

7. Sekundärliteratur

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

Brunner, Daniel L.

Göttingen, 1993

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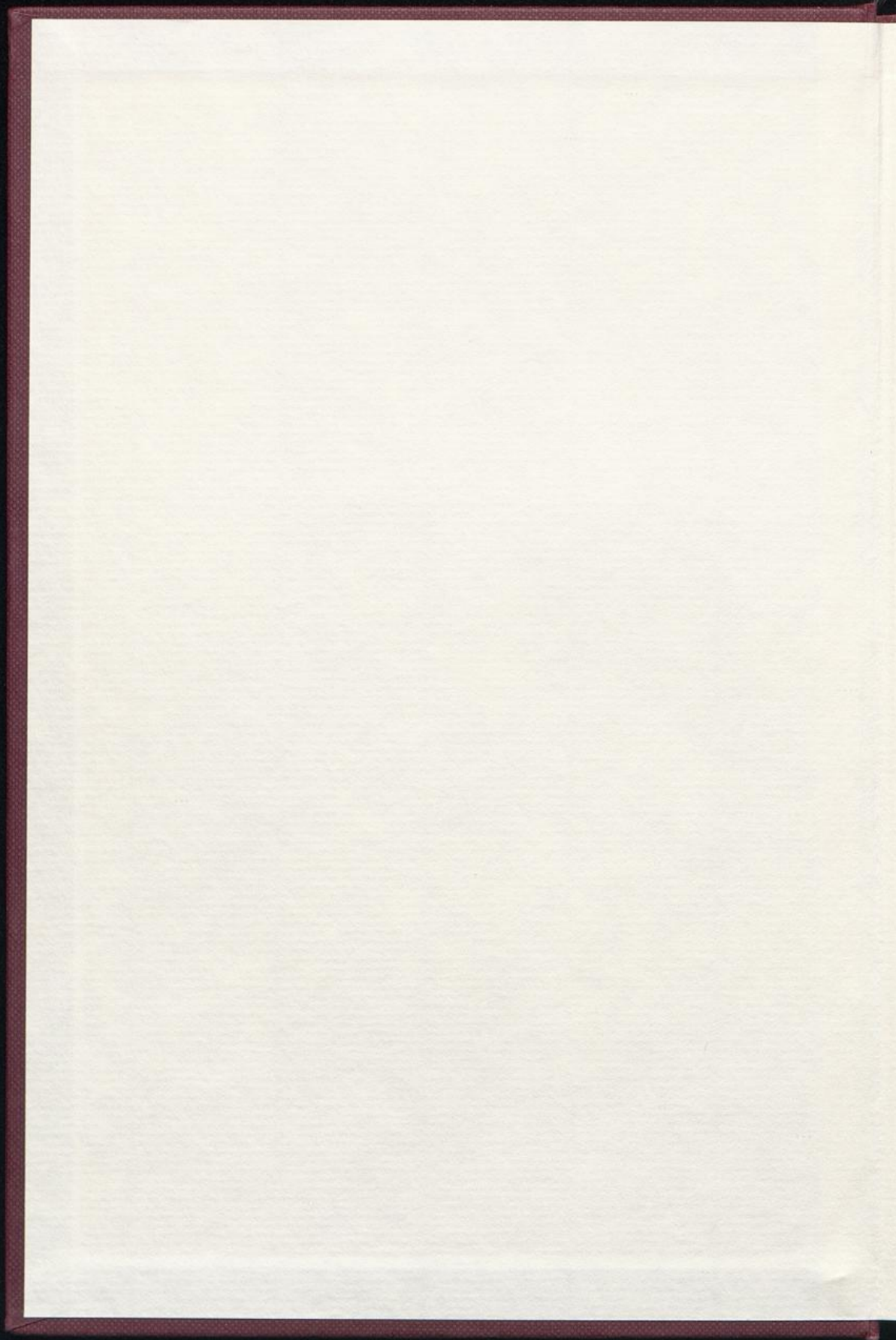
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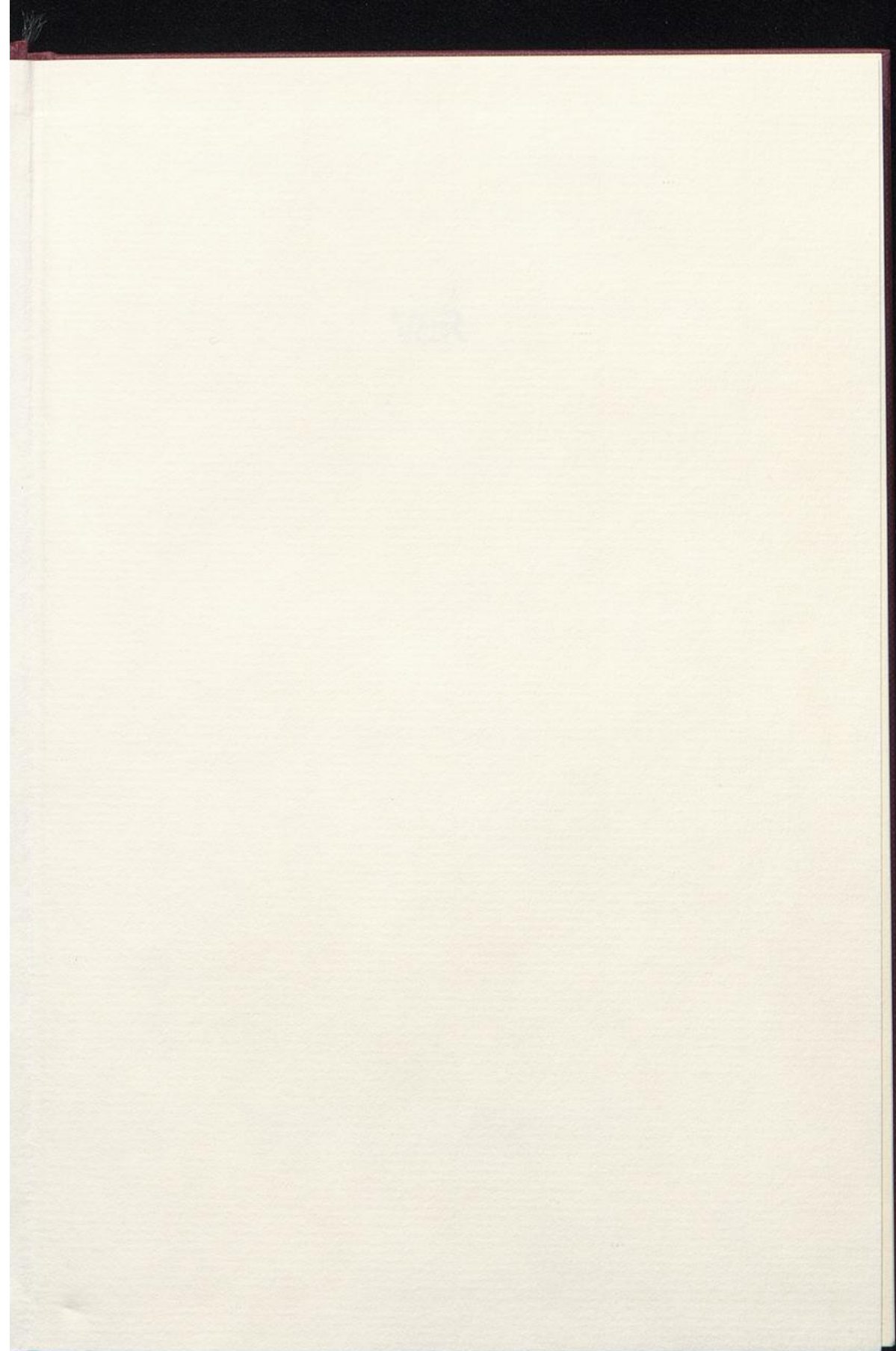
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Daniel L. Brunner

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

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TOEGANG

ARBEITEN ZUR GESCHICHTE
DES PIETISMUS

IM AUFTRAG DER
HISTORISCHEN KOMMISSION
ZUR ERFORSCHUNG DES PIETISMUS

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
K. ALAND, E. PESCHKE UND G. SCHÄFER

BAND 29

VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT
IN GÖTTINGEN

HALLE PIETISTS IN ENGLAND:
ANTHONY WILLIAM BOEHM
AND THE SOCIETY FOR
PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

VON
DANIEL L. BRUNNER

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IN GÖTTINGEN

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*To Signe,
Philip, and Rachel*



