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The collaboration of Halle pietism and the military state. The developement of the chaplaincy in Prussia through the middle of the eighteenth century.

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The development of the chaplaincy in Prussia during the early eighteenth century is one of the most important and most tangible aspects of the alliance between Halle Pietism and the Prussian state.² The institutionalization of the chaplaincy allowed the Pietists to spread their influence throughout Prussia, and enabled the Prussian state to further its programs of disciplining and state building.

The reign of Elector Friedrich Wilhelm

Clergymen have always accompanied fighting men, and the military in Prussia before and during the Thirty Years War was no exception. Due to the contemporary disorganization and the scarcity of surviving documents, only a vague understanding of how the chaplaincy worked during the seventeenth century is possible. Edicts and muster rolls for the Prussian army during the Thirty Years War discuss chaplains and even stipulate their pay.³ It seems that a handful of chaplains, perhaps a half-dozen, ministered to the tiny Prussian army of the 1630s.⁴ The chaplaincy in Prussia during this period was modeled on that of Gustavus Adolphus – there was a clear recognition that soldiers needed preachers, but no notion that the army should provide them or administer them. In many cases chaplains were recruited *ad hoc* and served in an official capacity, but in others they unofficially accompanied soldiers on campaign of their own volition.

The first traces of an organized chaplaincy appeared in the armies of Prussia during the middle of the seventeenth century, at approximately the same time that the reforms of the Great Elector transformed Prussia's military into a modern standing army. In the 1650s, each regiment of infantry and cavalry in the army of the Great Elector had at least one chaplain. Especially large regiments and regiments spread over several garrisons had two or three chaplains each.⁵ These *Regimentsprediger* were attached to their specific unit and accompanied their flocks on campaign. *Garnisonprediger* were posted in cities, especially those with fortresses, and did not go out on campaign during wartime but stayed to minister to the garrisons posted there. Other than the requirement to go on campaign and some issues of precedence in using the garrison churches, there was no discernible difference between the status and duties of regimental or garrison chaplains and they both commonly fell under the denotation *Feldprediger* during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Incidentally, the chaplaincy of the overwhelmingly Lutheran Prussian army was officially strictly Lutheran.⁶ Nonetheless, Calvinist preachers accompanied the monarch on campaign, and during peacetime Calvinist soldiers were ministered to by local civilian Calvinist preachers. These clergymen did not, however, fall under the rubric of the regular chaplaincy. A chaplain served as a member of the regimental staff, in a capacity not unlike that of a regimental surgeon. Chaplains carried the rank of Major and were the fifth-highest ranking officer in the regiment.⁷ In a quintessential example of the not-yet-centralized nature of pre-modern militaries, chaplains were appointed by and served at the pleasure of the regimental or garrison commander. If prospective chaplains were not already ordained, they were examined and ordained by the civilian church authorities. There were no official regulations regarding the appointment or the duties of chaplains, and little or no supervision.⁸ A chaplain's qualification for the post, his duties, and even his pay were all determined by his individual commander, and varied considerably from regiment to regiment.⁹

In most cases during this early period, the pay, duties, and living conditions that service as a chaplain provided were considered unsatisfactory. The pay was adequate only for bare subsistence.¹⁰ The soldiers, and often even the officers, were disrespectful of the chaplains and recalcitrant regarding their teachings. On the one hand, competent clergymen seem to have considered a chaplainship merely as a transition to a better position. On the other hand, the chaplaincy attracted many of the least desirable clergymen, those that could not find other posts due to heterodoxy, incompetence, or even misconduct.¹¹

The army regulations issued by the Great Elector in 1656 (during the Nordic War) were based on regulations of the Swedish army dating from the Thirty Years War.¹² These regulations actually began by discussing chaplains and the provision of religious services for the soldiers.¹³ However, the regulations reflected the undisciplined nature of mid-seventeenth-century armies much better than they described how the chaplaincy should function. The pronouncements were almost entirely negative. They dictated quite specific punishments for all sorts of offenses against God, including death for soldiers who misbehaved in church and expulsion from the army for chaplains who were caught drunk when they should be performing the church service. The language of the sections regarding chaplains reveals that during this period there were still chaplains who accompanied the army of their own volition.¹⁴

In these regulations there was no mention made of how chaplains were to be appointed, examined, ordained, administered, supervised, or subsequently promoted. In fact, the only description of what chaplains were supposed to do

was the demand that they hold church services twice daily. Anecdotal evidence shows that attendance at church services was enforced by the implementation of a "church parade."¹⁵ Soldiers were marched to church, in uniform, in formation, to the beat of drums, in much the same manner in which they were marched into battle. Chaplains were responsible for performing marriages, baptisms, and burials for the soldiers and their families. Chaplains were the school inspectors for the garrison or regimental schools organized to teach the soldiers' children. Finally, chaplains were responsible for such miscellaneous tasks as counseling the condemned and administering oaths.¹⁶

The reign of Elector/King Friedrich III/I

The first steps towards regularizing the chaplaincy were made in 1692, while Prussian troops were engaged in the War of the League of Augsburg. Like the regulations issued by the Great Elector regarding chaplains, these seem to have been modeled on the Swedish example.¹⁷ Elector Friedrich III issued an edict allowing for the formation of a "Field Consistory."¹⁸ Despite the wording, this edict did not allow for a separate church council. Rather, it set guidelines for forming an impromptu commission in the field that would serve as an ecclesiastical court for the army in general and as a court martial for malfeasant chaplains in particular. This Field Consistory consisted of the General-Auditor of the army and two or more upstanding chaplains. Contrary to custom, especially that of the Swedish army, the Prussian military consistory's judgments were final, and censured chaplains could not appeal to higher civilian courts. This was the first small step towards separating the chaplaincy from the civilian church. It was also the first attempt to centralize the supervision of chaplains.

A series of short edicts dealing with the details of soldiers' religious and marital lives followed in the next two decades.¹⁹ In 1711, while his troops were engaged in the War of the Spanish Succession, King Friedrich I issued a comprehensive military consistorial regulation to reiterate and reconcile the various regulations and edicts surrounding the chaplaincy.²⁰ The configuration of the Field Consistory was changed and it was re-named the "Military Consistory." In addition to the General-Auditor and two or more chaplains, two staff officers were added to the consistory, and the Berlin garrison chaplain was named as a permanent member. Again, no permanent military church council was established. This regulation merely reiterated the procedures for dealing with misbehaving chaplains; significantly, questions of doctrine were specifically placed outside the jurisdiction of the military consistory. Accusations of heterodoxy were to be dealt with by the civilian church.

