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CHAPTER VII "Animated by the Example of the great Professor Franck": The Rise an Decline of SPCK-Halle Relations

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Chapter VII

"Animated by the Example of the great Professor Franck": The Rise and Decline of SPCK-Halle Relations

In a sermon preached in the last year of his life George Whitefield recalled the founding of his famous Bethesda orphanage in Georgia:

> Many orphans, whose parents had been taken from them by the distresses that naturally attend new settlements, were dispersed here and there in a very forlorn helpless condition; my bowels yearned towards them, and, animated by the example of the great Professor *Franck* ... I hired a house, furnished an infirmary, employed all that were capable of employment, and in a few weeks walked to the house of GOD with a large family of above sixty orphans, and others in as bad a condition.[1]

After the Salzburger emigration, Halle Pietists and the SPCK engaged in no new cooperative efforts, but the influence of Francke in England did not end, as the evangelical revival reawakened interest in his work. The upswing of Francke's status within the evangelical revival, however, seemed to coincide with the deterioration of Halle-SPCK links. Our purpose in this chapter is to examine why the SPCK and Halle Pietists were able to cooperate in a number of endeavours and why those links subsequently withered and no new enterprises were undertaken.

1. The Rise of SPCK-Halle Cooperation

The Extent of Influence and Cooperation

Before dealing with the reasons for SPCK-Halle cooperation it is important to place its significance into some kind of perspective. How significant was the SPCK itself within the Anglican religious community? The answer to this difficult question depends upon the criteria adopted to measure effectiveness. From an ecclesiastical and high political perspective the Society had a negligible impact; it remained aloof as much as possible from the controversies

1 "Sermon LVII. Preached before the Governor, and Council, and the House of Assembly, in Georgia, on January 28, 1770", in: George Whitefield, *Works*, [ed. John Gillies], 6 vols. (London, 1771-72), vi.381.

agitating the Anglican Church in the early eighteenth century. It was a lay-dominated body in which prelates, and to a certain extent clergy, provided a supportive and approving rather than a decision-making role. But at the level of ordinary religious life and in the realm of philanthropy the activity of the SPCK was important. During its first decade the Society took on a crucial coordinating role within the voluntary society movement itself. Since the SPG was so heavily engaged with the colonial Church in America, the SPCK became the parent Society to many of the religious societies and the societies for the reformation of manners in England. Though it had no official authority, it could and did advise and influence. Within the charity school and workhouse movements the Society also adopted a vital organizing role. In the former it had little direct control, for the individual schools frequently displayed their independence; nonetheless, through its coordinating work, thousands of children were offered their only opportunity for education and new methods of organization were introduced.[2] Nor should the enduring significance of the Society's work in distributing Christian literature be underestimated.[3] The quiet, yet often fervent devotion of the eighteenth century, with its emphasis on Christian "duty", on ethical obedience, liturgical regularity, and closet devotion, owed a huge amount to the books disseminated by the Society, often in a multitude of editions over many decades.[4]

As we have seen, the domestic work of the Society in disseminating "Christian Knowledge" in England was coupled with a vision of global influence. Its initiatives remained necessarily small scale, but possess deep symbolic significance: the East India mission, the publication and distribution of the Arabic Psalter and New Testament, and the superintendence of the Salzburger emigration to Georgia were ventures which diverted attention away from the domestic population to whom the Society's attentions were first addressed. It is noticeable, indeed, that the Society's fervour for domestic propaganda began to diminish coincidentally with its expanding commitment abroad, a shift in perspective which will be discussed below.

How extensive was Halle's influence within the SPCK? The evidence of the previous four chapters suggests that most of the major enterprises of the Society in the first half of the eighteenth century were either directly or indirectly influenced by Hallensians. But this having been said, a few qualifications must be made. With regard to the Society's domestic work, only within the charity school movement did Halle Pietists exercise a marked stimulus, through some of the chief figures associated with the schools and in

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2 Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 343-46.

3 Sykes, *Edmund Gibson*, pp. 197f.

4 For some of the more popular works distributed by the SPCK in the eighteenth century, see Clarke, *Eighteenth Century Piety*, pp. 1-29. For example, Bishop Beveridge's *Sermon on the Common Prayer* went through its 38th edition in 1799, Woodward's *Instruction for those that come to be Confirmed* its 22nd edition in 1758, and *The Christian Soldier* its 42nd in 1818.

the publication of *Pietas Hallensis*. The German impulse remains diffuse and difficult to trace, since the schools were thoroughly anglicized; it is impossible to discern exactly where Halle instigated and where it merely reinforced what was already begun. The work of the Society in the distribution of Christian literature, though paralleled in Halle, was solidly Anglican. Although Boehm's own publishing achievements became one of the most significant legacies of Halle Pietism in England, only a few of those works were actually dispersed by the Society (though they were published by its publisher Downing).

The clearest evidence of Hallensian instigation lies in the Society's foreign ventures, the East India mission and the decision to print the Arabic Psalter and New Testament. SPCK interest in both these projects was initiated and encouraged by Boehm, to which Newman bore witness:

> He [Boehm] was the first promoter of those two Excellent Designs the Protestant Mission to the East Indies and the Impression of the New Testament etc. in Arabick having by his good offices with the Society prevail'd with them to espouse the furthering of them.[5]

Both the plan and the practical details of the Society's support for the East India mission were, as we have seen, principally dictated by Boehm. The task of seeing the Arabic impressions into print was handed over to Negri and at the suggestion of Rodde, a catechism was also printed. Initial SPCK interest in Callenberg's mission to the Jews could not be pursued because of the Salzburger emigration to Georgia, in which the Pietists again first prompted SPCK action. This Georgia settlement could not have happened without the efforts of Ziegenhagen and especially Urlsperger, even though the decision to resettle these emigrants in Georgia was wholly an English one.

These projects were by no means marginal in the work of the SPCK. The Society itself in its published accounts lists as its major activities during this period charity schools, book distribution, the East India mission, the Arabic publications, the Salzburger emigration, and its recommendation of workhouses.[6] The foreign ventures were not just an incidental appendage to the Society's domestic activity. An examination of the special donations made to the SPCK between 1710 and 1735 indicates that almost fifty per cent both of the number of gifts and of the amounts given was earmarked for the East India mission or the Arabic Psalter and New Testament.[7] Indeed, these two endeavours so drained the Society's resources that by 1730 it was in debt.[8] In 1743 an extraordinary meeting had to be called because the East India mission

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5 Newman to Cotton Mather, Middle Temple, 3 Aug. 1722, printed in: Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 232.

6 E.g. *An Account of the Origin and Design of the SPCK* (1733); An Account of the SPCK (1756); *A General Account of the SPCK* (1813).

7 *General Account of the SPCK* (1813), pp. 210-15. Note: the Salzburger emigration had its own fund and was not included in these statistics.

