

7. Sekundärliteratur

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

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3. Influences and Comparisons

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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*

pedagogy has been the subject of a great deal of scrutiny and analysis by scholars; a few points deserve mention.¹⁶⁵ For Francke, the starting point of reform in society and of renewal in the Church was education. He sought to prepare students for life, both physically and spiritually, so along with rigid catechetical instruction went training in manual occupations. Whether educating children to be useful and productive members of a working class or to be students at university, Francke wished them to be solidly rooted in Christian fundamentals. As a theologian, at the centre of his pedagogy stood an exact order of conversion: preliminary divine stirrings [*göttliche Rührung*], the struggle of repentance [*Bußkampf*], and breakthrough [*Durchbruch*].¹⁶⁶ He was not anti-scholastic, as is sometimes assumed, but wanted learning to be related and subservient to godliness and piety.

The two-fold purpose in the English charity schools of making poor children both Christian and useful members of the lower orders was reinforced by or modelled after Halle. The chief design of the schools was "the *Education of Poor Children in the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion*, as profess'd and taught in the Church of England".¹⁶⁷ To this religious purpose the English schools also adopted Halle's practice of preparing children for manual trades and of putting them out to apprenticeships. The yearly accounts of the charity schools contained a statistical category of children who had moved from schools to apprenticeships. The Society believed, as did Francke, that Christian education of the poor was a primary means to reform society.¹⁶⁸ This stress on training as well as educating the poor led directly to the workhouse movement in England for which the SPCK again took on a coordinating role.¹⁶⁹

In certain ways, however, Francke's pedagogical methods differed from those adopted by the SPCK-linked charity school and workhouse movements, which were more socially conservative than Francke's and aimed to make poor

Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworfen / und nun auff Begehren zum Druck gegeben (Halle, 1702), repr. in part in: Peschke, ed., *Werke in Auswahl*, pp. 124–150. According to Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 37n3, Francke's work was translated into English and published in 1707; unfortunately, I have been unable to locate a copy.

165 See W. Oschlies, *Die Arbeits- und Berufspädagogik August Hermann Franckes* (Witten, 1969); P. Menck, *Die Erziehung der Jugend zur Ehre Gottes und zum Nutzen des Nächsten* (Wuppertal, 1969); B. Hermann, "Die ungewollte und die gewollte Welt. Eine Studie zur politischen Pädagogik A.H. Franckes", (Dr.phil. thesis, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität zu Münster [Westf.], 1983); A. Eisner, "Erziehung und Unterricht im Pietismus", (Dr.phil. thesis, Universität Wien, 1979).

166 E. Peschke, "Speners Wiedergeburtstheorie und ihr Verhältnis zu Franckes Lehre von der Bekehrung", in: *Traditio – Krisis – Renovatio aus theologischer Sicht. Festschrift Winfried Zeller zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. B. Jaspert and R. Mohr (Marburg, 1976), pp. 222f.

167 *Account of Methods of Charity-Schools*, p. 1.

168 See *A Letter From a Member of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in London, to a Correspondent in the Country* (London, 1702), p. 2.

169 See T.V. Hitchcock, "The English Workhouse: A Study in Institutional Poor Relief in Selected Counties, 1696–1750" (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1985), esp. Chap. 4; Simon, "From charity school to workhouse", pp. 126–29.

children productive, not socially mobile, stressing more the benefit done to the soul of the giver than the welfare provided for the poor.¹⁷⁰ This social conservatism is plainly evident in a 1712 *Circular Letter* sent by the SPCK:

But however these Children are dispos'd of, it will be very necessary, before hand, to teach them that great lesson of *True Humility*, which our Saviour has prescrib'd to all that will be his Disciples, least the Advantages they receive from a Pious Education, should incline them to put too great a Value upon themselves.¹⁷¹

Francke, on the other hand, though he prepared children for manual trades, also offered any child who showed promise the opportunity to go to university or receive advanced training. Furthermore, he put a much greater emphasis on personal conversion as the means to initiate the reform of the child, to which some of the English lads studying at Halle bore witness.¹⁷² The religious instruction in the English charity schools revolved not around personal regeneration, but the Anglican catechism and books of practical piety like the *Whole Duty of Man*. In both Halle and the SPCK a solid religious education was the highest priority, but what that instruction entailed differed markedly.

