

# George William Alberti's Life and Work (1724-1758)

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## A Day of Deep Satisfaction for a Young Author

July 19, 1751 was about to become a day of deep satisfaction for George William Alberti, a nowadays nearly forgotten eighteenth-century-German clergyman. Actually, until the depiction of his life, ideas, and work as outlined in the following pages, our knowledge of him was less than sketchy and vague. Given the absence of any serious biographical study, one usually had to content oneself with the terse indication of a few old dictionaries. As a member of that social group of *deutsche Gelehrte*, as were formerly called the academic educated people in Germany,<sup>1</sup> Alberti's name appears indeed in some of the old standard reference books devoted to such "German learned men." Yet, the biographical and bibliographical information there given on our author never exceeds a few lines.<sup>2</sup> What is more, these articles are not always free of errors.<sup>3</sup>

Alberti was born in 1724 in Osterode, a German city with a rich historical past, located between Hanover and Goettingen, in Low Saxony.<sup>4</sup> By the time of his birth, the theological and cultural struggle between Pietism and Enlightenment in Germany had reached its climax. It was, indeed, just one year ago that Christian Wolff, the celebrated disciple of the philosopher and mathematician Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, had been banished from Halle, the academic stronghold of Prussian Pietism, as a result of violent theological disputes.<sup>5</sup>

After more than a decade of absence from his birthplace, due firstly to his education at the University of Goettingen, and to a sojourn in England which followed immediately that formative period, the young Alberti was now living again in Osterode. The only just twenty-seven-year-old Lutheran theologian he had become was now respectfully called "Master" by his fellow citizens, and was about to bring out in that summer 1751 the first part of his *Letters Concerning the Latest Condition of Religion and the Sciences in Great Britain*.<sup>6</sup> This was to be the major book of his short life and modest literary remains.

Certainly, scholars and works of much greater importance marked that year 1751 in Europe. One has to keep in mind that, just at the same time, Denis Diderot and Jean d'Alembert were publishing the first volume of their famous *Encyclopédie*, one of the chief works of the French *Philosophes*, those men dedicated to the advancement of sciences, secular thought, and the open-mindedness of the European Enlightenment. Conservative ecclesiastics and government officials almost from the start opposed their publication. A few months earlier, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, the outstanding figure of the German *Aufklaerung*, had met Voltaire at the court of Frederick II, the enlightened King of Prussia. In the same year, in England, Thomas Gray had brought out *An Elegy Written in a Country Church Yard*, likely the most significant precursor of the forthcoming Romantic Movement, together with Edward Young's celebrated *Night Thoughts*, another representative work of the "graveyard school," published just a few years earlier. This should remember us the greater literary context in which one has to see Alberti's publication.

On that day of July 1751, at Osterode, the young scholar George William Alberti could

at last write his name under the preface to the first part of his *Letters*, an extensive manuscript he had been working on since he had returned from England after two most stimulating and fruitful years spent in the British capital. With discernible contentment, he dedicated the forthcoming book to Dr. Joachim Oporin, one of his former, greatly venerated, theological teachers at the University of Goettingen. The just finished first portion of the *Letters* was intended to be printed the following year, jointly with the two additional parts to be written and sent later on to Johann Christoph Richter, Alberti's editor in Hanover. Actually, the author was to deliver the second part of his manuscript<sup>7</sup> to Richter on March 15, 1752, and the third one<sup>8</sup> on August 16, 1752. Thus, the entire text could already appear before the end of that year, while the fourth and last section of what became finally a voluminous book of nearly thousand-four-hundred pages<sup>9</sup> would have to wait for longer than initially foreseen. The delay occurred because, in the meantime, the author had entered upon a pastoral ministry in the Lutheran congregation of Tuendern, near by Hameln, the well-known city on the river Weser.<sup>10</sup> For this reason, Alberti could not publish the last portion of his *Letters* before March 22, 1754. It was written from his parsonage in Tuendern.<sup>11</sup>

## **The General Context of Alberti's Formative Years**

### **A Respectable Hanoverian Lutheran Family**

As a national, Alberti was a subject of the Elector of Brunswick-Lueneburg. In 1692, the territory had become the ninth Electorate of the Holy Roman Empire. It was a principality embracing also several other German territories such as Calenberg-Goettingen and Celle, but commonly named after Hanover, its principal town. In Alberti's day, the electoral Prince of Hanover was George August (1683-1760), who was married with Princess Wilhelmine Caroline of Brandenburg-Ansbach (1683-1737) and accessed to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland in 1727 as King George II.<sup>12</sup>

Alberti's family belonged to the well to do middle-class of Osterode.<sup>13</sup> His grandfather, Johann Wilhelm Alberti, had arrived, together with his brother, from Silkerode, a village of Low Saxony, by the end of the seventeenth century. The two brothers had started up and developed with the help of another member of the family, who rejoined them later on, a textile factory in the Jacobi Gate Street (*Jacobitorstrasse*). In so doing, they had contributed in a significant way to the quick rise of the local textile industry.

Johann Wilhelm married Maria Sophia Wendborn. Their son August Christoph, our author's father, was born on March 13, 1707 and baptized in the St. Jacobi church of Osterode. He married Catharina Margarethe Schimpf, the daughter of a respectable owner of a construction company, on October 5, 1723, from which union our author was born on August 17, 1724, as the first of six children. The infant was baptized in the Lutheran parish of St Aegidien. His sister, Johann Maria, born on September 20, 1729, married in 1754 Bernhard Luhn, pastor in Ebergoetzen, then in Calefeld, where he died in 1764. Brother Heinrich Wilhelm Alberti, born on December 12, 1731, became a local druggist while Christian Ludwig Alberti, another brother, born on September 4, 1740, became a medical doctor after having studied at Goettingen like our author.<sup>14</sup>

The boy George William Alberti, like many of the children of the middle-class citizens of Osterode, frequented the local "Latin school."<sup>15</sup> The fact that his father became a respected member of the council of the St. Aegidien church is perhaps an indication that religious life played in Alberti's family a more important role than usual. Until 1735, Osterode was a particularly significant place for the Hanoverian state church, since its General Superintendent had his seat in the city.<sup>16</sup> Alberti went in 1737 to Hildesheim, which probably happened to be a further

educational stage in his life.<sup>17</sup> Desirous to become a minister of the Hanoverian church, the young man entered in 1742 the academic institution newly founded at Goettingen by his sovereign. He studied there philosophy and evangelical theology until 1745.

Getting an insight into the general atmosphere reigning in that School of Theology by its first years of existence is, of course, of some importance to apprehend the intellectual and theological background of the author of the *Letters on Methodism*.

### **The George August University at Goettingen and its School of Theology**

In his capacity as Elector of Hanover, George II of England had decided to meet the increasing decline of the neighboring old evangelical university of Helmstedt, one of the important contemporary traditional seats of European Protestant learning,<sup>18</sup> by giving birth to a modern university for his German possessions at Goettingen.<sup>19</sup> Under the influence of his wife, Queen Caroline, who was a notorious admirer of the German philosopher and mathematician Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz,<sup>20</sup> the King had modified his original project in that sense that the new institution should be freed from all territorial and confessional constraint in order to be open to the ideas of the progressing German Enlightenment. Thus, though also a Protestant foundation, the George-August-University could grow as a modern institution from its very beginning. This means that it was much less dominated by a religious agenda than this used to be the case for the old traditional German universities.

The Hanoverian prime Minister Gerlach Adolph *Freiherr von Muenchhausen* was entrusted with a difficult task that was to become his life work.<sup>21</sup> The university was inaugurated in September 1737. After some initial difficulties, Muenchhausen finally succeeded in securing the participation of great names of the contemporary German scholarly world such as the famous Swiss Albrecht von Haller<sup>22</sup> or Lorenz von Mosheim,<sup>23</sup> so that the university would slowly become both an important center for the education of Hanoverian officials and a fashionable one for that of German Protestants clergymen. However, the beginnings had not been easy, not least because of the important requirement of the moment that was to avoid religious tensions.

Having been himself a student of the pietistic Prussian university at Halle, Muenchhausen, the curator of the new Hanoverian university, was not without admiration for the practical achievements of Pietism. However, he disliked what he called its “enthusiasm and mystic.”<sup>24</sup> In fact, the curator feared the disastrous consequences of violent conflicts like those that had taken place between Pietists and Orthodox in the past. The way theologians were able to fight against each other in a most ungodly manner had greatly shocked him.<sup>25</sup>

By the time of the creation of the university at Goettingen, the quarrel between Orthodoxy and Pietism had lost much of the obstinacy that had characterized the conflicts of the past. Nevertheless, the quarrel between the ecclesiastical factions was still a reality in church life, especially in the Hanoverian territories where church leaders still considered Pietism a great danger for church unity.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, the Hanoverian *Konsistorium*, i.e. the church government, still demonstrated the anti-pietistic disposition of the former days.<sup>27</sup> One can observe, indeed, a reactivation of former anti-pietistic laws in 1734, 1736, 1740, and 1748. Nonetheless, there were dynamic pietistic circles in many places within the Electorate. They had epistolary contacts to Halle and other German pietistic centers. Hanoverian Pietism stood somehow under the protection of Wilhelmina Sophie von Muenchhausen herself. Actually, the minister’s wife had frequented the Pietists in Celle and was said to belong to the “converts.”<sup>28</sup>

Concerning the new School of Theology at Goettingen, Muenchhausen, had met unexpected difficulties in his search for adequate professors. He had been much concerned to get a faculty enabling the school to attract as many students as possible. In order to reach his goal, the curator had looked for scholars showing the respect owed to liberty of thinking without abandoning the solid foundation of sound evangelical doctrine. According to the official guidelines,

the faculty had to remain free from such members “whose teaching leads to atheism and naturalism, or to a contention of the fundamental articles of the evangelical religion.” On the other hand, professors who wanted to “introduce enthusiasm” or to establish “evangelical Popery” in the church had to be kept out as well. All candidates had to look for “*concordia cum Collegis*,” i.e. “peace with the colleagues,” so that they had to keep their criticism of differing opinions in acceptable limits. They were all supposed to avoid unnecessary controversies on “questions that do not concern the foundation of faith,” which would have been detrimental to a good start of the new university.<sup>29</sup>

Therefore, Muenchhausen’s design needed men of the *via media*, tolerant, and equally distant from a too rigid and belligerent Orthodoxy and from a too hotheaded and enthusiastic Pietism as well. The time of sharp conflicts that had stamped the evangelical church had to be definitely overcome. The School of Theology was intended to play an important role in this appeasement. According to Muenchhausen, the future professors would have to work in George Calixt’s irenic spirit.<sup>30</sup> This great man had led the University of Helmstedt to teach in a moderate way, always making a clear distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental articles of faith.<sup>31</sup>

This was also the reason why Muenchhausen had asked Johann Lorenz von Mosheim to write down the statutes of the forthcoming School of Theology. The celebrated theologian from Helmstedt, since 1729 director of the entire Hanoverian school-system, was himself a model of openness to the rising Enlightenment, combined with a clever balance between a sober respect for the pietistic achievements and that temperate Orthodoxy which is sometimes labeled “reasonable” by the historians of Christian theology. Munchhausen, who had seen in him the best possible head of the new institution, had invited Mosheim to leave Helmstedt for Goettingen. Unfortunately, Mosheim could not come to Goettingen before 1747. Nevertheless, he became the author of the first statutes for the planned theological school.

Attempts to provide the School of Theology with teachers such as the moderate Pietist Johann Jacob Rambach from Giessen,<sup>32</sup> or Christoph Matthaeus Pfaff, the Pietism-friendly minded chancellor of the University of Tübingen, remained unsuccessful.<sup>33</sup> As a result, the very first chairs were given to men such as Jakob Wilhelm Feuerlein, Magnus Crusius, Joachim Oporin, and Christoph August Heumann, four men who were to become Alberti’s teachers.

### **Under the Influence of His Teachers (1742-1745)**

On April 4, 1742, the future author of the *Letters* was enrolled as a theological student<sup>34</sup> in the just five-year-old George August University. Goettingen, his new place of living, was only just twenty-eight miles far from Osterode. His professors, while not really stars in the theological sky of their day, represented the spirit which Muenchhausen wanted to be the dominant one in the Hanoverian young School of Theology. They personified indeed a rather conservative but tolerant theology that has once appropriately been characterized as a theology “concerned with balance” and “in which traditional Orthodoxy and softened Pietism were joined.”<sup>35</sup> Even Dr. Heumann, generally looked upon as a liberal much more opened to the enlightened ideas as his colleagues, as it will appear later in our description, seems to have been considered, at least at the beginning of his career, as compatible with the moderate general direction of the school.

