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7. Sekundärliteratur

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

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2. Pietas Hallensis

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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.

tion] should come to light here, we will be declared heretics by the divines, and there will be that much less hope of his preaching here."[83] If indeed Boehm had been sent to preach, his early years of want in London as a teacher gave no indication of a breakthrough to another calling.

In the midst of these low times Dr. Slare, whom Boehm had met just after his arrival in London,[84] took him out of the miserable air of London and into the country, to his home in Greenwich. This marked the beginning of a life-long friendship; it was in Slare's home eighteen years later that Boehm died. Slare took Boehm on a 250-mile tour around the English country, visiting pastors and charity schools, during which, according to the latter, Slare "diligently related the example of Halle to others for imitation, so that it is becoming somewhat well-known in the country".[85] One of the places they visited was Kidderminster, where Slare and Bishop Lloyd of Worcester helped raise a charity school.[86] It was this journey which persuaded Boehm of the importance of translating into English Francke's own account of his *Waisenhaus*. The need for an account in England of Francke's institutions had often been expressed; six years earlier Bray had suggested to Wigers that an account of the *Waisenhaus* be translated into Latin and published in England.[87] With the help of Lee and Roach from the Philadelphian Society[88] and in the quiet of Slare's country home, Boehm brought *Pietas Hallensis* to the English public in the middle of 1705, for which the publisher, Joseph Downing, paid him one pound.[89]

According to his Preface, Boehm chose the title, *Pietas Hallensis*, in order to counter the Roman Catholic reputation for charitable activity found in the works entitled *Pietas Romana* and *Pietas Parisiensis*,[90] which had been translated, combined, abridged, and republished in Oxford in 1687.[91] *Pietas Hallensis*, however, was by no means an anti-Catholic tract; Boehm admitted that some

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83 "... wo solches allhie außkommen solte, wir alß Ketzer von den geistl. werden declariret werden, und desto weniger Hoffnung zum predigen für ihn allhie sein wird." (Wigers to Francke, 6 Nov. 1701 [*Nachlaß* 30.XI.447])

84 Boehm to Francke, London, 15 Nov. 1701, printed in: Sames, pp. 176f; Slare to Francke, [Bath], [1722] (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.319).

85 "... hat er das Hallische Exempel andern zur Nachfolge fleißig erzehlet, also, daß es auch im Lande etwas bekand wird." (Boehm to Francke, London, 24 Sept. 1704, printed in: Sames, p. 180)

86 SPCK *Minutes*, 16 Nov. 1704 (i.307); A.W. Boehm, "Send-Schreiben an einen Freund in Deutschland", 14 Nov. 1717, printed in: *ErSchrift*, ii.410.

87 Wigers to Francke, 30 Aug. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.420).

88 Boehm to G.H. Neubauer, Windsor, 20 June 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 180f. Boehm expressed the hope that Francke would send a letter of thanks in Latin to Lee and Roach.

89 Boehm to Francke, 19 Apr. 1704 (MArFrSt I C 1:9); to Neubauer, 20 June 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 180f; to G.K., London, 14 July 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 150f.

90 Boehm, Preface to *Pietas Hallensis* (1705), p. i.

91 *Pietas Romana et Parisiensis*, [trans. and abridged Abraham Woodhead] (Oxford, 1687); cf. [James Harrington,] *Some Reflexions Upon a Treatise Call'd Pietas Romana & Parisiensis* (Oxford, 1688).

Roman Catholics "have acted purely on Principles of Genuine Christianity". "Let Virtue and Piety where ever they are found, have their due value," he said, for God "accepts every one, that is Devout according to his present Light and Knowledge". Since Protestants had greater light they ought to bring forth even greater works: "Yea verily they [Roman Catholics] shall rise up in Judgment against us in that Day, if we walk not worthy of that Vocation, unto which we are called in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."[92] A second purpose of Boehm's was to show that in Halle one indeed saw the uncommon Providence of God at work in ways unseen in any other charity. This led him, rather triumphantly, to describe the book as an account of