8 Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 496.

fund was depleted.[9] The work load of Henry Newman provides further proof of the extent of SPCK involvement in these international projects; when Newman received an increase in salary it was inevitably because of extra work associated with one of them.[10]

Reasons for SPCK-Halle Involvement

But why did the Halle Pietists take such an interest in the SPCK and why did the Society respond so favourably to its overtures? Did the initiative come from A.H. Francke himself? In his "Great Essay", written in 1704 in which he spelled out his dreams and laid out the reforming goals of the Pietist movement, Francke expressed the hope that the work begun at Halle would spread

> ... so that *every fitting preparation will be made for a general betterment of all classes not only in Germany and Europe but also in the remaining parts of the world*, and that in a short time the whole earth will be covered with the knowledge of the Lord as with a stream of living water.[11]

In this same essay Francke noted (with pride) the divine blessing attending the work of Wigers, Mehder, and Boehm in England and the presence of Michael Belke at Halle, who had come to be trained in Halle's pedagogical method before returning to work in English charity schools.[12] In spite of these lofty sentiments, it would be misleading to assume that Francke initiated contact with England. The key figure in the Francke-Tenison correspondence was undoubtedly Ludolf, the vital go-between, who both turned Tenison's attention to Halle and encouraged Francke not only to send Wigers and Mehder but also to improve upon the idea of Woodroffe's failed Greek college with his own *Collegium Orientale*.

Apart from dispatching his three envoys to England, Francke remained surprisingly aloof from the British scene. Even though he had the honour to be elected the first foreign corresponding member of the SPCK, and though Wigers and Ludolf sent him frequent reminders about the potential importance of the Society, Francke did not make much use of his opportunity. In the very year that the "Great Essay" was written, Boehm had to remind Francke that he had not written to the Society for a long time and that the least he could do was keep up a correspondence with Slare.[13] Although there was frequent

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9 In spite of the financial burden, the Society decided "Nemine Contradicente" to continue. See SPCK *Minutes*, 1 & 15 Feb. 1743 (xix.222,226); cf. Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 129-31.

10 Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 30-32.

11 "... damit zu einer *allgemeinen Verbeßerung in allen Ständen nicht allein in Teutschland und in Europa, sondern auch in den übrigen Theilen der Welt alle gehörige Zubereitung gemacht* und in kurtzer Zeit die gantze Erde mit Erkentniß der Herrn als mit einem Strom lebendiger Waßer bedecket werde." (Podczeck, ed., *Francke ... Der grosse Aufsatz*, p. 154)

12 *Ibid.*, p. 118.

13 Boehm to Francke, London, 24 Sept. 1704, printed in: Sames, p. 180.

mention of the possibility of Francke's coming to England right up until his last years,[14] the journey never occurred. Did he nonetheless influence events privately, through his agents? Erich Beyreuther suggests that Francke entrusted Boehm with secret instructions and that he stood invisibly behind all Boehm's ecumenical thought and activity.[15] But this suggestion must be revised. Certainly both Ludolf and Boehm were avid exponents of Francke and the *Waisenhaus*, but their successes in England were their own doing and happened almost in spite of Francke's inaction and indifference. It was Ludolf who instigated the contacts between England and Halle; it was Boehm who, after taking up his high profile position in the German Royal Chapel and publishing such works as *Pietas Hallensis*, became the one who solidified the relationship.

What attracted these individuals to the SPCK? The linkages came about in part through personal friendships with devout Anglicans – Slare was an important instance. An early letter from Slare to Francke gives evidence of a spirituality with which the Pietists could find accord:

> We have a great deficiency here amongst us of Spiritual Books, and of spiritual teachers, our Pastors are afraid of administring to us much spiritual food, least we digest it into Enthusiasm, and doe what they can to keep us from inquiery after such delights[?], but doe assure us That our safety is well secured in our good moral Performances: yet there are some Thirsty Souls here and there, who have had a Tast of a more spiritual nature and Banquets, These are desirous of yet more Heavenly Discoverys and enjoyments.[16]

Sir John Philipps expresses sentiments to his wife which also reveal aspects of a theology or spirituality favourable to Pietists:

> Wonder not then, my dear Love, at the Concern I shew'd when you were here for our Late Hours, our neglect of Family-Prayer, and the untoward Conversation we had at Epsom, Kensington, etc. the mischiefs whereof (without a constant, regular washing in the fear of God) will never appear in their true light, but when (with holy David) we go into the Sanctuary of the Lord, that is, recollect our dissipated thoughts, and retire into the inmost Center of our minds, where wee shall soon be instructed by the Still Voice, how empty and vain, how dangerous and destructive the ways and Fashion of this World are, and that nothing but an entire and thorough conversion to God from it, and maintaining a constant Communion with Him by Faith and Obedience, can bring Rest and Peace to our Souls: for the soul being heaven-born, has an innate tendency to its original, and is never truely at Ease when disunited from it.[17]

It might have been expected that Pietists would have been drawn more towards Dissent than to the Church. Theologically these Pietists felt a closer

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14 Wigers to Francke, London, 2 Jan. 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.433); Ludolf to Francke, London, 10 Mar. 1701 and 12 May 1702, printed in: Nebe, pp. xxxv,84; Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 26 Oct. 1725 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/33).

15 Beyreuther, *Francke und die Anfänge*, pp. 127f,179f.

16 Slare to Francke, [London?, c.1706] (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.327).

17 Sir John Philipps to Lady Philipps, London, 30 July 1713 (Picton, No.1459).

kinship to Nonconformity and Puritanism than to Anglicanism, but Dissenting influence, despite the Toleration Act, was not great at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Later reformers like Wesley and Howell Harris were well aware that the only way to achieve reformation and renewal on a large scale was through the established Church. The SPCK was a perfect choice. It was Anglican, yet neither sectarian nor High Church, and had provided evidence of its capacity to promote spiritual renewal through its close links to the religious societies. By bringing the Society and Halle together in a common labour of love and charity, Boehm hoped to promote a common Christianity.[18] He found the Society open to suggestion and ready to engage in new ventures.[19] Because it was lay-dominated and a voluntary society, the SPCK was more willing to take risks than its sister Society, which had greater episcopal control. While its royal charter had given the SPG certain privileges, it had also closed certain doors; it was not the SPG but the SPCK which was able to take up the East India mission: "being under no restraints but the Laws of the Land and common Discretion, they gladly embrace'd the opportunity of receiving and remitting succour to those Missionaries."[20]

Why did the SPCK respond so favourably to the approaches of the Halle Pietists, foreigners as they were, and members of a Church without the credentials of episcopacy? It must be pointed out that this relationship developed slowly. Wigers and Mehder visited the Society only once; after that, the Society's connection with Pietist methods employed in the charity schools was indirect, through the work of its agents, especially Charles Bridges. Though the members of the Society expressed interest in Ludolf's proposals for the Eastern Church, no action was taken. *Pietas Hallensis* was an important breakthrough; through its propagation the Society gained a deeper commitment to the charity school idea, came to adopt the subscription method of finance, and disseminated a history of German Pietism. During this whole process, however, Boehm never attended the Society and remained in the background. Slare was the intermediary between Boehm and the SPCK.[21] It was not until 1709 that Boehm became a subscribing member of the SPCK (he was introduced by Chamberlayne) and his first personal contact with the Society was not in relation to either charity schools or Tranquebar but philanthropy in prisons, offering advice on the SPCK's efforts to reform prisons. On 7 September 1710 the Society opened a subscription for the East India mission, beginning the process which resulted in a significant international Christian engagement. By now eleven years had elapsed since Wigers and Mehder first visited the Society, but once the translator of *Pietas Hallensis* had his foot in the door he became a dominant presence within the SPCK.