14.142-29

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Abbreviations

ALB	<i>Abstract Letter Book</i> (in the SPCK Archive)
Alte Briefe	E.A. Lehmann, ed., <i>Alte Briefe aus Indien</i> (Berlin, [1957])
Arab Bible	<i>Arabic Bible: Correspondence</i> (in the SPCK Archive)
ArFrSt	Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt in Halle/Saale, Abt. Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen
ArSPCK	Archive of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
ArUSPG	Archive of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
BL	British Library, London
Camb.	Cambridge University Library
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
ChCh	Christ Church Library, Oxford
Clement	M. Clement, ed., <i>Correspondence and Minutes of the S.P.C.K. relating to Wales 1699-1740</i> (Cardiff, 1952)
Col Rec Ga	<i>The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia</i> , 30 vols. (Atlanta, 1904-)
Discourses	A.W. Boehm, <i>Several Discourses and Tracts for Promoting the Common Interest of True Christianity</i> (London, 1717)
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , 22 vols. (London, 1937-38 [1900])
Egmont	Historical Manuscripts Commission, <i>Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont. Diary of Viscount Percival Aftenwards First Earl of Egmont</i> , 3 vols. (London, 1920-23)
EIM Pap	<i>East India Mission Papers</i> (in the SPCK Archive)
ErBrief	Anton Wilhelm Böhmens ... <i>Erbauliche Briefe</i> (Altona/Flensburg, 1737)
ErSchrift	J.J. Rambach, ed., <i>Anton Wilhelm Böhmens ...Erbauliche Schriften</i> , 3 vols. (Altona, 1731-33)
FMZ	Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen file (in <i>Nachlaß</i>)
Hunt Lib	Huntington Library, San Marino, California
Kramer	G. Kramer, ed., <i>Beiträge zur Geschichte August Hermann Francke's enthaltend den Briefwechsel Francke's und Spener's</i> (Halle, 1861)
Lambeth	Lambeth Palace Library, London
Letterbook	G.F. Jones, ed., <i>Henry Newman's Salzburger Letterbooks</i> (Athens, Georgia, 1966)
MArFrSt	Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt in Halle/Saale, Abt. Missionsarchiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen
McClure	E. McClure, ed., <i>A Chapter in English Church History: being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the years 1698-1704</i> (London, 1888)
Muhl Journ	T.G. Tappert and J.W. Doberstein, ed. and trans., <i>The Journals of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg</i> , 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1942-58)
Muhl Korres	K. Aland, ed., <i>Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg aus der Anfangszeit des deutschen Luthertums in Nordamerika</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin/New York, 1986-90)

Nachlaß	Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Handschriftenabteilung, Berlin, <i>Nachlaß A.H. Francke</i> (Case.File.Page/Folio) [Kapsel. Faszikel. Seite/Folio]
Nebe	A. Nebe, ed., <i>Neue Quellen zu August Hermann Francke</i> (Gütersloh, 1928)
PGE	[A.W. Boehm, trans. and ed.], <i>Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Parts I-III</i> (London, 1709-18)
Picton	Aberystwyth, Wales. The National Library of Wales. Picton Castle Collection.
PRO	Public Record Office, London
Reports	G.F. Jones et al., trans. and ed., <i>Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America ... Edited by Samuel Urlsperger</i> , 8 vols. (Athens, Georgia, 1968-85)
Sames	A. Sames, <i>Anton Wilhelm Böhme (1673-1722). Studien zum ökumenischen Denken und Handeln eines halleischen Pietisten</i> (Göttingen, 1990)
Schicketanz	P. Schicketanz, ed., <i>Der Briefwechsel Carl Hildebrand von Cansteins mit August Hermann Francke</i> (Berlin/New York, 1972)
SCM	<i>Special Committee Minutes of the East India Mission</i> (in the SPCK Archive)
Soc Lett	<i>Society Letters</i> (in the SPCK Archive)
Wes Journ	N. Curnock, ed., <i>The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.</i> , 8 vols. (London, 1909-16)
Wes Lett	J. Telford, ed., <i>The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.</i> , 8 vols. (London, 1931)
Whit Journ	<i>George Whitefield's Journals</i> (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1960)

Preface

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century there arose similar movements for national and ecclesiastical, moral and spiritual reform on the Continent and in Old and New England. In Switzerland this movement revolved around Jean F. Ostervald, Reformed pastor at Neuchatel and leader of the liberal Swiss divines; in the Lutheran territories of Germany around the Pietists Philipp J. Spener and August H. Francke with his institutions at Halle; in New England around the Puritan minister Cotton Mather; and in Great Britain around the voluntary societies, including the religious societies, the societies for the reformation of manners, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). Though these movements operated independently and within their own ecclesiastical boundaries, they soon became aware of each other and an extensive correspondence developed.

In the case of Halle Pietism and the SPCK in England there was more than a literary exchange, as Halle representatives found their way to London. One such envoy, Anthony William Boehm (1673–1722), arrived in London in 1701, having studied theology at the Pietist centre of Halle under A.H. Francke. His early years were ones of poverty, but from these mean beginnings developed a twenty-year ministry in England of pastoral care, publishing, and involvement in the SPCK. His influence and that of other Pietists within early eighteenth-century Anglican voluntarism, especially as represented by the SPCK, forms the subject of this study.

The aims of this essay are four-fold: one goal is to contextualize fundamental German research into the religious situation of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Britain, to expand on it, and thereby hopefully to integrate the work of German and English ecclesiastical historians into a more complete picture. Secondly, our desire is to bring a greater recognition – especially among English historians – of the influence of Halle Pietism in England and especially that of Anthony W. Boehm. This monograph offers the most thorough and accurate account of the English activity of probably the most influential and significant Halle Pietist outside Germany. Through Boehm one receives clear insight into the major themes and dreams of Halle Pietism as well as a fresh non-Anglican and non-English perspective on the state of ecclesiastical affairs in England.

Thirdly, though scholars are increasingly acknowledging the key charitable and philanthropic role of the SPCK in early eighteenth-century Britain, seldom have the influences which shaped it been analyzed or the reasons for its

development been given; this study, therefore, attempts a broader, deeper, and more inclusive evaluation and perspective of the first four decades of the Society, re-interpreting its nature, its prime-movers, its domestic and international roles, and its place within Anglicanism. Finally, within this work we will briefly compare Lutheran and Anglican piety, theology, and ecclesiology. It is interesting and not insignificant that many of the issues raised in modern Lutheran-Anglican/Episcopal dialogues, including episcopacy and the role of confessional theology, were also brought out in the context of Halle-SPCK relations.

The story which follows is at times hard to piece together because it is based on cryptic correspondence and administrative details which do not always lend themselves to colourful history and narrative. Nonetheless, it is a story which deserves telling and one which fills a gap in our understanding of German Pietists in London, of the SPCK, and of early eighteenth-century Anglo-German ecclesiastical relations.

This monograph was first written as a thesis to fulfill the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy (D.Phil.) degree at the University of Oxford; the degree was awarded in July 1988. Only minor changes have been made to the original dissertation.

With regard to the text: in quotations from manuscript and printed sources common abbreviations have been expanded, but otherwise spelling and emphasis have been unaltered. Literal English translations of German and Latin quotations have been provided to make the text flow more easily, though the originals are supplied in footnotes. The dates of correspondence have not been adjusted, though the year in Britain is taken to begin on 1 January. Germany changed to the new calendar in 1700 and Britain in 1752; during the first half of the eighteenth century the difference between the styles was approximately eleven days, but for our purposes this makes little difference.

With deep appreciation I extend my gratitude to the Historische Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus and its co-workers for their advice, their editorial expertise, and especially their willingness to risk reaching out to the English-speaking world with this monograph; to the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt in Halle/Saale for permission to cite from documents in the Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen and to the archivist Jürgen Storz and his staff for the kindnesses shown to me during my visits there; to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the permission to quote from manuscripts in its archive and to the archivist Dr. G. Heulin and his predecessor Mr. A.E. Barker; to the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for permission to use its archive; to the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin for supplying me with microfilm of pertinent manuscript material; and to the helpful and understanding staffs at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, at the University Library in Tübingen, at the Cambridge University Library, at the British Library, the India Office Library and Records, the Lambeth Palace Library, and the Public Record Office in

London, at Christ Church Library, Rhodes House library, and especially the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Grants to further my research have come from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, the University of Oxford, Balliol College, the Universities and Colleges Christian Fellowship, the Lutheran Church in America, and friends at Trinity Lutheran Church in Fresno, California, Bethesda Lutheran Church in Eugene, Oregon, and St. Matthew Lutheran Church in Beaverton, Oregon.

Finally, I express personal thanks to Gary Sattler, who first suggested to me the subject matter of this work, to Jan Womer and Peter Hinchliff for their useful supervision and theological insights, to Alf March for his translation expertise, and in particular to John Walsh, whose counsel and time-consuming editorial assistance were invaluable in getting this study into its final form. It goes without saying – yet nonetheless must be said – that apart from the support and patience of one's family such an undertaking as this would have been nigh impossible, which is why this work is lovingly dedicated to my wife, Signe, and our children, Philip and Rachel.

Beaverton, Oregon, U.S.A.
18 May 1992

Daniel L. Brunner



Frontispiece of *Der Königlich-Dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandter Ausführlichen Berichte*, vol. 8 (Halle, 1765)

CHAPTER I

“Those hopeful means of reformation”: Anglican Voluntary Societies and Halle Pietism

In the “Dedication” to the third edition of his account of the religious societies Josiah Woodward wrote:

Since Irreligion is the greatest Calamity of any People, I conceive, that it will not be unuseful to you, my beloved Country-men, to lay before you those hopeful Means of Reformation which GOD hath lately pleas'd, in Infinite Mercy, to raise up amongst us.¹

The religious societies, the societies for the reformation of manners, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), and other lesser known societies were all manifestations of a voluntary movement for “Reformation” in England at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Strikingly, the movement which sprang up in Germany in the last quarter of the seventeenth century called “Pietism” was also frequently referred to as a “new Reformation”. Our purpose in this chapter is to explore the rise and origins of the English voluntary societies, and especially the SPCK, to analyze the first history of German Pietism in English, and to present the initial contacts between the Church of England and German Pietism.

