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1. The Early Years of the Charity School Movement

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Chapter III

"After the orphan house manner as much as possible": Halle Pietism and the Charity School Movement

In about 1711 John Trevese, an Englishman studying at Halle, asked A.H. Francke for wisdom "in ordering the course of my studies", since his intention was to prepare himself to manage a charity school in England when he returned, "and that after the Orphan House manner as much as possible".[1] The significance of the charity school movement for the education of poor children is well attested: in the words of its major modern historian, these schools, despite their flaws, "provided tens of thousands of children in the eighteenth century with their only means of instruction".[2] But what is too little understood and appreciated is the role Halle Pietism had in the origins, organization, and animation of this movement. Largely using manuscript sources in the *A.H. Francke* Nachlaß in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, our purpose in this chapter is to highlight the German influences on this movement, bringing them to the attention of English scholarship for the first time. It will become apparent that the charity school movement would not have developed as it did apart from the contributions of Halle and Pietist representatives in London.

1. The Early Years of the Charity School Movement

The SPCK and the Charity School Movement

The roots of popular education in England go back to the seventeenth century when endowed elementary schools were formed. However, when many poor could not afford the fee for these schools, there developed a movement to provide free education for these children.[3] In 1688 Thomas Tenison, rector of St. Martin in the Fields, and Simon Patrick, the Dean of Peterborough, noting that two small free schools had been already formed, agreed to create another school for the boys in the parishes of St. Martin in the Fields and Covent

1 John Trevese to A.H. Francke, [Halle, c.1711] (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.376f).

2 Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, p. 344. This account, first published in 1938, remains unsurpassed.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-27.

Garden. Masters would be provided and children maintained free of charge so long as parents did not abuse this charity.[4] These free schools, established to counteract the Roman Catholic school in the Savoy,[5] were the prototypes of the charity schools, the first of which were instituted in the late 1690s.[6] By the summer of 1699 seven or eight schools had been started in parts of London and Westminster with 30-50 poor children in each school.[7]

From the beginning the charity schools were associated with the religious societies. In Josiah Woodward's *Account* of the religious societies the twelfth of fifteen "Orders of the Society" was that "each Member shall encourage the *catechizing* of young and ignorant People in their respective Families according to their Stations and Abilities".[8] One of the early charity school leaders informed Francke of their first schools and that "the Charge hereof is defrayed by some of the Religious Societies, and other Christians who voluntarily subscribe towards it".[9] Through another leader Francke had learned of "a particular Society of Gentlemen concerned in the promoting this very design in all places of England".[10] Given the connection of the charity schools to the religious societies, it is not surprising that the SPCK became integrally linked with them.

The SPCK coordinated the opening of numerous schools in London and aroused public interest in the charity schools. In the metropolitan area the Society usually interacted with the schools through their "Agents for Schools", three of the most prominent being Charles Bridges, Samuel Mitchell, and a Mr. Skeate.[11] Bridges was the most frequent early visitor to the Society, reporting on the efforts within parishes to establish schools and relaying information from the SPCK to parishes and religious societies.[12] Through its network of correspondents the SPCK stimulated interest in charity schools throughout Britain. The Society itself provided only limited financial resources,[13] though it contributed to the movement through its network of correspondents and charity school agents both the subscription method of

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4 Broadsheet with handwritten date of 14 Apr. 1688 (Lambeth MSS 952:80); [Journal] of Extraordinary Envoy Van-Dyckveld, 30 Apr. 1688 (BL, Add.34510:115b).

5 [Journal] of Van-Dyckveld, 19 Dec. 1687 and 6 & 30 Apr. 1688 (BL, Add. 34510:67, 110f,115b).

6 White Kennett, *The Charity of Schools for Poor Children Recommended in a Sermon ... May 16. 1706* (London, 1706), p. 32.