Certainly, one may also understand this initial theological conservatism as an unlucky remaining aside from the vivid movement of the day, i.e. the growing Enlightenment. Consequently, it has been asserted that the School of Theology at Goettingen did not come really to luster before the last quarter of the century, when scholars as Johann Gottfried Eichhorn began teaching there.<sup>36</sup> Undeniably, the first professors already named were by no means a first choice. They were assiduous and diligent, but had only a limited appeal within the Protestant world of the day. This was sometimes a source of deep concern to the trustees during the first period of the school.<sup>37</sup> Be that as it may, the four mentioned professors were to be the men who exercised an enduring influence on the future author of the *Letters*, Joachim Oporin being, to be sure, the

first and foremost of them.

### *Joachim Oporin, the spiritual father in pietistic fashion*

Strangely enough, the professor who seems to have had the greatest appeal to Alberti and many of his fellow students was Dr. Joachim Oporin (1695-1753),<sup>38</sup> the incumbent of the last one within the hierarchy of the theological professorships at Goettingen. Indeed, in spite of, may be because of, his simple and pious style, Oporin usually had the greatest number of non-theologian hearers in his lectures. Son of a Lutheran pastor of Neumuenster in Danish Holstein, he had studied philosophy and theology at the universities of Kiel and Wittenberg. In 1735, Lorenz von Mosheim had proposed his name to Muenchhausen as an adequate candidate. Actually, having shared in Kiel a time of good friendship with him, Mosheim respected Dr. Oporin as a man of deep piety and solid learning. After having accepted to become the incumbent of the third of the three chairs of theology at Goettingen, Oporin had declared himself ready to give entire liberty "*in non necessariis*," i.e. in religious beliefs that were considered as not fundamental. By the same time, he had drawn the attention to the fact that he considered unity in fundamentals as an absolute obligation. Perhaps because he had the reputation of being a Pietist, he thought it necessary to explain by the way that his position was nearer by Wittenberg than by Halle.<sup>39</sup> Given that Wittenberg usually insisted more than Halle on doctrinal correctness, this could mean that Oporin gave clearly to understand that he would exclude any doctrinal indifference in topics considered as basic for ecclesiastical teaching by the Lutheran symbolic books.

Such an insistence on Orthodoxy concerning the kernel of evangelical religion is also detectable in Alberti's writings. Like his teacher Oporin, the author of the *Letters on Methodism* was not ready to accept that somebody might "calumniate the clear preaching of repentance and faith." Actually, Oporin was a fervent preacher of the Gospel, feeling himself happier in the smallest village than at the university. He saw himself more as a pastor than as a scholar. That was also the reason why his appointment as a theological professor had taken place to the greatest satisfaction of the conservative and pietistic-oriented part of the church. Many letters sent to Goettingen by contemporary Pietists give evidence of their high esteem for Dr. Oporin, in whom they saw "God's devoted servant."<sup>40</sup>

Undeniably, the newly elected professor possessed to a high degree the art of reviving his students in the pietistic sense of the word. One of his first spiritual fruits at Goettingen was to be Heinrich Melchior Muehlenberg.<sup>41</sup> The well-known future patriarch of the German Evangelical-Lutheran church in America had studied at Goettingen before he had left his Hanoverian university for that of Halle, just four years prior to Alberti's enrollment as a theological student. Muehlenberg had served Oporin as *Amanuensis*, i.e. secretary, and, according to his own testimony, he had discovered the "living faith" during his teacher's course on moral theology.<sup>42</sup> Whilst Alberti was still studying under Oporin's influence, Muehlenberg, who had gone to London, was living there with Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, preparing himself for his future ministry among the Lutherans in America. Since 1722, Ziegenhagen was the heart of the German pietistic circle in London, walking in so doing in Anton Wilhelm Boehme's footsteps.<sup>43</sup> About the turn of the century, Prince George of Denmark, consort to Princess Anne, had received permission from King William III to establish his own Royal Chapel in the British capital. The German Pietist Anton Wilhelm Boehme had become Chaplain in the German Lutheran Royal Chapel at St. James, where he ministered until his death in 1722.<sup>44</sup> He had solidly established the *Pietas Hallensis* in his own congregation and tried to make it respected among the Anglicans, especially among the lay leaders of the young *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*. Thus, the Royal Chapel had become the German headquarter of the Pietists in London. When Boehme had died, there had been anxiety in Halle over his successor because (despite the strong Hallensian tradition) preference had been given to Hanoverian candidates in the nomination of Court chaplains, and because there were also anti-Pietist feelings by many Hanoverian church leaders. Surprisingly, the man who had become the new German pastor of St. James was Frie-

drich Michael Ziegenhagen, the cabinet preacher of the Count von Platen, one of Francke's few Hanoverian friends, who later had gone to London to work at the court. Ziegenhagen had been eager to continue the work in the pietistic footsteps of Anton Wilhelm Boehme. Muehlenberg, Oporin's former student, whilst living in London with Ziegenhagen, wrote to Gotthilf August Francke at Halle: "Now God be eternally praised, who has not only so gloriously revived me in Halle and Goettingen, but has also strengthened me here!"<sup>45</sup> Such a sentence is, of course, an important evidence for the deep unity of spirit that Muehlenberg had felt between himself, his former teacher Oporin at Goettingen, the teachers at Halle, and Ziegenhagen, with whom he was now living in London.

It was important to show this spiritual connection already at this place of our presentation of the context of Alberti's formative years; it was important necessary, indeed, to prepare the reader to understand why, when meeting Methodism in London a few years later, Alberti will spontaneously consider the appreciation of the Methodist emphasis by the Pietist Ziegenhagen as representing a spiritual authority to be taken seriously.

In typical pietistic fashion, Oporin used to organize prayer meetings for students, and had also created in Goettingen a charity-school after the model of Halle, because Christian living was most important to him. However, doctrinal correctness seems to have been as important to him as was religion of heart, or practical piety. Thus, he used to insist strongly on the godly inspiration of Holy Scripture.<sup>46</sup> Massive evidence for his biblical conservatism is to be found in the two versions of his *Chain of the Old Testament prophecies*.<sup>47</sup> The book was a reply to Hugo Grotius's rejection of the Orthodox verbal inspiration of the Bible, and to the way this author interpreted in his *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum* (Paris, 1646) what was traditionally considered as messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. Oporin wanted to demonstrate that one has to understand the prophecies literally as concerning the coming savior of humanity, proclaimed in the New Testament, and not as referring to contemporary historical persons or events, as Grotius had alleged.<sup>48</sup> In this point also, the professor seems to have exercised an enduring influence on his student Alberti, since it will appear that the author of the *Letters* was by no means a friend of those English interpreters of the Old Testament who were followers of Grotius.<sup>49</sup>

In his quiet but resolute opposition to the advance of Enlightenment in Germany, Oporin also attempted to stop the progress of the new style of preaching inspired by Christian Wolff's "demonstrating method."<sup>50</sup> In 1737, Oporin had exposed his own views on the right way of preaching. His *Old and Only Right Guiding Principle for a Convincing and Revivalist Preaching*<sup>51</sup> offered the readers a firm Bible-oriented homiletic theory, clearly at variance with the Wolffean idea that, beside the Bible, philosophy also had an important role to play in the shaping of a sermon. The preachers influenced by Wolff emphasized the necessity of formal order, the importance of precise definitions of the concepts used in the sermons, and tended to replace the traditional biblical proof-texts of orthodox preaching by arguments that reason might accept as probing. Oporin, on the contrary, taught that sermons had to be much more marked by revivalism than they ought to do in his day. This also was about to become a part of Alberti's fundamental convictions. Although not completely uncritical to the Methodist style of preaching he discovered in England, he appreciated the renewal of heart religion induced by the Methodist preachers.

Among the professors of the School of Theology at Goettingen, Joachim Oporin seems to have been the one who exercised the strongest influence on his student Alberti, so that it was not by accident that the author of the *Letters* dedicated the major work of his short life to his favorite teacher. According to his dedicating words, Alberti had found in his teacher the authentic spiritual "father" he had needed during the three years he had listened to Oporin's theological lectures. The disciple remembered the master as a man always concerned with the transmission to his students "not only of science but of Christian virtue as well."<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately, the spiritually most potent professor was of very bad physical condition. Being frequently ill, so that he had often to interrupt his lecturing, Oporin was about to die as soon as in 1753, that is even before Alberti could offer him the fourth and last part of his printed *Letters*.

It is less easy to describe the influence exercised on Alberti by the others of his professors, even that of Feuerlein, officially the principal among his theological teachers.

### *Jakob Wilhelm Feuerlin*

Jakob Wilhelm Feuerl[e]in (1689-1766)<sup>53</sup> was born in Nueremberg. As *primarius*, i.e. first professor of theology, he was also vice-chancellor of the University of Goettingen at the time Alberti was enrolled there as student.<sup>54</sup> Having been educated in Altorf, where he had taken his philosophical master degree in 1709, Feuerlein became lecturer at the University of Jena, where he taught from 1710 to 1712. After a short time as “*magister noster*” at the University of Leipzig, he had returned to his *Alma mater* in 1713. In Altorf, he lectured in logic and metaphysics from 1715 onward, then in theology, as well as in Semitic languages from 1730 to 1737. As a philosopher, Feuerlein did not share Christian Wolff’s modern philosophical way.

On his introduction as a theological professor on March 19, 1730, he held an inaugural speech on the “old” and “new” theology. *De theologia vetere et nova* appears to be a good demonstration of Feuerlein’s deep familiarity with church history, primarily with all questions concerning the developments within contemporary evangelical theology. It is plausible that Alberti’s outstanding interest in the history of the church and of Christian thought was rooted in the example of this teacher. Actually, Alberti’s *Letters* are constantly giving evidence that history of the church, and particularly of Christian theology in its recent developments, was most important to their author.

Having been elected a superintendent of the Hanoverian Lutheran Church, and first professor of theology at the university as well, Feuerlein had moved from Altorf to Goettingen in 1737. Since he was theologically “inclined to Pietism,” the Hallensian theological faculty had recommended him.<sup>55</sup> Actually, he had assiduously frequented the Hallensian *Collegia philiblica* in 1712.<sup>56</sup>

Feuerlein’s doctoral dissertation in theology<sup>57</sup> indicates that the so-called physico-theology exercised a great fascination on him. He seems indeed to have played some role in the emergence and consolidation of that kind of natural theology that was a reaction against the destroying effects of the new vision of the world since Copernicus.<sup>58</sup> Since Alberti possessed a copy of William Derham’s *Physico-Theology, or a Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God from his Works of Creation* which he obviously could refer to with much accuracy,<sup>59</sup> it is likely that his personal interest in that way of doing theology was the result of Feuerlein’s influence on him. Anyway, this feature was present in Halle’s Pietism from a very early stage, and can be observed in the theology of August Hermann Francke himself.<sup>60</sup> Actually, though generally associated with the enlightened way of doing theology, physico-theology was in fact the common interest of Orthodox, Pietists, and promoters of a theological Enlightenment as well.<sup>61</sup> St. Paul himself believed that the existence of God is evident from the appearances of nature.<sup>62</sup> The most popular, because the most accessible, of the theistic arguments is that which identifies evidences of design in nature, inferring from them a divine designer. Such writers as Robert Boyle, John Ray, Samuel Clarke, and William Derham developed the argument, already propounded by medieval Christian thinkers, in detail mainly in the 17th and 18th centuries. This kind of Christian apologetic was to be criticized later in the century by David Hume in his *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (1779), a critique that Alberti, though not ignoring the ideas of the Scottish philosopher, could no more take into consideration.

### *Magnus Crusius*

Magnus Crusius (1697-1751)<sup>63</sup> is the next name on the list of Alberti’s teachers. As to him, regional Pietists clearly expressed their disappointment when hearing of his appointment as professor at Goettingen. In a rather drastic way, the rumor among Pietists was that “Satan’s reign” would “not have much to suffer” from such a man!<sup>64</sup> Born in the province of Schleswig, Crusius

(also called Cruse) became a pastor in the Danish embassy of Paris. From 1731 to 1733, he ministered in Bramsted, became then pastor in Rendsburg, and finally, in 1735, professor in Goettingen. He never gained a great influence as a teacher. In 1747, he was made General Superintendent of Harburg, being replaced by Lorenz von Mosheim as professor at Goettingen - to the great satisfaction of the faculty and, to be sure, of most of the students. Unfortunately, Alberti, having left the school of divinity two years earlier, could not make profit of the change.

What has been said of Crusius' lack of influence cannot be said of Dr. Heumann, the next and likely most original person on the list of Alberti's teachers.