1. Anglican Voluntary Societies

Anglican Piety in Restoration England

To understand the roots of the SPCK one must grasp the significance of the voluntary societies which arose at the end of the seventeenth century; these societies in turn can only be fully appreciated in the context of the piety prevalent in the Church of England after the Restoration. The politics of Restoration Anglicanism, especially the political manoeuvrings and comprehension debates which followed, have been much explored, but the devotion and

¹ Josiah Woodward, *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies*, 3rd edn. enl. (London, 1701), p. [A2].

piety of the Restoration churchman were for a long time largely ignored. Recently, however, scholars have examined Anglican spirituality in the period, and by and large have concurred in their description.²

After 1660, in reaction to the perceived dangers of Puritanism, Roman Catholicism, and atheism, the Church of England strove vigorously after a unity and uniformity based on the liturgy and the Sacraments.³ The Church tried to extend its common worship into the daily lives of the laity by increasing the occasions for its use. Regular church attendance was urged, together with serious preparation for, and frequent reception of, the Holy Communion. The campaign to extend Anglican influence over the whole nation by exhortation and legal discipline (the Clarendon Code) was not very successful: Dr. Wallace has concluded that "the Restoration era was a time of nearly universal ecclesiastical disillusionment".⁴ Too many of the laity seemed to keep the Church at a comfortable distance; the clergy still felt vulnerable to Nonconformity and anticlericalism and bewailed their inability to coerce evildoers and force the laity into conformity.⁵ However, coupled with this alleged decline in public religion and church going was a remarkable rise in the publication of popular religious literature and an extension of "introspective and private" religion.⁶

The religious writing of the period, both popular and apologetic, provides an insight into the piety propagated by the Anglican Church. The most popular work in Restoration England, reaching (it has been conjectured) into as many as one in ten homes, was *The Whole Duty of Man* (1658), probably by Richard Allestree. As its title indicates, its stress was on religious obligation – on "duty". It placed weight on obedience, morality, and faithful attendance at worship and the Sacrament, since "the *benefits* purchased for us by Christ ... belong not to us, till we perform the *Condition* required of us".⁷ Behind the spiritual advice proffered in this manual lay the theory of justification set out by Bishop Bull and other Caroline divines, which stressed that works, if not the meritorious cause of our acceptance by God, were certainly the condition for that acceptance. The fear evolving in the Anglican Church was that the Nonconformist doctrine of justification by faith alone and the conversionism associated with it, led inevitably to antinomianism. To counteract this danger

2 On what follows, see J. Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic and the Restoration Church" (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1985); C.J. Sommerville, *Popular Religion in Restoration England* (Gainsville, 1977); J.S. McGee, *The Godly Man in Stuart England* (New Haven/London, 1976); H.R. McAdoo, *The Structure of Caroline Moral Theology* (London, 1949), pp. 138–72; cf. D.D. Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination* (Chapel Hill, 1982), pp. 158–90; C.F. Allison, *The Rise of Moralism* (London, 1966).

3 Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", pp. 210–42.

4 Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, p. 158.

5 Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", pp. 126–64.

6 Sommerville, *Popular Religion*, pp. 4f.

7 [Richard Allestree,] *The Practice of Christian Graces. Or The Whole Duty of Man* (London, 1658), p. 1.

the established Church emphasized a moralism which portrayed obedience and repentance as inseparable from faith.⁸

To drive home this message Anglican clergy and writers spoke frequently of a God of judgment and Providence. They saw the Restoration and re-establishment of the Church of England as marks of divine action and approval, much as their opponents had seen God's providential work in the Civil War and the Interregnum. But divine Providence was seen as judgmental, as well as approbatory: it was now held to be provoked by the immorality and sin of the English people. The vials of God's wrath were only temporarily withheld in order that the English people might have the opportunity to repent and reform their ways. After each natural disaster or military setback, the clergy pounded home anew the theme of divine Providence and national corruption; providentialism became a focal point in the cries for a nationwide moral reformation.⁹

Reacting to the threat of Roman Catholicism on the right and Puritanism on the left, the Restored Church developed further its ecclesiology, and elaborated the claim that it was a true Church and the only true Church in England.¹⁰ Fundamental to this belief was a heightened concept of episcopacy. Though episcopacy had always been asserted in the Church of England, the question of whether or not it was *jure divino* had not been unanimously resolved. Many Restoration Anglicans argued that since episcopacy had been eliminated by cruel historical necessity in the upheavals of the Continental Reformation, foreign Protestants could not be blamed for its absence. In England, however, no such situation existed; it was always available and so still essential for a true Church. Nonetheless, though the Restoration clergy believed their bishops to be *jure divino* and could not envisage the Church without episcopacy, there was reservation, disagreement, and uncertainty over the necessity of episcopacy for the *esse* of the Church.¹¹ This confusion continued into the eighteenth century and was to break out into open controversy at the accession of a German Lutheran to the throne of England in 1714.¹²

The ideal piety of the Anglican churchman was that of a national devotion based on the Book of Common Prayer, in which godliness and morality were united in the habitual use of the opportunities available for attendance at public worship and the Eucharist.¹³ Devotion should be restrained and sober; a spirituality in which the heart was subordinate to the head; an Arminian piety of "sweet reasonableness" in sharp contradistinction to the "fanatical" piety of

8 Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", pp. 189ff; Sommerville, *Popular Religion*, pp. 89, 96, 104.

9 Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", pp. 147-64.

10 McGee, *The Godly Man*, p. 144.

11 Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", pp. 276-304.

12 See pp. 210-216 below.

13 Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", pp. 210ff.

the Nonconformists.¹⁴ In the eyes of Restoration churchmen, the experiential piety of the Dissenter made religion far too easy and undermined the strenuousness necessary for authentic godliness. This mistrust of fanaticism or "enthusiasm" as elements of a Puritan piety, meant that spiritual or mystical components in Anglican devotional literature were less frequently to be found.¹⁵ Anglicanism thus did not offer a broad range of spiritual sustenance; rather it sought to unify itself rather closely around the worship and the Sacraments as the means to live a sober and moral life.

Unfortunately, however, Holy Communion was still largely neglected by the laity. Yet in the 1680s attendance at the Sacrament (at least in London) began to increase; one reason for this surge – or at least a sign of it – was the stress within the religious societies on monthly reception of the Eucharist.¹⁶ These societies were another energetic effort to extend the worship and moral discipline of the established Church over a sluggish nation.

The Advent of Voluntary Societies

Towards the end of the seventeenth century some members of the clergy and laity began to form themselves into voluntary associations outside the official aegis of the established Church for the purpose of personal and national, moral and religious reform. The maiden societies were the religious societies founded in 1678.¹⁷ Aiming at the personal and devotional side of religion, they remained small-scale and private until after the Glorious Revolution, when they gave rise in 1691 to the societies for the reformation of manners¹⁸ and

14 McAdoo, *Structure of Caroline Moral Theology*, p. 139; Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, pp. 182f.

15 McAdoo, *Structure of Caroline Moral Theology*, pp. 138f.

16 Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", pp. 236–42.

17 On the religious societies, see Woodward, *Account of the Religious Societies*, 2nd edn. (1698); G.V. Portus, *Caritas Anglicana* (London, 1912); D. Pike, "The Religious Societies in the Church of England – 1678–1743. And their Influence on John Wesley and the Methodist Movement" (M.A. thesis, University of Leeds, 1960); F.W.B. Bullock, *Voluntary Religious Societies, 1520–1799* (Sussex, 1963), pp. 125–34; E. Duffy, "Primitive Christianity Revived; Religious Renewal in Augustan England", in: *Renaissance and Renewal in Church History*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1977), pp. 287–300. Helpful contemporary insights on the religious societies are found in: J.B. Wigers to A.H. Francke, Windsor, 10 July 1699 (ArFrSt B71a:103–09) and Samuel Wesley, "An Account of the Religious Society begun in Epworth, in the Isle of Axholm Lincolnshire, Feb: 1, An:Dom: 1701–2", printed in: McClure, pp. 178ffn2.

18 On the societies for the reformation of manners, see *An Account of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners in London and Westminster &c.* (London, 1699); Portus, *Caritas Anglicana*; D.W.R. Bahlmann, *The Moral Revolution of 1688* (New Haven, 1957); Bullock, *Voluntary Religious Societies*, pp. 135–49; T.C. Curtis and W.A. Speck, "The Societies for the Reformation of Manners", *Literature and History* 3 (1976), pp. 45–61; Duffy, "Primitive Christianity Revived", pp. 287–300; A.G. Craig, "The Movement for the Reformation of Manners, 1688–1715" (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1980); T. Isaacs, "The Anglican Hierarchy and the Reformation of Manners", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982), pp. 391–411.

later to the SPCK (1699),¹⁹ and the SPG (1701).²⁰ The movement to establish charity schools²¹ was a part of this voluntarism through its integral association with the religious societies and the SPCK.

