops. To the English fell the "singular honour" of doing the work and thus of deciding on overall strategy.⁵⁸ They should hurtle into the field with a due sense of eschatological urgency. As Bonar told Dodds during his ordination as a Free Church minister,

The Lord is at hand. The nations of the earth are ripening to judgment. Europe seems preparing for the last earthquake. Satan is doing his worst; and the

human heart is now speaking out all its evil against God and his Christ. Equip yourself for the conflict . . . listen, and hear your captain's voice cheering you on, "Behold, I came quickly, and my reward is with me."⁵⁹

The imminence of the Advent should convince missionaries to lay aside not just conventional tools, but to abandon prudence and trust in God alone. Bonar told Dodds that:

It is not science meeting science, nor scholarship meeting scholarship, nor philosophy meeting philosophy, that is our hope in France. It is the sword of the Spirit, wielded by praying men, that is to do the work.⁶⁰

Dodds needed little convincing. He wrote to his brother in December 1878 that they appeared to be "wonderfully near" to the Second Advent, an event preceded by "days of tribulation." Without going along with "harm-scarum prophetic writers who fix dates and years," he thought it pointless to teach and preach the Bible unless with an awareness of this portending crisis. "A strange delusion seems to have taken hold of ministers; they think that everything is to go on all right; that the world is to be gradually won by Christ, and Christianity is to triumph everywhere."⁶¹

3. The "Model Mission of the World": McAll and American Missionary Protestantism

This eschatological stress on faith alone helps explain the mounting Americanisation of the Mission. The primary cause of the shift to American financing and organisation was its failure to implant itself in French society. McAll's first-ever report on the Mission had conceded that as the "religious metropolis of the world," England should send "missionaries of the cross to every nation," but stressed that "the nations whom she helps must help themselves."⁶² The Mission's publications show that this never happened. French ministers certainly preached for McAll and founded stations. Ruben Saillens, for instance, had travelled in the other direction to McAll, coming to London to get an education in street evangelism at Henry Grattan Guinness's Institute. He had preached at Mile End before encountering the Mission on return visits to Paris and going on to found stations at Marseilles in connection with McAll.⁶³ Yet French ministers, who were not above criticising the appalling French of the "sons of Albion," were not active enough in encouraging their congregations to give.⁶⁴ At best, they wrote circulars asking the *English* to give more. The Mission remained identical with its English founder, with *maccalliser* its characteristic verb. The result was that it lived hand to mouth off donations from English sympathisers, who read Bonar's publications and Dodds' *Quarterly Record* of its activities. In 1878, Bonar observed that there was nothing dishonourable in reliance on "English gold" – Britain was the willing paymaster of the Continental campaign against religious scepticism, much as it

had once bankrolled Napoleon's foes. Yet there were limits, he warned. Britain could not draw

illimitably on its resources. The nations whom she helps must help themselves. We cannot continue subsidising the whole world; not because we grudge it, but because there are limits to our exchequer, and our own people have claims upon us, even superior to the whole Continent altogether.

Let the "land of Coligny" be "true to herself" and French volunteers and French funds would surely come on stream.⁶⁵

These prophecies proved idle, leaving McCall, who was unpaid and drawing on his own resources, to make constant begging trips back across the Channel. Attention soon shifted to North America as a new source of income to support the expansion of mission stations within and beyond Paris. American ministers in Paris were instrumental in drumming up interest. The Reverend E. Hitchcock of the American Church, who preached the eulogy at Dodds's funeral in the Oratoire, had involved Elizabeth Beach, a young Massachusetts woman who had come to Paris to learn French but proved more interested in teaching Protestantism, in the Mission. On her return to New England in 1879, she had set up auxiliary societies to fund its work.⁶⁶ Dodds had worked these contacts when, in 1880, he accompanied members of three French proselytising societies to the Pan-Presbyterian Congress as their translator.⁶⁷ In 1883, the Mission sent a deputation to America to expand the network of auxiliaries. McCall's cousins Robert and Ruben Sailens held 24 meetings in 10 days in Philadelphia, also taking in Baltimore, Washington, New York, Princeton, and Wellesley College.⁶⁸ These auxiliaries came together in that year as the American McAll Association, which was soon setting up new halls – the "Salle Beach" and the "Salle Baltimore" – and founding a new journal to encourage donations.⁶⁹ With this generosity, power over the Mission's doings passed to a new Board of Direction, with the ageing McCall installed as Director for life, but joined by eight colleagues, including the dynamic new minister of the American Chapel in Paris, Augustus Field Beard.⁷⁰ A grand celebration of McCall's birthday in January 1892 revealed the Mission's newly transatlantic character: there were speeches by French pastors, but the event took place in the Salle Philadelphie and featured a communiqué from the Board of Directors of the American McAll Association.⁷¹