### *Christoph August Heumann*

Unlike that of his other colleagues, the integration of Christoph August Heumann (1681-1764)<sup>65</sup> into the Goettingen young Theological School had not taken place without some hesitation. In the opinion of several people, he was indeed much too modern in his way of thinking and doing theology. The controversy about the significance of the Lord's Supper that burst out in 1758, and received its place in the history of German protestant theology as the "Heumann controversy," caused scandal and much trouble not only in the faculty but also the Hanoverian Church as a whole.<sup>66</sup> In the eyes of many, the scandal was the belated justification of the initial hesitation concerning Heumann's appointment as professor. Alberti did not live long enough to become the witness of the ecclesiastical quarrel caused by his former teacher. Heumann, to be sure, was the most up to date amongst Alberti's professors.

The restless industrious pedagogue, theologian, philologist, and historian with the widest horizon, was the son of a Lutheran deacon from Thuringen. He had studied philosophy and theology in Jena, where he had also been active as lecturer in philosophy. After a sojourn in Holland that had brought him into contact with a great number of the learned men of his generation, he had waited in vain on a theological chair at the university of Jena. Since his dissertation *De facto uxoris Loti non miraculoso* had irritated the Orthodox, he had entered the office of a professor at the *Gymnasium* of Eisenach, becoming by the same time inspector of the Theological Seminary of that city. At the time the university was created, he was the dean of the *Gymnasium* at Goettingen. Since he had published innumerable theological writings and taken his theological doctoral degree at Helmstedt, Heumann had hoped to obtain a theological chair at the newly founded George-August-University, the more so because he had refused several calls to other universities just not to leave Goettingen.

He did not obtain the desired theological chair but that of literature with special permission to lecture also in theology. The fact is that one did not trust him totally regarding his theological position. Nevertheless, because of his restless perseverance, Heumann gained more and more influence on the department of theology, surpassing even his colleagues Oporin, Feuerlein, and Crusius, who were, unlike himself, full theological professors. He lectured brilliantly and with incredible assiduity in Old and New Testament exegesis, in church history, and in history of literature. To be sure, the gifted and vivacious pedagogue had in his lectures a great part of the theological students.

Despite the fact that Heumann did not obtain his own theological chair before 1745, it was under his direction that the future author of the *Letters on Methodism* wrote and defended on December 12, 1744, the required academic theological dissertation. Heumann's interest in biblical exegesis was immense, and the countless dissertations he presided were a kind of preparation to his forthcoming New Testament commentary,<sup>67</sup> of which has been said, it would already announce the forthcoming new way of doing exegesis although without obvious heresies. It has also been ironically asserted that Heumann was a New Testament scholar who was "no friend of unnecessary miracles."<sup>68</sup>

Oddly enough, the subject chosen by Heumann for Alberti's academic dissertation was *Pharaoh's false miracle workers*.<sup>69</sup> Under this title, Alberti presented an analysis of the chapters seven and eight of the biblical book Exodus. The candidate was himself convinced that there are

no false miracles. He was about to express later his astonishment and dissatisfaction when discovering that many English divines of his day were ready to accept the possibility of false miracles. This was in his opinion “not only a dangerous but also a totally false sentence that openly contradicts Holy Scripture.”<sup>70</sup> Alberti disapproved of those English divines when realizing how eager they were to find out the right criteria allowing a distinction between true and false miracles. He was shocked by their argument that a miracle is a true one only when it does not hurt the decency of God’s image, and when its purpose is man’s happiness. Alberti was in fact strongly critical of such a typical enlightened attitude to the miracles as reported by the Bible. According to him, when the Bible presents something explicitly as a miracle, it has to be accepted as such, independently of what man might think. Such a position shows of course how energetically opposed Alberti was to the apologetic attempts of the enlightened men of his day, who tried in such a way to overcome the arising crisis of biblical authority.<sup>71</sup>

Nevertheless, our student kept Heumann in good memory, mentioning him with appreciation in his *Letters*,<sup>72</sup> even dedicating him his book on the Quakers in 1750.<sup>73</sup> His appreciation, however, seemed to have more the man than the theologian as object. Alberti, indeed, particularly cherished the privilege of having been given the possibility to reside in Heumann’s house for a while.<sup>74</sup>

On November 9, 1745, Alberti took his Master degree with a philosophical dissertation entitled *De imputativitate Somnii*.<sup>75</sup> On twenty-two pages, the author analyses the discussion that had began already in Roman and Greek antiquity, and was still keeping busy the theologians and lawyers of his day. In an interdisciplinary way that combines constantly the psychological, moral, and theological approach of the subject, our author treats the question whether a person has a moral responsibility in what might happen in a state of sleep or noctambulation. The reader is amazed at the quantity of essays Alberti had read in order to be up to the high standard set by Dr. Heumann. More important, however, for our perception of our author’s theological profile is the centrality of the notion of sin in his treatment of the question – sin that has to be overcome by grace.

### **Alberti’s Seminal English Experience (1745-1747)**

After having left his university as a graduate, Alberti, like many of his fellow students, departed from his homeland. He wanted to make a stay in a foreign country in order to complete there his education. The fact that German theologians had frequently to wait a long time before they could obtain an ecclesiastical office also explains that special kind of *Grand Tour* often undertaken by theological students when leaving their university. For a Hanoverian theologian, England was, of course, the most natural goal for such an enterprise.

Alberti embarked for London from the harbor of Hamburg, arrived in the British capital at the beginning of December 1745, most impressed by the smell of coal and steam reigning all over the place. By his arrival, the country was still under the shock caused by the Jacobite Pretender’s invasion and the rebellion against King George II. Alberti found the situation interesting, since it was an excellent way to discover what the population felt and thought in the sphere of politics. He had not to wait for a long time to see the failure of the upheaval. On April 16, 1746, Prince Charles Stuart Edward and his army were defeated at Culloden in Scotland by a British army under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, second son of George II. Our author’s personal comment after the victory of the Hanoverian dynasty is typical for the staunch Protestant position he was to adopt in almost all issues: “God in his mercy”, Alberti writes, “hold once again his protective hand upon England.”<sup>76</sup>

The following two years spent in England were to become, next the time at the university, the second most influential period of Alberti’s unusual short life. It was his conviction from the very beginning that “a theologian has to learn as much as possible in the short time given him to live in London.” Actually, he made the most of his time in the capital. This implied, of course, the possibility for him to visit as many learned people as possible. These could hardly be

visited without recommendation. Dr. Joachim Oporin, expressly characterized in the dedication of the *Letters* as the author's "benefactor," might have been the person who not only made his sojourn in London possible, but also provided the "letters of recommendation" that were, according to Alberti's own words, absolutely necessary to German people envisioning such a stay abroad.<sup>77</sup> The sojourn in London brought the young theologian into contact with numerous eminent people. This, of course, was an important expansion of his intellectual horizon, which was, without doubt, exactly what his teacher had expected from such an experience for his gifted student.

### Numerous Private Contacts with Foreign Scholars

The future author of the *Letters* did not only visit people with the flavor of his own opinions. He paid a visit, for example, to Bishop Benjamin Hoadly (1676-1761), the active pamphleteer, known as the prominent and aggressive leader of the extreme latitudinarian party in church and state, the man who had triggered the famous Bangorian controversy.<sup>78</sup> Alberti tells Hoadly's whole story in one of his *Letters*.<sup>79</sup> On his visit, he took also the unique opportunity to hear from Hoadly himself the story of his even so famous and strong controversial friend, the converted Jesuit François de la Pillonière.<sup>80</sup>

Our author frequented also men like the old theologian and mathematician William Whiston, who had lost his living because of his Arianism.<sup>81</sup> He also visited several times the banished French Jesuit Pierre-François Le Courrayeur, who was living in England since he had recognized the validity of the Anglican orders, however without having become an Anglican himself. Alberti was well acquainted with the case as well as with Le Courrayeur's ideas through the publications of his teacher Heumann.<sup>82</sup> Actually, Alberti was the kind of man who could pay such visits, despite the fact that he was by no means a friend of Roman Catholics<sup>83</sup> and, to be sure, he disliked strongly the deistic, socinian, and arian ideas of which Whiston was, as our author admits, an eminent representative.<sup>84</sup> Taking several trips to Oxford and Cambridge, Alberti visited there renowned scholars such as Dr. Conyers Middleton, Fellow of Trinity College, and first University librarian,<sup>85</sup> a notorious opponent to the Wesleyan understanding of Christianity<sup>86</sup> that Alberti had soon discovered in London, and that he was about to appreciate so much.

On his return from London to Germany, Alberti made a four month-stay in Amsterdam.<sup>87</sup> There, he paid a visit to several Mennonites and Moravians, as well as to the aging Johann Jakob Wettstein, the Swiss expert for New Testament manuscripts, who, as professor in Basel, had been charged with Socinianism.<sup>88</sup> Despite the fact that he was very critical of Wettstein's attempt to add two letters of Clemens of Rome to the canonical New Testament,<sup>89</sup> our author had several long and good conversations with the celebrated scholar on text-critical questions that interested him most. Alberti's position in the famous controversy of the day concerning the Greek variant readings in 1 Timothy 3,16 was that the reading that declares Christ as *Theos*, i.e. God, is to be considered as the right reading.<sup>90</sup>

### The Relationship to the Pietist German Evangelical Congregations in London

Although not knowing very much about the exact nature of Alberti's relationship to the Germans of the capital, we may assume that he soon contacted the German evangelical congregations of London.<sup>91</sup> In one of his *Letters*, where he comes to speak of the foreign Christian churches established in the city, Alberti also devotes some pages to the history of the three German Lutheran congregations of the day.<sup>92</sup> It appears clearly from his description that he highly appreciated Ziegenhagen's ministry in the Royal Chapel at St. James. He liked particularly Ziegenhagen's sermons, commending them warmly to his readers in Germany as examples

of the homiletics he was a supporter of. He admired especially Ziegenhagen's consummate and heart touching preaching, qualifying his sermons as "thorough," "insistent," and "moving." Being himself a regular reader of the Danish missionary reports and the missionary news from Pennsylvania as well, Alberti also greatly esteemed Ziegenhagen's commitment to the East and West Indian mission. His reference to Heinrich A. Butjenter, Ziegenhagen's associate chaplain at the Royal Chapel since 1732, and to Samuel Theodor Albinus, the lector of the congregation, allows us to assume that Alberti was a familiar of Ziegenhagen's entourage. To be sure, the Hanoverian he was had a preference for the Royal Chapel, which has been certainly the congregation he frequented during his sojourn.

Nevertheless, Alberti has obviously also frequented St. Mary-le-Savoy and the *Hamburger Kirche*, the two others Lutheran congregations he reports on. Although mentioning him only briefly, Alberti considered Johann Rudolf Pittius, the rector of St. Mary's, as an "honest pastoral counselor." As a matter of fact, this "upright minister" was a Hallensian theologian who influenced his congregation in such a strong pietistic way that one of his successors, Dr. Johann Gottlieb Burckhardt, who ministered the parish from 1781 until 1800, could write forty years later that a distinguishing mark of the congregation was its deep traditional "pietistic tendency."<sup>93</sup>

### **An Omnivorous Reader and Indefatigable Observer of the English Society**

While in London, Alberti seems to have read omnivorously, collecting all information he could on a population that exerted a real fascination on him. This was the case for the most of the learned Germans of his day by their visit in England.<sup>94</sup> Taking a deep interest in all aspects of English life; everything seems to have attracted the attention of our young author: literature, political and social institutions, religion, history, and sciences. The astonishing diversity of themes approached in his *Letters* shows how widespread Alberti's curiosity was. Although especially interested in the state of church and religion, our theologian was by no means indifferent to the other aspects of the situation he met. Actually, he became an indefatigable observer of the manifold English public life.

Although convinced that England was in general a rather "lucky island," Alberti turns out to be a very critical observer of the society he discovered. His criticism of the British *zeitgeist* has obviously puritan and pietistic accents that can also be detected in the Methodist rhetoric of the age. The *Letters* contain some very severe descriptions of the way English people used to spend their time. "Cock throwing", "horse racing", and, more generally, the national propensity for "gambling and betting"<sup>95</sup> are the object of Alberti's bitter censure. However, he was glad to notice that the "most reasonable" under the English shared his criticism. With discernible satisfaction, he reproduces extensive parts of *Britain's Remembrancer*, a pamphlet of ecclesiastical origin, published in 1747 for the third time in London, in which "vanity, luxury, extravagance, and love of pleasure" were reprimanded with the same rigor as his own one.<sup>96</sup> Alberti saw in the pamphlet the so badly necessary "call to repentance" needed by the English society of the day. Obviously, our author appears to have shared the Pietist, and the Methodist, concern for a healthy society!