While the Prussian State was stumbling towards official centralization of the chaplaincy, it was taking concrete steps towards institutionalization. Under Friedrich III/I, the institution of the chaplaincy was cemented by the construction of garrison churches, the publication of hymnals and bibles for the soldiers, and the creation of new institutions under the rubric of the military church. Chaplains had previously held services in the open or in civilian churches, but in Berlin in 1701 the first garrison church was built for the exclusive use of the military. Similar churches were erected in other garrison towns. Significantly, the garrison church in Berlin was built without help from the civilian church, and was financed by the king and by collections from the soldiers.²¹ The garrison chaplain in Berlin at the time, Christoph Naumann (died 1726), oversaw the construction of the garrison church there and took steps to widen the scope of the military church. In 1703 a garrison school was opened in Berlin to cater to the children of soldiers and veterans; within the next decade it would boast over 300 children and five teachers. In 1705 a military hospital was established, and in 1707 an orphanage for soldiers' children was opened. All of these were closely associated with the Berlin garrison church and fell under the supervision of the Berlin garrison chaplain, Naumann.

Naumann also produced publications to aid chaplains in ministering to the troops. In 1704 a translation of an English prayer book was issued.²² A military hymnal also created by Naumann in 1704, was followed by further editions in 1708 and 1712. In 1709 he produced a soldier's edition of the New Testament for the Prussian army, complete with an appendix of prayers and hymns.²³

Pietists first began to infiltrate the Prussian chaplaincy during the reign of Friedrich III/I. Carl Hildebrand Freiherr von Canstein, Francke's chief agent in Berlin, was writing Francke to arrange for appointments to chaplainships by 1702.²⁴ The Pietists began placing their protégés into the chaplaincy as favors to their contacts within the military. The obligation to provide good chaplains to their friends was immediately also seen as an opportunity to install their clients in influential positions in the Prussian state.²⁵ Under Friedrich III/I the Pietists had a measure of success in placing candidates into chaplainships.²⁶

Nonetheless, the Pietists made little progress in gaining control of the chaplaincy during this period. Christoph Naumann was opposed to them, and the last years of Friedrich III/I's reign saw a crisis in the relationship of Pietism with the Prussian state.²⁷ It was only under the reign of Friedrich Wilhelm I that the Pietists returned to royal favor and then came to control the chaplaincy.

The reign of King Friedrich Wilhelm I

The pious and militaristic nature of the new king led him to take particular interest in the chaplaincy, and it was under his rule that the chaplaincy was transformed from a disorganized, unofficial apparatus to a highly bureaucratized, systematic, and hierarchical state organ. Although officially Calvinist like the rest of the Hohenzollern line, the king viewed the confessional differences between Calvinism and Lutheranism as merely the bickering of clergymen. Friedrich Wilhelm therefore freely attended the church services performed by his Pietist Lutheran army chaplains rather than those by his own Calvinist court chaplains.²⁸ He did this not only because he enjoyed accompanying his troops to church, but also because he preferred the simple but invigorating sermons of the Pietists.

Friedrich Wilhelm's personal interest in the military church played out in many forms. On dozens of occasions the king interviewed and auditioned prospective chaplains himself, usually for his own regiment or the Potsdam garrison, but sometimes for other regiments and garrisons too. He became personally acquainted with chaplains, and intervened to assure their promotion or sometimes even to keep them in his service.²⁹

Construction of garrison churches and other military church institutions peaked under Friedrich Wilhelm. In Berlin the military congregation had outgrown the garrison church left over from the reign of Friedrich III/I. By 1718 plans had been drafted to rebuild it, though they were not put into effect until the church was destroyed in 1720 by the explosion of the gunpowder depot across the street.³⁰ Finished in 1722, the new church was huge but plainly designed and decorated. It seated 4,000 on benches built without backrests so that the soldiers could not sleep during church. The interior was finished without decoration, in a style that reflected the ascetic values of Calvinism and the Pietist movement. It was built with the pulpit in the middle, surrounded on all four sides by the pews. On the outside, there was no steeple, not even a cross on the roof. It was thought that the garrison church had been designed to resemble a giant army tent.

The Berlin garrison church was to become the center of the Prussian chaplaincy. The Berlin garrison chaplainship had long been the most prestigious post in the chaplaincy, and under Friedrich Wilhelm the Berlin garrison chaplain officially headed the new chaplaincy bureaucracy. New chaplains were ordained in the Berlin garrison church. Additionally, the church was the scene of huge military funerals for the next century: an underground crypt was created in which many of the most important Prussian military officers were buried.³¹

In Potsdam the king immediately ordered that the chapel in the city palace be altered to accommodate the garrison as well as the court congregation.³² In 1721 the decision was made to build a dedicated court and garrison church in Potsdam to fit the rapidly expanding military congregation.³³ Finished the next year, the church was an odd design – it resembled a giant cube topped by an obelisk. This church was designed to be used alternately by the Calvinist court preachers and the Lutheran army chaplains. In keeping with the austere style of the Calvinists and the Pietists who would preach there, the interior was designed very plainly. Due to faulty construction, this church was condemned and demolished only eight years after being opened.

The replacement Potsdam garrison church, built on the same spot, was much larger and more traditionally designed. This church was built in a Calvinist style, with the pulpit in the middle and the pews arranged at right angles to each other. Again, the interior was finished plainly. The church seated 2,800 and was to become the greatest edifice of the Prussian chaplaincy. The tower, which took three years to finish after the church was opened, was an architectural masterpiece and reached almost 90 meters into the Potsdam skyline. There was no cross on the tower – rather it was topped with a weather vane with the Prussian eagle on one side and Friedrich Wilhelm's "FWR" initials on the other. The Potsdam garrison church was the church that Friedrich Wilhelm visited most often. After a bad illness in 1734, he constructed a small crypt in the church and ordered that he be interred there. His funeral was presided over by the Potsdam garrison chaplain, as was that of Friedrich II, who was placed beside him.³⁴

Under Friedrich Wilhelm, Potsdam also became the site of other military church institutions. The Potsdam military orphanage was built in 1724 to house soldiers' children.³⁵ Incidentally, this edifice to the cooperation of the Prussian state and Pietism also included rooms which served as a Greek Orthodox chapel and a Moslem mosque for the soldiers in Potsdam. Friedrich Wilhelm's penchant for extraordinarily tall soldiers was known throughout Europe, and he received contingents of tall troops as gifts from other rulers. To accommodate their various religious practices he brought the appropriate clerics to Potsdam and established religious centers for them there. Friedrich Wilhelm even built a Russian Orthodox church for the hundreds of soldiers sent by Peter the Great.³⁶

Although there would be no official Catholic chaplaincy in Prussia until 1792, Friedrich Wilhelm established an informal Catholic chaplaincy to accommodate his Catholic soldiers.³⁷ This was done to aid recruiting in Catholic lands by dispelling rumors that Catholics who enlisted in the Prussian army would not be allowed to practice their religion.