Why did this important cluster of voluntary societies appear at this particular period of English church history? Many contemporaries both before and after 1688 had denounced the deplorable moral state of England. We have already noted the frustration of the Restoration clergy with the low state of morality and religious practice among the laity; an official report of the High Church-dominated Lower House of one of the Convocations of Canterbury in 1711 echoed similar fears over the gloomy state of religion:

We cannot, without unspeakable Grief, reflect on that Deluge of Impiety and Licentiousness, which hath broke in upon us, and over-spread the Face of this Church and Kingdom; eminent, in former times, for Purity of Faith, and Sobriety of Manners.²²

This report placed the major blame for this grievous state on the removal of restraints on the press in 1695 when the Licensing Act lapsed, though, as J.C. Sommerville has pointed out, the printing of popular religious literature was still booming and religion still the dominant concern of the English reading public.²³ The collapse of the disciplinary powers of the ecclesiastical courts in the wake of the Toleration Act was also pointed to as a contributing factor; the societies for the reformation of manners aimed to help fill this void.²⁴

But these perceptions do not in themselves account for the rise of voluntary associations at this time; church leaders in any age are prone to indulge in similar Jeremiads about the degeneracy of their own age in comparison with the virtues of a previous golden one. Other explanations for the appearance of these societies need to be considered. It has been suggested that following the Toleration Act of 1688 with its legal sanctioning of religious pluralism, Anglicanism found itself in what seemed to be a "market situation" and felt the need to fight actively for its pre-eminence as an inclusive national Church instead of relying on the strong arm of the State to support its claims. Though still officially established, the Church felt suddenly powerless now that England was no longer a fully confessional State, as of old.²⁵ Voluntary societies

19 On the SPCK, see W.O.B. Allen and E. McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the S.P.C.K., 1698-1898* (London, 1898); W.K.L. Clarke, *A History of the S.P.C.K.* (London, 1959).

20 On the SPG, see C.F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 2 vols. (London, 1901); H.P. Thompson, *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London, 1951).

21 See M.G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action*, 2nd edn. (London, 1964 [1938]).

22 *A Representation of the Present State of Religion* (London, 1711), p. 4.

23 Sommerville, *Popular Religion*, pp. 30f.

24 G.V. Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688-1730* (Oxford, 1975), p. 22; Isaacs, "Anglican Hierarchy", pp. 391-411.

25 Bennett, *Tory Crisis*, pp. 20-22; A.D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*

arose to fill the moral gap left by governmental inaction and to promote the Church.²⁶ This explanation is plausible insofar as it goes, but it is not wholly sufficient; it helps to explain the rapid growth of the voluntary societies after 1688, but not the origins of the religious societies ten years earlier.

The voluntary societies should be seen in the context of the anxieties and objectives of the Restoration Church. The same providential God who had re-established the Church of England in 1660 and assured the Church's victory over Roman Catholicism in 1688, was still waiting for the people of England to repent; Josiah Woodward's prophecy of judgment in 1698 could easily have been written twenty or thirty years earlier: "How long God has suffer'd our perverse Manners, even till both the Providences of GOD, and the Sins of Men, seem to be advanced to a full Crisis, either for our Reformation or Destruction."²⁷ The concern of the societies for the reformation of manners can be directly linked to the religious moralism of the previous decades; one of the clear aims of the religious societies was that of the Restoration Church: to provide further opportunities for worship and frequent reception of the Sacrament.²⁸

Nevertheless, the religious societies offered something unique and fresh, outside the norm of the Anglican liturgical life: when reading Woodward's account of the societies in their early years one cannot escape the sense of spiritual renewal and revival. The spontaneous nature of the movement, the initiating and fundamental importance of preaching, the strong conviction of guilt and sin, the deep and shared emotional experiences of the participants, and their attraction to young lay people all point to a movement of renewal. It cannot be coincidental that the German Anthony Horneck (1641-1697),²⁹ preacher at the Savoy Chapel and founder of the religious societies, was unusual among Anglican churchmen during the Restoration in combining

(London, 1976), pp. 8-12, 18-19; John Walsh, "Religious Societies: Methodist and Evangelical 1738-1800", in: *Voluntary Religion*, ed. W.J. Sheils and D. Wood (Oxford, 1986), p. 279.

26 See Bahlmann, *Moral Revolution*, pp. 106f; A.F.C. Bourdillon, "Introductory", in: *Voluntary Social Services*, ed. A.F.C. Bourdillon (London, 1945), pp. 6-7.

27 Woodward, *Account of Religious Societies* (1698), p. vi. About ten years earlier Woodward expressed similar sentiments in a personal letter: "O Sad! how do the moral and natural causes of our Calamities appear and encrease dayly. God grant, that we be not even as Sodom and Gomorrha [*sic*]; our Sins are too like theirs." (Woodward to John Archer, 24 Aug. [c.1688] [BL, Eg.1844.f.12])

28 John Chamberlayne, *Magnae Britanniae Notitia: The Present State of Great Britain* (London, 1708), Part I, Book III, chap. IX, p. 276; Robert Nelson, *A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England*, 4th edn. (London, 1707 [1704]), p. viii; James Paterson, *Pietas Londinensis* (London, 1714), p. 209; Portus, *Caritas Anglicana*, pp. 18f.

29 On Horneck, see *A Summary Account of the Life of the truly Pious and Reverend Dr. Anth. Horneck* (London, 1697); Richard Kidder, *The Life of the Reverend Anthony Horneck* (London, 1698); Thomas Burnet, of Kemney, to the Electress Sophia [of Hanover], London, 29 July 1697, printed in: *State Papers and Correspondence*, ed. J.M. Kemble (London, 1857), pp. 193-94, 196; R.B. Hone, *Lives of Eminent Christians*, 4 vols., 2nd edn. (London, 1836), ii.289-346; M. Schmidt, "Anton Horneck (1640-1697) aus Bacharach als wegweisende Gestalt in der englischen Kirchengeschichte", *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 22 (1978), pp. 19-33; *DNB* (ix.1261f).

"careful teaching on the spiritual life with a fervent Evangelicalism".³⁰ Too little attention has been given to the spiritual renewal resulting from the religious societies and to the devotional motivation behind the voluntary societies as a whole. One modern historian has commented that "in a period of such apparent unassertiveness in religious matters" it is surprising that voluntary societies arose.³¹ But it is not so startling if one grasps, as David Owen has rightly asserted, that within these societies a "Philanthropy of Piety" was operating which was the product of "a fervent personal religion and commitment to the service of others".³² There were many other philanthropists active during this same period whose motives were plainly secular, aiming to assist or discipline the poor by political means or public subscription.³³ By contrast, the voluntary societies originated in the devotional piety of the religious societies at the end of the seventeenth century. Behind the activism of the SPG, the SPCK, and the societies for the reformation of manners lay the fervent spirituality of associations like those of Horneck and Woodward, in which an introspective, quasi-Puritan concern for the personal safety of the individual soul blended with the liturgical devotion of the Restoration Church. As time went on, the experiential element in the societies waned, their fervour relaxed to become more moralistic, and their philanthropic work became more of an end in itself.

The intense and private devotion of the religious societies aroused considerable suspicion among the dignitaries of the Church, even though they were for the most part officially countenanced and professed their passionate attachment to its public worship and Sacramental life. Their very existence seemed by implication to suggest that the liturgy and Holy Communion of the Church of England were insufficient of themselves to meet the spiritual needs of some of the laity. They had something of the appearance of separatistic "conventicles". It was feared that they might encourage spiritual pride among the laity, from which would result schism, dissension, and enthusiasm.³⁴ George Stanhope, later Dean of Canterbury, in a printed admonition to the

30 McAdoo, *Structure of Caroline Moral Theology*, p. 157. On the debate over whether Horneck himself carried to England mystical propensities acquired from Anna Maria von Schurmann and Jean de Labadie, see G.A. Wauer, "Die Anfänge der Brüderkirche in England" ([Dr. theol.?] thesis, Leipzig, 1900), p. 41n2; Schmidt, "Anton Horneck", pp. 21f; *idem.*, "Ecumenical Activity on the Continent of Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in: *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948*, ed. R. Rouse and S.C. Neill, 2nd edn. (London, 1967 [1954]), p. 105; T. Funk, *Die Anfänge der Laienarbeit im Methodismus* (Bremen, 1941), pp. 15f; A.W. Nagler, *Pietism and Methodism* (Nashville, 1918), p. 140; E.G. Rupp, *Religion in England 1688-1791* (Oxford, 1986), p. 291.

31 Sommerville, *Popular Religion*, p. 129.

32 *English Philanthropy 1660-1960* (London, 1965), pp. 17-20.

33 S.M. Macfarlane, "Studies in Poverty and Poor Relief at the End of the Seventeenth Century" (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1982).

34 Woodward, *Account of the Religious Societies*, pp. 135-44, dedicates one chapter to answering some of these objections.

religious societies, expressed his anxiety about the opportunities for lay religious leadership which they offered, and the difficulty of maintaining close clerical supervision over their activities. Through this small inlet might pour the indiscipline of the Commonwealth, when there existed

... such wild Scruples, such fantastical Opinions, such monstrous Enthusiasm, such bold Invasions of the Priestly Office, such lamentable Confusions both in Church and State; from Men's taking upon them publickly to Exercise what they call'd their Gifts in Expounding Scripture and teaching the things of God, without the previous Qualifications of Education, and Learning, and a Lawful Call to fit and Authorize them for it.