"Fancy-dress balls" and "the trifling folly of theater" are, of course, not absent in Alberti's social criticism.<sup>97</sup> Considering what they used to offering the people on the stages of Covent Garden or Drury Lane, the two theaters authorized by the fresh Licensing Act of 1737, contemporary actors like the great David Garrick,<sup>98</sup> Peg Woffington, or Hannah Pritchard were in his eyes not primarily the outstanding theatrical personalities of their times but rather "national seducers," as he writes. In giving his German readers an astonishing detailed and informative view of contemporary London theater life, he ethically censured the world of the stage in a way that is reminiscent of Bishop Jeremy Collier's<sup>99</sup> criticism in his renowned *Short View of the*

*Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (1698) that had led to a pamphlet war until 1726. For Alberti too, the stage was not to be considered as fundamentally bad, as ancient theater in its origin shows. Only, like earlier Collier, he sees the business of plays mainly in recommending virtue and discouraging vice. Our author is ready to recognize that not everything is bad in the contemporary plays. Nevertheless, he is convinced that people cannot hear the few things that are positive, so that he pleads at the end for total abstinence. He knew what was going on in the world of the stage only on ground of what he read regularly in the newspapers and magazines, and made no secret of his disapproval of those English clerics of whom he heard that they were often present among the spectators.

It was, to be sure, no small surprise to the Hanoverian to discover how little interest English people used to take in what is not English. Deeply disappointed when becoming aware of the general ignorance concerning Germany and the German possessions of their King, Alberti found it hard to believe that most of his learned English acquaintances ignored even the existence of his beloved university. Nobody asked him a single question about his *Alma mater* when he occasionally came to speak of his educational background.<sup>100</sup> This was also the time of Alberti's correspondence with Albrecht von Haller, the Swiss professor of anatomy, botany, and surgery, who contributed so much since 1736 to the international fame of the young university of Göttingen. Our author provided him from London with English books and news concerning the rebellion and the political situation in England.<sup>101</sup>

He frequented zealously the public libraries, the booksellers, the auctions, and the "circulating library" near by the *New Exchange* on the *Strand*.<sup>102</sup> He was also the regular guest of several famous coffee houses, having conversation with many interesting people, including the learned Presbyterian clergymen frequently mentioned in the *Letters*. It was the heyday of what has been called "coffee-house Christianity."<sup>103</sup> There, he could also make himself familiar with most of the newspapers and magazines, like *The Gentleman's Magazine*, *The London Magazine*, or even the French *Bibliothèque Anglaise*, taking notes with great zeal.<sup>104</sup> His abundant annotations were to become a great part of the material Alberti would need later while composing his *Letters*, first in Osterode, then in Tuendern. A precise observation of the numerous references given in the *Letters* makes obvious that their author went on gathering information on the intellectual and ecclesiastical situation in England even after having left the country. As the many footnotes of the *Letters* show, he never stopped reading English magazines and books during the whole time of composition while already living again in Germany.

The religious diversity was, of course, the object of Alberti's special attention. It was by no means common for a continental theologian to have the opportunity to meet in one place so various types of believers like the people he met in London: Quakers, French Prophets, Muggletonians, Methodists, Baptists, Anabaptists, Arians, Socinians, Deists, Atheists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians. According to his own words, this experience taught him two things: on one side, he discovered how precious his own evangelical faith was, since it was based on "true doctrine;" as he writes, on the other side, he learned the necessity of respecting other forms of thinking and believing, since "men can go wrong with the greatest personal sincerity." The last, indeed, he could often observe during his English sojourn.<sup>105</sup> Yet, Alberti's judgment concerning some brands of religiosity was not always in close conformity with such a rather liberal sounding declaration. It is, for instance, the case with his judgment on Deists.

### **Alberti's Discovery of Deism and His Thoughts on the *Essay on Natural Religion* (1747)**

Although being by no means a friend of Deism, the rich English deistic literature he discovered in London seems to have fascinated Alberti. In one of his *Letters*, he confesses that he had often, though unsuccessfully, wished reading deistic writings while still living in Germany.<sup>106</sup> The deistic prose, however, he became acquainted with in England disappointed him so much that he

turned there into a staunch opponent to Deism. Our author appears indeed to have detested this theological orientation so intensively that he simply assimilated it to freethinking and naturalism.<sup>107</sup> Many of his *Letters*, in which he gave extended reports on several deistic writers, bear witness to his aversion. This disgust of Deism becomes particularly obvious in his *Thoughts on the Essay on Natural Religion*, a distinct writing against the deistic questioning of the traditional centrality of the biblical revelation within Christian theology. Alberti published this booklet in February 1747 under the pen name *Alethophilus Goettingensis*, which means “the friend of truth from Goettingen.”<sup>108</sup> He dedicated the booklet to her Royal Highness Augusta, Princess of Wales.<sup>109</sup>

In one of the rare old biographical articles on our author, written by Julius August Wagenmann, the nineteenth-century historian,<sup>110</sup> it was erroneously alleged that the pamphlet was Alberti’s response to David Hume’s famous *Essay on natural religion*.<sup>111</sup> In fact, it was, as the full wording of the title shows, Alberti’s intended reply to an anonymous essay “said to be written by the celebrated John Dryden.” Unfortunately, Alberti himself was wrong in his assumption that the English satirist, who also played a role in the emergence of the *age of reason*, was the essay’s author.<sup>112</sup> Actually, the person behind the essay he had discovered was Charles Blount (1654-1693),<sup>113</sup> a contemporary and friend of Dryden (1631-1700). Alberti discovered the essay during his sojourn in London. In one of his *Letters* he gives us a lively description of the circumstances of his discovery as well as his first reaction on it.<sup>114</sup> Having read the writing that “pretended to be the most formidable piece that ever yet appeared against the revelation,” Alberti was deeply shocked in his religious feelings, and convinced that this assumed “masterpiece of Deism” was nothing but an accumulation of the “old, and, indeed, warmed up weak arguments” that should not remain unanswered. He thought that it could contribute to the necessary “humiliation of the pride of these people” if a “young German,” a “beginner” of his sort, would clear the air. Alberti interpreted the fact that the *General Advertiser* published a few weeks after the publication a good review of his *Thoughts on the Essay on Natural Religion* as the confirmation that he had done the right thing, although, as he humbly recognizes, his booklet contained “nothing that could be considered as original.”

Being aware of the fact that there were different kinds of Deists, Alberti was nevertheless convinced that they were all fundamentally people full of “pride,” “not honest,” and “without love for truth.” His conclusive judgment was that Deists are the best “proofs, that [man’s] will and heart are corrupt.” Moreover, Deism was in his eyes the best evidence for the traditional Christian assumption that even “reason” takes a large part in man’s corruption that can only be overcome by true religion.<sup>115</sup>

Therefore, Alberti’s booklet can be defined as an unambiguous exposition of what he considered as true Christianity. This, he writes, can only consist in a “supernatural religion,” grounded in what God has “revealed” in the Bible. Such revelation culminates in the good news of Jesus Christ, the indispensable “mediator” between the “holy” God and man, who is fundamentally “sinful” and “lost.” Christ’s “sacrifice” is described as instrumental in man’s necessary “salvation.” This “work of satisfaction,” the author concludes, can never be accessible to pure reason. However, Alberti adds, “genuine reason” will always recognize “God’s wisdom” in Christ’s cross.

To be sure, our author was simply repeating the classical vindication of revealed religion as practiced by protestant Orthodoxy since deistic writings had begun to assume the sufficiency of natural religion for man’s salvation. He presents with accuracy the classical “Scripture-Doctrine of Redemption”, exposing with many details the different aspects of man’s salvation as understood by the Bible. Although defending the dogmatic position of Orthodoxy, Alberti, interestingly, works more in an exegetical mode than in a systematic one, stressing, for instance, the various words used in the Old and in the New Testament, and adding ironically:

Whoever reads the *New Testament* with attention, will see the exactness and accuracy of the expressions used in it, which the writers could not have learned at the Customhouse or at the Water.<sup>116</sup>

Although ignoring that Charles Blount was the author of the treatise he was refuting, Alberti knew very well the destructive role played by the contentious Deist in the contemporary history of Christian thought. This becomes evident in a passage of the preface to the third part of his *Letters*, where he has but pejorative words for the author of *Oracles of Reason* (1693) and the editor of Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* (1694).<sup>117</sup> He saw in the author of *Anima mundi* (1679) an "atheist" and dangerous "blasphemer," who had denied the existence of an immortal soul, giving in all things his preference to the pagan Apollonius of Tyana instead to "our meritorious savior." Alberti saw also in the fact that Blount had committed suicide the logical consequence of such a position.

Certainly, Alberti did not see in Deism the dominant understanding of Christianity in the English society and church. Nevertheless, the young Hanoverian theologian was much surprised to discover how few solid biblical Christianity was present in the English churches of the day, in the established one as well as in the dissenting denominations.

### **The Encounter with the Church of England and the English Dissent as well**

In Alberti's opinion, the English churches he met between 1745 and 1747 were not at their best. Summarizing his observations concerning the English mode of preaching, he finds it most regrettable that in the English parishes of the day there was so few to hear about "a crucified savior".<sup>118</sup> This was, in his eyes, the result of a deplorable loss of the evangelical doctrine in the Church of his century. "The purity of doctrine has much declined in England," he writes.<sup>119</sup> In the long description of the doctrinal teaching within the Church of England given in his *Letters*, he voluntarily does not take as point of departure the *Thirty-nine Articles of Religion*, officially adopted in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as the doctrinal foundation of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*.<sup>120</sup> His starting point is the concrete situation he met, and which he explicitly or implicitly compares with what he considered to be the healthy doctrinal position. The result was, in his eyes, no satisfactory one. He measured the real state of ecclesiastical health by listening at the teaching of significant living churchmen such as the contemporary Lord Bishop of London Thomas Sherlock,<sup>121</sup> Richard Smallbrooke, Henry Stebbing, John Chapman from Magdalen College, Oxford, or John Leland. Most of the leading churchmen, thought not at all Deists but rather defenders of the traditional theology, Alberti asserted, did not preach the "justifying faith," following in fact John Locke's understanding of faith that was mere acceptance of what Jesus had taught and commanded.<sup>122</sup> This was not enough in Alberti's eyes, since Christ was for him not only – and not primarily – man's model, but also – and chiefly – the "destructor of sin", the necessary "mediator" between God and man, and therefore the "savior" of mankind. Thus, even John Locke, by no means a radical Deist as we know, was for our Lutheran theologian someone whose position could only be detrimental to the English church. Oporin's disciple saw in Locke's influential *Reasonableness of Christianity* nothing else than a dangerous means of destruction of the solid, old faith he wanted to see defended.<sup>123</sup>

In pietistic manner, Alberti liked making a difference between "faith" and "living faith." He qualified the later one as true faith that comes "through experience."<sup>124</sup> What he called "experience," was, of course, the spiritual experience of "conversion," preceded by "repentance," and accompanied by "new birth." Alberti estimated that this essential part of the Christian message was completely unnoticed by a great part of the contemporary English preachers:

Certainly, one has good reasons to be sad when hearing how plenty of the preachers are nurturing their congregations with a very meager and dry food, retaining the substantial and comforting parts of the revealed religion, probably because they do not understand it themselves. One is wasting one's time with [...] moral treatises. They do not mention the power of God's word, but insist only on reasonable ideas.<sup>125</sup>

Alberti, to be sure, made in this regard an interesting distinction between the Church of England and the dissenting Churches. He thought the Presbyterians in a better theological and spiritual condition than the Churchmen, the party in which he saw Arianism much stronger represented.<sup>126</sup> Nevertheless, he was also critical of the English Dissent. In fact, Alberti's *Letters* constantly give their reader the impression that there was a general want of spiritual depth and fervor in the English churches of the day. Actually, Alberti was deeply convinced that the long, manifold, and still ongoing Trinitarian controversies that were dividing the British divines since the former century had led in all churches to a devastation of the foundations of Christian faith. Freethinkers, Socinians, Deists, Unitarians, and Arians had weakened the nation to a point not conceivable in Germany, he thought. One of the reasons for the sad situation he diagnosed was the extraordinary tolerance that was reigning in England, Alberti thought.