“Pater Torck”, who came to Berlin as the chaplain of the Habsburg envoy, also ministered to the Catholic soldiers there. In 1722 he was named *Feldpater*, a variation of *Feldprediger*, and began receiving pay from the Prussian army. Torck traveled throughout Brandenburg and Pomerania to minister to Catholics in the Prussian army. Because he was unable to minister to the entire army, he was allowed to enlist adjuncts to assist him, and they became a quasi-official itinerant Catholic chaplaincy entirely separate from the Lutheran chaplaincy.³⁸ The Catholic garrison church built in 1722 in Potsdam was the first Catholic church in Prussia since the Reformation. The number of Catholic soldiers attending church was so large that in 1737 the church had to be replaced by a larger one that seated 1,000.³⁹

Friedrich Wilhelm looked upon Pietism favorably, and he took a personal interest in the chaplaincy. These two factors led to a quick takeover of the chaplaincy by Francke’s allies after 1713. Christoph Naumann, the aforementioned Berlin garrison chaplain, was forced out shortly before Friedrich Wilhelm took the throne.⁴⁰ He had been opposed to the Pietists, and they discreetly applauded his departure.⁴¹ In his place Friedrich Wilhelm appointed Jakob Baumgarten, a long-standing member of Francke’s inner circle.⁴² At the same time Lampertus Gedicke was appointed second garrison chaplain in Berlin, the second highest post in the chaplaincy.⁴³ In the years that followed Canstein arranged for the appointment of more and more Pietist graduates from Halle to army chaplainships, including some of the most prestigious posts in the chaplaincy like the “Potsdam Giants” (*lange Kerle*).⁴⁴

In 1717, after weeks of maneuvering, the Pietists managed to shuffle several of their clients’ posts in Berlin.⁴⁵ Baumgarten was sent to a civilian post and was succeeded as head of the chaplaincy by his aforementioned assistant, Lampertus Gedicke. Gedicke played such a critical role in the institutionalization and Pietist takeover of the chaplaincy that the history of the chaplaincy is almost a biography of him.

Gedicke’s credentials as a clergyman and as a Pietist were exemplary. He was descended from an established preacher family – his grandfather had been a Lutheran court chaplain to the Hohenzollerns before their conversion to Calvinism. The fact that Gedicke married a noblewoman gives an indication of his family’s prestige. His father, also a preacher, died while Gedicke was still young, and Gedicke was taken in by the Pietists. Canstein personally sponsored Gedicke’s education and remained a supporter of inestimable value until his death.⁴⁶ In Berlin Gedicke was part of Spener’s *Collegium Biblicum*. In 1703 Gedicke went to Halle to study theology and became one of Francke’s protégés. He spent his last year in Halle as one of Francke’s select teachers at the *Pädagogium*. Gedicke was an accomplished scholar; in the same year he was appointed head of the chaplaincy he published the first of two important manuscripts.⁴⁷ He engaged actively in theological debates, several of his sermons were published, and he also wrote hymns.⁴⁸

Gedicke’s credentials as a military pastor were equally impressive. In 1709 he left Halle to become a chaplain. He campaigned two years during the War of Spanish Succession, returning with his regiment to Berlin in 1711. Ironically, the future head of the chaplaincy, like most chaplains, hated army life. He found the living conditions on campaign intolerable, and felt he was making so little progress preaching to the soldiers that he was wasting his time.⁴⁹ Gedicke’s subsequent promotion to second garrison chaplain in Berlin brought him into contact with Friedrich Wilhelm. Friedrich Wilhelm came to know Gedicke quite well before appointing him head of the chaplaincy. In addition to his access to the king as garrison chaplain in Berlin, Gedicke also accompanied the king on campaign in 1715.⁵⁰ The king’s orders to Gedicke giving him control of the military church specifically stated that he did so because of his trust in Gedicke as a person.⁵¹ Friedrich Wilhelm knew that he was granting the Pietists control of the chaplaincy by appointing Gedicke – indeed he specifically instructed Gedicke to contact Francke to fill chaplainships.⁵² Gedicke controlled the chaplaincy for the next two decades, until his death in 1736.

Gedicke was replaced by another Pietist, Johann Caspar Carstedt,⁵³ with equally impressive credentials. He had also been one of Francke’s protégés – he studied theology in Halle and was a teacher at the *Pädagogium*.⁵⁴ In 1715 he became a rector in Brandenburg/Havel, and in 1722 was appointed chaplain of the garrison there. In 1726 he prevailed in a series of auditions before Friedrich Wilhelm to become the chaplain for the “Potsdam Giants” (*lange Kerle*) and garrison chaplain in Potsdam.⁵⁵ Carstedt was already the most prestigious chaplain in Prussia except for Gedicke, and was the obvious choice to replace him. Carstedt’s tenure outlasted the reign of Friedrich Wilhelm, and he accompanied the armies of Friedrich II on campaign in Silesia.

The Pietists’ control of the chaplaincy extended to the other institutions associated with the military church. The most famous of these was the military orphanage in Potsdam, which Friedrich Wilhelm had built as a military version of Francke’s orphanage in Halle. Friedrich Wilhelm called Francke to Potsdam to consult on the organization of the orphanage, and even offered him the job of running it.⁵⁶ Friedrich Wilhelm also ordered that the Lutheran chaplain and teachers at the orphanage be recruited exclusively from Francke’s protégés in Halle. With Francke’s support, the military orphanage was placed under the rubric of the military church, under Gedicke’s supervision.⁵⁷

While the Potsdam military orphanage was the Prussian state's version of Francke's orphanage, the Berlin cadet corps was the military's rendition of Francke's *Pädagogium*. Though first erected in 1701, the cadet corps was recast into Francke's pedagogical model by 1720.⁵⁸ As at the Potsdam orphanage, the chaplains at the cadet corps were Pietists, and they fell under Gedicke's administration as part of the military church.⁵⁹

As the Pietists filled the posts in the military church, their publications were distributed to the soldiers. In 1725 Naumann's hymnal was replaced by one compiled by the Pietist provost at the Nicolai Church in Berlin, Johann Porst. Most significantly, in 1733 Friedrich Wilhelm arranged that Gedicke and Gotthilf August Francke, who had succeeded his father in Halle in 1727, create a soldiers' version of the "Canstein" New Testament. The Canstein Bible was the Pietists' low-cost edition of the New Testament, and it was bound with an appendix of prayers and hymns for the soldiers. Over the next four years 34 editions of the soldiers' Bible were printed in Halle, and over 14,000 distributed.⁶⁰

Under Gedicke the chaplaincy was already recruiting mostly graduates from Halle – they comprised roughly 70 % of new chaplains.⁶¹ The preponderance of Halle graduates entering the chaplaincy was intensified still further after 1727, when Friedrich Wilhelm gave orders that every prospective clergyman in Prussia had to present a testimonial from the Theology Faculty at Halle.⁶² This applied not only to graduating theology students or foreigners, but also to clergymen in office seeking promotion. Regarding the chaplaincy, it applied to prospective and former army chaplains.⁶³ Henceforth Halle graduates would represent an overwhelming majority in the chaplaincy – at least 85% of new chaplains.⁶⁴