This kind of supererogatory lay piety might threaten ecclesiastical and social stability, encouraging a restless dissatisfaction with the Church and with the obligations of young persons to pursue their work or "calling".³⁵ Stanhope's criticisms were outweighed by general approval for the societies as nodal points for Anglican revival. But they were not entirely absurd. His suspicion that lay power in the societies would expand, was often proved true; clerical influence in them waned over time as the lay stewards exercised more and more authority and lay leaders seized their opportunity to speak and even exhort.³⁶

The extent of the religious society movement is not easy to establish. The momentum seems to have slackened by the end of Anne's reign, though new societies continued to be formed here and there for decades to come. Their main strength lay in metropolitan areas, like London and Bristol. In London there were thirty in 1718, according to Thomas Bray.³⁷ By the 1710s their respectability was somewhat compromised by the political partisanship so characteristic of the period. Though High Churchmen feared their potential for incipient Nonconformity, Low Churchmen and Whigs – with far more justification – saw them as hotbeds of Jacobitism, especially after 1715. Under George I they lost much of their official countenance and fell into slow decline, though some societies were still functioning at the onset of the evangelical revival.³⁸

From the small but still significant devotional renewal of the religious societies stemmed not only the societies for the reformation of manners, but more importantly, the two chief monuments to Anglican voluntarism: the

35 George Stanhope, *The Duty of Rebuking. A Sermon Preach'd ... December the 28th. 1702 ... To which is added, a Post-Script to the Religious Societies* (London, 1703), pp. 21–27.

36 This development is perhaps most clearly seen by a careful comparison of Horneck's "Rules", published in 1698 by Kidder, *Anthony Horneck*, pp. 13–16, but certainly used with the earliest societies, and of the "Orders" (1698) in Woodward, *Account of the Religious Societies*, pp. 120–30.

37 Bray to Archbishop Wake, Aldgate, 21 Mar. 1718 (ChCh, *Wake MSS* 15:182–93).

38 Portus, *Caritas Anglicana*, pp. 80f, 194f. On the differences of opinion regarding the connection of the Anglican religious societies to Wesley's Methodist societies, see esp. Walsh, "Religious Societies", pp. 279–302, and H.D. Rack, "Religious Societies and the Origins of Methodism", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 38 (1987), pp. 582–95.

SPCK and the SPG. It was to the elder of these sister societies that Halle Pietists in London were drawn.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

The SPCK was the brain-child of the creative and far-sighted reformer Thomas Bray (1656–1730).³⁹ For many years he dreamed of forming an Anglican society similar to the Roman Catholic *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, which, since its founding in 1622, was the active arm of Catholicism in the spread of the faith around the world, possessing its own multi-lingual educational institutions and publication works.⁴⁰ Bray envied the missionary ardour and potent organization of the *Propaganda* and felt that Protestantism should have the same force. He wished his society to be officially chartered by the government and composed of two-thirds clergy and one-third laity.⁴¹ This dream was eventually fulfilled in 1701 with the incorporation of the SPG; two years earlier, however, Bray had met with four friends and formed the SPCK, a voluntary society with no royal charter.

As a voluntary society the SPCK kept close connections with the religious societies and societies for the reformation of manners which preceded it; all the great church voluntary associations of this period had close links. The devotional piety of the religious societies, though apparent only in the prayers at the beginning and close of SPCK meetings, was, as C.K. Lowther Clarke has noted, “the indispensable foundation of their activities, too obvious to need mention”;⁴² the zeal for moral reformation manifest in the societies for the reformation of manners was also a motivating force in the SPCK. The SPCK always expressed support for the other two wings of voluntary action in England, desiring that “a good correspondence be encouraged and maintained”;⁴³ and, in fact, became their patron; when clergy or laity around the country desired information on either religious societies or societies for the reformation of manners, they turned to the SPCK. The SPCK became the impulse and the clearinghouse for voluntaristic renewal and reformation in Britain.

Since the public was confused about the different functions of the various voluntary societies, the SPCK invited Justice Hooke, one of its founding members, “to draw up an account of the nature of this Society, and wherein it differs from other Societies”.⁴⁴ While praising the other voluntary societies,

39 On Bray, see H.P. Thompson, *Thomas Bray* (London, 1954).

40 On the *Propaganda*, see J. Schmidlin, “Die Gründung der Propaganda Kongregation (1622)”, *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 12 (1922), 1–14; cf. K.S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, 7 vols. (Grand Rapids, 1970 [1938–45]), iii.33–35.

41 Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, p. 36.

42 *History SPCK*, p. 3.

43 *SPCK Minutes*, 2 May 1700, printed in: McClure, pp. 62f.

44 *Ibid.*, 3 Feb. 1700, printed in: McClure, p. 44.

Hooke noted that beyond them something else was needed "for the lasting Establishment of our holy Faith, and the spreading of it in the World".⁴⁵ Though all voluntary societies agreed on the goal of Christian and moral reformation, they differed in their methods; whereas the religious societies focused on devotional, liturgical, and Sacramental means and the societies for the reformation of manners on legal prosecution of moral offenders, the SPCK chose a new and different method: education.⁴⁶ The original purpose of the Society is set out in the Preamble of the statement which each of the founding members signed:

Whereas the growth of vice and immorality is greatly owing to gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian religion, wee whose names are underwritten do agree to meet together, as often as we can conveniently, to consult (under the conduct of the Divine Providence and assistance) how we may be able by due and lawfull methods to promote Christian Knowledge.⁴⁷

The post-Restoration stress on personal and national immorality and the need for reformation plainly underlies what is here expressed, but the identification of the cause of this malady as the "gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian religion" brings a fresh perspective.

This belief in the need to promote "Christian Knowledge" to combat "gross ignorance" implied that the early work of the Society was to be concentrated on education. The SPCK supported the efforts of Bray, above all a teacher,⁴⁸ to establish libraries for the use of the poor clergy in the West Indies and in the outlying counties of England and Wales, though the American work was handed over to the SPG and its British operations centred predominantly on Wales.⁴⁹ Following his friend John Rawlett and what was perhaps an imitation of the tract distribution common to post-Restoration Nonconformity, Thomas Bray began to see the philanthropic possibilities of the distribution of Christian literature among the poor.⁵⁰ But supremely, as one of the Society's key members explained, the "Darling Employment" of the SPCK was the business of charity schools because "it tends directly to a General-Reformation of all the Poor children throughout the Nation".⁵¹ Whatever the means used, education was the dominant activity in the Society's early years.

The SPCK also had other interests. In an early Circular Letter to correspondents one branch of the Society's work was stated to be the "reclaiming of

45 [Justice Hooke,] *A Short Account of the Several Kinds of Societies* ([London], [1700]), p. 3.

46 See Clarke, *History SPCK*, pp. 2-3; Bahlmann, *Moral Reformation*, p. 106; Henry Newman to John Strype, London, 25 July 1709 (Camb., *Baumgartner Papers* III.II.No.153).

47 Printed in: McClure, p. 1.

48 Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, pp. 10f.

49 See T. Kelly, *Early Public Libraries* (London, 1966), pp. 104-12.

50 Sommerville, *Popular Religion*, pp. 22f; E. Duffy, "The Godly and the Multitude in Stuart England", *The Seventeenth Century* 1 (1986), pp. 31-55.

51 John Chamberlayne to A.H. Francke, Westminster, 29 July 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.XXVI.847).

those among us who entertain opinions inconsistent with the fundamentals of our holy Religion".⁵² This reclamation work, though, was not directed towards Dissent as a whole and, despite early short-lived support for George Keith's efforts to convert Quakers, was seldom more than a minor occupation of the Society. Another SPCK enterprise, which remained close to its heart for many years, was first recommended by Bishop Compton of London: "to consider of some means for the better Instructing and Regulating the manners of the poor Prisoners in the severall Prisons of this City."⁵³ Thus the primary concerns of the SPCK were educational, philanthropic, and evangelistic: it was founded for essentially practical purposes.

The minutes and correspondence from the Society's early years offer a useful insight into its organization. It was made up of subscribing (or, residing) members living locally, who agreed to donate a certain amount of money each year, and of corresponding members, who did not have to contribute financially but dispersed SPCK literature and ideas throughout England and the world. One became a member only through personal recommendation and the vote of the Society. Since only residing members could vote in meetings (though corresponding members were allowed to attend), the Society was London-dominated.

A look at some of the important and most active members of the Society reveals an interesting picture. Prominent laymen included the well-known writer and translator John Chamberlayne (1666-1723), the sixth member of the Society, who became its first secretary and translated most of its foreign correspondence,⁵⁴ Sir John Philipps (1662?-1737) of Pembrokeshire, the son of a staunch Puritan defender of Parliament, one of the "greatest benefactors of the Welsh nation in the eighteenth century", and probably the most influential member in the early decades of the Society,⁵⁵ Frederick Slare (1647?-1727), celebrated physician, member of the Royal Society, and supporter of charity schools,⁵⁶ Robert Nelson (1656-1715), the Nonjuror and renowned Anglican

52 "The Second Circular Letter to the Clergy Correspondents" (8 Feb. 1700), printed in: McClure, p. 45n1.

53 SPCK *Minutes*, 25 Jan. 1700, printed in: McClure, p. 43.

54 Chamberlayne, who studied for a short time on the Continent, translated a number of historical and religious works and continued publishing for some years his father's *The Present State of Great-Britain*.

55 T. Shankland, "Sir John Philipps; the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and the Charity-School Movement in Wales, 1699-1737", *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1904-05), pp. 74-216; Sir John Lloyd and R.T. Jenkins, ed., *Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (London, 1959), pp. 753, 755. Sir John's father, Sir Erasmus Philipps, had a major role in Welsh affairs during the Commonwealth, serving as a commissioner under the "Act for the Better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales" (1650-53). On Sir John's apparent involvement in the societies for the reformation of manners, see N. Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1857), 12 & 15 Mar. [1697/98], 21 Dec. [1699], 25 Jan. [1699/1700] (iv.354, 355, 596, 607).

