

7. Sekundärliteratur

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

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Conclusions

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stated hopefully, "at the suggestion of the court preacher Ziegenhagen, Mr. Whitefield may drop".⁹² Yet Ziegenhagen's influence with Whitefield was limited and despite their friendship, the reception afforded him by Halle was polite but cool. Any communication between them was initiated from the side of Whitefield. Halle did not appear to take the Methodist movement seriously.⁹³ It is noticeable that no Methodist work appeared off Halle presses.

There was, by contrast, a significant literary exchange between Watts and Halle.⁹⁴ On one side, the Pietists in 1727 published a German edition of Watts' *Death and Heaven* (which had so impressed A.H. Francke that he had ordered it translated). On the other side, a letter written by A.H. Francke on preaching was sent by his son to Watts, was translated into English by David Jennings, and added in 1736 to the third edition of his brother John's *Two Discourses* on preaching, with a recommendation by Watts. Watts in turn dispatched this publication straight away back to G.A. Francke, who gave the discourses "a very high Encomium", had them translated into German, and inserted them in a monthly collection of papers "for the Advancement of Religion".⁹⁵ The following year Watts' *The Redeemer and the Sanctifier* (1736), for which Ziegenhagen expressed particular esteem, was translated into German and published at Halle.⁹⁶ The reserve and uncertainty with which Wesley and Whitefield were treated by Halle is absent in its relations with Watts.

Conclusions

The early links of the Methodists to the Moravian Brethren led to irreparable damage to any close ties between the early evangelical movement and Halle. As long as the Methodists were connected to Zinzendorf, Ziegenhagen certainly encouraged anti-Methodist feelings within the Society. He joined Thomas Broughton in spreading anti-Moravian pamphlets through the religious societies; he also influenced John Thorold, one of the early benefactors of Methodism, against the Brethren.⁹⁷ It is equally probable that the anti-Methodist resolve of the SPCK reinforced the caution expressed by Francke and Ziegenhagen towards the Methodists. As an active and committed member of the SPCK until his death in 1776, Ziegenhagen was primarily interested

92 "... doch aber auf Vorstellung des Herren Hofprediger Ziegenhagen ... zu Lehren unterlaßen." (J.D. Noht to [Fabricius], 23 Jan 1750 [*Nachlaß* 30.III.164])

93 Zehrer, "Relationship between Pietism and Methodism", p. 224. It would appear that Muhlenberg in Pennsylvania reacted more favourably to Whitefield and his preaching. (See Muhlenberg to Ziegenhagen, [Philadelphia, 15 Nov. 1763], printed in: *Muhl Korres*, iii.127)

94 Nuttall, "Continental Pietism", pp. 223-27.

95 David Jennings, Preface to A.H. Francke's "Letter", appended to John Jennings, *Two Discourses*, 4th edn. (Boston, 1740), pp. 57f.

96 Isaac Watts, *Versöhnopfer Christi*, trans. J.H. Grischow, with an Introduction by J.A. Steinmetz (Halle, 1737); Ziegenhagen to Isaac Watts, Kensington, 20 Oct. 1736 (ArFrSt C 504:16).

97 Benham, ed., *Memoirs of James Hutton*, pp. 82,110.

in the East India mission, the Ebenezer community, and Muhlenberg's efforts in Pennsylvania; he did not wish to do anything to hurt those ventures within the SPCK. As the most visible English representative of Halle Pietism, to align himself with the Methodists would have damaged his solid reputation in the SPCK.

Watts and Thornton, on the other hand, could be perceived differently. Watts' primary exchanges with Halle took place before the outbreak of Methodism and he had himself reacted swiftly to the fanatical extremes within Methodism. Though a Dissenter who himself held to a mild doctrine of predestination, he was much more sober and restrained than the enthusiastic and unpredictable Whitefield. Thornton was an Anglican Evangelical and member of the SPCK; though highly critical of the established Church, his status as a member of the Society made him much more acceptable to Halle.