Although not advocating a suppression of religious tolerance, his reflections on the advantages and dangers of the great tolerance observed in England show that the author of the *Letters* was not uncritical about the subject. He was, indeed, most skeptical as to man's natural capacity in the quest of religious truth and in the contemporary enlightened pursuit of freedom from prejudices. Moreover, Alberti considered complete freedom of thinking a real danger. Pointing to "man's natural pride, which is nurtured by such a freedom of thinking", he reminds his readers that "the unreligious heart usually accepts what flatters incredulity." This, he adds, unavoidably leads to "frivolity in Religion, a tendency to Socinianism, Deism, and Atheism," so that "a sojourn in London becomes most deleterious to numerous foreigners."<sup>127</sup>

Another reason for the bad situation of the English churches was, in Alberti's eyes, the fact that a worldly, sophisticated erudition had replaced the solid biblical knowledge necessary to spiritual and theological health. Alberti was by no means the enemy of secular learning. He was not without admiration for the "worldly erudition" of many of the learned theologians met in London, admitting by the way that their learning was generally greater than that of the Germans. What troubled him, however, was the too high price such theologians had paid for their erudition, since the result was a wholly insufficient knowledge of the Bible. This was, in the eyes of Oporin's former student, the main reason why the English Church of the day had no "sufficient understanding of what faith means." Samuel Clarke's paraphrases of the four canonical Gospels, for example, was for him the best illustration of an exegesis that is not really eager to hear what the Bible says, being rather interested in projecting onto the text the personal ideas of the interpreter.<sup>128</sup>

Certainly, the author of the *Letters* could not sympathize with the rationalism and the moralism he discovered in the writings of Samuel Clarke (1675-1729), who was to be called the "by far most formidable of the Latitudinarians" of his time.<sup>129</sup> According to Alberti, it is not allowed to make the biblical text subject to human criticism just as if it would be a secular text. He also disapproved in a rather pietistic manner the too great love and admiration of many English theologians for the "ideas of pagan authors" and their way of "moralizing," preferring this to the reading of the Bible which leads to a "thinking suitable to Christians."<sup>130</sup>

Considering his criticism of the general mode of preaching that was dominant in the English churches of the day, it will be no surprise to the reader of Alberti's *Letters* to discover how enthusiastic he was about the plain and truly biblical diction of Methodist preaching.<sup>131</sup> As a disciple of Oporin, he was on line with the resolute revivalist preaching and its genuine biblical orientation he observed among the English Methodists. In Alberti's eyes, as we will see later in detail, the Wesleyan message was a sound reaction against the growing importance given by a majority of English churchmen to the mere virtue and against their general neglecting of the traditional means of grace.<sup>132</sup> Actually, and more generally speaking, given all what has been said up to this point about his theological convictions, Alberti's encounter with Wesley's Methodism during his sojourn in London could logically only be a good surprise to him. Undoubtedly, he saw in the Methodist revival of the day the great chance for the Church of England for the recovery of its sound doctrinal foundations. Consequently, in the *Letters* he composed after having returned to Germany, Alberti was about to devote an unexpected important

part of the literary description of his English experience to Methodism. This will be the subject of our second chapter.

## **The German Literary Harvest of Alberti's English Experience**

### **Back to Germany**

Alberti left London in all probability by the end of 1747. On his way back to Germany, he spent four additional months in Amsterdam in the Netherlands.<sup>133</sup> Since he did not find immediately the ecclesiastical living he was looking for, he established himself in Osterode where, as we have seen, his family had its roots. He was now expecting an office, anywhere in the church of his native country. He was also determined to make the best of the time he would have to wait on a professional position. Thus he began writing. Since his election to the rectory of Tuendern would not occur before 1753, he had plenty of time to work up his English years, eager as he was to share with his fellow countrymen what he had learned and experienced in London.

Alberti did not spend the whole time in Osterode. He made in particular a sojourn in Celle, an important city of the Hannoverian territory. There he signed, on September 28, 1749, the preface to his first publication since his return to Germany. It was a book on the Quakers that was about to be printed the next year by Johann Christoph Richter at Hanover.<sup>134</sup> The book got a good press, the critic finding especially impressing the fair way its author had respected his subject and his Quaker sources.<sup>135</sup> Regrettably, we do not know anything more on that sojourn in Celle.

It is quite possible that Alberti spent a longer time in that city since he published there, in the same year, another writing of his own, *God's glory on the face of Jesus Christ*, written in Latin language.<sup>136</sup> Unfortunately, we could not find any copy of the booklet that seems to be lost. Its title is mentioned on the last page of Alberti's *Letters*. Thanks to a few lines of a contemporary reviewer, we are not completely ignorant of the intention and contents of the writing.<sup>137</sup> It was probably a collection of pious and orthodox christological reflexions on St. Paul's words in 1 Corinthians 4:6. They were offered by the author as a gift to his friend Johann Heinrich Meyenberg, an erudite Lutheran pastor, who was ministering in Uelzen. Interestingly enough, Meyenberg was by this time working on a translation into German<sup>138</sup> of Nathanael Lardner's<sup>139</sup> *Vindication of three of our Saviour's miracles* (London, 1731), an apologetic response to Thomas Woolston's<sup>140</sup> deistical position. This shows, once again, how strongly anxious Alberti was to refute, if possible jointly with kindred spirits, any attack against the traditional christological position of his church.

### **A Book on the Quakers (1750)**

Alberti dedicated the nearly two hundred pages of what appeared as *Reliable News Concerning the Religion, the Worship, the Manners, and Customs of the Quakers* to Christoph August Heumann, his former professor of church history at Goettingen. It is an interesting exposition of the history, theology, religious and social way of life of the Quakers. Alberti had shared many of their meetings in London, had read many of their writings, and had frequented Josiah Martin, one of their most important representatives in the capital.<sup>141</sup> Alberti makes the reader acquainted with this former medical doctor who had turned to mystical religion and become an apologist of the Quakers.<sup>142</sup> He presents him as a great admirer of Madame de Guyon as well as of Fénelon, the French bishop of Cambrai, whose *Directions for a Holy Life* and writings on *Christian perfection* and *The Pure love of God* he had translated into English and published in the 1730s.

Although, to be sure, Alberti was someone who kept his distance to a too mystical religion, he was most appreciative of Martin's initiative as editor of two sermons on the "new birth", the "necessity of which the Quakers seriously affirm, while the English Church of the day makes sparing use of the subject".

In his foreword, Alberti seems to take some precaution, avoiding to appear as the promoter of a total liberty of expression he was not, as has been already observed. Although he intends to be critical concerning the position of the Quakers, he finds that they have the right to expose freely their point of view, since this is always good for truth. From the Christian beginnings onward, he writes, the fire of controversial discussions always has contributed to purify the expression of Christian truth. Therefore, good Christians should support open discussion in matters of religion as made necessary by the rise of Quakerism. Indulgent judges are considering Quakers as "not superfluous", finding altogether the confrontation with their convictions necessary for a clearer presentation of what evangelical beliefs are, Alberti adds. Although writing from the point of view of the "purer truth," which was in his opinion always associated with Luther's interpretation of Christianity, our author thinks it also important to show what is right and true even in Quakerism. Openly deploring the weakness of some former expositions like the one given by Johann Conrad Dannhauer in his *Colloquies Quakerorum*,<sup>143</sup> Alberti disapproves that such an author wrote from a too narrow and orthodox Lutheran point of view. In fact, the former professor of theology at Strasbourg presented the Quakers as inhuman and awful people, a caricature that appears to Alberti as unacceptable.<sup>144</sup> He appreciates that since the publication in German translation of Robert Barclay's well-known *Apology*,<sup>145</sup> the German public opinion was better informed concerning the nature of Quakerism. Nevertheless, Barclay's exposition being not enough disinterested, Alberti considered that the publication of his own point of view was altogether necessary. The necessary completion of the older description of Quakerism as given by Friedrich Ernst Meis, the protestant superintendent of Schleusingen, in his book printed in 1715 in Leipzig, who was only interested in the institutional aspects of Quakerism, was also in our author's intention. He also wanted to correct some of the inexact information given by Voltaire in his *Letters on the English*, as well as by Adam Ebert, the jurist from Erfurt who had spread in Germany the idea that Quakers were polygamists.<sup>146</sup> The result of such a revisited Quakerism is a meticulous and fair presentation based on the reading of the writings of the Friends themselves such as George Fox' *Journal*, William Penn's *Brief Account of the rise and Progress of the People called Quakers*, or William Sewel's *History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers*. Alberti gives his readers an image of the Quakers that is not unsympathetic, even if the author is not without severity for his object.

Defending the Quakers against the charge of being Socinians,<sup>147</sup> Alberti finds also very appreciative words for their love of the Bible, their practical piety, or their readiness to suffer for their convictions when necessary. However, as the good Lutheran he is, Alberti shows no understanding for their theory of the "inward light," seeing especially in that point the source of their "heresies." The greatest danger he sees is that of a unbounded subjectivity. Therefore, he makes clear that, in his eyes, there is no true Christianity without the objective norm as given in God's revelation in the Bible.<sup>148</sup>

Alberti is not without consideration for the Friends's pacifism. For that reason, he is not ready to accept a parallelism between the Quakers and the radicals of the left wing of the Reformation, who were sometimes violent.<sup>149</sup> Interestingly enough, our author manifests here and there his appreciation for the Quakers' original wish for a continuation of Luther's reformation. This, he writes, Quakers considered rightly as God's work, even if they used to add that it was an "unfinished" work. He also conceded that Luther's Reformation had not produced the true Christian life that had been expected. The idea of a necessary Reformation of life that has to follow that of doctrine was a typical concern of the German Pietists. It is, therefore, important for our identification of Alberti as a Pietist to observe that he was glad to find such a concern also represented among the Quakers. Also symptomatic is the fact that he recognizes thankfully that the Quakers he discovered were especially fond of the writings of men such as Johann Tauler, Johann Arndt, Philipp Spener, and August Hermann Franck, in his own opinion all peo-

ple “outstanding” in regard of “true theology.”<sup>150</sup> Alberti, indeed, like the Pietists of his day, saw in these names the exceptional “true Christians” of the past.<sup>151</sup>

In a time in which mystical enthusiasm was frowned down, not only in England but in Germany as well, and in which no small part of the light and fire of religion fell with it, Alberti, like all Pietists of his day, and like Wesley in England, had some difficulty to defend that which he regarded as living faith and sound spirituality without being himself charged with the term of censure.<sup>152</sup> It is no accident that, just like Methodism, Quakerism also attracted Alberti’s sympathetic attention during his sojourn in England. Certainly, Methodism appeared to him doctrinally much sounder than Quakerism. However, Quakers and Methodists, Alberti observes, do have one thing in common, namely the belief in a perfection that is attainable in this life.<sup>153</sup> Although not sharing himself such a view, our author appreciated the fact that neither Methodists nor Quakers did claim to have already reached perfection, since they generally remained modest in this regard. He also appreciated that there was no notion of merits in their doctrine of perfection.

### **The Letters on Great Britain (1752-1754)**

The most remarkable fruit of Alberti’s period of active waiting after his return from London were to be his *Letters Concerning the Latest Condition of Religion and Sciences in Great Britain*. The voluminous book, consisting in seventy letters on the several aspects of English life, reflects best Alberti’s manifold experiences in England, and, occasionally, in the Netherlands, where he met the Mennonites of Amsterdam<sup>154</sup> and paid a visit to the famous New Testament scholar Johann Jakob Wettstein.<sup>155</sup>

To be sure, a beginning had already been made with his publication on Deism and with his book on the Quakers, but what Alberti intended now was a substantial extension of the information on England he wanted to transmit to his compatriots. He had interpreted the good reception of his book on the Quakers by the German readers as an encouragement to go on with this kind of publications.<sup>156</sup>

### **A Link to a Tradition of German Inquisitiveness concerning England**

In continuing to write on the state of affairs in England, Alberti was consciously adopting a practice that already had been made a tradition in Germany. Moreover, publishing on England was about to become one of the best established traditions on the continent. One of the frequently underlined characteristics of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is, indeed, its observable increasing fondness for travel narratives and all sorts of reports on foreign countries. European people were eager to read anything about foreign parts of the world. Concerning the Germans, England in particular was the privileged object of their curiosity. Books on England were bestsellers in eighteenth-century Germany.<sup>157</sup>

Apparently, Alberti was familiar with most of the numerous descriptions of Great Britain’s peculiarities already published on the continent in German, French, or Latin.<sup>158</sup> He knew Heinrich Ludolf Benthem’s classical book on England in its reedition of 1732.<sup>159</sup> He also was acquainted with Christian H. Erndtel’s old descriptions of his travels through England and Holland.<sup>160</sup> He also was familiar with some of the first “Guides” for travelers such as the one published by the Russian officer De Brazey<sup>161</sup> or by the lawyer Johann Basilius Kuchelbecker.<sup>162</sup> Our author had also read the Swiss nobleman Beat Ludwig von Muralt’s booklet on the English and the French mode of travelling.<sup>163</sup> Neither Voltaire’s famous *Letters Concerning the English Nation*<sup>164</sup> nor Jean Baptiste Le Blanc’s *Letters* on the political life in England and in France.<sup>165</sup>

Nevertheless, Alberti was convinced that there was still a want for what he had to tell, assuring his readers by the way that he would not narrate once again what others had already extensively related.<sup>166</sup> In fact, his *Letters* do not put the stress on what the readers could know

from similar previous prints. Avoiding all too much widespread general information on England, our author focuses deliberately on the state of affairs he found in the years 1745 to 1747. Reporting on the religious situation was, of course, his primary intention, but he also wanted to deepen and to correct what he thought undervalued or erroneously reported in the previous publications on his subject.