> ... one of the greatest Transactions at this day in the World; which if it proceeds as it has hitherto done, will in a very few Years come to have a much greater Influence on the Publick Affairs of Europe, than all the Battles and Sieges with which our Gazettes, Mercuries and Registers are filled.[93]

Pietas Hallensis was a translation of Francke's own account of the rise and progress of the orphanage and other institutions at Halle.[94] It contained a narrative of the origins and growth of the undertaking from its rudimentary beginnings and stressed Francke's dependence on the special Providence of God, which was detailed in a long list of miraculous particulars focusing on the private donations of individuals. He testified that "the *main scope* of the whole Undertaking ... is nothing else but the Salvation of Souls and their Conversion to life everlasting". The means to reaching this objective were simply described:

> *The Word of God* is instilled into the Children from their Youth up ... .Unfeigned *Faith* in our Lord Jesus Christ, is laid for a Foundation, and a real sense of *Godliness* attended with a conscientious behaviour, are the most material points.[95]

Godly teachers to model these aims were central to Francke's pedagogical methodology. In closing his account and updating the size and growth of the hospital, charity schools, and other institutions, Francke again stressed that trust in the Providence of God was the foundation of his whole work.

Boehm was uncertain when he published *Pietas Hallensis* what its result would be: "Time will now tell what kind of an effect this work will have in England."[96] However, a few months later Boehm reported that he had heard many favourable judgments, including one from Archbishop Tenison who "highly approved" of the work despite a few "small superstitions" here and

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92 Boehm, Preface to *Pietas Hallensis* (1705), pp. xii-xv.

93 *Ibid.*, p. ii.

94 *Die Fußstapfen des noch lebenden und waltenden liebreichen und getreuen Gottes* (Halle, 1701). Later editions were titled: *Segens-volle Fußstapfen des noch lebenden...*

95 Francke, *Pietas Hallensis* (1705), pp. 96-97.

96 "Die Zeit wird nun lehren, was für Effect diese Schrifft in Engelland haben werde." (Boehm to Neubauer, 20 June 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 180f)

there,[97] perhaps a reference to some of the more extraordinary examples of special Providence in *Pietas Hallensis*. Josiah Woodward, author of the account of the religious societies, advised the SPCK to distribute *Pietas Hallensis* under its own auspices, but the Society voted against reprinting the whole book.[98] Instead, Boehm was asked by the Society to abridge the book; when *An Abstract of the Marvellous Footsteps of Divine Providence* was finished and published early in 1706 the SPCK bought 500 copies and put three in every packet sent to its correspondents.[99] This abstract was enlarged and reprinted in 1707, though Boehm attached to it the original title, *Pietas Hallensis*. In 1710 Part II of the abstract appeared, followed in 1716 by Part III; in every new edition the progress of the Halle institutions was updated. Included in Part III was Boehm's English translation of a Latin letter from Francke to Cotton Mather in Boston.[100] That Boehm mediated this letter from a German Pietist to a New England Puritan, including it in an English publication, and that the SPCK purchased 500 copies of this edition to distribute to correspondents,[101] provide further evidence of the interrelatedness and comradeship among the reform movements in Europe and America.

The first abstract was published with a Preface by Woodward, a recommendation by "another Eminent Divine of the Church of England," probably Dr. Thomas Manningham,[102] and an appendix "Giving an Account of some Persons who have been Instrumental in promoting the Truth of Religion, and the Power of Godliness in some Parts of Germany".[103] The inclusion of this appendix, a shortened version of the history of Pietism in the Preface to *Pietas Hallensis* (1705), meant that with this abstract the first history of Lutheran Pietism in the English-speaking world received a wide propagation.

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97 "... welcher [Tenison] es höchlich adprobiret, ohne daß hin u. wieder kleine superstitiones wie ers nennet, mit einlieffen, die aber der Sache selbst nicht schadeten." (Boehm to Francke, London, 24 Sept. 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 183f)

98 Boehm to Francke, London, 13 Dec. 1705 (ArFrSt C 229:73).

99 SPCK *Minutes*, 29 Nov. 1705 and 10 Jan. 1706 (i.357,362). Boehm told Francke that he thought 4000 extracts would be printed, but the SPCK records give no evidence that that many were actually published. (Boehm to Francke, 24 Sept. 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 183f)

100 See K. Francke, "Further Documents concerning Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke", *Americana Germanica* i/4 (1897), p. 31.