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18 See pp. 216–20 below.

19 Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 510.

20 Newman to Rev. Mr. Ayerst, Whitehall, 27 Jan. 1713 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/2:3-7]).

21 E.g. SPCK *Minutes*, 29 Nov. 1705 (i.354).

Mutual involvement in the East India mission was critical for SPCK-Halle relations since all that followed was built on the precedents set in 1710. We have already discussed the immediate reasons why the SPCK took on the Tranquebar mission, but now we must consider why the Society was open to Halle influence at all. A number of reasons can be suggested. Eamon Duffy has pointed to the correspondence between the reform movements in England, Switzerland, and Halle, which shared common emphases on education, suppression of immorality, the distribution of inexpensive practical and devotional literature, and the encouragement of philanthropy.[22] But the Society handed its Swiss correspondence over to the SPG in 1702; the theological nature of the discussion about complex issues of the ecclesiology of Church union, was more appropriate to the clergy-influenced SPG and could detract from practical concerns. With Francke, however, the Society maintained a correspondence, which despite being infrequent and rather innocuous, helped prepare the Society for a favourable response to Boehm's initiatives.

Certainly the sense of Protestant unity in Europe was reinforced by the common fear of France and Catholicism, a fear especially common in England after 1688 because of the intermittent warfare with France, which recognized the Catholic claimant to the throne. England adopted a self-conscious role as mother protector of Protestant interests in Europe which still seemed threatened by the aggressive forces of the Counter-Reformation. One of Thomas Bray's chief motives in forming the SPCK and the SPG had been his desire to compete with the Roman Catholic *Propaganda*. White Kennett hoped that the charity schools would be "a Fortress and a Frontier Garrison against Popery".[23] In the 1721 account of the charity school in Cork the hope was expressed that through such schools Catholic children "may be won by our affectionate Endeavours; that the whole Nation may become Protestant and English".[24] Henry Newman shared Bray's fear of Catholicism and in the early 1710s involved the Society in efforts to combat Catholicism in England by gathering information on Catholic activity and encouraging anti-Roman feelings amongst the clergy.[25] But "No Popery" sentiment, though always present, was a force which oscillated greatly and anti-Catholic propaganda was not a major preoccupation of the Society.[26] In the 1730s an anti-Catholic spirit was running high in England and was certainly a prevailing influence in the Society's endeavours

22 "*Correspondence Fraternelle*", pp. 252f; "The SPCK and Europe", p. 33. For a closer comparison of Halle Pietism and the SPCK, see Chapter VIII.

23 *Charity of Schools*, p. 37.

24 *Pietas Corcagiensis*, pp. 10f.

25 Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 27-30; cf. C.M. Haydon, "The Anti-Catholic Activity of the S.P.C.K., c.1698-1740", *Recusant History* 18 (1987), pp. 418-21.

26 *pace* Haydon, "Anti-Catholic Activity", p. 418, who implies a greater involvement than actually existed by stating that the SPCK "acted as an official spearhead in the drive against Catholicism in England."

for the Salzburgers, but on the whole it was of secondary importance and not a dominant factor in the SPCK's links with Halle.

Another reason for the willingness of the SPCK to associate with Halle was the likelihood after the passage of the Act of Settlement in 1701 that a German Lutheran would one day sit on the throne of England. This prospect aroused a growing interest in Germany and the religion of the future Sovereign among many supporters of Hanoverian succession – among them many members of the SPCK.[27] It was not so much that Boehm was Lutheran or Pietist which made him acceptable, but that he was a German Protestant. Boehm's connections to the royal families were also helpful. It cannot be coincidental that what appear to be the only four non-Anglican subscribing members of the SPCK – Mecken, de la Mothe, Boehm, and Ziegenhagen – were all associated with royal chapels.

A significant factor in the Society's favourable disposition towards Halle and especially towards the enterprises which drew its attention away from Britain was the ecclesiastical and religious situation in England after 1714. M.G. Jones suggests that the charity school movement declined in England when the SPCK's attention was diverted from the schools to the East India mission and the Arabic Psalter and New Testament.[28] This claim needs to be revised. Evidence shows that there was a growing anxiety within the Society concerning the state of both the religious societies and many charity schools *before* its attentions moved significantly to foreign fields in the 1720s and 1730s. Already in 1716 the Society had begun to receive reports of schoolmasters drinking to the Pretender's health and speaking scandalously against the King. The SPCK insisted that schoolmasters and schoolmistresses be well affected to the government before it would bestow books or benefactions.[29] Two years later Thomas Bray sent a blistering account to Archbishop Wake describing the degeneration, since Sacheverell's 1709-1710 trial, of most of the thirty religious societies remaining in London, their disaffection to the establishment in Church and State, and the way in which they gravely embarrassed parish clergy by their strident Jacobitism.[30] The fact that Newman felt constrained in 1719 to assure a worried correspondent that "the Charity Schools are still the objects of the Society's care as much as ever" indicates that questions were probably still being raised about their loyalty.[31] Despite this assurance and Newman's later defence of the charity schools from the searing attack of Bernard Mandeville,[32] it is probable that the Society was growing restless with

27 See Ward, "Power and Piety", p. 231.

28 *Charity School Movement*, p. 41.

29 SPCK *Minutes*, 14 June and 6 Sept. 1716 (vii.167,190); cf. [SPCK,] *Circular Letter* (14 Mar. 1717) (Camb., *Baumgartner Papers* 8.IV.II.No.188.[Add.8]).

30 Bray to William Wake, Aldgate, 21 Mar. 1718 (ChCh, *Wake MSS* 15:182-93).

31 Newman to Rev. Tho. Allen, London, 8 Dec. 1719 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/8:83]).

32 Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 92-95.

its normal circle of activity. At such a time new ventures had their attraction. Thus, rather than the SPCK's ventures into foreign missions and large-scale publishing causing the decline of the charity schools, it is more likely that it was the Society's frustration with the schools which rendered it open to the new, less controversial opportunities for mission provided by Boehm.