Back from London with a rich harvest of new insights, the thankful young theologian wanted now to make the potential German readers acquainted with the very last religious and intellectual situation of the country he had so scrupulously observed.<sup>167</sup>

### ***An Accountable Report to Joachim Oporin***

In so doing, Alberti was somehow doing a kind of homework assigned to him by Joachim Oporin, the spiritual father and mentor of his academic years. Actually, the departing student had been supposed to write letters from London to his teacher on all what he would see, hear, read, and experience while in England.<sup>168</sup> After having returned to Germany, Alberti seems to have made some oral reports to Oporin. Presumably, the idea of a publication of the *Letters* was born during such conversations between him and the former teacher.

However, one should not consider the *Letters* as the mere reproduction in print of the handwritten missives Alberti had sent to Oporin during his absence from Goettingen. The private correspondence between the two men seems not to have survived. Anyway, Alberti knew that Oporin would not have appreciated to see revealed to anybody what had been the subject of their private correspondence. The dedication of Alberti's *Letters* is very clear in this regard:

The Right reverend will not allow that I narrate publicly what I have told him, or written in my letters to him, as I had to do.

Thus, strictly speaking, one has to consider the *Letters* as a literary fiction. Obviously, their author adopted consciously the epistolary genre in order to make his task easier:

Since the author of letters can write in a freer and a more varied way, I preferred to give my information such an epistolary form, instead of putting them under entitled chapters.<sup>169</sup>

Such a fiction was frequent in 18<sup>th</sup> century-Germany.<sup>170</sup>

On the other hand, one cannot help taking into account the fact that the *Letters* are full of true autobiographical details. Indeed, they are constantly reflecting the personal experience of their author who had been frequently in epistolary conversation with the beloved spiritual father in Goettingen. Therefore, despite the literary fiction, the reader will do well in seeing Joachim Oporin behind the formal *Sir* which opens each new letter. Actually, the influential former teacher is to be considered as the secret *vis-à-vis*, even if - because of the mentioned literary fiction - the addressee may be also everyone belonging to the community of the unknown readers.

### **The Lutheran Rector of Tuendern (1753-1758) In the Shadow of the Seven-Year War**

Alberti's life was about to become singularly short. Our author, perhaps of a weak natural constitution, was about to die at the age of thirty-four years, hardly five years after he had received a living as rector of the Lutheran congregation in the small rural community of Tuendern (and Vorenberg) in 1753.

He took up residence in the rectory of Tuendern, today a part of the city of Hameln on

the river Weser, but then still an independent village with its own church, two miles far from Hameln.<sup>171</sup> Unfortunately, the archival depository of Alberti's former parish does not possess the sufficient source materials that would allow us to draw a picture of his parochial ministry. It was quite clear from the beginning of our attempt to recapture Alberti's life and work that the paucity of source materials would not make possible a full story. The deficiency is especially palpable for the end of his life, the circumstances of his last years in Tuendern being particularly obscure.<sup>172</sup> We do not know whether he got married or not. Excepting the troubles caused by the seven-year war (1756-1763), we are ignorant of the particular problems of the parish he was in charge of in his last years.

Having now little contact with the larger life as it was the case at London or at Goettingen, Alberti had now, to be sure, to contend with the intractable nature of the countryside living. However, there are indications that the young man of learning remained eager to maintain literary contacts with the society he had left. Some sentences in the preface he wrote by the end of March 1754 for the publication of the fourth part of his *Letters* are symptomatic of his fear of becoming isolated in his rural parish.

Alberti's intellectual interest in the questions of his time, including the very practical questions so characteristic of the period of Enlightenment, seems to have accompanied him until his death. Like many country churchmen of his day, he seems to have sent from time to time an article to some regional learned reviews. Evidence of his contributions to the *Hannoversche gelehrte Anzeigen* is given. Indeed, the magazine published in 1753 and in 1754 some reflections of the pastor of Tuendern on the alleged art of transmuting metal into gold, as well as his ideas on the nature of marsh.<sup>173</sup> Interestingly enough, both articles show that Alberti was still looking at England, reading English books and London reviews, keeping himself informed about what was published in the greater world. As to the possibility of transmuting metal into gold, a question that kept busy many people of his day, our author was definitively skeptical. Having given the reasons of his skepticism in the way of a scientist, he concludes symptomatically in the way of a theologian, arguing that making gold would be an act of creation, which is strictly reserved to God. Thus, declaring oneself capable to transform metal into gold, the author concluded, is in fact a blasphemous declaration of a creature that forgets that there is only one who is able to change "water into wine."<sup>174</sup>

Certainly, the eruption of the seven-year war in 1756 between Great Britain and Prussia, on the one side, and France and Austria, on the other side, cast a deep shadow on the end of Alberti's life. The conflict, indeed, brought much trouble to the population of Hamel and its immediate vicinity. The contemporary chronicles of Johann Daniel G. Herr, Alberti's Lutheran colleague at the *Muensterkirche* of Hamel, give a dramatic description of the distress and difficulties of the population during the war.<sup>175</sup> The pastor of Tuendern lived long enough to become a contemporary of the famous battle of Hastenbeck which took place only a few miles from his parsonage and where the French troops defeated the Hanoverian-British armies on July 26, 1757. Maybe the plight reduced the vitality of our author, who died on September 3, 1758.

Three weeks later, a brief obituary notice appeared in the *Goettingische Zeitung von gelehrten Sachen* in which, since 1750, a review of Alberti's writings had been regularly published. For the editor, this was the occasion to remember the readers that the deceased author had written a valuable book in four parts on the *Latest Condition of Religion and the Sciences in Great Britain*.<sup>176</sup>

## Notes

1. For a sociological presentation of that group, see Rudolf Vierhaus, "Umriss einer Sozialgeschichte der Gebildeten in Deutschland," in *Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert. Politische Verfassung - Soziales Gefüge - Geistige Bewegungen*, ed. by Rudolf Vierhaus (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 167-182.
2. Alberti's name appears in *Deutscher Biographischer Index*, ed. by Willy Gorzny (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1996) with reference to old dictionaries such as Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon. Fortsetzungen und Ergänzungen von Johann Christoph Adelung* (Leipzig & Bremen, 1784-1897; reprint: Hildesheim: Olms, 1960-1961), 1: 417; Heinrich Wilhelm Rotermund, *Das gelehrte Hannover 1* (1823), 18; Johann Georg Meusel, *Lexikon der vom Jahr 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen deutschen Schriftsteller* (Leipzig 1802-1816), 1: 44. The most extended of such biographical sketches consists in twenty lines written by Julius August W. Wagenmann (1823-1890), church historian at Goettingen: *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875-1912), 1: 213.
3. Wagenmann's article, for instance, gives erroneously 1723 as the year of Alberti's birth and sees in *Thoughts on the Essay on Natural Religion* Alberti's response to David Hume's famous *Essay* on the same subject.
4. For a first description of, and literature on the city of Osterode, see *Handbuch der historischen Stätten Deutschlands*, vol. 2: *Niedersachsen und Bremen*, ed. by Kurt Bruening (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1960), 317-319. For an updated list of books on the different aspects of that city's history, ><http://www.osterode.de>
5. See Albrecht Beutel, „Causa Wolffiana: Die Vertreibung Christian Wolffs aus Preussen 1723 als Kulminationspunkt des theologisch-politischen Konflikts zwischen halleischem Pietismus und Aufklärungsphilosophie,“ *Wissenschaftliche Theologie und Kirchenleitung* (2001): 159-202.
6. M[agister] Georg Wilhelm Alberti, *Briefe betreffende den allerneuesten Zustand der Religion und der Wissenschaften in Gross-Brittanien. Erster Teil* (Hannover: Johann Christoph Richter, 1752). This first part (224 pages), which contains seventeen letters (*Letters* 1-17), is preceded by a preface written from Osterode, on July 19, 1751.
7. Same title as n. 6. Thereafter cited as *Letters* II. This second part contains fourteen additional letters (*Letters* 18-31) and is preceded by a preface written on March 15, 1752, also from Osterode.
8. Same title as n. 6. Thereafter cited as *Letters* III. This third part contains twenty-three additional letters (*Letters* 32-54) and is preceded by a preface dated from Osterode, August 16, 1752.
9. Only two copies of the rare 1376-page-long work are available in US libraries (Chicago and Harvard Divinity School). Two copies are in possession of Alberti's former *Alma mater* (Goettingen University Library: 8 H BRIT EC 2846 and 8 H BRIT EC 2946). A copy is also extant in The British Library, London: 792.b.15-17.
10. For a modern description of, and literature on the city of Hameln, see *Handbuch der historischen Staetten Deutschlands*, 2: 161-163.
11. Same title as n. 6. Thereafter cited as *Letters* IV. This fourth part contains sixteen additional letters (55-70) and is preceded by a preface written on March 22, 1754, this time from Tuendern.
12. For an adequate understanding of this uncommon political situation, see the general presentation of the English system of government under the Hanoverians George I and George II by Basil William, *The Whig Supremacy 1714-1760* (The Oxford History of England ed. by George Clark, vol. 11) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 11-43; see also Gerhard Koebler, *Historisches Lexikon der deutschen Laender. Die deutschen Territorien und reichsunmittelbaren Geschlechter vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), 233-235.
13. See Franz Schimpf, „Burchard Alberti, Kgl. Hannoverscher Oberpostmeister, aus Osterode, mit einigen Angaben auch ueber die gleichnamige Osteroder Zeugmacher-Familie,“ *Heimatblaetter fuer den sued-westlichen Harz-land* 33 (1977): 52-4.
14. All details provided by a commented genealogy of Alberti's family to be found in the Archives of the city of Osterode under *Nachlass Schimpf N° 230*.
15. His name appears in two studies on the school and its pupils: Ingeborg Neuhaus, *Was wurde beruflich aus den Schülern der Lateinschule Osterode (1729 - 1755)?*, academic paper Goettingen 1963, 5; Martin Granzin, *Die Schüler der Osteroder Lateinschule (Gymnasium) 1642-1874* (Osterode, 1979), 7 (where 1723 is erroneously given as the year of his birth).
16. From 1727 to 1735, the Generalsuperintendent was Johann Justus Berckelmann. The superintendency moved then to the city of Clausthal, where Johann Matthias Meyenbeck was in the office of a General Superintendent from 1735 to 1743; see Steinmetz, „Die Generalsuperintendenten von Grubenhagen und auf dem Harz,“ *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fuer niedersaechsische Kirchengeschichte* 1936: 79-175, especially 128-135.
17. See Martin Granzin, *Die Schueler*, 7: "abiit Hildesheim".
18. On the University of Helmstedt, see TRE 15: 35-39.
19. Rudolf Smend, art. *Goettingen*, in TRE 13: 558-563; Emil F. Roessler, *Die Gruendung der Universitaet Goettingen* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck, 1855); Götz von Selle, *Die Georg-August-Universitaet zu Goettingen 1737-1937* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1937), 1-128. For the beginnings of the School of Theology, see Johann Meyer, "Geschichte der Goettinger theologischen Fakultät," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fuer niedersaechsi-*

sche Kirchengeschichte 42 (1937): 7-107.