The best source for gaining an understanding of the chaplaincy during this period is undoubtedly the letters that these chaplains wrote. Scores of chaplains wrote hundreds of letters back to Halle describing their appointments, their posts, and their subsequent promotions. These letters are located at the Archive of the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle and in the Francke Papers at the Staatsbibliothek West in Berlin.⁶⁵

The Prussian chaplaincy was bureaucratized and centralized during Friedrich Wilhelm's reign and under Pietist supervision. In the first years of Friedrich Wilhelm's reign the Pietists had already infiltrated the chaplaincy to such an extent that they favored institutionalization of the chaplaincy as a means of adding official status and further authority to their unofficial dominance. Friedrich Wilhelm's instructions to Gedicke in 1717 constituted the effective institutionalization of the chaplaincy and a vast increase in its importance relative to the civilian Lutheran church.⁶⁶ Rather than simply assuming the post of the Berlin garrison chaplain, Gedicke was assigned a newly-created post – Field Inspector, *Feldinspektor*. Gedicke was instructed to administer the chaplaincy wholly separately from the civilian Lutheran church bureaucracy. Chaplains would be directly subordinate to Gedicke and no longer responsible to the civilian Lutheran church.

In the years following, a number of royal decisions and orders laid out the function of the chaplaincy. Gedicke was soon to be granted control of the examination of chaplains and granted the authority to ordain them himself in the Berlin garrison church.⁶⁷ He was named Field Provost, *Feldpropst*, and became one of the three most powerful Lutheran church officials in Prussia.⁶⁸ Myriad details were worked out to systematize the chaplaincy. Supervision of the chaplains was stipulated in detail.⁶⁹ Pay for chaplains was officially standardized.⁷⁰ Chaplains were issued uniforms.⁷¹ It was very carefully stipulated exactly why and for how long a chaplainship could stand empty, and what the duties of a departing chaplain were towards his incoming successor.⁷² Even a minimum age, 25, was established.⁷³

Under the Soldier King the chaplaincy expanded nearly as quickly as did the army. The chaplaincy grew from approximately 40 chaplains in 1713 to approximately 70 in 1740.⁷⁴ Turnover among chaplains was relatively quick. On average a dozen new chaplains were taken in per year, and most served four years or less.⁷⁵ Though the chaplaincy remained a transitional position, it was for different reasons. Appointments to chaplainships became desirable because Friedrich Wilhelm wanted former chaplains to receive preference in consideration for civilian posts.⁷⁶ At the same time, civilian consistories were forbidden to re-examine former chaplains. Eventually this came to mean that serving the Prussian state for several years as chaplains entitled young clergymen to civilian pastorates, and the majority of the clergy in Prussia by the mid-eighteenth century had a period as a chaplain on their résumé.⁷⁷ Additionally, appointments to prominent postings became especially lucrative because of the contacts that a chaplain could make there.⁷⁸ For the ambitious, the chaplaincy came to represent the first step to the highest levels of the Lutheran church in Prussia.⁷⁹

Regimental commanders were still technically allowed to choose their own chaplains, and many of them did so. However, all appointments had to go through Gedicke's office.⁸⁰ Because Gedicke and the Pietists controlled appointments within the chaplaincy and chose most of the chaplains, they were able to funnel dozens of their clients into the most important clerical posts in Prussia. This enabled the Pietists to tighten their grip on the Lutheran church and to spread their influence throughout the Prussian lands. The Pietists' effective supervision and recruitment ensured Friedrich Wilhelm a steady supply of competent, dedicated chaplains to help discipline his army.⁸¹

The reign of King Friedrich II

In contrast to his father, Friedrich II expressed almost no interest in the chaplaincy.⁸² Despite his apparent indifference, the chaplaincy and Pietism's role in it underwent profound changes under Friedrich II. His reign up to the Seven Years War saw an end of Pietist control and a growing militarization of the chaplaincy.

Gedicke's Pietist replacement as Field Provost, Johann Caspar Carstedt, was superseded in 1742 by Friedrich II's surprise appointment of Johann Christoph Decker.⁸³ Decker was an Enlightenment-minded wunderkind of the Halle philosophical faculty. He had received his Masters in philosophy at the age of 21, and was made an adjunct of the Philosophy Faculty at the age of 23. He was remotely related to members of the Prussian officer corps, and actively socialized with the officers garrisoned around Halle. He carried a sword, went dancing, attended the theater, and stayed out all hours of the night. He described his own preaching as fundamentally philosophical and logical. In 1742 when the Potsdam garrison chaplainship became vacant, Decker was suggested for the post. Unlike Friedrich Wilhelm I, who held numerous auditions and interviews and agonized over picking a new Potsdam garrison chaplain for months, Friedrich II never met Decker before his appointment. Rather than simply assuming the duties of the Potsdam garrison chaplain, Decker was immediately appointed Field Provost as well.⁸⁴ The center of the chaplaincy was thereby moved from Berlin to Potsdam, and the Pietist Carstedt was stripped of his authority.⁸⁵ The established clergy, which was by now predominantly Pietist, was appalled at Decker's intellectual background, his lifestyle, and his age – he was only 26.

Under Friedrich II the chaplaincy experienced war for the first time in decades, and this led to an increased militarization of the chaplaincy.⁸⁶ Though chaplains were expected to stay in the rear echelon with the baggage when the army was in contact with the enemy, they were often exposed to battle, taken prisoner, and even killed in action.⁸⁷ Some were even war heroes – they rallied troops and led charges against the enemy.⁸⁸

Friedrich II actively promoted the militarization of the chaplaincy. He changed the chaplains' uniform to one that was much more elaborate. Enemy flags and trophies from battle were displayed in the garrison churches after victories. Chaplains were ordered to preach on certain texts which suited the military situation, and to give victory sermons (*Siegespredigten*) to celebrate Friedrich's triumphs.⁸⁹ During the Seven Years War the chaplains were even ordered to give encouraging sermons (*Durchhaltepredigten*) after defeats.⁹⁰ Needless to say, these chaplains were exposed to military life at a level impossible during peacetime. Whereas the Pietist chaplains had disdained the military part of their job, these chaplains were immersed in it, and seemed to relish it.

To recapitulate, the chaplaincy was first established during the mid-seventeenth century under Elector Friedrich Wilhelm. The chaplaincy during this period was a disorganized and unofficial apparatus. It lacked any central administration or supervision and was controlled largely by the civilian church. Despite attempts to centralize and bureaucratize the chaplaincy during the reign of Friedrich III/I, this remained the situation until the reign of King Friedrich Wilhelm I.

Friedrich Wilhelm granted Pietists control of the chaplaincy and they transformed it into a systematic state organ completely divorced from the civilian church. This institutionalization of the chaplaincy was accomplished by Pietists working towards their own ends, in collaboration with Friedrich Wilhelm. The reign of Friedrich II spelled the end of Pietist control of the chaplaincy. Thus, Pietist dominance of the chaplaincy not only serves as one of the best examples of the cooperation between the Prussian state and Halle Pietism, but also as an example of the rise and fall of Pietism during the eighteenth century.