Just as important as the American impact on the Mission was the Mission's impact on American missionary Protestantism, which was falling under the leadership of premillennial evangelicals impatient with the ponderous operations of the existing sending societies. In *A Cry from the Land of Calvin and Voltaire* (1887), pointedly directed at American donors, the elderly Bonar banged the premillennial drum: "men's passions [are] in full play, breaking out in all directions, producing distrust and disgrace and sad foreboding of what is coming on earth."⁷² To premillennialists keen for missionaries who would meet the gravity and urgency of the times by throwing themselves on the providence of God, the

McAll Mission was an inspiration. Dwight Moody, who launched a fortnight-long evangelical crusade in Paris in October 1882, taking as his platform the very spot in the Oratoire where Dodds's coffin had lately rested, told an audience of Chicago businessmen that McAll's agile deployment of storefront meeting halls made it "the model mission of the world. I cannot tell you how deeply I was impressed by the sacrifice of Mr and Mrs McAll, giving themselves so completely and without salary. It is the best-run Mission I know."⁷³

In lectures given on the foundation of the Duff Missionary Lectureship at Edinburgh, Moody's ally Arthur Tappan Pierson frequently quoted McAll's example in making his argument that faith rather than calculation ought to drive missionary enterprise. Pierson could be critical of McAll, believing him to be a poor manager, but that made his successes the more striking.⁷⁴ The Franco-Prussian War and the collapse of the Commune was "a *sudden subsidence* of barriers, such as we sometimes see when some seismic convulsion sinks the land below sea level and lets the waters rush in upon the submerged territory." At the very moment that French society was drifting "towards utter denial of God and of all godliness," McAll had "met that 'man of Macedonia' opposite the wine shop in Belleville." That made the McAll Mission "one of the miracles of modern Providence." Providence was not just sovereign; it was cunning. When McAll was training as an architect, he little knew that his knowledge would come in handy running up mission halls in Paris.⁷⁵ His success exemplified Pierson's depreciation of elaborate machinery, his belief that no environment was too unpromising for missionary effort, and finally his insistence on "*obedience to the will of God*. The plan of God is the only ultimately successful scheme."⁷⁶ McAll then took his place alongside Morrison of the China Inland Mission or Judson of Burma as one of the "new apostles" writing a new book of Acts, who would teach Americans the need and the urgency of achieving the evangelisation of the world in this generation. The global fervour of early twentieth-century American evangelicalism thus owed a surprising debt to a modest man from Macclesfield, a "Christian Nehemiah, rebuilding the Jerusalem of the Huguenots, and sending forth his lieutenants to the Judea of France, to reconvert it to the true Messiah."⁷⁷

This essay has argued that the European mission field retained a central if problematic place in the conversionist thinking of later nineteenth-century British Protestants. But as the American interest in McAll demonstrates, Europe, the extra-European world, and home societies were distinct but hardly isolated spheres in Anglo-American missionary thinking. The transnational conversation about the tactics and strategy of conversion connected them in intense and productive ways.

Notes

1. Horatius Bonar, *The Life and the Work of the Reverend George Theophilus Dodds, Missionary in Connection with the McAll Mission, France* (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1884), 7, 65.

2. See Michael Ledger-Lomas, 'Unitarians and Presbyterians,' in *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions, Volume III: The Nineteenth Century*, eds. Ledger-Lomas and Timothy Larsen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 106; Robert Hunter, *History of the Missions of the Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa* (London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1873).
3. Bonar, *Dodds*, 157.
4. McAll's contemporaries sometimes wrote his name as M'All or Mac All.
5. Bonar, *Dodds*, 171.
6. See e.g. Richard Price, *Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
7. Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2002).
8. See Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700* (London: Routledge, 2007).
9. James G. Greenlee and Charles M. Johnston, *Good Citizens: British Missionaries and Imperial States, 1870–1918* (Montreal, Kingston, London and Ithaca: McGill University Press, 1999).
10. Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).
11. Louise Seymour Houghton, *What France Thinks of the McAll Mission* (Philadelphia: American McAll Mission, 1889), 20.
12. Christopher Clark and Michael Ledger-Lomas, 'The Protestant International,' in *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalisation and Faith Communities Since 1750*, eds. Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 23–52.
13. See Grayson Carter, *Anglican Evangelicals: Protestant Secessions from the Church of England, c. 1800–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Nicholas Railton, *No North Sea: The Anglo-German Theological Network in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), chap. 1; Timothy Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession: Radical Evangelicals in Switzerland and Britain, 1815–35: Evangelical Radicals in Switzerland and Britain, 1815–35* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 2000), chs. 2–5.
14. Michael Ledger-Lomas, "'Glimpses of the Great Conflict": English Congregationalists and the European Crisis of Faith, circa 1840–1875,' *Journal of British Studies*, 46 (2007), 849–50.
15. Stephen J. Milner, 'Manufacturing the Renaissance: Modern Merchant Princes and the Origins of the Manchester Dante Society,' in *Culture in Manchester: Institutions and Urban Change Since 1850*, eds. Janet Wolff and Mike Savage (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 72.
16. Horatius Bonar, 'Introduction,' in *A Cry from the Land of Calvin and Voltaire: A Sequel to the "White Fields of France": Records of the McAll Mission* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1887), 2–3.
17. W.G., 'Methodism in France,' *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* (Jan. 1875), 36.
18. See Ledger-Lomas, 'Glimpses' for this analysis.
19. *Ibid.*, 836.
20. Robert W. McAll, *Chapeltown: Or, the Fellow Students, by an English Congregational Minister* (London: Ward, 1857).
21. Robert W. McAll, *Founder of the McAll Mission, Paris: A Fragment by Himself, a Souvenir by His Wife* (New York, Chicago and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company), 141.
22. Robert W. McAll, *Letter and Symbol: A Lecture on the Personal Reign Theory Delivered in Ebenezer Chapel, Sunderland. The Last Dispensation, a Sermon* (London and Bishopswearmouth, 1853), 28.

