

7. Sekundärliteratur

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

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1. The Rise of SPCK- Halle Cooperation

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CHAPTER VII

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

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

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

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

1. The Rise of SPCK-Halle Cooperation

The Extent of Influence and Cooperation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reasons for SPCK-Halle Involvement

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12 *Ibid.*, p. 118.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁸ See pp. 216–20 below.

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

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

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

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

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

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

23 *Charity of Schools*, p. 37.

24 *Pietas Corcagiensis*, pp. 10f.

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

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

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

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

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

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

28 *Charity School Movement*, p. 41.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. The Decline of SPCK-Halle Relations

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

Evangelicalism, the SPCK, and Halle

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

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

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

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

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