101 SPCK *Minutes*, 23 Aug. 1716 (vii.185f).

102 Boehm told Francke that the person was a Doctor of Theology and a court preacher that year to the Queen. (Boehm to Francke, 13 Dec. 1705 [ArFrSt C 229:73]) The SPCK *Minutes*, 10 Jan. 1706 (i.362), say that Slare, Woodward, and Manningham had all read and approved the abridgement. From 1689-1692 Manningham was headmaster of Westerham grammar school in Kent. (*DNB* [xii.960])

103 Francke, *Abstract of the Marvellous Footsteps*, pp. 46-64. This appendix was expanded in the 1707 edition and given its own title page with the title, "A Short Account of Some Persons who have been Instrumental in promoting the most Substantial Points of Religion In some Parts of Germany. Whose Proceedings some have endeavoured of late to render Odious by the new-invented Name of Pietism." Whether it was published separately is unknown.

The support by Woodward and Manningham for Francke and his Halle work in the "Preface" and "Recommendation" deserves attention. Woodward begins, "The Assurance of God's *special Providence* continually engaged in Favour of his *Faithful People* is one of their greatest Comforts upon Earth." If trust in God should waver one finds in the narrative "such a Glorious *Train* of surprizing *Providences* in the behalf of a Pious and Charitable Undertaking, as is enough to *strengthen* a very weak Faith, and to *enliven* a Heart almost *dead* in Despondency". However, Woodward, no doubt concerned lest he be seen as arousing "enthusiasm" by encouraging a naive providentialism, warned against abusing this work "by *unwarranted applications* of it: Where neither the *Call* of God is so *manifest*, nor the *Matter* so important, nor the *Qualifications* for the Undertaking so suitable, as in the Case hereafter related." He stressed the way in which the work would further orthodoxy, by promoting the religious societies and societies for the reformation of manners, the instruction of youth and families, and the propagation of Christianity among infidels.[104] Manningham hoped that reading the account "may warm your Heart and strengthen your Faith in God". He also recommended Boehm and Francke as persons who "are of unquestionable sincerity, and have distinguished themselves in the World by their Piety and good learning".[105]

That Boehm highly prized this official support from English divines in his efforts to make the Halle institutions better known is apparent in his Preface to the 1716 edition of *Pietas Hallensis*. Here, he states that Woodward was "so fully convinced of the good Tendency of those charitable Constitutions" that he publicly mentioned Francke's work in a sermon at the 1700 opening of a London charity school[106] and that he would recommend Francke's establishments "on any Occasion"; the "Eminent Divine" in London who had recommended the book was "since raised to the Episcopal Dignity in the Church";[107] and White Kennett had praised the Halle orphanage in a 1706 charity school sermon.[108] These "impartial Attestations" by "learned Divines" had helped to remove prejudices and to win over some who thought the book "a Piece of a Romance".[109] Boehm was especially pleased with Kennett's unsolicited recommendation, "by which," he told Francke, "the book ought in time to be made further known".[110] He knew full well that favourable testimony from "learned divines" was unusual; he explained that *Pietas Hallensis* would probably have its greatest influence not on the *literati* but on popular piety: it would

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104 Preface to *Abstract of Marvellous Footsteps*, n.p.

105 Recommendation to *Abstract of Marvellous Footsteps*, n.p.

106 *The Great Charity of Instructing Poor Children. A Sermon Preached ... Mar. 24. 1700*, 3rd edn. (London, 1703 [1700]), p. 18.

107 Manningham became Bishop of Chichester in 1709.

108 *Charity of Schools*, pp. 31f.