7 Samuel Mitchell to Francke, London, 15 Aug. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIV.568).

8 Woodward, *Account of the Religious Societies*, p. 129.

9 Samuel Mitchell to Francke, 15 Aug. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIV.568).

10 Charles Bridges to Francke, London, 7 May 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.673).

11 SPCK *Minutes*, 18 May 1699 and 22 Feb. 1700, printed in: McClure, pp. 24,50-51; 18 Dec. 1718 (viii.211).

12 E.g. SPCK *Minutes*, 25 Jan. 1700, printed in: McClure, p. 43.

13 On 8 June 1699 Josiah Woodward reported on a charity school at Poplar "where twelve Scholars are taught at the Charge of the Society and four by him". (SPCK *Minutes*, printed in: McClure, p. 26)

finance and administration[14] and the charity school service and sermon. When subscriptions to a charity school were insufficient, a sermon or lecture was given after which a collection was taken at the door. In addition to these local sermons, the Society itself began in 1704 to hold a yearly charity school service and sermon, at which a collection was taken and after which the sermon was published. This tradition, which continued yearly until 1877, kept the schools before the public and the subscribers.

For the first quarter of the eighteenth century the SPCK coordinated the charity school movement which spread from London and Westminster to much of the British Isles. In 1725 the Society reported that the 1597 charity schools established in London and south Britain had provided education for 32,810 children.[15] W.K. Lowther Clarke, defending the SPCK from criticism that in the 1720s it relinquished its role as overseer of the movement,[16] has argued that "there is no evidence to show either that education of poor children ever was its primary objective or that it had the power to lead the country".[17] It is difficult in this matter to draw conclusions based on a perusal of the Society's *Minutes*; however, the testimonies of contemporaries provide solid indication that not only were charity schools the "Darling Employment" of the SPCK,[18] but the members of the Society were the "chief promoters" of this design in England.[19] Though it may not have created the institution, the crucial role played by the SPCK in the expansion of the charity school movement should not be underestimated.[20]

Bridges and Mitchell, Wigers and Mehder

M.G. Jones suggests that the news of Francke's work at Halle "exercised a remarkable influence upon the charity school movement in England, Wales and Ireland" and that when the SPCK wanted to organize an education movement for the poor, "it was the religious discipline on the German pattern which they commended as a cure".[21] In spite of this recognition the signifi-

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14 See pp. 97–98 below.

15 Account of the charity schools appended to: William Berriman, *The Excellency and Reward of Charity. A Sermon Preach'd ... May the 20th, 1725* (London, 1725), p. 43. Joan Simon, "From charity school to workhouse in the 1720s: The SPCK and Mr Marriott's solution", *History of Education* 17 (1988), pp. 113f, argues that the Society's statistics for counties like Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire are inflated and unreliable. However, Geoffrey Holmes, *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society, 1680-1730* (London, 1982), pp. 53f, asserts that there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the SPCK's statistics for the metropolitan area and that its ledger for distant counties, though not as accurate, probably erred on the low rather than the high side.

16 Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 59.

17 Clarke, *History SPCK*, p. 29.

18 Chamberlayne to Francke, Westminster, 29 July 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.XXVI. 847).

19 Newman to Princess Sophia, [London,] 3 Aug. 1713, printed in: Clarke, *Eighteenth Century Piety*, p. 77.

20 *pace* Simon, "From charity school to workhouse", pp. 128f.

21 *Charity School Movement*, pp. 37f.

cance of Halle Pietism within the charity school movement has not been well documented.

The first educational contacts between Halle and England were mediated through Ludolf. Already in 1696 Ludolf had personally visited both Bishop Compton of London and Archbishop Tenison of Canterbury.[22] Tenison, a key advocate of the voluntary societies,[23] had his attention turned by Ludolf to Francke. In 1699 one of Francke's associates at Halle, Johann D. Herrnschmid, told his father

> For some time he [Ludolf] mediated a literary intercourse by the revered Francke with the Archbishop of London. Thus, among other things, something about the methods of the Glaucha *Pedagogium* became known to this man [the Archbishop], and since it was recommended to him, he asked the revered Francke for two zealous men, by whom every method of the *Pedagogium* had been properly examined: he will carefully use these men to provide some similar arrangement.[24]