The final and the most important reason for the willingness of the SPCK to enter into a cooperative relationship with Halle lies in the character of the particular individuals involved in the exchange. Ludolf and Boehm, with their passion for a common, transconfessional Christianity, were unusually irenic spirits, who by their capacity for friendship and their openness of mind were well suited to promote such a cause. Their sphere of friendships contained some of the more influential members of the SPCK, including Frederick Slare, Henry Hoare, Sir John Philipps, Henry Newman, John Chamberlayne, Josiah Woodward, and others. These relationships were often very close. Slare and Hoare both bore witness of their deep respect and love for Ludolf; Boehm died in Slare's home and late continued to correspond frequently with Slare's unmarried sister.[33] Chamberlayne introduced Boehm to the Society and they worked together on both the East India mission and prison reform. Three months after Boehm's death Newman told Cotton Mather in Boston:

> In him [Boehm] I have lost one of my dearest and most intimate Companions and every place where I used to enjoy him seems desolate as if one half of me was gone to the grave. To add no more, for I cannot to this day write of him but with Tears.[34]

Sir John Philipps, probably the most influential member of the Society, who actively involved himself personally in every major SPCK project during his life, had a deep appreciation for Francke's work, visited him in Halle in 1719 with his two sons, Jack and 'Rasmus, corresponded regularly with both Francke and Boehm, and, along with his wife, suffered "a great Loss" at Boehm's death.[35] In addition, the support of Archbishop Wake, with his broad interest in the affairs of Christendom as a whole, should not be overlooked. After the potentially crushing blow of Tenison's attack on the Tranquebar mission, Wake's whole-hearted commitment to the work, including frequent requests to Francke for missionaries, was invigorating. He also gave his unqualified approval to the Arabic Psalter and New Testament and turned the Society's attention to Francke on other occasions. After Boehm's early death, Ziegenhagen carried on his work in the SPCK, of which he was a dedicated

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33 Many of Boehm's letters to Miss Slare are included in *ErBrief*.

34 Newman to Cotton Mather, 31 Aug. 1722, printed in: Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 232.

35 Sir John Philipps to Lady Philipps, Norwich, 12 Aug. 1719 (Picton, No.1469); Newman to Sir Tho. Lowther, Middle Temple, 24 Sept. 1719 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/8]); Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 18 June 1724 and 5 Feb. 1725 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/12,24); Lloyd and Jenkins, ed., *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 755; Slare to Francke, [Bath, 1722] (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.320).

member, using his position to work diligently for the East India mission, the Salzburger emigration, and Muhlenberg and the German Lutherans in America. Though more of a confessional Lutheran than his predecessor, whose charisma and irenic spirit he did not fully share, he carried on well the tradition of a Hallensian in the SPCK.

2. The Decline of SPCK-Halle Relations

Given the catalytic influence of Pietism in the major enterprises of the SPCK in the early eighteenth century, it is necessary to examine the subsequent decline of the connection between the two. Eamon Duffy has posited that the ebb resulted from the development of hostility within the Society to the evangelical "enthusiasm" of the Methodists. So strong was this revulsion from enthusiasm, that Pietism itself was seen in a new light as actually or potentially "enthusiastic".[36] In order to evaluate Dr. Duffy's suggestion, we need briefly to see how A.H. Francke and Halle Pietism were perceived by leaders in the evangelical revival and how both the SPCK and the new generation of leadership in Halle reacted to these evangelicals. It might have been anticipated that the rise of "Methodism" in the late 1730s would perhaps have seen a strengthening of ties between the movement of renewal within Anglicanism and the spirituality of Halle, with which it seemed to have much in common. The question is a large one, which is beginning to attract scholarly attention: it can only be briefly treated here.

Evangelicalism, the SPCK, and Halle

Martin Schmidt, in his monumental "theological biography" of John Wesley, has examined in detail the nature of Lutheran influences on Wesley in the critical early period of his development.[37] The story began (like so much else in Methodism) at Epworth, for when Wesley was a boy his redoubtable mother Susanna read *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, of which she later wrote,

> ... I was, I think, never more affected with anything ... .For several days I could think or speak of little else. At last it came into my mind ... I might do somewhat more than I do. I thought I might pray more for them [the missionaries], and might speak to those with whom I converse with more warmth of affection. I resolved to begin with my own children, in which I observe the following method: I take such a proportion of time as I can spare every night to discourse with each child apart.[38]

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36 Duffy, "The SPCK and Europe", pp. 39-41.

37 M. Schmidt, *John Wesley: A Theological Biography*, 2 vols., trans. N.P. Goldhawk and D. Inman (London, 1962-73), e.g. i.62f,140ff, 305ff.

38 Susanna Wesley to Samuel Wesley, [Epworth,] 6 Feb. 1712, printed in: *Wes Journ* iii.33.

Thursday was Jacky's night, Saturday Charles'. While at Oxford years later John still besought his mother's prayers, writing,

> If you can spare me only that little part of Thursday evening which you formerly bestowed upon me in another matter, I doubt not but it would be as useful now for correcting my heart as it was then for forming my judgement.[39]

His mother's influence here, together with the reports of the Halle missionaries, which Wesley himself later read and appreciated in his Georgia phase,[40] played their part in the formation of Wesley's concern for "inward religion" and for the needs of the "world parish". A Methodist missionary to India in 1817 observed that to Susanna's reading of these accounts "was probably owing the early and continued piety and zeal of her sons".[41] To this indirect influence were added others more direct. Two years *before* his famous voyage to Georgia and his epic encounter with the Moravians, we find Wesley reading Francke's *Nicodemus* three times, his *Manuductio* twice, *Pietas Hallensis*, *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, and Boehm's Several Discourses.[42] These books, with their evangelical stress on faith over law, probably helped to prepare Wesley for his subsequent encounter with the Moravians. No doubt the Moravian Brethren had a greater catalytic influence on Wesley at a critical juncture than the Hallensians, but Halle Pietism nevertheless had an enduring influence on his life through its literary products.[43] His favourite among Francke's works was *Nicodemus,* to which he often turned in Georgia and of which he swiftly prepared an abridgement when he returned to England.[44] Though Wesley visited Halle twice, on his way to and from Herrnhut, and was impressed with the orphanage,[45] a more significant influence on the eclectic pattern of his theology and piety was probably wrought through the medium of the written word, exemplified by his own reading and by his inclusion in his *Christian Library*, that extraordinary "*Readers Digest*" of centuries of Christian spirituali-

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39 John Wesley to his mother, Lincoln College, 28 Feb. 1732, printed in: *Wes Lett* i.119f.

40 Boltzius to [G.A. Francke?], [Ebenezer,] 29 July 1737, quoted in: K. Zehrer, "The Relationship between Halle and Early Methodism", trans. J.A. Dwyer, *Methodist History* 17 (1979), p. 214.