109 Boehm, Preface to *Pietas Hallensis* ... Part III, pp. iii-viii.

110 "Wodurch denn mit der Zeit das Buch dörffte weiter bekand gemacht werden." (Boehm to Francke, London, 22 May 1706 [ArFrSt C 229:72])

... mostly come into prominence among the common people; whereas the learned, because they lead everything to the point of an external morality and experience little of the effects and outpourings of the power of Christ, read the same narrations like a new newspaper, whereby for a short while they satisfy the natural desires of excessive reason and then put it aside again.[111]

There is some evidence, however, that the "learned divines" who welcomed *Pietas Hallensis* did so partly because they were encouraged, rather than repelled, by its providentialism. Kennett confessed of Francke's work that "nothing in the World seems more Providential, or rather more miraculous".[112] The threat of Deism and the growth of more mechanistic perceptions of the natural order, propagated by natural science, had rendered many divines somewhat uneasy about the future of religious supernaturalism. The role of God's immediate governorship of his universe seemed at some risk in a world explicable more and more in terms of impersonal mechanical laws. *Pietas Hallensis* attracted many readers by providing respectable evidence not only for the idea of God's active government of his people, but for his approval of the kinds of charitable and educational work into which the English voluntary societies had poured so much effort.

Whatever the reaction of learned divines, *Pietas Hallensis* seems to have met with a favourable response. To the original full account was added the abstract, printed in three parts and three editions.[113] Sir John Philipps suggested to the SPCK that the abstract "does very well deserve to be translated into other Languages".[114] *Pietas Hallensis* was also well-received in America,[115] but its strongest impact was felt within the charity school movement in Britain.

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111 "... wiewohl solcher [Einfluß] meist unter den gemeinen Leute sich hervorthut; die Gelehrten aber weil sie alles zu der Spitze einer äußeren Moralität führen, u. von denen Wirckungen, und Außflüßen der Krafft Christi wenig erfahren, lesen sie dergleichen Erzehlungen als eine Neue Zeitung womit sie auff eine kurtze Zeit die natürliche begierde der außschweiffenden Vernunfft sättigen und denn wieder weglegen." (Boehm to Francke, 13 Dec. 1705 [ArFrSt C 229:73])

112 *Charity of Schools*, p. 32; cf. Ludolf to Francke, London, 23 Jan. 1705 (ArFrSt D 71:136c-d), in which similar sentiments from friends of Woodward are reported.

113 In 1729 a motion was made in a SPCK meeting to reprint *Pietas Hallensis* at large; it was referred to Committee and no further action was taken. (SPCK *Minutes*, 28 Nov. 1729 [xiii.77])

114 SPCK *Minutes*, 3 Oct. 1706 (i.409).

115 Boehm to Francke, London, 3 Mar. 1713, printed in: ErBrief, p. 239. Cf. Boehm to Francke, London, 14 June 1715, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 425ff, in which he reports on Moses Bartlet, an Anabaptist from Rhode Island, who after reading *Pietas Hallensis* journeyed to London in a effort to secure two of Francke's students to go to Rhode Island, open schools, and proclaim the gospel. According to Newman, Boehm himself considered going to Rhode Island to work with Bartlett. (Newman to Mather, 31 Aug. 1722, printed in: Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, pp. 232f)

Largely as the result of the publication of *Pietas Hallensis* and through the promotional efforts of Boehm himself,[116] the *Waisenhaus* in Halle became the target of a significant amount of English charity. Prince George gave £1,000 to Francke's work in 1706, the largest gift ever given at one time.[117] Starting in 1710, Queen Anne, following her late husband's example, gave Boehm £60 per year to support an "English Table" at Halle, at which twelve German boys learned English two hours a day and then helped with translation work.[118] Boehm collected a small library of English devotional works for use at this "English Table", though we do not know which ones.[119] In time he hoped to be able to establish some scholarships for certain boys at the Table in order to set the work on a better footing.[120] Unfortunately, the Queen's support, which Boehm did not make public in England until after her death, was not continued by George I.

Hoare, Slare, and Sir John Philipps were frequent contributors to Francke's work.[121] Lady Elizabeth Hastings sent a contribution to Francke as "a testimony of the High opinion I have of your Charitable Foundation".[122] Benefactions came from MPs and clergy, Anglicans and Nonconformists, men and women in the city and country.[123] A unique gift from England was sent in 1707, when, after Boehm had mentioned the orphanage at a religious society he had attended, Dr. Slare's unmarried sister, Jane, gathered her friends together and collected two large cases of cheese for Halle.[124]

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116 In a letter to Francke, London, 14 Sept. 1706 (ArFrSt C 229:70a), Boehm tells him of some of the good he has been able to do for the Waisenhaus in conversations with individuals.