Later, Herrnschmid added that after the two students had arrived in England, the same person had asked Francke for yet another student. Francke had sounded out Herrnschmid about going, so Herrnschmid turned to his parents for counsel, but asked them to tell no one about the possibility, lest it be judged unfavourably if word should get out.[25] These comments provide the only extant evidence of a correspondence between Francke and Tenison, yet there is no reason to doubt their accuracy. Francke hoped to propagate his educational reforms throughout Europe and the growing interest in schools for the poor in England, of which Tenison gave proof before his promotion to Canterbury, gave Francke an official outlet for expansion. He did not want word of these arrangements to become public, lest it give further impulse to efforts for formal union by showing how the Anglicans and Lutherans could cooperate. His interest was not ecumenical cooperation but the spread of his own institutions and ideas.

Soon after their arrival, Francke's two students, Wigers and Mehder, met Bridges and Mitchell, two of the charity school agents,[26] through whose instigation the two Germans were invited to a meeting of the newly formed SPCK.[27] John Chamberlayne discoursed with Wigers and Mehder when they

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22 Ludolf to Dr. Charlett, London, 6 June 1696 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS* 26:78).

23 G.V. Bennett, "Conflict in the Church", in: *Britain after the Glorious Revolution*, ed. G. Holmes (London, 1969), pp. 164f.

24 "Intercessit ex aliquo tempore literarium commercium Domino Franckio cum Archiepiscopo Londiniensi. Sic inter alia de institutis Paedagogii Glauchensis nonnihil innotuit huic viro, et quoniam ipsi probabatur, petiit a Domino Franckio, ut studiosos duos mittat sibi, quibus singula de paedagogio probe sint perspecta: horum se usurum esse opera in adornando simili quodam instituto." (J.D. Herrnschmid to his father, Halle, 30 Jan. 1699, printed in: Nebe, p. 50)

25 Herrnschmid to his father, Halle, 20 July 1699, printed in: Nebe, p. 53.

26 J.B. Wigers to Francke, London, 4 May 1699 (ArFrSt B 71a:100-102).

27 Cowie, *Henry Newman*, p. 35, says that Francis Lee introduced the two Germans to his

attended; the *Minutes* say nothing other than that the Germans were ordered to attend again.[28] Wigers, however, reported briefly to Francke on the meeting. After visiting the SPCK and seeing the work of both the religious societies and the societies for the reformation of manners Wigers was persuaded

> … that God is awake and would reform not only our Lutheran Church but also other sects, because the reputation here is that they [the voluntary societies] intend a complete reformation in the English Church; surely, my worthy Professor, you and your colleagues will strengthen [them] in their intended work and if God would unite us in spirit and in truth, then we would be able indeed to offer an acceptable offering to the Lord.[29]

Wigers was clearly stirred by the potential connections between the voluntary societies and Halle. The role of animating these relations, however, did not fall to Wigers and Mehder; their place was limited to education.

Though Wigers and Mehder never returned to the Society, they continued to exercise an influence over the charity schools through their connection with Bridges and Mitchell. During their first summer, when their financial situation was critical, Wigers worked at Windsor with the children of Prince George's chaplain, Mecken, while Mehder stayed in London tutoring Mitchell in Hebrew. When Mehder's financial situation worsened Bridges gave him some assistance.[30] Bridges himself is an enigma; his importance to the charity school movement is unattested, yet Mehder said that charity schools and the support of poor children were two projects which came from Bridges himself.[31] When the SPCK was approached about instructions for managing a charity school the Society resolved "that Mr. Bridges' method be sent … as soon as printed".[32] In the summer of 1706 he took a "Journey to all the Corporation Towns in the West of England" promoting charity schools; five years later he took another such tour.[33] Bridges told Francke of having received "large measures both of temporall as well as spiritual blessings" and that he wished to know as much as possible about educating young children, "which I design to

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friend Robert Nelson who then invited them to the SPCK. This is possible, but neither Wigers nor Mehder mentions Nelson; the link with Bridges and Mitchell is more likely.