Teacher Training

Halle's influence is also seen in the ways in which the charity school movement chose and trained its teachers. Charity schools were a major factor in the "laicisation" of the schoolteaching profession in England, since, because of the proliferation of the schools, there were not enough clergy to staff them.¹⁷³ In the early years, at least partially because the schools required full-time service from its educators, the movement experienced a shortage of teachers, as is evident from Bridges' approaches to Wigers, Mehder, and Boehm. Bridges told Francke that their beginnings were weak "for want of good masters and directors".¹⁷⁴ Some teachers, like Belke, Mackbeth, and Trevese, were sent directly to Halle for training. Patrons like Slare placed a high value on this training at Halle and had "more hopes of their doing more good in that way, than in being ordained ad Clerii".¹⁷⁵ The teachers training college after Halle's model desired by Bridges and Sir John Philipps never came to fruition; when Philipps proposed at an SPCK meeting the establishing of such a college, the Society found it unnecessary, for

170 See Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 3–8; Clarke, *History SPCK*, pp. 28f; Simon, "From charity school to workhouse", pp. 128f.

171 *Circular Letter* (9 Sept. 1712) (Camb., *Baumgartner Papers* 7.IV.1.No.59.[Add.7]).

172 See esp. Samuel Stott's account of his conversion in a letter to Francke, Halle, 21 Apr. 1713 (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.334).

173 Holmes, *Augustan England*, pp. 70, 77f; Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 96.

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

175 Slare to Francke, 29 June 1711 (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.315); cf. Hoare to Francke, 18 Mar. 1711 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.672).

... the Religious Societies have hitherto furnished the Charity Schools in and about London, with discreet Masters at far less Charge, and to better Satisfaction, than by any other Method that has been try'd.¹⁷⁶

Since these teachers lacked conventional formal instruction an informal system arose instead. Some served as apprentices to more experienced teachers before taking up their own schools. In addition, there quickly sprang up around London societies of schoolmasters or schoolmistresses, which were types of religious societies. Already in 1702 Wigers informed Francke of a newly formed society of schoolmasters, to which both he and Mehder belonged and at which the members discussed how they could best serve the children. Within months he reported that they had so grown that there were seven founded within London with 100 subscribing members.¹⁷⁷ It was one of these societies which some benefactors formed in 1711 under the leadership of Mackbeth, who, according to Boehm, had been sent to Halle for the very purpose of propagating charity schools in England according to Halle's model.¹⁷⁸ In 1718 Thomas Bray complained to Archbishop Wake about the Jacobite tendencies of a particular society of schoolmasters, a charge frequently levelled at both charity schools and religious societies during this time.¹⁷⁹

The early societies for schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, like those with which Wigers and Mehder were associated, appear to have been structured as mutual support groups in which teachers interacted on a personal, informal level, without an explicit leader or instructor. It is possible that some basic guidelines circulated among these societies. In 1699 Bridges asked Francke to send him "under a few heads the necessary qualifications for a good school-master, as likewise to direct what questions to ask him in order to find whether he be upon a sound bottom for such purpose".¹⁸⁰ If such guidance was indeed made available to the societies of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, perhaps through the organizing role of the SPCK, then Halle's influence was that much greater.

That these instructions did exist is evidenced by the fact that at the end of *Pietas Hallensis* Boehm appended "Orders to be observ'd by the Masters of the several Charity-Schools", which, following Francke's model, emphasized the spiritual and moral life of the teacher who, above all, was to serve as an example to the students.¹⁸¹ By 1707 these orders had been anglicized in Talbott's *The Christian School-Master*, which also stresses the personal morality and piety of

176 SPCK Minutes, 18 Nov. 1708 (ii-iv.129); cf. Holmes, *Augustan England*, p. 78.

177 Wigers to Francke, London, 13 Sept. & 26 Dec. 1702 (Nachlaß 30.XI.453f,457f).

178 Boehm to Francke, London, 9 July 1708 (ArFrSt C 229:68); Hoare to Francke, 17 Aug. 1711 (Nachlaß 30.XVIII.670f); Mackbeth to Francke, 17/28 Nov. 1712 (Nachlaß 30.XIV.576).

179 Bray to Archbishop Wake, Aldgate, 21 Mar. 1718 (ChCh, Wake MSS 15:182-93).

180 Bridges to Francke, 7 May 1699 (Nachlaß 30.XIX.675).

181 Francke, *Pietas Hallensis* (1705), pp. 191-206.

the teacher.¹⁸² In Talbott, however, one finds no evidence of Francke's insistence that teachers should have an experiential piety by which they could embody for their students the truths of an experimental religion. As Francke required an account of personal conversion from teachers, so Talbott insisted on unwavering loyalty to and communion with the Church of England.

Subscription

During the first quarter of the eighteenth century charity schools were financed by either subscription or endowment. The subscription method was the most dominant and the one most responsible for the spectacular rise of these schools, though the role of endowment remained vital.¹⁸³ According to a 1704 account of the charity schools, when four or five people wanted to establish a charity school they would put their names on a roll of parchment and "subscribe thereto such Sums as each of them thought fit to pay yearly (during pleasure) towards the Charge, and generally the Minister subscribed first".¹⁸⁴ This method was much more precarious and insecure than endowment because it relied on holding the "pleasure" of individuals.