117 Boehm, Preface to *Pietas Hallensis*, Part III, pp. xi-xii; cf. Francke to the Comtesse Wurmbrand zu Breslau, Halle, 1 Oct. 1712 (copy), printed in: B. Schmidt and O. Meusel, ed., *A.H. Franckes Briefe an den Grafen Heinrich XXIV ... und seine Gemahlin Eleonore* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 146.

118 Boehm to Francke, London, 14 Feb. 1710 (ArFrSt C 229:51); Francke to Cotton Mather, Halle, 19 Dec. 1714, printed in: Francke, *Pietas Hallensis ... Part III*, pp. 5f.

119 Boehm to Francke, London, 19 May 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 108.

120 Boehm to Francke, London, 30 Dec. 1709, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 63.

121 E.g. Hoare to Francke, [London,] 25 Apr. 1709 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII. 666); Slare to Francke, n.p., [c.1723] (Nachlaß 30.VIII.324); Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 5 Feb. 1725 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/24).

122 E. Hastings to Francke, n.p., 28 June 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.688). At her death in 1741 Lady Elizabeth left over £300 to the East India mission. (*An Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* [London, 1812], p. 51)

123 SPCK *Minutes*, 13 Apr. 1710 (v.80); Boehm to Francke, London, 19 May 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 107; to Neubauer, London, 25 July 1721 (ArFrSt A 175:108) and 18 Mar. 1720 (ArFrSt C 229:12); Ziegenhagen to Francke, Windsor, 11 Sept. 1724; London, 25 Sept. 1724, 16 & 26 Feb. 1725, and 16 Aug. 1726 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/14,15,25,26,41); *A General Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London, 1813), pp. 209ff.

124 Boehm to Francke, London, 24 Dec. 1707 and 6 Jan. 1708 (ArFrSt C 826:25 and C 827:1).

In addition to these benefactions, Boehm informed Francke in 1706 of another result of the work:

> With this comes over a fruit of *Pietas Hallensis*, which up to now has worked secretly in a few minds and at last has now broken through, so that they have decided to have the boys travelling with this letter educated by you.[125]

Boehm saw in the sending of these boys a significant breakthrough in what Francke and the Halle orphanage could do to uphold and encourage English education. He did not doubt but that as more boys were sent to Halle a "Seminarium Anglicanum" – envisaged perhaps as a Protestant equivalent of the English college at Rome – could be initiated at Halle, in which English youth could be prepared by Francke's methods for service in their homeland.[126] This seminary never became a reality, although one of the new buildings built in 1710 was called the "English House" because of the number of English students studying there.[127] When one also considers the establishing of the English Table by Queen Anne and the continued efforts of Ludolf, Wigers, Mehder, and Boehm in England, it is not surprising that the ties which Halle had with England were closer than those it had with any other foreign nation.

These boys were not the first from England to study at Halle. The first was Thomas Turner, who was sent in 1701 at the recommendation of Ludolf. His father, Jacob Turner, an English tradesman at Smyrna in the Levant, wanted his son to learn Latin, Greek, and the Oriental tongues to prepare him to be a merchant,

> ... but what I cheifly [sic] aime at in sending him to you is, that I may have him taught by examples as well as precept the Christian Religion which in many places is profest but in very few practic'd as it ought to be.[128]

Turner was soon joined by Michael Belke, sent by Slare as an apprentice in order to return later to teach in English charity schools.[129] Turner and Belke had different fortunes at Halle. Francke felt that Turner was not progressing well and should return to England, but that Belke was quite successful and pious in his studies.[130] Turner went to Constantinople with his father,[131] while

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125 "Hier überkommt abermal eine Frucht Pietatis Hallens. die bißhero in einigen Gemüthern verborgentlich gewircket hat, und jetzo endlich dahin durchgebrochen ist, daß sie sich entschlossen die hier beykommende Knaben bey Ihnen erziehen zu lassen." (Boehm to Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1706 [ArFrSt C 229:71])

126 Boehm to Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1706 (ArFrSt C 229:71).

127 Kramer, *Francke*, ii.63f.

128 Jacob Turner to Francke, London, 24 Feb. 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.X.379); cf. Jacob Turner to Francke, London, 6 May 1701 (ArFrSt D 71:79); Francke to Edmund Chishull, English Chaplain at Smyrna, Halle, 24 Dec. 1703, printed in: Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, p. 340.