41 James Lynch, 1817, quoted in: Foster, "Ecumenical Significance of Boehm", p. 117 (source unknown).

42 V.H.H. Green, *The Young Mr. Wesley* (London, 1961), Appendix I, Wesley's Reading, 1725-34, pp. 316-19. In Georgia he also read Arndt's *True Christianity* and Rambach's *Memoirs of Boehm*. (*Wes Journ*, 4, 23, & 31 Mar. 1736 [i.175,186,190]) For Wesley's lasting remembrance of Boehm, see Wesley to Philothea Briggs, Bristol, 31 Aug. 1772, printed in: *Wes Lett*, v.337-38; cf. Wes Journ, 3-5 Mar. 1776 (vi.98); Wesley to Miss March, near London, 10 Dec. 1777, printed in: Wes Lett, vi.292-93. For his respect for A.H. Francke, see Wes Journ, 24 July 1738 (ii.16-17); Wesley to Mary Bishop, Bristol, 19 Sept. 1773, printed in: Wes Lett, vi.43-44.

43 For another example of this literary connection with Wesley, see p. 140 above.

44 E.g. *Wes Journ*, 18 Nov. 1735, 8 Dec. 1736, 12 Aug. 1737 (i.121,301,379) and 30 May 1739 (ii.206).

45 *Wes Journ*, 24 July 1738 (ii.17); cf. 19 Aug. 1738 (ii.58).

ty, of works by Arndt and Boehm.[46] It is noticeable that almost every English work chosen by Boehm to be translated into German was later included by Wesley in the *Christian Library*.

As Dr. Geoffrey Nuttall has recently reminded us, Halle left its mark on other leaders of the Evangelical Revival.[47] *Pietas Hallensis* became the model for George Whitefield's famous Bethesda orphanage in America: he resolved in all respects "to imitate Professor Frank", hoping that the orphanage "may rightly be stiled *Pietas Georgiensis*, and like the *Pietas Hallensis*, or Professor *Franck*'s Orphanage at *Glaucha* near *Hall*, become the Joy of the whole Earth".[48] His *Continuation of the Account of the Orphan House* published a year later was only partly given to his own Bethesda work; most of it consisted of extracts from *Pietas Hallensis*.[49] To the end of his life Whitefield frankly acknowledged his debt to Pietism in this important enterprise.[50] He established friendships with numerous Halle Pietists, including the Ebenezer pastors, chaplains and assistants at the Royal Chapel, G.A. Francke in Halle, and Muhlenberg in Pennsylvania.[51] His sharp breach with the Moravians, against whom he wrote sternly in 1753,[52] owed something to Pietist influence as well as to pressure from New England Congregationalists. In England, Ziegenhagen reinforced Whitefield's anti-Moravian feelings and, according to a report by one of the chaplain's assistants, used his "good counsel" to help Whitefield repel the efforts of Count Zinzendorf to take away his tabernacle "by cunning",[53] a reference to the secession of John Cennick and many others to the Moravians in the mid-1740s.[54]

Halle left a similar mark on Wales, particularly through Griffith Jones of Llandowror.[55] Best known for the extensive network of circulating schools which he established in Wales – an important landmark in the development of

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46 He included *True Christianity*, including Boehm's Preface, and Nicodemus.

47 "Continental Pietism and the Evangelical Movement", pp. 207-36.

48 Whitefield, *An Account of Money Received and Disbursed for the Orphan-House in Georgia* (London, 1741), pp. 1,9.

49 George Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Account of the Orphan House in Georgia … . To which are also subjoined some extracts from an Account of a work of a like Nature carried on by the late Professor Franck in Glaucha near Hall in Saxony* (Edinburgh, 1742).

50 See "Sermon LVII. Preached … on January 28, 1770", in: Whitefield, *Works*, vi.381-86.

51 *Muhl Journ*, 24 Sept. 1763 (i.674f); Whitefield to Ziegenhagen, Philadelphia, 15 Oct. 1764 (copy) (MArFrSt 4 C 13:4); Zehrer, "Relationship between Pietism and Methodism", pp. 217ff.

52 George Whitefield, *An Expostulatory Letter, Addressed to Nicholas Lewis, Count Zinzendorff* (London, 1753).

53 "Auch suchet der Herr Graf die Kirche die der Herr Wiedfield [*sic*] erbauet hate Tabernacel genanet, mit List an sich zu ziehen. Da es aber der Herr Wiedfield erfahren, und den Herren Hofpredig[er] um guten Raht in dieser Sache gebeten, so hat er ihm solchen Raht ertheilet daß dem Herren Graf sein Vorhehmen nicht gelingen wird." (J.D. Noht to [Fabricius], Kensington, 23 Jan. 1750 [*Nachlaß* 30.III.165])

54 L. Tyerman, *The Life of George Whitefield*, 2 vols. (London, 1876-77), ii.148.

55 Nuttall, "Continental Pietism", pp. 213-17.

Welsh culture – we have already encountered him in reference to the East India mission. Jones was in correspondence with Boehm, but it was probably through his brother-in-law, Sir John Philipps, that he gained his close knowledge of Francke's work. His indebtedness to *Pietas Hallensis* and the Halle orphanage as a model for his schools is clearly seen in the title chosen for his annual reports on the circulating schools: *Welch Piety*. It is also reflected in Jones' first report, which echoes the theme of providential guidance – divine "footsteps" – characteristic of *Pietas Hallensis*:

> It is not in the least distrusted, but that the Almighty, All-wise and Gracious Disposer of all Things, whose Providence alone, by Means of his own Servants, raised, and hitherto supported, *these schools*, will yet provide for them.[56]

Years later Jones could report on the success of the enterprise despite having "begun with less than Forty Shillings", in a close and obvious comparison to the humble beginnings of Francke's work.[57] His theological principles are similar to Francke's in their belief in the sufficiency of Scripture as a rule of faith, and in the value of the Bible as a self-evidencing agency of conversion and evangelism. "Sound piety", he wrote, "must ever be founded in the sound Knowledge of God's holy Will, revealed in the holy Scriptures, which will lead us to all Truth we need to know for our Salvation."[58] Halle's influence extended even further, as evidenced by a scornful comment by John Evans:

> Mr. Jones having, from first to last, employed some scores of these *Runaway Servants and Apprentices*, in keeping his *Schools*, or carrying his *Books* after the *Methodist Preachers* about the Country, had bethought himself of *rewarding* their *Services* with *Holy Orders* in the *Church of England*; to qualify them for which, He set up a kind of *Dutch Academy* in the Village of *Llandowror*.[59]

"Dutch" [*Deutsch*] is certainly a reference to Francke's German work, though it remains unclear whether the academy was in fact a training school for teachers[60] or merely "an intermediate step – a school for adults".[61] Since his brother-in-law Sir John Philipps had long evinced an interest in establishing a training college for lay school teachers in England on the Halle model,[62] it is

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56 [Griffith Jones] to?, Landowror, 16 Aug. 1739, printed in: [Griffith Jones,] *Welsh Piety* (1740), p. 23.

57 *Welch Piety*, 1951-52, p. 23. F.A. Cavenagh, *The Life and Work of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror* (Cardiff, 1930), p. 37n, says that the following year the comparison to Francke is drawn explicitly.

58 *Welch Piety*, 1951-52, pp. 18f.