28 SPCK *Minutes*, 11 May 1699, printed in: McClure, p. 24.

29 "... so habe ich genug, daß Gott auff ist, und will nicht allein unser Luthertum, sondern auch andere Secten reformiren, denn einen solchen Nahmen hat es hier würckl. daß sie indendiren eine völlige reformation in der Englischen Kirche, welche gewiß mein wehrter H. Prof. Sie und Ihre H. Collegen stärcken wird in ihren vorgenommen Werck, und wenn uns Gott wollte vereinigen im Geist und in der Wahrheit, so würden wir ja dem Herrn ein angenehm Opffer bringen können." (Wigers to Francke, London, 10 July 1699 [copy] [ArFrSt B 71a:103-109])

30 Bridges to Francke, [London,] 26 Aug. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.677).

31 Mehder to Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIII.562).

32 SPCK *Minutes*, 17 Aug. 1699, printed in: McClure, p. 30. Unfortunately, I cannot locate of printed copy of these instructions.

33 SPCK *Minutes*, 4 July 1706 (i.395) and 2 Aug. 1711 (v.208).

give up my self wholly to, as GOD shall order and enable me".[34] With his wealth, commitment, and religious society-SPCK connections, Bridges was undoubtedly an instrumental figure during the incipient years of the charity schools.

To have two such qualified teachers in London as Wigers and Mehder pleased Bridges, especially since they could teach Latin.[35] He asked Francke for a written recommendation of the two Germans so that the SPCK could employ them in the charity schools they were promoting, assuring the Professor

> ... that I am very much pleased with these two strangers and promise my self much satisfaction and benefit from them by the little acquaintance I have had with them, ... they being your Epistle themselves from the good lines imprinted on their lives.[36]

At this same time Chamberlayne approached Mehder about the possibility of going with Bray to Maryland as a schoolmaster (Wigers was unavailable because he worked with Mecken's children). Nothing came of Chamberlayne's suggestion; besides, Mehder was unsure what he would have done since Francke had commanded them not to leave London.[37]

Bridges had other plans for Wigers and Mehder, asking them to give him an essay on how they would instruct children according to the Halle method and promising to provide his house for their own grammar school to start in Michaelmas, 1699.[38] A grammar school was a possibility because, as Bridges explained to Francke, a number of parents with money "have been speaking to have a school to bring up their children after the same manner that the poor are brought up". Should he and another friend or two join Wigers and Mehder, they would "not want for those that are able to pay for their own as well as for those that contribute towards the Charge of the poor Schooling". But there was one great obstacle: in order to teach Latin or Mathematics a school must have a license from the Archbishop of Canterbury. But "Mr. Mehder seems very backward to comply with the Church of England for fear of giving offence to his Countrymen and so I suppose is Mr. Wigers". Bridges doubted whether the Archbishop would grant a license to those not of the established Church, since several priests and Jesuits had recently come into England and ignorant people considered any foreigner to be a Roman Catholic. Since Francke was "the most proper Judge in this matter", Bridges offered him some scriptural advice:

> O, Sir the value of one Soul; how much more of so many Thousand: lett us therefore go on and labour while we have mind and strength or anything whereby we may be

34 Bridges to Francke, London, 7 May and 26 Aug. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.675-677).
35 Wigers to Francke, London, 4 May 1699 (copy) (ArFrSt B 71a:100-102).
36 Bridges to Francke, London, 7 May 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.674).
37 Mehder to Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIII.564).
38 Wigers to Francke, Windsor, 13 & 30 Aug. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.416f,419).

enabled to gain one for whom Christ Dyed. lett us learn to become all things to all men, that we may by any means win some; which sure is the highest wisdom.[39]

Wigers and Mehder also expressed their anxieties to Francke over the situation, aware that parents would not trust their children to them without a license from the Archbishop. Exemption from subscription to the Anglican formularies had been requested from Bridges and Mitchell, because should the Hallensians subscribe they would

> … cause a scandal among the Germans. Because both the [German] ministry here and the people would partly very much glory over the Pietists and partly interpret it as nothing other than having done it for bread.[40]

Mehder explained that, because they could not in good conscience subscribe, they had suggested that an Anglican teacher be attached to them who could teach the Church of England catechism.[41] While waiting for a solution, the two Germans formed a school under the German chaplain Mecken hoping that eventually a grammar school could be formed under the patronage of Bridges and the religious societies.[42]