129 Wigers to Francke, London, 8 July and 8 Nov. 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.443,448).

130 Francke to Herrnschmid, [Halle], [c.1703] (extract), printed in: Nebe, p. 72.

131 Thomas Turner to Francke, London, 21 Apr./2 May 1704 (*Nachlaß* 30.X. 389).

Belke stayed at Halle until 1708 or 1709. Whether or not Belke assisted in the charity schools on his return to England is uncertain; in 1711 he told Francke that he was studying medicine but would not forget the strong theological training he had received at Halle.[132]

The boys sent to Halle in 1706 as a result of *Pietas Hallensis* were met in Hamburg by Francke's associate, G.H. Neubauer, and by Belke.[133] Like Belke, they were all under the patronage of English benefactors, led and represented by Slare and Hoare. Though Belke had care of the English lads while they were at Halle, he was not their tutor.[134] Through extant correspondence we are able to identify some of the English youths who went to Halle. Three of the boys who went in 1706 were Joseph Acors, Thomas Parsons, and a boy named Creeke. On their return from six years of study at Halle Slare hoped to have "a prospect of placing them for Ushers in some schools, or in some private Gentlemens Families for Tutors".[135] When Acors came back to England he served under Wigers and Mehder;[136] later he was in charge of his own school, from which a lad was sent in 1734 to assist two German pastors in Georgia.[137] Creeke returned to London to be employed by Dr. Mapletoft, rector of St. Lawrence's, London,

> ... to whom he is a menial Servant; but with this Encouragement, that after some time, the Dean of Peterborow Dr. Kennet, and the Doctor to whom he was recommended by the Dean, may, if he behaveth himself well, find some means or other to send him to one of our English Universities, to study there.[138]

The registers of Oxford and Cambridge, however, show no one named Creeke matriculating during these years. Parsons returned to Halle to enter the university, still under the patronage of his English benefactors.[139] He felt that university studies at Halle

> ... can fit and prepare such a one as I am much better to fulfil the desire of my Honoured Patrons, and to serve my Neighbour, but especially bring one unto a better understanding of the divine Word, and per consequens how one shall aright care for his own soul, as being the sole reason why we are born.[140]

Parsons' destination after his university studies is unknown.

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132 Michael Belke to Francke, London, 27 June 1711 (ArFrSt F 14:284-285).

133 Francke to Slare, [Halle, c.1706] (copy) (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.328); Francke to Canstein, Halle, 30 Oct. 1706, printed in: Schicketanz, p. 337.

134 Henry Hoare to Francke, London, 13 July 1708 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.660).

135 Slare to Francke, London, 2 July 1711 (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.313).

136 Mackbeth to Francke, n.p., 17/28 Nov. 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIV.575).

137 Newman to J.M. Boltzius and I.C. Gronau, Bartlet's Buildings, 29 Oct. 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 135.

138 Mackbeth to Francke, 17/28 Nov. 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIV.575).

139 Ibid.

140 Thomas Parsons to Francke, Halle, 15 Feb. 1713 (*Nachlaß* 30.III.171f).

Another member of the original group was Michael Smith. He came from a gentry family in England and probably went to Francke's *Pädagogium* for the children of nobility. He was treated differently from the other English boys and ate at a separate table. Hoare refers to the care "of the four English lads and of Mr. Smith", while Francke tells Slare to give his love and affection to benefactors and friends "and especially the honoured Parents of young Mr. Smith".[141] But in 1710 Smith was the occasion of some trouble and was sent home;[142] soon thereafter Boehm reported that