20. See *Correspondenz von Leibniz mit Caroline*, ed. by Onno Klopp (New York: G. Olms, 1973).
21. Walter Buff, *Gerlach Adolph Freiherr von Muenchhausen als Gruender der Universitaet Goettingen* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1937).
22. On A. v. Haller (1708-1777), see *Literaturlexikon* ed. by Walther Killy (Berlin: Bertelsmann, 1993), 4: 480-3.
23. See John S. Oyer's art. *Mosheim, Johann Lorenz von (1694[5]-1755)* in TRE 23: 365-367.
24. See Johann Meyer, "Geschichte der Goettinger theologischen Fakultae," 10.
25. See what Muenchhausen reports concerning Neumeister's "ungodly and unchristian" attacks against Pietism at Hamburg in a letter from January 3, 1734: Emil F. Roessler, *Die Gruendung*, B 82.
26. For the general situation of Pietism within the Hanoverian Electorate, see Manfred Jakobowski-Tiessen, "Der Pietismus in Niedersachsen," in *Geschichte des Pietismus*, ed. by Martin Brecht & Klaus Deppermann, 2: *Der Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 428-431; Rudolf Ruprecht, *Der Pietismus des 18. Jahrhunderts in den Hannoverschen Stammlaendern* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1919).
27. Rudolf Ruprecht, *Der Pietismus des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 21, 99, 103.
28. Rudolf Ruprecht, *Der Pietismus des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 136-137, 145, 156-157.
29. See Emil F. Roessler, *Die Gruendung*, 33-37. All quotations are referring to Muenchhausen's official guidelines from April 16, 1733.
30. Emil F. Roessler, *Die Gruendung*, 422, with reference to Muenchhausen's letter from October 12, 1734.
31. On Georg Calixt (1586-1656) and his combat against the absolutism of denominational confessions, see TRE 7: 552-559.
32. Johann Jakob Rambach. *Leben - Briefe - Schriften*, ed. by Ulrich Bister & Martin Zeim (Giessen-Basel: Brunner, 1993); Ruediger Mack, *Pietismus und Fruehaufklaerung an der Universitaet Giessen und in Hessen-Darmstadt* (Darmstadt, 1984).
33. Christoph Matthaeus Pfaff (1686-1760) was, together with the Pietist jurist and politician Johann Jakob Moser (1701-1785), one of the Swabians who constantly pleaded for the authorization of Pietist assemblies within the Swabian Evangelical church. The Swabian *Pietistenreskript* of 1743 was going to give him satisfaction.
34. Goetz v. Selle, *Die Matrikel der Georg-August-Universitaet zu Goettingen 1734-1837* (Hildesheim-Leipzig: August Lax, 1937), 37.
35. Erich Beyreuther, "Halle und Herrnhuter in den Rezensionen der Goettingischen Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen auf dem Hintergrund niedersaechsischer Religionspolitik zwischen 1739 und 1760," Erich Beyreuther, *Froemmgigkeit und Theologie. Gesammelte Aufsaezse zum Pietismus und Erweckungsbewegung* (Hildesheim - New York: Georg Olms, 1980), 224.
36. This is Emanuel Hirsch's opinion in his *Geschichte der Neuern Evangelischen Theologie im Zusammenhang mit den allgemeinen Bewegungen des europaeischen Denkens* (Guetersloh: Guetersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1964 [third ed.] 1: 92.
37. Johann Meyer, *Geschichte*, 16.
38. The only modern presentation of Oporin's life and work is given by Kenneth R. Lentz, *Life and Theology of Joachim Oporin, Professor and Teacher of Henry Melchior Muehlenberg*, theol. Diss., Heidelberg, 1970. Some limited printed information on him are available in reference-books of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries such as Doering (3: 158), Dunkel, Meusel, Moser, Joecher, and Hirsching; see also ADB 24:381.
39. Emil F. Roessler, *Die Gruendung*, 239.
40. Eberhard Teufel, "Das Schriftum zur 200-Jahrfeier der Georg-August-Universitaet in Goettingen im Jahre 1937," *Theologische Rundschau (Neue Folge)* 11 (1939): 28-53 (esp. 39).
41. On Heinrich Melchior Muehlenberg (1711-1787), see TRE 23:388-393.
42. Rudolf Ruprecht, *Der Pietismus des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 161.
43. On Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen (1693?-1776) and his ministry in England, see Daniel L. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehme and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 57-59,67-69; "Kurzer Abriss des Lebens und Characters Herrn Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen," in *Neuere Geschichte der evangelischen Missions Anstalten zu Bekehrung der Heiden in Ostindien*, 5 vol. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1776-1804), 2: XI-XXII; Norman J. Threinen, "Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen (1694-1776): German Lutheran Pietist in the English Court," *Lutheran Theological Review* 12 (1999 / 2000): 56-94.
44. On Boehme, see also A. Sames, *Anton Wilhelm Boehme (1673-1722) Studien zum oekumenischen Denken und Handeln eines halleischen Pietisten* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990).
45. Muehlenberg's letter, written from Kensington, June 22, 1742, is printed in *Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Muehlenbergs aus der Anfangszeit des deutschen Luthertums in Nordamerika*, ed. by Kurt Aland (Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1986-1993) 1: 32-33.
46. *Commentatio theologica de firmitate ac inspiratione divina demonstrationis novi ex vetere testamento Evangelicae* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck, 1740).
47. *Die Kette der in den Buechern des Alten Testaments befindlichen buchstaeblichen Vorherverkuendigung aus den alleinigen Buechern des Alten Testaments ausgewiesen* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck, 1745, 1751<sup>2</sup>).

48. For Grotius' role in the emergence of biblical criticism, and more literature on the subject, see Henning Graf Reventlow, *Wurzeln der modernen Bibelkritik*, in *Historische Kritik und biblischer Kanon in der deutschen Aufklärung*, ed. by Henning Graf Reventlow, Walter Sparr and John Woodbridge (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988), 47-63 (esp. 53-5).
49. Alberti, *Letters* III, 555.
50. On Christian Wolff (1679-1754) and his method as presented to the contemporaries, see C. G. Ludovici, *Ausfuhrlicher Entwurf einer vollstaendigen Historie der Wolffischen Philosophie, zum Gebrauch seiner Zuhoerer herausgegeben*, 3 vol. (Leipzig, 1738), reprint in Christian Wolff, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. by J. Ecole (Hildesheim: Olms, 1977), III/1.
51. *Alte und einzige Richtschnur, ueberzeugend und erwecklich zu predigen* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck, 1737); *Theologische Bedenken ueber die Grundsaeetze einer Lehrart, erbaulich zu predigen* (Hannover: Helwing, 1741) For the place of this writing in the history of homiletics, see Theodor Christlieb, *Homiletik*, RE<sup>2</sup> 6:270-295 (esp. 287-288); Werner Schuetz, *Geschichte der christlichen Predigt* (Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1972), 160.
52. Alberti, *Letters* I, i-vi.
53. On Feuerlin, see Rudolf Steinmetz, "Die Generalsuperintendenten von Goettingen," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fuer Niedersaechsische Kirchengeschichte* 40 (1935), 110-119; ADB 6: 753-4.
54. Goetz v. Selle, *Die Matrikel der Georg-August-Universitaet zu Goettingen 1734-1837*, 37.
55. Eberhard Teufel, "Das Schrifttum zur 200-Jahrfeier der Georg-August-Universitaet", 39.
56. Johann Meyer, *Geschichte*, 15.
57. *Dissertatio de montibus, divinitatis testibus, contra Lucretium et Burnetum* (Altorf, 1729).
58. See the references to Feuerlein in Wolfgang Philipp's description of the rise of that kind of theology in Germany: Wolfgang Philipp, *Das Werden der Aufklaerung in theologiegeschichtlicher Sicht* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), 21.22.36.37.39.68.
59. Alberti, *Letters* I, 65. He might have possessed one of the first editions of Derham's book in German translation: *Physikotheologie oder Natur-Leitung zu Gott ...* (Hamburg, 1732) First edition: 1713.
60. Wolfgang Philipp, *Das Werden der Aufklaerung*, 29.
61. This has been demonstrated by Wolfgang Philipp's book (n.60).
62. See Romans 1:20.
63. See Puetter, 1:23; Rudolf Steinmetz, "Die Generalsuperintendenten in Harburg," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fuer niedersaechsische Kirchengeschichte* 36 (1931): 217-224; ADB 24: 381.
64. Eberhard Teufel, "Das Schrifttum zur 200-Jahrfeier der Georg-August-Universitaet in Goettingen", 39.
65. Paul Tschakert's article on Heumann in RE<sup>3</sup> 8: 24-28 (1900) makes use of all the older sources. See also ADB 12: 327-330, RE<sup>2</sup> 6:88-93, RGG<sup>2</sup> 2: 1869-1870, RGG<sup>3</sup> 3: 306-307. Heumann's detailed biography by a contemporary, H. A. Cassius, *Ausfuehrliche Lebensbeschreibung Heumanns*, 1768, contains the complete list of his writings.
66. Summed up in Emanuel Hirsch, *Geschichte der Neuern Evangelischen Theologie im Zusammenhang mit den allgemeinen Bewegungen des europaeischen Denkens* (Guetersloh: Guetersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1964 [third ed.]), 1: 90-93.
67. Thirteen volumes published from 1750 to 1764.
68. Karl Aner, *Die Theologie der Lessingszeit* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1929), 216-217. Aner considers Heumann as a representative of *Neologie*, as the new theology produced by German Enlightenment was named.
69. *Dissertatio de pseudothaumaturgis Pharaonis*. [Praeses:] Christophorus Augustus Heumannus. [Resp.:] Georgius Wilhelmus Alberti (Goettingen: Hager, 1744) (33 pages, in-8°). [University Library Goettingen: 4HLP, IV, 26/5].
70. For this quotation and the following assertions, see Alberti, *Letters* III, 555-556.
71. See Henning Graf Reventlow, *Bibelautoritaet und Geist der Moderne. Die Bedeutung des Bibelverstaendnisses fuer die geistesgeschichtliche und politische Entwicklung in England von der Reformation bis zu Aufklaerung* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980).
72. Alberti, *Letters* III, 644.
73. *Aufrichtige Nachrichten von der Religion, dem Gottesdienste, den Sitten und Gebraeuchen der Quaeker: nebst einer kurzen Erzaehlung der Geschichte dieses Volkes, aufgesetzt von Georg Wilhelm Alberti* (Hannover: Richter, 1750). Copy in the University Library Goettingen: 8 H E ECCL 860/70. Thereafter as *Aufrichtige Nachrichten*.
74. *Aufrichtige Nachrichten*, A3-A4.
75. *Dissertatio Inauguralis Moralis. De Imputativitate Somnii*. (Goettingen: Johann Friedrich Hager, 1745) (24 pages, in-4°) [Universitaetsbibliothek Goettingen: 4 SVA III, 2920:12; also as n° 27 in *Academica Goettingensis* 1734-1753,1.: 4 HLP IV, 26/5:1734-1753,1 (27)].
76. Alberti, *Letters* I, 21-3.
77. Alberti, *Letters* I, 2-3.
78. For the Bangorian Controversy and the role played by Hoadly, see Gordon Rupp, *Religion in England 1688-1791* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 88-101.
79. Alberti, *Letters* III, 590-612.

80. On François de la Pillonnière, see *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises. Le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. by G. Grente and completed by François Moureau (Paris : Fayard, 1993), 687-8.
81. Alberti, *Letters* I, 12-3; III, 722-6. On William Whiston (1667-1752), see E. Duffy, "Whiston's Affair": The Trials of a Primitive Christian (1709-1714), *JEH* 27 (1976): 129-151; J.E. Force, *William Whiston. Honest Newtonian* (Cambridge: University Press, 1985).
82. Alberti, *Letters* III, 643-650. See art. Le Courrayeur (1681-1776), *LThK* 6: 872.
83. A very negative image of the English Roman Catholics is given in *Letters* IV, 1143-1152. Sharing the position of most of the English Protestants of his day, Alberti considered Roman Catholics in England as politically wholly untrustworthy, religiously most intolerant, and as people using unclean missionary methods.
84. See especially the letters N° 40-42 in Alberti, *Letters* III.
85. Alberti, *Letters* III, 962. On Conyers Middleton (1683-1750), see Gordon Rupp, *Religion in England 1688-1791* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 275.
86. See John Wesley's *Letter to the Reverend Dr. Conyers Middleton occasioned by his late Free Inquiry in The Works of J. Wesley*, ed. by Thomas Jackson, 10: 1-79.
87. Alberti, *Letters* III, 688.
88. For a sketchy presentation of Johann Jakob Wettstein (1693-1754), see RE<sup>3</sup> 21:198-203.
89. Alberti, *Letters* IV, 1064.
90. Alberti, *Letters* IV, 1171-5.
91. The first story of these congregations, written by Johann Gottlieb Burckhardt, *Kirchengeschichte der teutschen Gemeinden in London nebst historischen Beylagen und Predigten* (Tuebingen: L.F. Fuess, 1798), has been followed by Carl Schoell, *Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Kirchen in England* (London: Williams & Norgate; Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1852). More recently, the archival material concerning this history has been presented by Susanne Steinmetz, „Die Archivpflege der deutschen evangelischen Gemeinden in Grossbritannien – Eine Bestandsaufnahme“, *Aus evangelischen Archiven (neue Folge der ‚Allgemeinen Mitteilungen‘)* 34 (1995), 83-90.
92. Alberti, *Letters* IV, 1123-8.
93. Johann Gottlieb Burckhardt, *Kirchengeschichte der teutschen Gemeinden*, 43.
94. See 'Der curieuse Passagier'. *Deutsche Englandreisende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts als Vermittler kultureller und technologischer Anregungen* (Heidelberg, 1983); John Alexander Kelly, *England and the Englishman in German Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1921); P. E. Matheson, *German Visitors to England 1770-1795 and Their Impressions* (Oxford, 1930); O Britannien, *Von deiner Freiheit einen Hut voll. Deutsche Reiseberichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* ed. by Michael Maurer (Munich: C.H. Beck Verlag, 1992).
95. Alberti, *Letters* II, 303-4.
96. Alberti, *Letters*, II, 307-317.
97. Alberti, *Letters* II, 291-9.
98. See Kenneth Richards, "David Garrick (1717-1779)", *The Blackwell Companion to the Enlightenment* ed. by John W. Yolton (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 185-6.
99. On the Non-Juror Jeremy Collier (1650-1726), see Gordon Rupp, *Religion in England 1688-1791* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 17.
100. Alberti, *Letters* III, 885.
101. From March 18, 1746 to December 2, 1747, Alberti wrote twenty-five letters from London to Haller, which list and location are given in *Repertorium zu Albrecht von Hallers Korrespondenz 1724-1777*, ed. by Urs Boschung et al. (Basel: Schwabe & Co., 2002), 6-7.
102. Alberti, *Letters* I, 9.
103. On this important social institution of the day, see Bryant Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963).
104. Alberti, *Letters* I, 6-10.
105. Alberti, *Letters* I, 11.
106. Alberti, *Letters* III, 460.
107. Alberti, *Letters* III, 407.
108. *Some Thoughts on the Essay on Natural Religion: as opposed to Divine Revelation. Said to be written by the celebrated Dryden. ... Reprinted, and answered by Alethophilus Gottingensis* (London: Printed for W. Reeve, 1747) (xii pp., 60 pages, in-8°). Copy in Universitaetsbibliothek Goettingen: 8 PHIL V, 47; also (Microfilm) MA 89-24: 4171, no. 10. The dedication "To her Royal Highness Augusta, Princess of Wales" is signed G.W.A.M.A., which means Georg William Alberti, Master of Arts.
109. Augusta of Saxe-Gotha (1719-1772), wife of Frederick Lewis of Hanover (1707-1751), the eldest son of King George II and Queen Caroline, Prince of Wales since 1736. Both are the parents of the future King George III.
110. On Julius August Wagenmann (1823-1890), see RE<sup>3</sup> 20: 778-79.
111. See ADB 1: 213. The author of this article on Alberti obviously did not read the writing he referred to. An explanation for his error could be Alberti's mention of Hume's *Essays on the principles of Morality and Natural Religion* (Edinburgh, 1751) in the Foreword to *Letters* III (August 16, 1752).
112. See the rectification concerning Alberti's writing in the wording of the title as given in the entry in the Brit-