Appendix – List of selected Chaplains' Letters at the Archive of the Franckesche Stiftungen (AFSt)

Letters to/from Gedicke

to Canstein 1707, 1710–1717	C 42: 1–25, 27–28
to A.H. Francke 1712–27 1717	C 42: 29–33, 35–81 A 170: 11
from A.H. Francke 1720 1725	A 174: 69 A 179: 59, 61, 92
to G.A. Francke 1728–30 1730–31	C 832: 14, 16–19, 22–23, 25, A 192: 4b, 4l, 4w, 4a1
from G.A. Francke 1730–31	A 192: 4c, 4i, 4o, 4y, 4b1
to Joachim Lange 1715 1732	A 188a: 199 A 188b: 179

Letters to A. H. Francke

Chaplain's name, dates of service as chaplain

Bärenholz, Zacharias, 1722–27 1724	A 116: 359–361	Göring, Andreas Melchior, 1710–14 1715–17	C 19: 20–25
Barth, Gottfried Christian, 1702–03 1700–02	F 14: 35–36, 37–38	Griese, Friedrich, 1725–27 1724	C 789: 79
Baumann, Moritz/Mauritius, 1721–24 1720 1720	A 174: 113 F 14: 70–71	Grolock, Christian, 1715–20 1709	C 829: 29
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Büttner, Stephan, 1737–39
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to Johann Heinrich Callenberg
1729 K 3: 318–320
1733 K 14: 121

Crieger, Dietrich Heinrich, 1717–1720
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1721 A 188a: 277

Geissler, David Gottlieb, 1734–40

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1733 C 424: 22

Grust, Johann Friedrich, 1703–13
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1726 A 144: 1275–76

Haltmeier, Christian Heinrich, 1720–26
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1726 A 78b: 23

Jordan, Johann Leonhard Thomas, 1739–42
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1741 K 29: 31

Krause, Christian, 1721–25
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Rücker, Georg Sigismund, 1715–17
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Schwartz, Hermann, 1736–39
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- 1 This piece is based on research done for a PhD. dissertation for the History Faculty at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). The dissertation is centered on the chaplaincy and various chapters explore at greater length and in greater detail many of the issues that are only briefly touched upon here.
This project would not have been possible without financial support from several sources. For supporting my research in Berlin and Halle I am grateful to the Center for German and European Studies for a Pre-Dissertation Fellowship in Summer 1998 and to the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst for an Annual Grant during 1999–2000. For supporting me while I write this dissertation I am grateful to the UCLA History Department for a Pre-Dissertation Fellowship during 2000–2001. I would also like to thank Thomas Müller-Bahlke and the rest of the staff at the Archive of the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle for their thoughtful assistance.
- 2 For the sake of brevity and style I will refer to Halle Pietism and Pietists as simply Pietism and Pietists. For simplicity's sake I have adopted one of Hartmut Lehmann's three criteria for defining "Pietism" as my own definition: a Pietist was anyone who was an active member of the Pietist network. See LEHMANN, *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung in Württemberg: vom 17. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1969), 15–17.
A detailed description of the hierarchy and delineation of the Pietist network will appear in a chapter concerning factionalism in the chaplaincy as part of the aforementioned dissertation currently being written at UCLA.
- 3 See MARTIN RICHTER (Regierungs-Assessor), *Die Entwicklung und die gegenwärtige Gestaltung der Militärseelsorge in Preußen* (Druckerei des Sonntagsblattes, 1899), 21. Richter effectively refutes Erich Schild's contention that there were no chaplains in the Prussian army during peacetime before 1655. See SCHILD, *Der Preußische Feldprediger I: Bilder aus dem kirchlichen Leben der preußischen Armee älterer Zeit* (Eisleben: Verlag von Otto Maehmert, 1888); and *Der Preußische Feldprediger II: Das brandenburgisch-preußische Feldpredigerwesen in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Halle a. S.: Verlag von Eugen Strien, 1890).
- 4 RICHTER, *Militärseelsorge in Preußen*, 24–25.
- 5 Generally, a regiment of infantry numbered 2,000 men, a regiment of cavalry numbered 800 men.
- 6 On the Catholic chaplaincy, see below.
- 7 Chaplains ranked after the *Obrist*, *Obristen-Lieutenant*, *Obristen-Wachmeister*, and *Quartiermeister*.
- 8 It has until now been accepted that there were Field Inspectors, *Feldinspektoren*, who were in charge of supervising all Prussian chaplains since the middle of the seventeenth century. Richter first tentatively postulated a precedent for Gedicke's appointment to *Feldpropst* in 1717 by referring to orders issued in 1659 (during the Nordic War) appointing a *Feldinspektor*. This hypothesis was subsequently reiterated as fact. See RICHTER, *Militärseelsorge in Preußen*, 27–30; JULIUS LANGHAEUSER (Divisionspfarrer der 33. Division), *Das Militärkirchenwesen im kurbrandenburgischen und Königlich Preussischen Heer: Seine Entwicklung und derzeitige Gestalt* (Metz: P. Müller, 1912), 31; and JÖRN BLEESE, *Die Militärseelsorge und die Trennung von Staat und Kirche* (Dissertation, Law, Universität Hamburg, 1969), 33–34. However, there is neither any record of anyone holding this post nor any mention of a *Feldinspektor* again until 1717 when Gedicke was appointed head of the chaplaincy (see below).