> ... Smith is going with this fleet to the East Indies, in order to learn navigation. He told someone: now he wants to write off all books, except the Halle Bible and Halle hymnal, which he intends to keep.[143]

Two other boys from prominent backgrounds joined Smith at his table, Henry Hastings and Harry Benson. Hastings' patron was Lady Elizabeth Hastings, the pious philanthropist who associated with such churchmen as Archbishop Sharp, Robert Nelson, and Bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man;[144] she explained to Francke that her "names sake" was in particular need of charity because his father was a Roman Catholic and his mother an Anglican "too much taken up by the Cares of the World".[145] Lady Elizabeth allowed Francke to choose a tutor for Henry, though she desired that he be instructed "in no Principles contrary to that of the Church of England".[146] Hastings evidently flourished at Halle; in 1713 Ruperti in London informed Sir Hans Sloane of an English boy named Hastings at Halle who had invented a perpetual motion machine which he wanted to prove to the Royal Society.[147] Harry Benson was the son of Sir William Benson, sheriff of London in 1708 and brother-in-law to Henry Hoare.[148] Harry only remained at Halle two years before he became a merchant.[149] In 1711 he thanked Francke for "the great Love you have always showed me namely In the great desire which you have for my Eternal happiness".[150]

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141 Hoare to Francke, 13 July 1708 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.657); Francke to Slare, [c.1706] (copy) (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.329); Slare to Francke, 4 July 1709 (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.307).

142 Hoare to Francke, n.p., 21 July 1710 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.669).

143 "Smith gehet mit dieser Flotte nach Oest-Indien, umb die Navigation zu lernen. Er sagte zu jemanden: Nun wolle er alle Bücher abdencken, ausser der hallischen Bibel und dem hallischen Gesang-buch, die er zu behalten gedächte." (Boehm to Francke, London, 12 Dec. 1710 [ArFrSt C 229:52).

144 On Lady Elizabeth, see Thomas Barnard, *An Historical Character relating to the holy and exemplary Life of ... Lady Elisabeth Hastings* (Leeds, 1742).

145 E. Hastings to Francke, 28 June 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.689); cf. Boehm to Francke, London, 4 Jan. 1712 (ArFrSt C 229:34a).

146 Hoare to Francke, 13 July 1708 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.663).

147 G.A. Ruperti to Sir Hans Sloane, Savoy, 16 June 1713 (BL, *Sloane* MSS 4065:109).

148 G.W. Marshall, ed., *Le Neve's Pedigrees of the Knights* (London, 1873), pp. 482,494.

149 William Benson to Francke, London, 12 July 1708; Harry Benson to Francke, [London?,] 30 Oct. 1710 (*Nachlaß* 30.XXI.732-33).

150 Harry Benson to Francke, Amsterdam, 14 Aug. 1711 (ArFrSt F 14:322-324).

In 1708 Abraham Mackbeth took Belke's place at Halle with responsibilities for the English lads. Hoare told Francke that he doubted not "but Mr. Mackbeth will by his Conduct approve himself so well towards you as to merit your favour and esteeme".[151] The schoolmaster Mackbeth was also praised by Boehm, who called him "one of their best people and one who has a great love for their institutions [i.e. charity schools]".[152] When he returned to England a few years later, the benefactors made him inspector over a newly formed society of schoolmasters

> ... to teach and farther Instruct them [the schoolmasters] in all the Necessary Dutys, which there *[sic]* Profession requires them to be Master of. and the Good Instruction he received from you [Francke] att Hall made me think him well qualified for such an Undertaking.[153]

Mackbeth served as a charity school agent and prepared the SPCK's large account of the schools in 1712 for press.[154]

John Trevese was yet another English youth sent to Halle by Slare and Hoare to be instructed in those sciences which "may qualify and prepare him for the education of Youth". Trevese, who was to assist Francke in the instruction of the other English boys,[155] wrote soon after his arrival in Halle:

> Since I know too well how much Gods Word is neglected and despised in Schools there [England], I would alter this Matter, and so ground my self here in Gods Word, that when I enter upon my intended Buisiness *[sic]*, I may seek to bring up those, that shall be under my care, in the love and Fear of God, the Discourse which in most of our Schools now a days is become as it were a laughing Stock and a Trifle. Thus my only Intent is to prepare myself to govern a School, and that after the Orphan House manner as much as possible.[156]

As late as the summer of 1715 Trevese was still in Halle,[157] but thereafter his course is unknown.