The difficulty of subscription to the Church of England was a recurring one for Wigers and Mehder. In 1703 a fellow schoolmaster warned them that they must as soon as possible get a license to have a school or else pay a penalty.[43] Though they wanted to buy a license, Wigers explained that they could not subscribe, because the Book of Common Prayer does not hold to a doctrine of ubiquity in the Holy Communion as prescribed in the Formula of Concord.[44] The theological debate over the Lord's Supper was one of the most contentious between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Germany; as will be seen, the Lutheran Pietists from Halle regarded the Church of England doctrinally as essentially an extension of the Reformed Church.[45] Wigers and Mehder would not compromise this fundamental Lutheran doctrine and never did get a license, though they continued teaching for at least thirteen years.

When no acceptable resolution to the issue of subscription was forthcoming, Wigers and Mehder built up their own English school and also helped

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39 Bridges to Francke, London, 26 Aug. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.677-679)

40 "... wo wir nicht unter der Teutschen ein ärgerniß anrichten wollen. Denn so wohl das Ministerium allhier, alß auch das Volck würden theils sehr gloriviren uber die Pietisten, theils würden sie es nicht anders außlegen, alß wirs umbs Brodt thäten … " (Wigers to Francke, Windsor, 30 Aug. 1699 [Nachlaß 30.XI.419])

41 Mehder to Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIII.560f).

42 Wigers to Francke, London, 12 Dec. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.427).

43 The terms of subscription and penalties for failure to comply during this period are spelled out clearly in James Talbott, *The Christian School-Master* (London, 1707), pp. 7-13.

44 Wigers to Francke, London, 25 Apr. 1703 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.460-463).

45 See p. 209 below.

teach Latin at Bridges' school in the neighbourhood.[46] Ludolf was impressed at how much the two Germans had been able to accomplish.[47] By the summer of 1701 they had over 50 students in their own English school, an increase brought about by a particular benefactor: "Dr. Slare is our good patron, recommending our school everywhere," Wigers told Francke, "for this reason do not doubt, God will bless our work."[48] On Slare's counsel they had found a new house for their growing school,

> ... but he [Slare] serves us particularly by recommending to us the children of distinguished people who are able to pay the school fees, though we have with us at the same time some who give nothing.[49]

The school continued to grow; by the spring of 1703 it had over 100 students and was growing weekly. They feared the possibility that Parliament might stop the schools of all foreigners not associated with the Church of England, but when the Occasional Conformity Bill was thrown out they hoped to have more room for their work.[50] In 1710 they were anxious about the recoil from the Sacheverell affair and the High Church efforts to suppress Presbyterians and Dissenters;[51] indeed, Sacheverell had denounced unlicensed Nonconformist academies – legally not dissimilar to the school operated by Wigers and Mehder – as full of false brethren who

> ... are suffer'd to combine into *Bodies*, and *Seminaries*, wherein *Atheism*, *Deism*, *Tritheism*, *Socinianism*, with all the *Hellish Principles* of *Fanaticism*, *Regicide*, and *Anarchy*, are openly *Profess'd*, and *Taught*, to *Corrupt* and *Debauch* the *Youth* of the *Nation*.[52]

But with Slare's patronage and diligent work their English school developed to the point that in 1712, after having worked daily for thirteen years, Wigers requested more help.[53] Francke did send help for the school, but its fate after the 1714 Schism Act is unclear. This act, which required all teachers and schoolmasters to receive Communion in the Church of England or else be ineligible to teach, excluded from its compass foreign Protestant teachers who

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46 Francke to Spener, Halle, 13 Jan. 1700, printed in: Kramer, p. 431.

47 Ludolf to Francke, London, 6 Dec. 1700 (ArFrSt D 71:64-65).

48 "Der H. Dr. Shlare ist unser guter patron, recommendiret unsere Schule allenthaben, zweiffel derohalben nicht, Gott wird unsere Arbeit gesegnen." (Wigers to Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.446).