Though both methods were part of the same movement there is evidence that their exponents did not always see eye to eye. Writing to Francke in 1710 Boehm refers to different perspectives in England on the work at Halle as described in *Pietas Hallensis*. One side held that Francke's dependence on special Providence was to be imitated, while the other believed that it was to be admired as an extraordinary Providence but not followed; "it is as if," adds Boehm, "God is not as powerful in England as he is in Germany."¹⁸⁵ Even though the reality was that Francke through his economic enterprises was establishing an endowed security for his institutions, the stress in every edition of *Pietas Hallensis* was still on God's providential supply, predominantly through private contributions.

Those English divines who recommended *Pietas Hallensis* admired the special Providence evident therein and saw it as a sign of God's favour and approval; leaders in the charity school movement pointed to the same signs in their schools. White Kennett said, "Could we trace the obscurer Footsteps of our own Charity-Schools, the Finger of God would be as evident in them."¹⁸⁶ For many, dependence on Providence was best accomplished not through endowment but through subscription. An example of the importance of Providence and the motivating power of *Pietas Hallensis* is exemplified in the

182 Talbott, *Christian School-Master*, pp. 4-24.

183 Holmes, *Augustan England*, p. 54.

184 *An Account of the Methods Whereby the Charity-Schools have been Erected and Managed* ([London], 1704), p. 1.

185 "... gleich als wenn GOtt nicht so mächtig in Engeland, als in Teutschland wäre." (Boehm to Francke, London, 20 June 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 145f)

186 *Charity of Schools*, p. 32.

printed account of a charity school in Cork titled *Pietas Corcagiensis*. The motto of this school was "God's Providence is our Inheritance".¹⁸⁷ The author lifted up the example of what God had done at Halle and declared,

... shall we then any way doubt, but that the same Almighty and most Gracious God, whom we also Worship, and who is the same yesterday, to Day, and for ever, will preside over, will improve the good Estate of these Charitable Foundations, which he has raised and hitherto supported by so many remarkable Footsteps of his Watchful Providence.¹⁸⁸

Noting that the chief support of the school was "nothing but the Good Providence of God, and the Voluntary Contributions of his Faithful People,"¹⁸⁹ much of the pamphlet is a register of donations from all over Britain.

The effect of *Pietas Hallensis* in encouraging a Providential reliance on the subscriptions of generous supporters, should not be underestimated. Though the SPCK provided little financial support itself for the charity schools, it did promote the subscription method. Circulating *Pietas Hallensis* among its correspondents reinforced the viability of this method and thereby contributed in no small way to the rapid growth of charity schools during this period.

Without denying or depreciating the Anglican and English nature of the charity schools,¹⁹⁰ our purpose has been to show that in the crucial infant years Francke's institutions became a significant model to them. *Pietas Hallensis* served as an important financial and methodological catalyst to the movement and also resulted in increased personal links between the charity schools and Halle. Its effect, especially within the SPCK, was not soon forgotten; as late as 1735 the SPCK told its correspondents, "The Society does not doubt but it will be a particular Pleasure to all their Members, to hear of the Increase and Prosperity of the Orphan-House at Hall."¹⁹¹

In closing, it is worth noting that even as Halle influenced the charity school movement, Halle helped report the progress of the English work. Halle felt a kinship with the charity school movement in England; it translated the SPCK's reports on the charity schools into German,¹⁹² published them on its own press, and helped distribute them as far as Moscow, resulting in donations from Russia for the English schools.¹⁹³ Certainly part of Francke's motivation

187 *Pietas Corcagiensis* (Cork, 1721), p. 36.

188 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

189 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

190 Boehm advised Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1706 (ArFrSt C 229:71), that he would have difficulty breaking and correcting the free English nature of the English children sent to Halle.

191 *A Copy of The Circular Letter from the Society at London, for Promoting Christian Knowledge, &c. to their Residing and Corresponding Members, for the Year, 1735, signed, Hen. Newman* (Dublin, 1735), p. 5.

192 *Nachricht von den milden Schulen in und um Londen* (Halle, 1708).

193 SPCK Minutes, 8 May 1712 (v.277f); Newman to Boehm, 9 May 1712 (ArSPCK, Soc Lett [CS2/2]).

in publishing the German account of the charity schools was his feeling that his own institutions had set an example which the English were following.¹⁹⁴ The Society recognized it was part of a larger movement and spoke proudly in 1712 of charity schools established in New England, New York, Barbadoes, the Czardom of Muscovy, Hesse, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, and Tranquebar in the East Indies.¹⁹⁵ Both Francke and the SPCK saw themselves as having launched what was fast becoming a campaign for the propagation of Christian education to the poor in many parts of the world.

194 Podczeck, ed., *Francke ... Der grosse Aufsatz*, pp. 112-18.

195 *Account of Charity-Schools* (1712), p. 60.