- 9 A discussion of this will appear in a chapter concerning patronage and the chaplaincy as part of the aforementioned dissertation currently being written at UCLA.
- 10 Pay varied from 12–16 thaler monthly. Chaplains repeatedly complained about its inadequacy.
- 11 Anne Laurence has reached similar conclusions regarding chaplains who served in the English Civil War. See LAURENCE, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains: 1642–51* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1990).
- 12 LANGHAEUSER, *Militärkirchenwesen*, 11.
- 13 The first seven paragraphs concern chaplains and religious regulations. They are reprinted in SCHILD (Divisionspfarrer der 8. Division), "Ursprung und erste Gestalt des preußischen Feldpredigeramts", *Beibest zum Militär-Wochenblatt* (1880), 403–404.
- 14 The order that bad chaplains "should absolutely not be tolerated in our camp" ("soll durchaus in unserem Lager [...] nicht gelitten werden"), contrasts with later edicts that threaten to dismiss (*kassieren*) bad chaplains.
Laurence describes a similar situation in England during this period. See LAURENCE, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*.
- 15 *Kirchenparade*, see LANGHAEUSER, *Militärkirchenwesen*, 13.
- 16 See HELMUT RISCH, "Der kurbrandenburgisch-preußische Feldprediger und seine Bedeutung für das Heer, 1655–1806" (Dissertation, Theology, Universität Jena, 1942), 83–92.
- 17 Richter asserts this. Karl XI's army regulations of 1683 described a military consistory with a similar function. See RICHTER, *Militärseelsorge in Preußen*, 18–19, 30.
- 18 "Kurfürstliche Verordnung vom 7. April 1692, betr. die Einsetzung des Feldconsistoriums," reprinted in RICHTER, *Militärseelsorge in Preußen*, Appendix 1, 1–3.
- 19 "Edict wider das Verheyrathen derer Soldaten ohne Conses ihres Capitans; vom 18. Junii 1701"; "Kurfürstliches Rescript betr. die Zuständigkeit bei Streitigkeiten zwischen Militär- und Civilpersonen in Ehesachen vom 18. März 1705"; "Renoviertes Edict, daß kein Unter-Officier noch gemeiner Soldat ohne seines Capitains Willen sich ehelich versprechen soll, und wie es zu bestrafen und daß die Ehe-Sachen nicht von denen Regimentern zu decidiren; vom 17. Juni 1705" and "Erneutes Matrimonial-Edict, und daß es auch auff sie Ober-Officers biß auff die Capitains verbindlich seyn soll vom 21. April 1709," reprinted in RICHTER, *Militärseelsorge in Preußen*, Appendix 1, 3–5.
- 20 "Militär-Consistorial-Reglement; vom 29. April 1711." Reprinted in RICHTER, *Militärseelsorge in Preußen*, Appendix 1, 6–13.
- 21 GEORG GOENS (Garnisonpfarrer von Berlin), *Geschichte der Königlich Berlinischen Garnisonkirche* (Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1897), 13.
- 22 LANGHAEUSER, *Militärkirchenwesen*, 25.
- 23 CHRISTOPH NAUMANN, *Für die Königlich Preussische Kriegsleute, Neu verfertigtes Hand-Buch Bestehend I. im N. Testamente und Psalter. II. Anweisung derer Kriegs Leute, so da wollen selig werden, Betreffend drey Fragen: 1. Ob es nöthig, 2. Ob es möglich, 3. Wie es anzustellen. Nebst einem Anbange von gleicher Materie. III. D. Lutheri kleinen Catechismo, und dessen Erörterung. IV. Kern der Gesänge und Gebete. Auf Kosten derer, so der Kriegsleute ihr Heyl zu befördern suchen* (Berlin, Druckts Gotthard Schlechtiger, 1709).
- 24 CANSTEIN, *Der Briefwechsel Carl Hildebrand von Cansteins mit August Hermann Francke*, ed. PETER SCHICKETANZ (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972), 186, 11 July 1702. Canstein (1667–1719), a former *Kammerjunker*, served as Francke's representative in Berlin until his death in 1719. He coordinated the Pietist movement there and used his contacts at court to lobby on behalf of the Pietists.
- 25 CANSTEIN, *Briefwechsel*, 188, 25 July 1702; 208, 19 Dec. 1702.
- 26 I have created a computer database of chaplains as part of the research for the aforementioned dissertation currently being written at UCLA. This database indicates that 34 of 77 chaplains appointed 1690–1713 inclusive were graduates of Halle. Not all of these can be defined as "Pietists", of course, but many were, and all were exposed to Francke to some extent. Research at the Archive of the Franckesche Stiftungen (AFSt) in Halle has revealed that fourteen of the chaplains who were appointed during this period wrote letters to Francke.
- 27 On Naumann, see Canstein's celebratory letters regarding his replacement with Jakob Baumgarten in 1712, CANSTEIN, *Briefwechsel*, 546, 29 Oct. 1712.
On the crisis in the relationship between Halle Pietism and the monarchy 1709–11, see KLAUS DEPPERMAN, *Der halle'sche Pietismus und der preußische Staat unter Friedrich III. (I.)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961).
- 28 On the Hohenzollerns' Calvinist court chaplains, see RUDOLF VON THADDEN, *Die brandenburgisch-preussischen Hofprediger im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der absolutistischen Staatsgesellschaft in Brandenburg-Preussen* (Göttingen: De Gruyter, 1959).
- 29 Examples of this will appear in a chapter concerning patronage and