23. See Joseph Stubenrauch, *The Evangelical Age of Ingenuity in Industrial Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), chap. 6; Michael Ledger-Lomas, 'Conder and Sons: Dissent and the Oriental Bible in Nineteenth-Century Britain,' in *Dissent and the Bible in Britain, c.1650–1950*, eds. Michael Ledger-Lomas and Scott Mandelbrote (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) for continuities in Dissenting liberalism.
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27. 'Mission Work in Belleville, Paris,' *Ragged School Union Quarterly Record* (Apr. 1878), 41.
28. McAll, *Founder*, 249.
29. *Ibid.*, 40.
30. W.G., 'Methodism,' 34.
31. Horatius Bonar, *The White Fields of France: Or, the Story of Mr. McAll's Mission to the Working-Men of Paris and Lyons* (London: James Nisbet and Co, 1879), 257; McAll, *Founder*, 4.
32. Bonar, *White Fields*, 9.
33. 'From Pastor Theodore Monod: To R.W. McAll,' *McAll Mission in France: Quarterly Record* (Apr. 1882), 252.
34. Quoted in Bonar, *White Fields*, 40–2.
35. *Congregational Year Book*, 1873.
36. Bonar, *Dodds*, 163. On the capture of Indian missionaries by educational objectives, see Ian Copland, 'Christianity as an Arm of Empire: The Ambiguous Case of India Under the Company, c. 1813–1858,' *Historical Journal*, 49 (2006), 1025–54.
37. 'A Visit to the East End of Paris,' *Quiver* (Jan. 1881), 346.
38. W.G., 'Methodism,' 31.
39. 'Some Words on Social Equality,' *Good Words* (Dec. 1885), 459–62.
40. Bonar, *White Fields*, 3.
41. *Cantiques Populaires: Deuxième Édition Augmentée* (Paris: J Bonhoure, 1879), nos. 9, 102.
42. *Ibid.*, 43.
43. Bonar, *White Fields*, 21.
44. Bonar, *Dodds*, ix.
45. *Ibid.*, 147; Ledger-Lomas, 'Glimpses,' 849–50.
46. Bonar, *White Fields*, 306.
47. 'From Pastor Theodore Monod,' 294–5.
48. Bonar, *Dodds*, 339.
49. *Ibid.*, 61–3, 68.
50. *Ibid.*, 114.
51. *Ibid.*, 177.
52. *Ibid.*, 239.
53. *Ibid.*, 317.
54. *Ibid.*, 341.
55. John James Bonar, 'Note on Dr Bonar's Prophetic Views,' in *Horatius P. Bonar: A Memorial* (London and Edinburgh: James Nisbet, 1889), 99.
56. *Ibid.*, 100.
57. Bonar, *White Fields*, 58.
58. Horatius Bonar, *Does God Care for Our Great Cities? The Question and Answer from the Book of Jonah: A Word for the Paris Mission* (London: James Nisbet, 1880), 125.

59. Ibid.
60. Bonar, *Dodds*, 215–16.
61. Bonar, *White Fields*, 58–9.
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63. Bonar, *White Fields*, 254.
64. Ibid., 55.
65. 'Elizabeth R. Beach,' *McAll Mission in France: Quarterly Record* (Apr. 1884), 142.
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67. *McAll Mission in France: Quarterly Record* (July 1883), 65–6.
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69. 'Letter from the Rev. A.F. Beard,' *The American McAll Mission of France, Quarterly Record*, 18–24.
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77. McAll, *Founder*, Appendix.

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