59 John Evans, *Sketch of the Life of Griffith Jones*, p. 99, quoted in: Cavenagh, Griffith Jones, pp. 46f.

60 Cavenagh, *Griffith Jones*, p. 47.

61 R.T. Jenkins in: M.H. Jones, *The Trevecka Letters*, ed. R.T. Jenkins (Caernarvon, 1932), p. 218 n26.

62 See pp. 81f, 95f above.

quite certain that Griffith Jones' academy was at least a training institute, drawing its inspiration likewise from Halle.

Griffith Jones is of particular interest as one of the few Anglican clergy who provide continuity in the Reformed, Calvinistic tradition during the long "tunnel period" between the reign of Anne and the outbreak of the Evangelical Revival. Among Nonconformists, Isaac Watts has a not dissimilar role, since he lived long enough to greet – somewhat cautiously and critically – the advent of "Methodism".[63] Though Watts knew Boehm only through correspondence and his works, his impression was still strong enough for him to write the recommendation to the English edition of Boehm's *Memoirs* twelve years after his death.[64] In the same year Watts published his *Reliquiae Juveniles*, using Boehm as an example of a *via media* between the Church of England and Nonconformity with regard to forms of prayer.[65] In 1722, when J.C. Jacobi, the head of the German bookshop and "Chapel Keeper" at the Royal Chapel, wrote to inform Francke of Boehm's death, he included a copy of a letter from Watts, a part of which was published by Rambach in Boehm's *Memoirs* and in which he declared, in a remarkable encomium,

> There are but few such Men in the Ministry, British or German, Episcopal or Presbyterian, etc. I am sorry the World and the Church has sustained so heavy a Stroke, and that I have lost such a Friend, whom I had just begun to know by epistolury [*sic*] Converse.[66]

Not printed in the *Memoirs* but included in Jacobi's manuscript letter was a moving elegy composed by Watts in Boehm's memory:

> Our dearest William Boehm now rests in Jesus Bosom,
> Whose Sacred Love was here his living Element;
> [His] blessed Root sprung up and shew'd its fairest Blossom
> When at the Call of God his Thread of Life was rent.
>
> His World-despising Mind gave Proof, this inward Temple
> Far greater Store possest, than all the World cou'd give;
> No Cross diverted him from following Christs Exampel,
> With whom he every Morn resolv'd to die and live.
>
> The Faith of Abraham, Young Isaac's Resignation,
> Stout Jacobs Victory, good Joseph's Godly Fear,

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63 Nuttall, "Continental Pietism", pp. 223-27.

64 Isaac Watts, Recommendation (20 Nov. 1734) to Memoirs of Boehm, pp. xiii-xvi. This recommendation is not listed in the bibliography given by A.P. Davis, *Isaac Watts, His Life and Works* (1943), pp. 279-81.

65 Isaac Watts, Recommendation to *Memoirs of Boehm*, p. xv; see pp. 43f above.

66 Watts to [J.C. Jacobi], London, in: Jacobi to Francke, London, 15 May 1722 (ArFrSt 149:19c-d); Rambach, *Memoirs of Boehm*, pp. 40-41.

Meek Moses's Patience read in Boehms sweet Conversation
And learn by his to end thy Christianlike Carreer.[67]

Anglican Evangelicals too were attracted to Halle Pietism. When a friend was suffering from a "Fear of Man", James Hervey (1714–1758), the former Oxford Methodist,[68] suggested that he "every Day for the next Month, read some Part of Professor *Franck's Nicodemus*, or *The Fear of Man*".[69] Writing in about 1758 he recommended *Nicodemus* and *A Short Introduction to the Practice of the Christian Religion*, remarking of their author, "I think him one of the most eminent Christians, and most extraordinary Men I ever heard of, as his *Pietas Hallensis*, which I read with Admiration and deep Humility, sufficiently demonstrates."[70]

Some years later, John Thornton (1720–90), Baltic merchant and the "Nuffield of the Evangelical Revival", friend and benefactor to the first generation of Evangelicals,[71] established an interesting personal contact with the orphanage at Halle. In 1767 his cousin, John Crosse, later famous as the blind Evangelical vicar of Bradford,[72] found himself at Halle during a three-year extended journey to the Continent, where he received from both John and Lucie Thornton edifying and admonishing letters, because, as Thornton later told G.A. Francke, Crosse had no "sence of eternal Things" when he left England.[73] The following year the Thorntons sent their eldest son Samuel (later director of the Bank of England for 53 years) to Halle for part of his education.[74] As John Thornton explained to G.A. Francke:

> ... it was in the conviction of your (too uncommon) Care in endeavouring through the blessing of God to ground the Christian Religion in the heart at the same time as you procured for your Students every advantage of learning and Conduct, that induced me to place him so far from under my Eye.[75]

Behind the Thorntons' decision lay the continuing regard in England for A.H. Francke, "whose memory must be precious to all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity".[76] To the Evangelical mind, such a "burning and

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67 Watts to [Jacobi], in: Jacobi to Francke, 22 May 1722 (ArFrSt A 149: 19c–d). To my knowledge this poem has not previously appeared in print.

68 See L. Tyerman, *The Oxford Methodists* (London, 1873), pp. 201–333.

69 James Hervey, *A Collection of the Letters Of the late Reverend James Hervey, A.M.*, 2 vols. (London, 1760), No. XCII (ii.325–27).

70 *Ibid.*, No. XCVI (ii.334–49).

71 See *DNB* entry under Henry Thornton (xix.781).

72 *DNB* (v.224f).

73 John Thornton to [Crosse], Clapham, 24 Jan. 1767 (copy); Lucie Thornton to [Crosse], Clapham, 14 Oct. 1767 (copy); John Thornton to [Fabricius], Clapham, 18 Mar. 1768 (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.342–43,346–48,353–56).

74 *DNB* (xix.786f).

75 John Thornton to G.A. Francke, Clapham, 13 May 1768 (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.360f).

76 John Thornton to G.A. Francke, Clapham, 22 Mar. 1768 (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.359).

shining light" served to highlight the poor state of the contemporary Church of England, in which

..among all our Christian Bishops I am afraid there is not one that knows our Immanuel, but yet blessed be God he raises up Witnesses in our National Church and confounds the Devices of those that would silence them.[77]