56 The *DNB* (xviii.369f) mentions Slare's unique contributions in medicine but says nothing of his philanthropy and religious involvements. His roots are rather unclear: they are traced to

devotional writer,⁵⁷ and Henry Newman (1670–1743), the American secretary of the Society from 1708 until his death, whose low-key presence in the SPCK belies his influence.⁵⁸ Active clergy included Bray, Richard Mayo, rector of St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, and the son of an ejected Puritan divine, Henry Shute, Lecturer of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, and White Kennett, minister at St. Botolph's, Aldgate, and later Bishop of Peterborough. The moral reformer Josiah Woodward was an early corresponding member.⁵⁹

A large number of bishops were subscribing members of the SPCK, among whom were Richard Kidder (Bath and Wells), Edward Fowler (Gloucester), John Williams (Chichester), Nicholas Stratford (Chester), William Lloyd (Worcester), John Hall (Bristol), and Thomas Wilson (Sodor and Man). Clergy who held membership in the Society and later became prelates included Edmund Gibson (London), Richard Willis (Gloucester, Salisbury, Winchester), and William Wake (Lincoln and Canterbury). Sir William Dawes, later Archbishop of York, was a corresponding member and once wrote that "tho' he can't attend the Society, he will always joyn with, and assist them".⁶⁰ While this list of dignitaries is impressive, it can give an inaccurate picture. During its first four decades bishops seldom attended SPCK meetings and were relatively inactive in its decisions; by contrast, the episcopate was quite active in the decision-making of the SPG because of its official status as a chartered Society. Dr. E.A. Duffy has shown that the SPG, with its bevy of prelates, was a better official representative of the Church of England than the SPCK.⁶¹ It should not be assumed, though their membership lists were similar and foreign correspondents often mixed up the two Societies, that the two

Northamptonshire, but J. Foster, ed., *Alumni Oxonienses*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891–92), iv.1365 (entry under "Slear"), describes him as "Palatino Germanus", he was introduced to the Royal Society by the German Theodore Haak, and the German Pietists found in him their closest friend. Nonetheless, all of his extant correspondence – even with Germans – is in English or Latin, so there is no reason to doubt his English heritage. Cf. W. Munk, ed., *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians in London*, 2 vols. (London, 1861), i.405.

57 C.F. Secretan, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Pious Robert Nelson* (London, 1860).

58 L. Cowie, *Henry Newman: An American in London, 1708–43* (London, 1956).

59 J. Woodward to Henry Newman, Poplar, 30 Sept. 1710 (BL, Add. MSS. 4276:209). Surprisingly, Woodward has no entry in the *DNB*. It would appear that he came naturally by his interest in the voluntary societies – and especially the religious societies. E. Calamy, *An Account of the Ministers ... Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration*, 2 vols., 2nd edn. (London, 1713 [1702]), ii.321, writes that Josiah's father, Joseph Woodward of Dursley, was a Puritan minister who used to meet with godly professors at Wooton-under-Edge and together pray, sing, and repeat sermons, "which edifying Society he found so beneficial, that he us'd to say, Tho' Oxford made him a Scholar, the Professors at Wooton, fitted him for the Ministry". Cf. Duffy, "The Godly and the Multitude", p. 55n94.

60 Sir William Dawes to Chamberlayne, Bocking in Essex, 16 Apr. 1701, printed in: McClure, p. 330.

61 E. Duffy, "Correspondence Fraternelle; the SPCK, the SPG, and the Churches of Switzerland in the War of Spanish Succession", in: *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c.1500–c.1750. Dedicated and presented to Prof. C.W. Dugmore*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1979), pp. 260f.

organizations were mirror reflections of each other with only different spheres of activity. Unlike the SPG, which fulfilled Bray's dream of a clergy-dominated Society, the SPCK in its early decades was managed largely by pious and charitable laymen, although deference was always paid to the episcopate.

Although the total number of members in these early years is uncertain, a count in 1712 gave the number of subscribing members as 80 and corresponding as 370.⁶² But these figures can be misleading if one supposes that SPCK meetings were quite large. Even general meetings were seldom attended by more than a dozen members and special committee meetings, at which most decisions were made for individual projects, frequently consisted of less than six people. Writing in 1711, Sir John Philipps, the most active and powerful member of the Society when in London, expressed his concern that the special committee was "so little frequented".⁶³ To say, then, that certain members, like those laymen listed above, were able by their regular attendance to dominate the Society, is not an overstatement.

One of the reasons for the success of the SPCK lay in its ability to develop comparatively free of party labels, in which it differed from both the religious societies and the societies for the reformation of manners, which were stained by party conflicts in the 1710s. There are signs, however, that the Society was not entirely free from party influences. A number of scholars have adduced evidence to support High Church and Tory inclinations in the Society. It has been pointed out that Nelson helped to see through the 1702 appointment of Humphrey Wanley, a friend of the Nonjuror George Hickes, as the Society's secretary.⁶⁴ A large section of the Society has been described as Jacobite, including (on doubtful evidence) the group to which Sir John Philipps belonged, and the percolation of Jacobitism through the religious societies and charity schools has been attributed to the SPCK.⁶⁵ C.K. Lowther Clarke has asserted that the literature published by the SPCK was "uniformly High Church", adding that "the tone of S.P.C.K. Churchmanship had from the first been set by Ken and Nelson, the Non-jurors".⁶⁶

However, notwithstanding the presence of High churchmen and Non-jurors in the SPCK, the evidence indicates that as time went on the Society became more Whiggish – or at least more moderate. Evidence for this moderate tone can be found in relation to the influx of over 10,000 German Palatine Protestants to England in 1709. Attitudes to the "Poor Palatines" were

62 Clarke, *History SPCK*, p. 89. In 1713 Henry Newman said the Society consisted "of about 500 gentlemen living in almost all parts of the Kingdom". (Newman to Princess Sophia, 3 Aug. 1713, printed in: W.K.L. Clarke, *Eighteenth Century Piety* [London, 1944], p. 77)

63 Sir John Philipps to SPCK, Picton Castle, 28 Nov. 1711, printed in: Clement, p. 44.

64 Secretan, *Memoirs of Robert Nelson*, pp. 104f.

65 D.E. Jenkins, Introduction to *Religious Societies (Dr. Woodward's "Account")* (Liverpool, 1935), pp. 14f. The Jacobite proclivity of Philipps is questionable. See P.D.G. Thomas, "Jacobitism in Wales", *The Welsh History Review* 1 (1962), p. 290.

66 *History SPCK*, pp. 81f.

something of a party test at the time, for the refugees were objects of Tory suspicion and Whiggish approval. The absence of any mention of the Palatines in the SPCK minutes might suggest a lack of sympathy for these foreign Protestants – in contrast to the help afforded to the Salzburgers nearly three decades later.⁶⁷ But this silence gives a misleading impression of the Society's sentiments. Among the Trade Papers relating to the Palatine emigration there is a letter from John Chamberlayne describing the efforts of a group of men that met regularly on their own to give aid to the refugees. The list of names included Bray, Philipps, Slare, Shute, Nelson, Hooke, and Newman:⁶⁸ almost a roll-call for a general meeting of the SPCK.

Another indicator of moderate leanings is the aggressive advocacy of the Society for the Hanoverian succession. Bray was an out-spoken Hanoverian⁶⁹ as was Henry Newman, whose appointment as secretary in 1708 "marked the failure of the Tories to control the Society".⁷⁰ Newman and the SPCK tried to root Jacobite influence out of the charity schools and "to persuade those violent opposers of wiggish [*sic*] Charity to reason".⁷¹ After the accession of George I and the Jacobite uprising of 1715, the Society broke correspondence with all members who refused "to take the oaths to his Majesty appointed by Law" and resolved "to admit no man for the future into their body, til they are Satisfied in his good affection to the Government".⁷²

In spite of these pro-Hanoverian inclinations one must not make the SPCK out to be a handmaid of party politics: it was by and large able to rise above the issues that polarized the Church of its day and amalgamated members from different, and at times opposing, theological and political views. In Society meetings Low Churchmen, High Churchmen, Whigs, Tories, foreign Protestants, and Nonjurors sat side-by-side, united in their zeal for reform. The Society was the main expression of Anglican voluntaristic, religious, and philanthropic work in Britain during this period.⁷³

67 E. Beyreuther, *August Hermann Francke und die Anfänge der ökumenischen Bewegung* (Hamburg-Bergstedt, 1957), p. 173.

68 Trade Papers (D.61), printed in: *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York*, 7 vols., ed. H. Hastings (Albany, 1901-16), iii.1739f.

69 See William Whiston, *Memoirs ... Written by Himself*, 2nd edn. (London, 1753 [1749]), p. 134.

70 Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 27,84.

71 Newman to Mr. Chancellor Lloyd, n.p., 26 May 1713 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/3]).

72 Newman to Mr. Harvey, Middle Temple, 1 Nov. 1716 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/6]).

73 E. Duffy, "The Society of [*sic*] Promoting Christian Knowledge and Europe: The Background to the Founding of the Christentumsgesellschaft", *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 7 (1981), pp. 30-32.