- the chaplaincy as part of the aforementioned dissertation currently being written at UCLA.
- 30 A twelfth-century tower, part of the original city wall, was being used as a powder depot. Plans to widen the street meant the tower had to be torn down. Artillerymen were in the process of transferring the powder out of the tower when it exploded. See GOENS, *Geschichte der Königlichen Berlinischen Garnisonkirche*, 27–29.
 - 31 The Potsdam garrison church was not high enough above the water table to allow excavation below the floor; even Friedrich Wilhelm's crypt had to be built above ground. ANDREAS KITSCHKE, *Die Potsdamer Garnisonkirche: "nec soli cedit"* (Potsdamer Verlag-Buchhandlung, 1991), 34. Roughly 1,800 officers were interred in the Berlin garrison church crypt until it was pronounced full and closed in 1830. GOENS, *Geschichte der Königlichen Berlinischen Garnisonkirche*, 37.
 - 32 This was done by adding a two-tiered balcony, see KITSCHKE, *Die Potsdamer Garnisonkirche*, 10.
 - 33 During the reign of Friedrich Wilhelm the population of Potsdam increased over six-fold, from under 2,000 to over 12,000. Soldiers and their families represented roughly 30–40% of the population. The military congregation in Potsdam was larger than any civilian congregation in Potsdam. See HARTMUT RUDOLF, "Die Potsdamer Hof- und Garnisongemeinde" in *Potsdam: Staat, Armee, Residenz in der preußisch-deutschen Militärgeschichte*, ed. BERNHARD R. KROEGER (Frankfurt/M.: Propyläen, 1993); and WERNER SCHWIPPS, *Die Garnisonkirchen von Berlin und Potsdam* (Berlin: Haude & Spener, 1964); and SCHWIPPS, *Die Königl. Hof- und Garnisonkirche zu Potsdam* (Berlin: Arani-Verlag, 1991).
 - 34 Originally Friedrich Wilhelm planned that his queen would be interred beside him in the crypt. She gave instructions, however, that she be buried in the royal crypt under the Domkirche in Berlin. When Friedrich II died he was buried in her place alongside Friedrich Wilhelm. See KITSCHKE, *Die Potsdamer Garnisonkirche*, 38.
 - 35 On the military orphanage, see below.
 - 36 KITSCHKE, *Die Potsdamer Garnisonkirche*, 16.
 - 37 It has been estimated that up to a quarter of the Prussian army was Catholic.
 - 38 Torck remained the Catholic chaplain until 1753. It is unclear how many adjuncts Torck enlisted. See RICHTER, *Militärseelsorge in Preußen*, 76–80.
 - 39 KITSCHKE, *Die Potsdamer Garnisonkirche*, 14–15.
 - 40 In reality, Friedrich Wilhelm had been running the Prussian government for some time before the death of Friedrich III/I.
 - 41 See CANSTEIN, *Briefwechsel*, 546, 29 Oct. 1712.
 - 42 GOENS, *Geschichte der Königlichen Berlinischen Garnisonkirche*, 20–21. Baumgarten (1668–1722) had been friends with Francke since his time in Leipzig. He was a teacher at the *Pädagogium* in Halle, an Adjunct of the Theology Faculty in Halle, and garrison chaplain in Wolmirstedt before becoming garrison chaplain in Berlin. Baumgarten is also known as the father of the more prominent theologian Siegmund Jakob Baumgarten, see MARTIN SCHLOEMANN, *Siegmund Jakob Baumgarten: System und Geschichte in der Theologie des Überganges zum Neupietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 30–32.
 - 43 On Gedicke (1683–1736), see below.
 - 44 Canstein arranged for the appointment of Michael Lichtenauer (1681–?) to the "Potsdam Giants" (*lange Kerle*) in 1715. The "Potsdam Giants" were Friedrich Wilhelm's pet regiment of extraordinarily tall troops. Canstein specifically requested that Francke send certain candidates to Berlin to deliver sample sermons for regimental commanders in need of chaplains, and often even suggested subjects for the sample sermons. Canstein scheduled the auditions with the commanders and hosted the candidates in his own home in Berlin. CANSTEIN, *Briefwechsel*, passim.
 - 45 Since the beginning of December 1716 Canstein had been reporting to Francke that he and Johann Porst (1668–1728), the Pietist-minded provost at the Nicolaikirche in Berlin, had been scheming to promote one of Francke's students, Johann Gustav Reinbeck (1683–1741), to provost at the Petrikirche, one of the two highest-ranking posts in the Prussian Lutheran church. Jakob Baumgarten would in turn be promoted to the post Reinbeck vacated, preacher at the Friedrichswerder in Berlin. Gedicke would then take over Baumgarten's post at the head of the chaplaincy. CANSTEIN, *Briefwechsel*, 766–771, 5 Dec. 1716–9 Jan. 1717.
 - 46 On Canstein sponsoring Gedicke's education, see GOENS, *Geschichte der Königlichen Berlinischen Garnisonkirche*, 41. On their friendship and Canstein's support of Gedicke's career, see Gedicke's letters to Canstein 1707–17, AFSSt C 42: 1–25, 27–28; and CANSTEIN, *Briefwechsel*, passim.
 - A more detailed description of Gedicke and Canstein's relationship will appear in chapters concerning factionalism and patronage within the chaplaincy as part of the aforementioned dissertation currently being written at UCLA.
 - 47 LAMPERTUS GEDICKE (Garrisonprediger zu Berlin), *Primae Veritates Religionis Christianae oder Grund-Sätze Christlicher Religion...* (Berlin: Gottfried Gedicke, 1717); and Gedicke (Feldpropst), *Kurzer Historischer Unterricht von dem gantzen Reformation-Werck* (Berlin: Gottfried Gedicke, 1718).
 - 48 JOHANNES KULP, *Feldprediger und Kriegsleute als Kirchenliederdichter* (Leipzig: Schloßmann, 1941), 16–18.
 - 49 Every single one of Gedicke's twenty-two letters to Canstein from his time on campaign is full of complaints about the physical situation and his professional frustration. AFSSt C 42: 3–24.
 - A comprehensive analysis of the living conditions and professional situation of chaplains will appear in a chapter on the *Alltagsgeschichte* of the chaplaincy as part of the aforementioned dissertation currently being written at UCLA.
 - 50 This was the Pomeranian campaign, during the Great Northern War. Gedicke preached for Friedrich Wilhelm and his entourage 28 times during the eighteen-week campaign. Afterwards Gedicke wrote Francke to describe the rigors of the campaign and his success in ingratiating himself with the king. Gedicke, Berlin, to Francke, Halle, 30 Dec. 1715, AFSSt C 42: 42. It was no coincidence that among the instructions issued to Gedicke 1717 was the conspicuous concession that he never be required to go on campaign again. Gedicke, Berlin, to Francke, Halle, 6 Jan. 1717, AFSSt C 42: 43.
 - 51 The "Copia der Vocation" that Gedicke sent to Francke states: "Wie uns Allerhöchst gedachte S. K. Majestät den hiesiger Guarnison Prediger Gedicken, aus allergnädigsten zu Ihn tragenden Vertrauen, zu solcher Function Allergnädigst erschen und ernennet." Gedicke, Berlin, to Francke, Halle, 6 Jan. 1717, AFSSt C 42: 43.
 - 52 Canstein reported this to Francke. CANSTEIN, *Briefwechsel* 771, 9 Jan. 1717.
 - 53 Carstedt, Carsted, or Carstadt (1684–1752).
 - 54 He enrolled at Halle in 1708, and was a teacher at the *Pädagogium* 1709–15.
 - 55 Carstedt held both posts. This was common in the chaplaincy during this period.
 - 56 See CARL HINRICHS, *Preußentum und Pietismus: Der Pietismus in Brandenburg-Preußen als religiös-soziale Reformbewegung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 166–67; and HANNELORE LEHMANN, "August Hermann Franckes Potsdambesuch im März 1725: Tagebuchaufzeichnungen über seine Initiative bei der Einrichtung des Militärwaisenhauses", in *Potsdam, Märkische Kleinstadt – europäische Residenz: Reminiszenzen einer eintausendjährigen Geschichte*, ed. PETER-MICHAEL HAHN (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), 145–157.
 - 57 Francke and Gedicke discuss this. Francke, Halle, to Gedicke, Berlin, 27 April 1725, AFSSt A 179: 61. Gedicke, Berlin, to Francke, Halle, 1 May 1725, AFSSt C 42: 63.
 - 58 See HINRICHS, *Preußentum und Pietismus*, 169–70.
 - 59 From 1720 onwards the cadet corps chaplains were Pietists, hand-chosen by Gedicke and Francke.
 - 60 See "Dem von Ihro Königl. Majest. im Preußen anbefohlene Druck des Neuen Testaments und eines Gesang und Gebet buches für die Königl. Armee betreffenden 1733–37," AFSSt IX/ III/ 39.
 - 61 Not all of these Halle graduates can be classified as "Pietist" of course, but the preponderance is notable.