But it would be misleading to leave the story at this point. If Hallensian example continued to inspire devout English men and women touched by the evangelical movement, the Revival itself drew ambivalent and even critical reactions from mid-eighteenth-century members of the SPCK-Halle axis, as it continued into a later generation. The SPCK, though some of its early members had been attracted to the conception of "inward piety" and renewal, was initially uncertain and soon openly hostile to "Methodism". By 1739 the older generation of leaders was dying off, and the piety of the new seems to have possessed more of that static, "stiff" quality (to use Owen Chadwick's words), which increasingly characterized much High Church spirituality in a great deal of the remainder of the century. Eamon Duffy has shown convincingly the conservative change within the Society, especially after the deaths of Sir John Philipps (d.1737) and Henry Newman (d.1743), the two most dominant figures in the SPCK during the 1720s and 1730s. To begin with, the Society responded favourably to the rise of the evangelical revival; Sir John Philipps supported the Holy Club in Oxford, provided a stipend for Whitefield, and participated in the Fetter Lane Society.[78] By 1746, however, the Society added to its books for correspondents an anti-evangelical tract and in 1762 a special category "Against Enthusiasm" was added to its list of books.[79] The emotional exuberance of the early Methodists, the disregard of their leaders for the rules of Church order, and the infiltration of Methodist "enthusiasm" into many religious societies, especially in London and Bristol, deeply alarmed many devout churchmen.[80] Though one or two Evangelical laymen like John Thornton became members of the SPCK, they were not able to wield the influence Philipps and Newman had; the Society was increasingly dominated by clergy rather than laity and became an appendage to the established Church of England. Newman's place as secretary was filled by a clergyman, Thomas Broughton (1712-1777), who, though an early Oxford Methodist and one-time friend of Whitefield, remained committed to the ascetic piety of the original "Holy Club"[81] and fell in line with the SPCK's moralistic and practical bent, which steadily dampened down the zeal and

77 John Thornton to [Fabricius?], Clapham, 6 June 1769 (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.373).

78 J. Clayton to J. Wesley, Oxford, 4 Sept. 1732, and Sir John Thorold to Wesley, London, 24 May 1736, printed in: *Wes Journ*, viii.278-81,298-302; Shankland, "Sir John Philipps", pp. 93-100.

79 Duffy, "The SPCK and Europe", p. 40.

80 Walsh, "Religious Societies", pp. 284-86.

81 Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists*, pp. 334-60.

passion so evident in the early decades of the Society.[82] Growing uneasiness regarding the non-episcopal ordination of the East India missionaries gives further evidence of the higher clerical influence in the SPCK in the last half of the eighteenth century.

Considering the emphasis within evangelicalism on conversion and inward regeneration and the affection with which the elder Francke was held by evangelical leaders, one might assume that the leading Halle Pietists would have established a cordial relationship with the evangelical movement. However, G.A. Francke and to a lesser degree Ziegenhagen displayed a remarkable caution towards the Methodists. In the 1730s and 1740s Wesley's early links with the Moravian Brethren meant that Halle looked at him suspiciously, particularly when in his Journal he published the Moravian Spangenberg's account of his break with Halle[83] – which the Hallensians felt to be grossly inaccurate.[84] Though Boltzius and Gronau developed a friendship with Wesley in Georgia, they felt certain that he would go over to the Brethren, which would render him useless in God's service.[85] Francke, therefore, would have little to do with Wesley, though he received him graciously in Halle,[86] perhaps (as James Hutton believed) because he hoped to use the opportunity to prejudice Wesley against Zinzendorf.[87] After Wesley publicly broke with the Moravians the situation improved somewhat, and Francke requested and received from Ziegenhagen some of his writings. Nonetheless, the response of Halle to Wesley remained measured.[88]

Initially Whitefield seems to have been more in favour with Halle. He corresponded with Francke, raised money for the Ebenezer community, and was friendly with Ziegenhagen in London.[89] But there were major points of difference, too. The Pietists did not agree with his open air preaching.[90] They were saddened by his adoption of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination.[91] In 1750 an associate of Ziegenhagen at the Royal Chapel, reporting to Halle on the Methodist awakening, could see little difference in doctrine between the Methodists and Pietism except Whitefield's belief in predestination, which, he

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82 Duffy, "The SPCK and Europe", pp. 40f; Cowie, *Newman*, pp. 261f.

83 *Wes Journ*, 9 Feb. 1736 (i.152-55).

84 Ziegenhagen to G.A. Francke, [London,] 17 June 1736, quoted in: Zehrer, "Relationship between Pietism and Methodism", pp. 213f.

85 Boltzius and Gronau to?, [Ebenezer,] 20 Jan. 1738, quoted in: Zehrer, "Relationship between Pietism and Methodism", pp. 213-16.

86 *Wes Journ*, 19 Aug. 1738 (ii.58).

87 D. Benham, ed., *Memoirs of James Hutton* (London, 1856), p. 40.

88 Zehrer, "Relationship between Pietism and Methodism", p. 217.

89 On Ziegenhagen's links with Whitefield, see, for example, Ziegenhagen to [Selina, Countess of Huntington], Bath, 4 June 1752 (Hunt Lib, HA 13714); H.M. Muhlenberg to Ziegenhagen, [Philadelphia, 15 Nov. 1763,] printed in: *Muhl Korres*, iii.127.

90 Zehrer, "Relationship between Pietism and Methodism", pp. 217-23.

91 See pp. 174f above. Zehrer, "Relationship between Pietism and Methodism", does not mention this dislike for Whitefield's doctrinal stance.

stated hopefully, "at the suggestion of the court preacher Ziegenhagen, Mr. Whitefield may drop".[92] Yet Ziegenhagen's influence with Whitefield was limited and despite their friendship, the reception afforded him by Halle was polite but cool. Any communication between them was initiated from the side of Whitefield. Halle did not appear to take the Methodist movement seriously.[93] It is noticeable that no Methodist work appeared off Halle presses.

There was, by contrast, a significant literary exchange between Watts and Halle.[94] On one side, the Pietists in 1727 published a German edition of Watts' *Death and Heaven* (which had so impressed A.H. Francke that he had ordered it translated). On the other side, a letter written by A.H. Francke on preaching was sent by his son to Watts, was translated into English by David Jennings, and added in 1736 to the third edition of his brother John's *Two Discourses* on preaching, with a recommendation by Watts. Watts in turn dispatched this publication straight away back to G.A. Francke, who gave the discourses "a very high Encomium", had them translated into German, and inserted them in a monthly collection of papers "for the Advancement of Religion".[95] The following year Watts' *The Redeemer and the Sanctifier* (1736), for which Ziegenhagen expressed particular esteem, was translated into German and published at Halle.[96] The reserve and uncertainty with which Wesley and Whitefield were treated by Halle is absent in its relations with Watts.

Conclusions

The early links of the Methodists to the Moravian Brethren led to irreparable damage to any close ties between the early evangelical movement and Halle. As long as the Methodists were connected to Zinzendorf, Ziegenhagen certainly encouraged anti-Methodist feelings within the Society. He joined Thomas Broughton in spreading anti-Moravian pamphlets through the religious societies; he also influenced John Thorold, one of the early benefactors of Methodism, against the Brethren.[97] It is equally probable that the anti-Methodist resolve of the SPCK reinforced the caution expressed by Francke and Ziegenhagen towards the Methodists. As an active and committed member of the SPCK until his death in 1776, Ziegenhagen was primarily interested

92 "... doch aber auf Vorstellung des Herren Hofprediger Ziegenhagen ... zu Lehren unterlaßen." (J.D. Noht to [Fabricius], 23 Jan 1750 [*Nachlaß* 30.III.164])

93 Zehrer, "Relationship between Pietism and Methodism", p. 224. It would appear that Muhlenberg in Pennsylvania reacted more favourably to Whitefield and his preaching. (See Muhlenberg to Ziegenhagen, [Philadelphia, 15 Nov. 1763], printed in: *Muhl Korres*, iii.127)

94 Nuttall, "Continental Pietism", pp. 223-27.

95 David Jennings, Preface to A.H. Francke's "Letter", appended to John Jennings, *Two Discourses*, 4th edn. (Boston, 1740), pp. 57f.