2. Halle Pietism

Early Perceptions of "Pietism" in England

"Pietism" was not a common word in late seventeenth-century literary England; nor would its first mention in 1697 arouse a favourable impression among Anglican readers. Francis Lee, the Nonjuror who attached himself to Jane Leade's theosophical and pan-confessional Philadelphian Society and married her daughter, in giving an account of that Society, stated:

The numbers of this Society in other Countries may be more Considerable, then is at first easie to be believ'd. The first Motion or Eruption of it may be said to have been in *Germany*, where it has spread it self chiefly through the indefatigable Zeal of some of the Clergy; under the Name of PIETISM.⁷⁴

That same year in his *Theosophical Transactions* Lee described the "Miraculous" rise and the teaching methods of a "College in Germany", which, though he does not mention it by name, was undoubtedly that of the Pietist A.H. Francke.⁷⁵ These links to the dubious Philadelphians, with their eccentricities and theosophical speculations,⁷⁶ could not have endeared Pietism to an Anglican readership.

In the second edition of *The Snake in the Grass*, also published in 1697, Charles Leslie, another Nonjuror but unlike Lee a fiery controversialist, in an effort to connect both "Enthusiasm" and "Quakerism" to Rome, made reference to the "great Fraction" caused in Catholicism by some Quietists in Italy, adding, "There is a *Sect* like unto these rose up in *Germany*, call'd *Pietists*; some of whom I am told have been in *London*, and own'd as Brethren by the *Quakers*, and gone many of them to *Pensylvania*".⁷⁷ Leslie's informant was not leading him astray; in 1693 one Nicholas Rüst, a Continental member of the Society of Friends, told a Friends' meeting in London that "there is a people raised up in Germany, and severall other places, who call themselves Pietists, but are by the world called Qwakers". When forty of these Pietists who "separate themselves from the Lutherans" found their way to England and were in a "poor Condition", over £86 was collected for them at various Friends' meetings.⁷⁸

74 [Francis Lee,] *The State of the Philadelphia Society* (London, 1697), p. 11.

75 *Theosophical Transactions* 4 (1697), 218-25; 5 (1697), 238-47; for further details, see pp. 98f below.

76 On the Philadelphian Society, see N. Thune, *The Behmenists and the Philadelphians* (Uppsala, 1948).

77 [Charles Leslie,] *The Snake in the Grass*, 2nd edn. (London, 1697 [1696]), p. 185.

78 Nicholas Rüst to?, London, 3 June 1693, and "Minute Book of the Six Weeks Meeting", 26 Oct. 1693, printed in: "Friends and Pietists in Germany", *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* 7 (1910), pp. 136-39; cf. G.F. Nuttall, "Continental Pietism and the Evangelical Movement in Britain", in: *Pietismus und Reveil*, ed. J. van den Berg and J.P. van Dooren (Leiden, 1978), pp. 233-35; W. Beck and T.F. Bull, *The London Friends' Meetings* (London, 1869), p. 131.

Leslie's critique and Lee's praises linked Pietism to two things abhorrent to the late seventeenth-century Anglican churchman: separatism and enthusiasm. An early supporter of Halle Pietism in England noted that most people had an adverse concept of Pietism, considering it a sub-species of Quakerism.⁷⁹ What most English men and women did not realize – indeed what most German opponents of Pietism refused to recognize – was that not all manifestations of German Pietism were schismatic and fanatical. Even today Pietism remains a misunderstood movement among modern historians and one which still stirs up controversy and disagreement: one scholar has called Pietism “undoubtedly the most significant inner-church movement within Protestantism since the Reformation”,⁸⁰ while another says that it “was one of the major strides of retreat from responsibility as it had been viewed in the past”.⁸¹ In 1705 A.W. Boehm wanted to clear the air about Pietism, so he translated into English and published in London an account of Francke's work in Halle called *Pietas Hallensis*;⁸² in the Preface he included a twenty-five page history of Pietism, the first in English.⁸³ This had exceptional importance as a major source of information for the English on the nature and aspirations of Pietism, and shaped their perceptions more than any other source.

English interest in Germany was considerable in the early eighteenth century. Boehm noted that Pietism came from a nation

... from whom we derive both our Pedigree and Religion, together with many of our Ancient Laws and Political Establishments, and with whom also our Alliances at this Instant are such, as ought to make us now or never somewhat inquisitive for certain into their Affairs and Acts.⁸⁴

The European wars, into which William of Orange had dragged the English nation, reached their climax in the war of Spanish succession, in which Hanover was a major ally; the 1702 Act of Succession, ensuring that a German Protestant would one day sit on the English throne, heightened English curiosity in German matters. Though by the end of the eighteenth century England had become much more isolated from Continental affairs, circumstances early in the century created an atmosphere conducive to cultural exchange. Boehm's history of Pietism was a significant early piece of what W.R. Ward has called

79 H.W. Ludolf to Francke, London, 6 Dec. 1700 (ArFrSt D71:64–65).

80 K. Aland, “Pietismus”, in: *Weltkirchenlexicon*, ed. F.H. Littell and H.H. Walz (Stuttgart, 1960), col. 1151.

81 Martin Marty, *A Short History of Christianity*, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia, 1987 [1959]), p. 225.

82 The content and context of the book itself will be discussed on pp. 83–87 below.

83 [A.W. Boehm,] Preface to *Pietas Hallensis*, by A.H. Francke, [trans. A.W. Boehm] (London, 1705), pp. xvi–xl. Boehm's work was based on a previous history by P.J. Spener and was elaborated stylistically by Lee. (Boehm to G.H. Neubauer, Windsor, 20 June 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 180f)

84 Boehm, Preface to *Pietas Hallensis*, p. ii.

... the complex of early eighteenth-century forces which were uniting England to Germany closer than ever before, to its politics and piety, to its theology, and to the private comforts and overt terrors of the German religious mind.⁸⁵

The account of Francke's work was aimed, in the words of its Preface, especially at those "Inspired with a Zeal for the Promotion of solid Piety and Charity, by the Societies for that end set up lately within these Kingdoms".⁸⁶ Boehm was well aware of the voluntary societies in England and of their concerns; in his history of Pietism he hoped to point out in the German context "the Principal Persons and Springs, that have been set on Work in the Propagating Christian Piety, and promoting a *solid Reformation of Manners*, among all Orders both of the Clergy and Laity".⁸⁷ His choice of words like "Propagating", "promoting", and "*Reformation of Manners*" was not accidental; his conscious objective was to legitimize Pietism by linking it to the Anglican voluntary societies.

Though Boehm mentions many names, three "Principal Persons" dominate his history: Johann Arndt (1555-1621), Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705), and August Hermann Francke (1663-1727). Arndt, general superintendent of the Lutheran churches in Celle, was depicted by Boehm as one of those in the century after Luther's Reformation who promoted "another Reformation ... which did not respect so much Opinion as Practice" and who,

... laying deeply to heart the *Decay of Christian Piety*, were wholly taken up with the thoughts of Reviving the Spirit and Life of Christianity among those of the *Augustan Confession* in particular, as among all professed Christians in general.

The main means used by Arndt to revive Christianity in Germany was the publication of *True Christianity* (1605, 1610), "an Instrument of the Divine Blessing in the Conversion of many Souls into the true and Interior Christianity".⁸⁸ The most popular devotional work in German Protestantism, it went through twenty editions prior to Arndt's death and 125 printings before the end of the eighteenth century.⁸⁹ Arndt stated that the main scope of his work was

... to lay open, on one hand, the secret and abominable depth of original corruption which cleaves to mankind; and on the other, to set forth Jesus Christ as the sole beginning, medium, and end of our whole conversion to God. This twofold consideration ... runs through the whole book.⁹⁰

85 "Power and Piety", p. 231.

86 Boehm, Preface to *Pietas Hallensis*, p. iii.

87 *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

88 *Ibid.*, pp. xvi-xvii.

89 Wilhelm Koepp, *Johann Arndt* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 302-05.

90 Johann Arndt, *True Christianity*, 2 vols., trans. A.W. Boehm, ed. W. Jacques (London, 1815), i.xxii.

True Christianity showed Arndt's affinity to medieval and mystical sources, and Boehm freely allowed that he "had imbibed chiefly his Doctrine and Living way of Practice from *Thauler and Kempis*".⁹¹ This mysticism, however, was not one of personal ascent along the *scala perfectionis* but a spirituality which stressed the practical in opposition to the perceived dogmatical rigidity and dryness of some Orthodox Protestant theologians on the Continent.⁹² The practice of the Christian life was Arndt's passion and that which he passed on to Pietism.