49 "Er dienet unß aber sonderl. darinnen daß Er unß feiner leute Kinder recommendiret, die das Schulgeld bezahlen könten, ob wir gleich auch unterschiedl. beÿ unß haben die nichts geben." (Wigers to Francke, London, 29 July 1701 [*Nachlaß* 30.XI.439])

50 Wigers to Francke, London, 26 Dec. 1702 and 26 Jan. 1704 (*Nachlaß* 30.X1.458,469f); cf. N. Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 93f,97; M.R. Watts, *The Dissenters* (Oxford, 1985 [1978]), pp. 264ff.

51 Mehder to Francke, London, 20 Apr. 1710 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIII.566).

52 Henry Sacheverell, *The Perils of False Brethren, both in Church and State: Set forth in a Sermon Preach'd ... On the 5th of November, 1709* (London, 1709), p. 15.

53 Wigers to Francke, London, 25 Feb. 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.471f).

taught children of foreigners only; since the two Germans conducted an English school, they were subject to its qualifications.[54] Though the Schism Act never came into force and was repealed in 1719, its passing, according to a 1736 Dissenting biography, "gave reason to expect much greater Severities" and numerous academies closed.[55]

Why were Wigers and Mehder allowed to operate a school for English children without subscribing to the Church of England? Certainly the patronage of Slare was a factor in their avoiding prosecution. Every school was independent; despite the coordinating role taken on by the SPCK, neither the Society nor any parochial authority had control over individual charity schools. After the arrival of the Hanoverian Sovereign, the problem faced by the SPCK was not Dissent but Jacobitism. The Society made every effort to bring schools in line, but their autonomy made its task formidable.

Though the move to a new building in 1701 meant that Wigers and Mehder could no longer teach at Bridges' school, they continued on good relations. That same year Bridges visited Halle for a month and Wigers hoped that Bridges' association with Francke would be fruitful, "so that through him also much good will be brought over here".[56] After his return, Wigers informed Francke that Bridges now conducted his school "according to our method" [*nach unserer Methode*].[57] That the Halle Pietists made a lasting impression on Bridges is evident from the fact that in 1704 he suggested opening a college to train teachers for charity schools which would differ very little from Halle and at which both Wigers and Mehder would serve as instructors.[58] Though nothing came of Bridges' proposal it shows the extent to which Francke's institutions were admired by some key leaders in England.

Lee, Nelson, Hoare, Slare, and Philipps

Bridges and Mitchell were not the only early connections of the charity schools with Halle; when one looks at other persons involved in the movement the ties with Halle become even more apparent. Secondary literature has pointed to such people as Robert Nelson, Francis Lee, Henry Hoare, Frederick Slare, and Sir John Philipps as significant figures in the rise of the movement. Their personal connections to Halle are acknowledged, but they are poorly documented.[59]

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54 Sykes, *Sheldon to Secker*, pp. 95f.

55 J[ames] Clegg, *Assistance in Preparing for Death and Judgment. A Discourse Occasion'd by the Sudden Death of the Reverend Mr. John Ashe … . To which is added, A short Account of his Life and Character* (London, 1736), p. 71.

56 "... auf daß auch durch ihn viel gutes herüber gebracht werde." (Wigers to Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1701 [*Nachlaß* 30.XI.444-446])

57 Wigers to Francke, London, 13 Sept. 1702 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.455).

58 Wigers to Francke, London, 26 Jan. 1704 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.467-469).

59 Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 8,37,290; Cowie, *Henry Newman*, p. 35; Secretan,

In 1697 the Nonjuror Francis Lee and his friend Richard Roach, now both avid members of Jane Leade's Philadelphian Society, began publishing their *Theosophical Transactions*. In volumes IV and V extensive mention is made of Francke's institutions at Halle, based on a printed Latin account, though Francke is not mentioned by name.[60] Rather than producing a history of the institutions, Lee focused on the methods and objectives of education, the qualifications for teachers, and the subjects taught. The purpose of publishing the accounts was in order that "much good may be done by it, by stirring up a Spirit of Holy Emulation" with the hope that "it may prove an Excitement to some of the Ingenious Instructors of Youth in this Nation".[61] This praise of Halle by members of the eccentric and enthusiastic Philadelphian Society, despite it being the first publicity Francke's institutions received in England, may have initially done more harm to the Halle cause than good. Though Francke later distanced himself from the Philadelphians and warned others in Germany about them,[62] the SPCK treated Wigers and Mehder with some suspicion at first because of their connections with Lee. Only a recommendation from Court chaplain Mecken resulted in their being received politely.[63]