96 Isaac Watts, *Versöhnopfer Christi*, trans. J.H. Grischow, with an Introduction by J.A. Steinmetz (Halle, 1737); Ziegenhagen to Isaac Watts, Kensington, 20 Oct. 1736 (ArFrSt C 504:16).

97 Benham, ed., *Memoirs* of James Hutton, pp. 82,110.

in the East India mission, the Ebenezer community, and Muhlenberg's efforts in Pennsylvania; he did not wish to do anything to hurt those ventures within the SPCK. As the most visible English representative of Halle Pietism, to align himself with the Methodists would have damaged his solid reputation in the SPCK.

Watts and Thornton, on the other hand, could be perceived differently. Watts' primary exchanges with Halle took place before the outbreak of Methodism and he had himself reacted swiftly to the fanatical extremes within Methodism. Though a Dissenter who himself held to a mild doctrine of predestination, he was much more sober and restrained than the enthusiastic and unpredictable Whitefield. Thornton was an Anglican Evangelical and member of the SPCK; though highly critical of the established Church, his status as a member of the Society made him much more acceptable to Halle.

Of primary importance in the weakening of SPCK-Halle connections was the death of first generational leadership. From the English side Philipps and Newman deserve first mention, but Slare and Archbishop Wake should not be ignored. When Newman informed the missionaries in Tranquebar of the deaths of Sir John Philipps and William Wake, he wrote, "May it please God to supply their places with persons of equal Zeal and Abilities as they had."[98] Alas, these friends proved to be irreplaceable. The change in the SPCK after the loss of its key lay leaders was mirrored in Halle, which declined to become but a shadow of its golden age under A.H. Francke. Neither Ziegenhagen nor G.A. Francke had the creative genius or the charisma of their predecessors, though they held the same high-profile positions. The character of Halle Pietism became more confessional and withdrawn, less animated. This was clearly evidenced by its negativism and animosity toward the Moravian Brethren. While the fervour and adventure of the earlier years disappeared, the *ordo salutis* was ossified into a perfunctory three-stage process of *göttlich Rührung, Bußkampf,* and *Durchbruch*,[99] against which Zinzendorf had already reacted during his student years at Halle. The year 1740 saw the introduction of Wolffian philosophy into the university at Halle; rationalism and the Enlightenment squeezed dry the emotional ardour of Pietism. The elder Francke's international perspective became increasingly national as Pietism was used by a developing Prussian authoritarianism to further its own extension of state power.[100] It is no coincidence that those evangelicals who were attracted to Halle Pietism were by and large drawn to A.H. Francke and Boehm, i.e. to the first generation of Pietist leadership in Halle and England; the Pietism to which they responded was that encountered through the publications of

98 Newman to Dal, Bosse, Pressier, and Walther, 8 Feb. 1737 (ArSPCK, *Letters to India* [ME/CS2]).

99 Peschke, "Speners Wiedergeburtslehre und Franckes Lehre von der Bekehrung", pp. 222f.

100 See M. Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 153-73.

Boehm. The effect of Halle Pietism on the evangelical revival was primarily literary – not personal, as had been the case earlier with the SPCK. It was mediated through the generous spirit of Boehm.

Our findings would thus partly support Eamon Duffy's assessment of the decline of Halle-SPCK cooperation. He is no doubt correct in declaring that evangelicals became the strongest exponents of Francke and Halle Pietism in England and that the SPCK adopted an anti-Methodist, anti-enthusiasm stance as it became much more of "an episcopally-directed agency of the most insular Church in Europe".[101] However, Duffy probably overstates his case by implying that the decline of Halle-SPCK relations was due to the fact that in the Anglican mind, the Pietists had become associated with evangelical enthusiasts. His suggestion that Watts was chosen to recommend Boehm's *Memoirs* because Halle's closest contacts were now outside the established Church, implies nothing about SPCK-Halle ties; given Watts' personal connections to both Boehm and the translator J.C. Jacobi, no other person need be sought. Nor is there evidence connecting the introduction of the category "Against Enthusiasm" in the Society's annual report of 1762 with the dropping of Francke's *Christus Sacrae Scriptae Nucleus* two years later;[102] in 1771 the Society issued the eighth edition of Boehm's *Plain Directions for Reading the Holy Scriptures* which was then included in its catalogues for several years. There was no sharp break here in Anglican-Hallensian relations. It must be remembered that both Ziegenhagen and his associate F.W. Pasche continued as regular members of the SPCK and protected Halle interests. The SPCK did not cool to Halle Pietism *per se*; it was the decline of Halle, and the increasing insularity on both sides of the Channel, together with the more conservative, official character of the SPCK which prevented any new ventures from forthcoming.[103]

In closing, it is worth remembering and emphasizing that despite the changed nature of the SPCK it continued into the nineteenth century to request from Halle and to send out German Lutheran missionaries, a practice which was taken up also by the Evangelicals' Church Missionary Society.[104] The SPCK faithfully paid and corresponded with the Lutheran pastors at Ebenezer up to the American Revolution. Even thereafter, when it withdrew

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101 Duffy, "The SPCK and Europe", p. 41.

102 *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

103 This is not to deny Duffy's main thesis that J.A. Urlsperger's requests fell on deaf ears within the SPCK because of its different character; our only purpose is to question the links between Halle Pietism and enthusiastic evangelicalism in the thinking of the Society.

104 See T.T. Biddulph, *A Letter to the Rev. Fountain Elwin* (Bristol, 1818), p. 22, an Evangelical who "always lamented the necessity of employing Lutheran clergymen [in the CMS], because I consider that there is an irregularity in the ordinations of the Lutheran Church: but their employment is sanctioned by high example, as the Bartlett's Buildings Society [SPCK] has employed *none other* Missionaries than such Clergymen".

its official support of the Georgian Germans, the Society responded favourably to a request from F.W. Pasche in 1779 to send some books published from the manuscripts of Ziegenhagen to the people of Ebenezer, "who on Account of their late sufferings and distresses are unable to pay for the same".[105] This continued involvement may by now have become largely traditional – a matter of administrative habit – but in 1811 the Society was able to look back with pride, in an anniversary year, on one hundred years of cooperative involvement in India.

105 SPCK *Minutes*, 11 May 1779 (xxviii.246); cf. 15 June 1779 (xxviii.255f).