ish Library Catalogue: *Some thoughts on the Essay on natural religion, as opposed to divine revelation, said to be written by the celebrated Dryden* [but in fact by C. Blount] etc.

113. See Justin A.I. Champion, "Charles Blount", *Dictionary of Seventeenth-Century British Philosophers* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2000)

114. Alberti, *Letters* III, 466-467.

115. Alberti, *Letters* III, 469.

116. *Some Thoughts*, 51..

117. See *Letters* III, preface (written from Osterode, on August 16, 1752), A2b-A3b.

118. Alberti, *Letters* III, 665-6.

119. Alberti, *Letters* III, 722.

120. Alberti, *Letters*, III, 747.

121. On Thomas Sherlock (1678-1761), see BBKL 10: 4-8.

122. Alberti, *Letters* III, 754.

123. Alberti, *Letters* III, 717.

124. Alberti, *Letters* II, 331.

125. Alberti, *Letters* III, 755-756.

126. Alberti, *Letters* III, 730.

127. Alberti, *Letters* I, 14.

128. Alberti, *Letters* III, 879..

129. Gordon Rupp, *Religion in England 1688-1791* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 251.

130. Alberti, *Letters* III, 878-880.

131. Alberti, *Letters on Methodism*, [155].

132. Alberti, *Letters* III, 677-8.

133. See the foreword of *Letters* IV.

134. *Aufrichtige Nachrichten von der Religion, dem Gottesdienste, den Sitten und Gebraeuchen der Quaeker: nebst einer kurzen Erzaehlung der Geschichte dieses Volkes, aufgesetzt von Georg Wilhelm Alberti* (Hannover: Johann Christoph Richter, 1750). Copy in the Library of the University of Goettingen: 8 H E ECCL 860/70. The book will be translated into Dutch a generation later: *Historie der Kwakers* (Utrecht, 1789).

135. *Goettingische Zeitung von gelehrten Sachen* (Addition to the issue of August 1750), 631-2.

136. *De gloria DEI in facie Iesu Christi* (Celle, 1750).

137. *Goettingische Zeitung von gelehrten Sachen* (December, 1750), 974-5.

138. Meyenberg's translation was to be published in 1751 and mentioned by Alberti in *Letters* IV, 1064.

139. On Nathaniel Gardner (1684-1768), see BBKL 4: 1167-9.

140. On Thomas Woolston (1669-1732), see BBKL 15: 1548-9.

141. *Aufrichtige Nachrichten*, B2.

142. *Aufrichtige Nachrichten*, 18-28.

143. On Johann Konrad Dannhauer (1603-1666), see BBKL 1: 1211-2.

144. *Aufrichtige Nachrichten*, B. On Johann Konrad Dannhauer (1603-1666), Spener's arch-orthodox teacher in Strasbourg, see RE<sup>3</sup> 4: 460ss.

145. Barclay's *Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same is Set forth and Preached by the People Called in Scorn Quakers* (London, 1678) had been translated into German a first time in 1648, then in 1740.

146. *Aufrichtige Nachrichten*, B3.

147. *Aufrichtige Nachrichten*, 82.

148. *Aufrichtige Nachrichten*, 54-55.

149. *Aufrichtige Nachrichten*, 149.

150. *Aufrichtige Nachrichten*, 1-2; 28.

151. *Aufrichtige Nachrichten*, 148.

152. See Charles J. Abbey's still illuminating chapter on enthusiasm in C. J. Abbey and J. H. Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1887), 226-278.

153. *Aufrichtige Nachrichten*, 106-7.

154. Alberti, *Letters* III, 681 and 688.

155. Alberti, *Letters* IV, 1173. On Johann Jakob Wettstein (1693-1754), see RE<sup>3</sup> 21:198-203; RGG<sup>3</sup> 6:1671.

156. See the foreword of *Letters* I.

157. Michael Maurer, *Aufklaerung und Anglophilie in Deutschland* (Goettingen-Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987) (*Veroeffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts*, vol. 19).

158. The Foreword of *Letters* I, mentions eight previous publications on England.

159. *Engelländischer Kirch- und Schulen-Staat* (Leipzig, 1732) (first ed.: Lueneburg, 1694)

160. Christian H. Erndtel, *De itinere suo Anglicano et Batavo annis 1706.1707 factio relatio* (Amsterdam, 1711). Alberti erroneously spells the author's name *Erdal*.

161. M. de Brazey, *Le Guide d'Angleterre, ou relation curieuse du Voyage de Mr. de B.* The book, referring to a travel made in the years 1712-1714, had just been published in 1744.

162. It is not easy to know what Alberti means exactly by referring to Kuechelbecker's *Description of England in the Year 1717*. Johann Basilius Kuechelbecker (1697-1757) published in Hanover *Der nach England reisende curieuse Passagier, oder Beschreibung der Stadt London und der umliegenden Oerter* in 1726 (second edn. in 1736), and *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Koenigreich Engelland* (Frankfurt, 1737).

163. Louis de Muralt, *Lettres sur les Anglois et les François et sur les voyages* (s.l., 1725), later edn. by Charles Gould (Paris: *Bibliothèque de la Revue de la littérature comparée*, 1933).

164. Voltaire, *Lettres philosophiques ou Lettres écrites de Londres sur les Anglais* (1741) ed. by Raymond Naves (Paris, 1964).

165. Jean Baptiste Le Blanc, *Lettres d'un François concernant le gouvernement, la politique ... des Anglois et des François* (La Haye: Neaulme, 1745) (second ed. in three vol. Amsterdam, 1751).

166. Alberti, *Letters* I, 1.

167. Foreword of *Letters* I.

168. Alberti, *Letters* I, 1.

169. Foreword of *Letters* I, last page.

170. See Burckhard Ducker's article *Brief* in *Literaturlexikon* ed. Walther Killy (Berlin: Bertelsmann, 1993), 13: 124 ff.; Johann Anderegg, *Schreibe mir oft! Das Medium Brief von 1750 bis 1830* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001).

171. A description of Hameln in Alberti's day is given by Johann Friedrich Moller: *Beschreibung der Stadt Hameln 1757*, reprint by M. Boersch (Hameln: *Veroeffentlichungen aus dem Stadtarchiv*, 1984).

172. The two folders A 202 and A 203 with the personal data of the former ministers of the congregation, extant in the *Pfarrarchiv der Evangelisch-lutherischen Kirchengemeinde Tuendern* (Lange Strasse, 32, 31789-Hameln, Germany), do not provide new information on Alberti. Neither do we find any detail on Alberti's parochial ministry in the archival depository of the Hanoverian *Evangelisch-lutherische Landeskirche* (*Landeskirchliches Archiv*, Goethestrasse 27, 30169-Hannover, Germany).

173. "Untersuchung der vorgegebenen Erfahrungen von der Wuerklichkeit der Kunst geringere Metalle in Gold zu verwandeln," *Hannoverische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1753), Part 25: 335-344; "Versuch einer Beantwortung der zwei Fragen: Woher entsteht es, dass in den Mooren so vieles Holz und ganze Baeume befindlich sind? - und ist es in der Erfahrung gegründet, dass die Moore wieder wachsen," *Hannoverische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1754), Part 15: 203-212.

174. "Untersuchung", 344.

175. Johann Daniel Gottlieb Herr, *Wohl und Wehe der Stadt Hameln waehrend des Krieges von 1757-1763*, ed. by M. Boersch (Hameln: Stadtarchiv Hameln, 1986).

176. *Goettingische Zeitung von gelehrten Sachen* (Sept. 23, 1758), 1088.

Semantic Scholar profile for George Alberti, with 70 highly influential citations and 18 scientific research papers. Some features of the site may not work correctly. George Alberti. Publications 18. h-index. 7. Citations 1,449. Highly Influential Citations 70. George William Fairfax (January 2, 1724 – April 3, 1787) was a member of the landed gentry of late colonial Virginia and a planter. A contemporary and good friend of George Washington, Fairfax made opportunities for the younger Washington through his powerful family. YouTube Encyclopedic. 1/3. Early life and education. Fairfax was born in 1724 on the island of New Providence in the Bahamas.[1] He was the son of Sarah (née Walker), and her husband Sir William Fairfax, a British colonel who had served as an English Customs agent in Barbados, as well as a justice and Governor of the Bahamas. At his son's birth, William was working as the Customs Collector in Marblehead. Sarah's father Thomas Walker was Chief Justice of the Bahamas. Victor Albert John Earl Williams, Charles Dudley Williams, Dulcie Irene Ritchie (born Williams), Ada E Williams, Spencer Nolan Williams. View the Record. Albert George Williams in MyHeritage family trees (avery Web Site). Albert George Williams. Collection: MyHeritage Family Trees. ...erine Emma Taylor (born Williams), John Percy Edmund Williams, Harold George V Williams, Leslie A Williams, Ada Mary Williams, Blanche D View the Record. Albert George Williams in MyHeritage family trees (WilliamsWJ Web Site). Albert George Williams. Collection

George William Alberti. Last updated April 03, 2019. George William Alberti (1723 – 3 September 1758) was a German essayist and theologian, who spent many years in England. Contents. Biography. Works. He published: *Diss. de Pseudothaumaturgis Pharaonis*, 1744. George I was King of Great Britain and Ireland from 1 August 1714 and ruler of the Duchy and Electorate of Brunswick-Lüneburg (Hanover) in the Holy Roman Empire from 1698 until his death in 1727. Caroline of Brandenburg-Ansbach was Queen of Great Britain as the wife of King George II. Ernest Augustus, known for most of his adult life as the Duke of Cumberland, was King of Hanover from 20 June 1837 until his death. He was the fifth son and eighth child of King George III of the United Kingdom and Hanover. Read, William Harding. *pt.wikipedia*. *Um novo mundo* (Portuguese) (as Author). John Stuart Mill; *His Life and Works Twelve Sketches* by Herbert Spencer, Henry Fawcett, Frederic Harrison, and Other Distinguished Authors (English) (as Contributor). Cairns, John, 1857-1922. *en.wikipedia*. *Life and Adventures of Calamity Jane* (English) (as Author). Calamnius, Edwin, 1864-1927. Virtala, Esko. *George William Alberti's Life and Work (1724-1758)*. Article. Michel Weyer. His translations of and commentaries on Aristotle's philosophical and logical works were the main conduit between the Greek classical culture and the early Middle Ages. His two commentaries on Aristotle's *Peri Hermenias* ("On Interpretation"), the longer of which is translated in [Show full abstract] the present two volumes (the first covering Books 1–3 and the second Books 4–6), were particularly influential.