How did Lee himself learn of Francke's work? Though he had travelled through Holland and Germany in the 1690s, he had returned to England in 1694, when Francke's work was yet in its infancy.[64] It is likely he was given his Latin account of the *Waisenhaus* through Ludolf, who himself tended towards some of the universal Church ideas espoused by the Philadelphians. Lee's major service to Halle-English ties lay not in his publications in *Theosophical Transactions*, but rather in his personal connections with other leaders in the charity school movement. Indeed, in the Preface to Lee's posthumously published *Dissertations* his daughter writes that Lee "was the first that put Mr. Hoare, and Mr. Nelson, upon the Founding of Charity-Schools; upon the same Plan as that of Hall in Germany".[65]

Robert Nelson's diligent support of charity schools has been best shown by his biographer through an examination of SPCK *Minutes* and Nelson's

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Memoirs of Robert Nelson, pp. 118ff; Shankland, "Sir John Philipps", pp. 129ff; W.H.G. Armytage, *The German Influence on English Education* (London, 1969), p. 6.

60 "A short Project of the Manner of Education of Youth, How it is Ordered in a College Erected in Germany 1695", *Theosophical Transactions* 4 (1697), 218-225; "The Manner of Education of Youth in a College in Germany, Erected 1695", *Thesophical Transactions* 5 (1697), 238-247.

61 *Theosophical Transactions* 4 (1697), p. 225; 5 (1697), p. 247.

62 Thune, *Behmenists and Philadelphians*, pp. 128ff.

63 Wigers to Francke, 10 July 1699 (ArFrSt B 71a:103-109).

64 [D.J. de la Fontaine,] Preface to *APOLEIPOMENA. Or, Dissertations Theological, Mathematical, and Physical*, by Francis Lee, 2 vols. (London, 1752), i.xvi.

65 [de la Fontaine,] Preface to *Dissertations*, i.xvii; cf. Thune, *Behmenists and Philadelphians*, pp. 82ff,144f. On Lee's friendship with Nelson, see, for example, Lee to Nelson, 19 Nov. 1714, printed in: C. Walton, *Notes and Materials for an Adequate Biography of ... William Law* (London, 1854), p. 251.

correspondence.[66] Nelson is the only major personality linked with the charity school movement for whom there exists no evidence of direct personal links with Halle.[67] Still, he was at least familiar with the institutions in Halle and in his "Ways and Methods of Doing Good" used Halle's example to recommend establishing a training school for schoolmasters and schoolmistresses.[68]

Two other laymen closely linked to English charity schools were Henry Hoare and Frederick Slare. Hoare, whose father, Sir Richard, was a fervent Tory and well-known banker and goldsmith, followed his father into banking and was a faithful member of the SPCK, acting as treasurer of the East India mission. According to a short biography and epitaph, he was a "strictly pious" man, who "liv'd under a settled Habit of Private Charities, and bore a Noble Share in all those Publick Acts of Piety and Mercy". In his will he left £2000 to charity schools and another £2000 for Bibles, Books of Common Prayer, and *The Whole Duty of Man*.[69] His links with Halle were almost certainly activated through Ludolf. After Ludolf's death, Hoare, his executor, told Francke that he missed Ludolf's "constant Instructions and Exhortations. but God is all Sufficient for us, and can raise up another Mr. Ludolf. or give us himself which is far better".[70] Hoare's role in the charity school movement was the same as that of Slare: they were two of its major benefactors. In addition to his own charity, as a banker Hoare also served as an intermediary for other donations.[71] Slare's support of charity schools is witnessed to by Henry Newman who informs a charity school agent that Slare is willing to give £500 in order to teach 25 boys the art of navigation.[72] Both Slare and Hoare carried on a frequent correspondence with Francke, largely because of their patronage of English boys studying at Francke's institutions.[73]

The role filled by Hoare and Slare in England was taken up by Sir John Philipps in Wales, the main person in the rise of the charity school movement there.[74] He was a key link between Wales and the SPCK and largely through his efforts the SPCK helped establish 95 Welsh schools by his death in 1737. The founder of over a dozen charity schools in Wales himself, Philipps not only put up the money but was also involved in the details of school management and, to a degree, in the lives of the children themselves, as evidenced by these words to his wife:

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66 Secretan, *Memoirs of Robert Nelson*, pp. 118-34.

67 Armytage, *German Influence*, p. 6, hints that both Lee and Nelson were acquainted with Francke through their travels in Germany, but I can find no support for this suggestion.

68 *An Address to Persons of Quality and Estate* (London, 1715), p. 166.

69 W. Lupton, "The Character of Henry Hoare, Esq", and Henry Hoare's "Epitaph", in: *Memorials and Characters*, ed. J. Wilford (London, 1741), pp. 777f, 40 (Appendix).

70 Hoare to Francke, [London,] 18 Mar. 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.672).

71 Nelson, *Address to Persons*, p. 174.

72 Newman to Mr. Skeate, Middle Temple, 22 June 1715 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/5]).

73 See pp. 89–93 below.

74 Shankland, "Sir John Philipps", pp. 136-53; Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 290f.

The Children, I bless God, are all in a good state of health, very dutiful, and improve well in their studies[;] they take the air with me in the Coach as often as my Affairs will permit, and want for no encouragement to engage them to their duty.[75]

He also took an interest in English schools and proposed to the SPCK new methods for training schoolmasters,[76] probably a training college after Halle's model similar to the one suggested by Bridges. Like his good friend Slare, Philipps was an admirer, supporter, and correspondent of Francke. At his death the mantle of leadership in Wales fell to his disciple, Griffith Jones,[77] another person firmly committed to Francke's methods.[78]

Bridges, Mitchell, Nelson, Lee, Hoare, Slare, and Philipps were major figures during the early formative years of the charity school movement in England and Wales. Apart from Nelson, each one stood in a significant relationship with Francke or one of his representatives in London. During this early period Francke's main propagandists were Ludolf, Wigers, and Mehder; but the awareness of Francke's work was to soon take a large leap forward with the arrival of A.W. Boehm.

2. *Pietas Hallensis*

Boehm and Pietas Hallensis

When Boehm arrived in London in 1701 he established a school for a few German children, but he could neither help Wigers and Mehder nor work with students at Oxford[79] because of his unfamiliarity with English. Wigers thought Boehm too fragile to work in England since his frail constitution allowed him to teach only a few hours a day.[80] The meagre income from his school meant that Boehm lived in poverty, though he turned down frequent invitations from Bridges to work in his school.[81] It would seem that Francke had things other than teaching in mind for Boehm from the beginning. Wigers hints at this in a letter expressing his concern at Francke's choice of Boehm for England; in addition to Boehm's physical limitations Wigers was worried that Boehm had been imprisoned in Waldeck by the Orthodox Lutheran authorities for his Pietist views and confessional "indifference":[82] "if such [informa-

75 Sir John Philipps to Lady Philipps, London, 21 Sept. 1717 (Picton, No.1467).

76 SPCK *Minutes*, 18 Nov. 1708 (ii-iv.129).

77 See Sir John Philipps to Lady Philipps, London, 3 May 1715 (Picton, No.1464).

78 See pp. 188–90 below.

79 These were probably the Greek students at Benjamin Woodroffe's Greek Orthodox college at Gloucester Hall. See pp. 156f below.

80 Wigers to Francke, London, 6 Nov. 1701 and 8 Apr. 1702 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.447,450f).

81 Boehm to Francke, London, 26 Apr. 1703 (ArFrSt C 229:81); 19 Apr. 1704 (MArFrSt I C 1:9).

82 On this period in Boehm's life, see Sames, pp. 58-106; W. Irmer, *Geschichte des Pietismus in der Grafschaft Waldeck* (Greifswald, 1912), pp. 26-41.