When Trevese returned to Halle he took with him a boy named John Godfrey, whose father, Boehm said, was concerned only that his son not be taught a particular Lutheran doctrine, probably ubiquity. Because this doctrine was hated in England Boehm suggested that on this point the English children be taught general instead of Lutheran principles.[158] Minor theological incon-

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151 Hoare to Francke, 13 July 1708 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.660).

152 "Sonst ist der Schuel-meister einer von ihren besten Leuten und hat eine grosse Liebe zu ihren Anstalten." (Boehm to Francke, London, 9 July 1708 [ArFrSt C 229:68])

153 Hoare to Francke, n.p., 17 Aug. 1711 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.670f).

154 SPCK *Minutes*, 29 May 1712 (v.283), 23 Oct. 1712 and 18 June 1713 (vi.19,85); *An Account of Charity-Schools in Great Britain and Ireland*, 11th edn. (London, 1712).

155 Slare to Francke, 29 June and 2 July 1711 (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.312, 314f).

156 Trevese to Francke, [c.1711] (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.376f).

157 Trevese to Francke, Zerbst, 6 June, 1715 (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.336-38).

158 Slare to Francke, 29 June 1711 (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.315); Boehm to Francke, London, 30 June and 26 Oct. 1711 (ArFrSt C 229:45,43).

gruities did not hinder the flow of yet more English boys to Halle through the 1710s.[159] Though the numbers were not large they provide evidence of the respect and high reputation with which Halle was held in England as a result of Boehm's endeavours.

The effect of *Pietas Hallensis* was far-reaching. Not only did it result in financial contributions for the Halle *Waisenhaus* and in boys and apprentices being sent to Halle for education, but more importantly it propagated the news about Francke's institutions and helped bring about a greater awareness of Halle Pietism. It spawned imitations throughout Britain, Ireland, and America and was of particular importance to later evangelicals like George Whitefield, Griffith Jones, and Wesley.[160] As a propaganda tool, *Pietas Hallensis* gave a higher profile to Halle and thereby to education and charity schools in general. But Halle's influence on the charity school movement went beyond the catalytic working of *Pietas Hallensis*; our final task is to analyze and compare their respective methodologies and pedagogies.

3. Influences and Comparisons

Charles Bridges asked Francke in 1699 "to give us some light for the better ordering and perfecting in some measure what is here I hope so sincerely begun".[161] According to Wigers, some friends in the English Church wanted to print Francke's "Institutionis Paedagogii Hallensis" in English at their own costs.[162] Bridges' links with Wigers and Mehder were certainly formative in the advice on method which he penned and the SPCK printed and distributed.[163] Halle influenced and invigorated the charity school movement in three marked ways: its pedagogical aims, the selection and training of teachers, and the method of finance. Though the goals and methods were anglicized and there developed important differences, Francke's ideas were formative.

Pedagogical Aims

What were Francke's pedagogical methods? The aim of his institutions, as expressed in the title of his fundamental work on the education of children, was to guide children "to true piety and Christian wisdom".[164] Francke's

159 Boehm to Francke, London, 25 July 1712 (ArFrSt C 229:38); Henry Scheibell to Francke, London, 15 Sept. 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.VII.294f); Samuel Stott to Francke, Halle, 21 Apr. 1713 (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.334); Boehm to Francke, London, 8 Aug. 1718 (ArFrSt C 229:90b).

160 See pp. 186–90 below.

161 Bridges to Francke, London, 7 May 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.674).

162 Wigers to Francke, London, 4 May 1699 (ArFrSt B 71a:100–102); to Francke, London, 7 Nov. 1699 (Nachlaß 30. XI.423).

163 SPCK *Minutes*, 17 Aug. 1699, printed in: McClure, p. 30.

164 *Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen*