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Teacher Training

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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

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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.I.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 schoolmaster, 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 Summs 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.