Of primary importance in the weakening of SPCK-Halle connections was the death of first generational leadership. From the English side Philipps and Newman deserve first mention, but Slare and Archbishop Wake should not be ignored. When Newman informed the missionaries in Tranquebar of the deaths of Sir John Philipps and William Wake, he wrote, "May it please God to supply their places with persons of equal Zeal and Abilities as they had."⁹⁸ Alas, these friends proved to be irreplaceable. The change in the SPCK after the loss of its key lay leaders was mirrored in Halle, which declined to become but a shadow of its golden age under A.H. Francke. Neither Ziegenhagen nor G.A. Francke had the creative genius or the charisma of their predecessors, though they held the same high-profile positions. The character of Halle Pietism became more confessional and withdrawn, less animated. This was clearly evidenced by its negativism and animosity toward the Moravian Brethren. While the fervour and adventure of the earlier years disappeared, the *ordo salutis* was ossified into a perfunctory three-stage process of *göttlich Rührung, Bußkampf, and Durchbruch*,⁹⁹ against which Zinzendorf had already reacted during his student years at Halle. The year 1740 saw the introduction of Wolffian philosophy into the university at Halle; rationalism and the Enlightenment squeezed dry the emotional ardour of Pietism. The elder Francke's international perspective became increasingly national as Pietism was used by a developing Prussian authoritarianism to further its own extension of state power.¹⁰⁰ It is no coincidence that those evangelicals who were attracted to Halle Pietism were by and large drawn to A.H. Francke and Boehm, i.e. to the first generation of Pietist leadership in Halle and England; the Pietism to which they responded was that encountered through the publications of

98 Newman to Dal, Bosse, Pressier, and Walther, 8 Feb. 1737 (ArSPCK, *Letters to India* [ME/CS2]).

99 Peschke, "Speners Wiedergeburtstheorie und Franckes Lehre von der Bekehrung", pp. 222f.

100 See M. Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 153-73.

Boehm. The effect of Halle Pietism on the evangelical revival was primarily literary – not personal, as had been the case earlier with the SPCK. It was mediated through the generous spirit of Boehm.

Our findings would thus partly support Eamon Duffy's assessment of the decline of Halle-SPCK cooperation. He is no doubt correct in declaring that evangelicals became the strongest exponents of Francke and Halle Pietism in England and that the SPCK adopted an anti-Methodist, anti-enthusiasm stance as it became much more of "an episcopally-directed agency of the most insular Church in Europe".¹⁰¹ However, Duffy probably overstates his case by implying that the decline of Halle-SPCK relations was due to the fact that in the Anglican mind, the Pietists had become associated with evangelical enthusiasts. His suggestion that Watts was chosen to recommend Boehm's *Memoirs* because Halle's closest contacts were now outside the established Church, implies nothing about SPCK-Halle ties; given Watts' personal connections to both Boehm and the translator J.C. Jacobi, no other person need be sought. Nor is there evidence connecting the introduction of the category "Against Enthusiasm" in the Society's annual report of 1762 with the dropping of Francke's *Christus Sacrae Scriptae Nucleus* two years later;¹⁰² in 1771 the Society issued the eighth edition of Boehm's *Plain Directions for Reading the Holy Scriptures* which was then included in its catalogues for several years. There was no sharp break here in Anglican-Hallensian relations. It must be remembered that both Ziegenhagen and his associate F.W. Pasche continued as regular members of the SPCK and protected Halle interests. The SPCK did not cool to Halle Pietism *per se*; it was the decline of Halle, and the increasing insularity on both sides of the Channel, together with the more conservative, official character of the SPCK which prevented any new ventures from forthcoming.¹⁰³

In closing, it is worth remembering and emphasizing that despite the changed nature of the SPCK it continued into the nineteenth century to request from Halle and to send out German Lutheran missionaries, a practice which was taken up also by the Evangelicals' Church Missionary Society.¹⁰⁴ The SPCK faithfully paid and corresponded with the Lutheran pastors at Ebenezer up to the American Revolution. Even thereafter, when it withdrew

101 Duffy, "The SPCK and Europe", p. 41.

102 *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

103 This is not to deny Duffy's main thesis that J.A. Urlsperger's requests fell on deaf ears within the SPCK because of its different character; our only purpose is to question the links between Halle Pietism and enthusiastic evangelicalism in the thinking of the Society.

104 See T.T. Biddulph, *A Letter to the Rev. Fountain Elwin* (Bristol, 1818), p. 22, an Evangelical who "always lamented the necessity of employing Lutheran clergymen [in the CMS], because I consider that there is an irregularity in the ordinations of the Lutheran Church: but their employment is sanctioned by high example, as the Bartlett's Buildings Society [SPCK] has employed none other Missionaries than such Clergymen".

its official support of the Georgian Germans, the Society responded favourably to a request from F.W. Pasche in 1779 to send some books published from the manuscripts of Ziegenhagen to the people of Ebenezer, "who on Account of their late sufferings and distresses are unable to pay for the same".¹⁰⁵ This continued involvement may by now have become largely traditional – a matter of administrative habit – but in 1811 the Society was able to look back with pride, in an anniversary year, on one hundred years of cooperative involvement in India.

105 SPCK *Minutes*, 11 May 1779 (xxviii.246); cf. 15 June 1779 (xxviii.255f).