These statistics were generated by the aforementioned computer database created as part of the research for the dissertation being

- written at UCLA. Specifically, 1717–27 inclusive 115 new chaplains were appointed, at least 80 of them had been students at Halle.
- 62 Order dated 13 Oct. 1727. This was followed on 9 Jan. 1736 by orders that aspirants to clerical positions must not only provide a recommendation, but also must have studied for two years in Halle.
- 63 In one fell swoop Gotthilf August both secured a firm grip on the Lutheran church in Prussia and inaugurated the dispute over testimonials that would shatter Halle Pietism. Gedicke was one of the members of the Pietist inner circle that decided that Gotthilf August had gone too far, too fast in grasping control, and he joined the others insisting that the testimonial policy be loosened. A detailed description of Gedicke's conflicts with Gotthilf August Francke will appear in a chapter concerning factionalism in the chaplaincy as part of the aforementioned dissertation currently being written at UCLA. Thomas Bach is writing a PhD. dissertation for the History Faculty at Syracuse University on developments in Halle Pietism after Francke's death. I am indebted to him for a great deal of insight on this aspect of my own work.
- 64 These statistics were generated by the aforementioned computer database created as part of the research for the dissertation being written at UCLA. 1728–39 inclusive, 150 new chaplains were appointed, and at least 128 of them had been students at Halle.
- 65 See Appendix.
- 66 Though historians have been able to piece together a general outline of these instructions from other sources, the document itself is reported to have disappeared during the eighteenth century. In the course of my preliminary research at the Archive of the Franckeschen Stiftungen in Halle during the summer of 1998, I discovered a letter from Gedicke to Francke dated 6 January 1717, and headed "Copia der Vocation", in which he relays these instructions to Francke. This may be as close as we can come to finding the original instructions. Gedicke, Berlin, to Francke, Halle, 6 Jan. 1717, AFSSt C 42: 43.
- 67 This was preceded by a yearlong struggle with the civilian provosts in Berlin. Gedicke ordained a chaplain for the first time only in January 1718. A detailed description of Gedicke's conflicts with the civilian provosts over this issue and others will appear in a chapter concerning factionalism in the chaplaincy as part of the aforementioned dissertation currently being written at UCLA.
- 68 Only the provosts of the Nicolai and Petri churches were of equal rank. It is unclear exactly when Gedicke was named *Feldpropst*. He was denied this title in his original 1717 orders, but was using it by Sept. 1719.
- 69 Chaplains were to submit written sermons quarterly and submit written sermons on a given subject annually, and their commanders were to provide annual performance evaluations annually. See LANGHAEUSER, *Militärkirchenwesen*, 11. Though the files of the Field Provost and these sermons are lost, there is every reason to believe that this was done, because some of the commanders' evaluations have survived. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (GStA PK), Berlin, HA I, Rep. 47, Nr. 5.a.1, "1732, das Vorhalt und Capacität der Feldprediger."
- 70 Pay was set at 15 thaler monthly. In reality chaplains' pay still varied from post to post, but it was at least regimented according to the importance of the post and the experience of the chaplain. A contrast of the relative importance and prominence of various posts within the chaplaincy will appear in a chapter concerning patronage in the chaplaincy as part of the aforementioned dissertation currently being written at UCLA.
- 71 Regarding uniforms, see LANGHAEUSER, *Militärkirchenwesen*, 35; and SCHILD, *Der Preussische Feldprediger I*, 38.
- 72 In the case of a chaplain's death, the commander had two months to suggest a replacement to Gedicke. Otherwise it was expected that the commander would arrange for the arrival of the next chaplain before the departure of the incumbent. RICHTER, *Militärseelsorge in Preußen*, 47.
- 73 Gedicke had the authority to waive this requirement. See RICHTER, *Militärseelsorge in Preußen*, 47.
- 74 These statistics were generated by the aforementioned computer database created as part of the research for the dissertation being written at UCLA. Langhaeuser states that there were an average of 100 chaplains at any point during the eighteenth century. LANGHAEUSER, *Militärkirchenwesen*, 36. In reality, the chaplaincy grew to over 100 chaplains only during the War of Austrian Succession.
- 75 These statistics were generated by the aforementioned computer database created as part of the research for the dissertation being written at UCLA. Specifically, 258 new chaplains were appointed 1718–39 inclusive. Of 212 new chaplains appointed 1718–35 inclusive, 124 served four years or less.
- 76 This originates from an edict dated 10 February 1716, "bei der Vergebung der Pfarrdienste im Lande auf Versorgung der Feldprediger zu reflektieren." See HINRICHS, *Preußentum und Pietismus*, 158.
- 77 See HINRICHS, *Preußentum und Pietismus*, 158; or OTTO HINTZE, "Der Absolutismus im Kirchenregiment und die Entstehung einer preußischen Landeskirche (Territorialismus)," in *Regierung und Verwaltung: Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Staats-, Rechts und Sozialgeschichte Preussens*, ed. GERHARD OESTREICH (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 80–81.
- 78 A contrast of the relative importance and prominence of various posts within the chaplaincy will appear in a chapter concerning patronage in the chaplaincy as part of the aforementioned dissertation currently being written at UCLA.
- 79 A discussion of the significance of a stint as a chaplain on a clergyman's resumé will appear in a chapter concerning chaplains' status in the clerical class as part of the aforementioned dissertation currently being written at UCLA.
- 80 An edict dated 22 January 1720, specifies that there was no recourse if a commander's suggested candidate failed the examination administered by Gedicke. This officially gave Gedicke a firm grip on appointments. See LANGHAEUSER *Militärkirchenwesen*, 32–33; HINRICHS, *Preußentum und Pietismus*, 157; or HINTZE, *Der Absolutismus im Kirchenregiment*, 80–81. This has been erroneously taken to mean that Gedicke chose most chaplains himself, see RICHARD L. GAWTHROP, *Pietism and the Making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 225.
- 81 Discussions of the disciplining of chaplains and the role of chaplains as social disciplinarians will appear in a chapter concerning disciplining and the chaplaincy as part of the aforementioned dissertation currently being written at UCLA.
- 82 The notion that after the funeral of Friedrich Wilhelm I Friedrich II never entered the Potsdam garrison church again until his own funeral seems to be false, as there is anecdotal evidence that the king witnessed at least one sermon there. SCHILD, *Der Preussische Feldprediger I*, 36. Nonetheless, Friedrich's interest in religious matters was minimal.
- 83 Decker (1716–57). The best source on Decker remains, "Wie ein Magister der Philosophie Königlich Preussischer Feldpropst geworden ist" in SCHILD, *Der Preussische Feldprediger I*, 28–38.
- 84 Decker remained Field Provost until his death in 1757 while on campaign during the Seven Years War.
- 85 Carstedt remained the Berlin garrison chaplain until his death in 1752. He was not replaced, and the duties of the garrison chaplain were assumed by the other chaplains in Berlin.
- 86 Though Friedrich Wilhelm mobilized his troops and campaigned on several occasions, he never actually engaged in war.
- 87 SCHILD, *Der Preussische Feldprediger I*, 44.
- 88 SCHILD, *Der Preussische Feldprediger I*, 13–20, 46.
- 89 RICHTER, *Militärseelsorge in Preußen*, 63, 78; and SCHILD, *Der Preussische Feldprediger I*, 22–23; and SCHILD, *Der Preussische Feldprediger II*, 209.
- 90 RICHTER, *Militärseelsorge in Preußen*, 113.