Important as Arndt was as a forerunner to Pietism, it was Spener whom Boehm saw as "the very Soul in this cause", being "chosen of God for a *Peculiar Instrument* of a more Practical Reformation". In 1662 he had begun to examine with others "the causes of the Abuses in the Administration of the Word and Sacraments, and consequently of the little Edification of the Laity; together with the Remedies fit to be applied". Spener brought to light again some "*Mystical and Spiritual Books of the best note*", including *Theologia Germanica*, *Imitatio Christi*, and works by Johann Tauler and Johann Arndt.⁹³ Tauler's sermons and *Theologia Germanica* had been particularly important to the young Luther; these spiritual and devotional – indeed mystical – treatises now formed the devotional backbone to the spiritual side of Pietism. It is symbolic that Spener's *Pia Desideria* (1675), which more than any other work touched off the historical movement of Pietism, first appeared as a Preface to a new edition of Arndt's sermons. In *Pia Desideria*, according to Boehm, Spener

... shews evidently the *Apostacy* of the Spouse of Christ from her first Love, with the Abuses and Corruptions consequent hereof, and then proposes such *Methods*, by which the same might be in some manner redressed.⁹⁴

The six methods Spener proposes to combat the abuses and the lethargy in the Lutheran Church provide the best characterization of the objectives of Pietism:

1. a more extensive use of the Word of God among us,
2. the establishment and diligent exercise of the spiritual priesthood,
3. to awaken a fervent love among our Christians and to put this love into practice,
4. to beware how we conduct ourselves in religious controversies,
5. that schools and universities would pay attention to the life as well as the studies of the students entrusted to them,
6. that sermons may be so prepared by all that their purpose (faith and its fruits) may be achieved in the hearers to the greatest possible degree.⁹⁵

Even before he published *Pia Desideria* Spener had initiated his *collegia pietatis*, or, as Boehm describes them, "exercises of Piety". Started in 1670 and in many

91 Boehm, Preface to *Pietas Hallensis*, p. xviii.

92 See P. Erb, Introduction to *True Christianity*, by Johann Arndt, trans. P. Erb (New York, 1979), pp. 6–16.

93 Boehm, Preface to *Pietas Hallensis*, pp. xx–xxii.

94 *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

95 P.J. Spener, *Pia Desideria*, trans. and ed. T.G. Tappert (Philadelphia, 1964), pp. 87–122.

ways similar to the religious societies founded in England eight years later,⁹⁶ these small groups were intended for "private Devotion"; in them Spener allowed laity "whose Mind and Senses were exercised in the Word of God, tho' not Divines by Profession, to bring forth any Experience or Spiritual Meditation, that was upon their Spirits".⁹⁷ Johannes Wallmann, who has examined in depth the origins of the first *collegia pietatis* under Spener, suggests that they were started at the instigation of prominent lay leaders in Spener's Frankfurt congregation. The first group gathered in Spener's home to avoid suspicions and studied among other devotional books Bayly's *Praxis Pietatis*. As interest increased, Spener opened the *collegia pietatis* to the whole church and himself lectured exclusively from the Bible. The original group then formed their own conventicle outside Spener's leadership; when this group came under the influence of William Penn, in Germany on a recruiting tour for his new colony, and other charismatic figures in Germany, they decided to separate from Spener's congregation and expressed the desire to go to Pennsylvania.⁹⁸ From this group came those Pietists to whom Leslie and Rüst referred in the 1690s.

From Frankfurt Spener went to Dresden, seeing "that a new Period of a more Universal Reformation in the Church of God in General, as well as in the Lutheran in Particular was at Hand". There he set up a house for catechizing young children, recognizing that "the Basis and Ground-work of Reformation was to be laid in little Children; Old People being grown for the most part inflexible, and unwilling to Forsake the darling of their accustomed Formalities or Opinions". But Spener's work in Dresden, where his adversaries derisively called him "*The Patriarch of the Pietists*", was not appreciated by the Elector of Saxony, so he accepted a call from Elector Frederick of Brandenburg to Berlin. The Elector was erecting a new university at Halle by which "it pleased God to encrease and enlarge the new Reformation of *Pietism*". Halle became the seedbed of the Pietist movement, for Spener was able to bring some of his principal supporters to the new university and continued to support it until his death in 1705.⁹⁹

The most influential figure drawn to the new university was A.H. Francke. In the late 1680s Francke had helped establish in Leipzig a *Collegium Philobiblicum*, a small group originally intended more for learning and the study of the Scriptures than for piety. This initiative was observed and welcomed by Spener, who also sent suggestions for better directing things "for Christian Edification, and the Advancement of solid Piety"; following his example

96 For a comparison, see pp. 198f below.

97 [Boehm,] Preface to *Pietas Hallensis*, p. xxii.

98 J. Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus* (Tübingen, 1970), pp. 253-82.

99 [Boehm,] Preface to *Pietas Hallensis*, pp. xxiv-xxvii.

Francke resolved to extend the aims of his group, "uniting with the Research of Scripture the *Study of Piety*". Working with divinity students at Leipzig who had been "bred up to a superficial smattering in Divine Matters, and to an empty and fallacious Oratory", Francke and his associates sought to turn them back to "the Original Books". In so doing the Pietists were charged by members of the theology faculty with heresy; a storm arose and, though the dean seemed content with Francke's defence, Boehm reported that "the new name of *Pietism* is by the Heretick-Mongers inserted into their Black List, and the first Instruments of *Pietism* were Banish'd".¹⁰⁰ Despite being surrounded by controversy, Boehm stressed that the Pietists were primarily concerned for pastoral matters and for the Church at large:

They saw Raw, unexperienced, unexercised Students in the Cross of Christ, entrusted with the *Pastoral Care* of Souls, while they themselves were often stupidly ignorant of the state of their own Souls, and destitute of all the requisite Qualifications of a true Christian Pastor.

Commissions were appointed to examine Pietism after charges of heterodoxy were raised by Orthodox opponents; but they duly found Pietist teaching "to be perfectly conformable to the Symbolical Books, and the *Augustan Confession of Faith*".¹⁰¹

Boehm, then, saw Pietism as a "new Reformation" within the Lutheran Church of Germany, which sought to revive the practice of Christianity through inward and personal spiritual renewal. Far from being a separatistic sect, Pietism, despite the opposition it faced, aimed to revive the established Church in Germany. One way to summarize the first concerns of Pietism – besides the six methods Spener produced in *Pia Desideria* – is to observe what its opponents considered to be so heretical in its teaching. Describing the rumpus in the theological faculty at Leipzig, Boehm writes:

To speak of Abuses crept in, was presently interpreted a *Contempt* of the Holy Institutions themselves: To inculcate Holiness of Life was look'd as an asserting *our Salvation by Works*: And to press after a Vital Knowledge of God, as Distinct from a Dead one, was represented as altogether *Fanatical*.¹⁰²

First, Pietists attacked what they regarded as "abuses" in the Lutheran Church, including pulpit logomachy (overly theological and unedifying sermons, or "vain Rhetorick"), the lack of proper preparation for and control of access to the Eucharist, and failure to catechize the children.¹⁰³ Second, they strove after personal holiness and practical godliness as the necessary fruit of justification, though distinct from it; Pietists were charged with theological indifference,

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. xxviii–xxxvi.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xxxvii–xl.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. xxxv.

¹⁰³ See D.W. Brown, *Understanding Pietism* (Grand Rapids, 1978), pp. 24f.

but they in turn condemned their Orthodox opponents as morally indifferent. Finally, Pietists pressed after spiritual regeneration, or new birth, and sought an experiential faith which touched the heart as well as the head.

Current Pietist Scholarship

So far we have been summarizing Boehm's influential account of Pietist history, its aims and methods. How does Boehm's history fare in light of modern Pietist research? It is not our purpose to give a survey of the history of interpretations of Pietism or of the current state of Pietist scholarship,¹⁰⁴ but to examine a few of the important questions raised by Boehm's history and those issues pertinent to Anglican-Halle connections.

A striking feature of Boehm's account is his frequent reference to Pietism as a "new Reformation", "another Reformation", "a more Practical Reformation", and even "a more Universal Reformation". This usage comes in part from his desire to link Pietism to the voluntary societies, but, when added to Pietism's critique of Orthodoxy and the Church, it raises the question of the relationship of Pietism to Luther and Lutheran Orthodoxy. The main roots of Lutheran Pietism can be found in the Reformation and in Luther himself,¹⁰⁵ particularly the young Luther, whose favourable response to Tauler, St. Bernard, and *Theologia Germanica* was revived by Pietism. Pietists frequently cited Luther's "Introduction to Romans" with its description of faith – to which Wesley was listening when his heart was strangely warmed.¹⁰⁶ In spite of the basic agreement between Lutheran Pietists and Luther, one can find differences in emphasis.¹⁰⁷ Luther held onto *simul justus et peccator*, while Pietism stressed new birth; Luther said the greatness of faith was more important than the greatness of works, but Pietists put emphasis on a living faith active in works.

The relation of Lutheran Pietism to Lutheran Orthodoxy is more compli-

104 For bibliographies on Pietist research, see *Pietismus und Neuzeit. Jahrbuch zur Geschichte des neueren Protestantismus* (from 1974). For surveys of literature and interpretations, see E. McKenzie, "British Devotional Literature and the Rise of German Pietism", 2 vols. (Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1984), i.1-35; M. Schmidt, "Epochen der Pietismusforschung", in: *Pietismus und Reveil*, ed. J. van den Berg and J.P. van Dooren (Leiden, 1978), pp. 22-79; M. Brecht, "Der Pietismus als Epoche der Neuzeit", *Verkündigung und Forschung* 21 (1976), 46-84; M. Greschat, "Zur neueren Pietismusforschung. Ein Literaturbericht", *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Westfälische Kirchengeschichte* 65 (1972), 220-268; H. Lehmann, "Der Pietismus im alten Reich", *Historische Zeitschrift* 214 (1972), 58-96; J. Wallmann, "Reformation, Orthodoxie, Pietismus", *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 70 (1972), 179-200.

105 F.E. Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden, 1965), pp. 190ff; M. Schmidt, *Pietismus* (Stuttgart, 1972), pp. 16-19; E. Peschke, ed., *August Hermann Francke Werke in Auswahl* (Berlin, 1969), p. 393.

106 See M. Schmidt, "Luthers Vorrede zum Römerbrief im Pietismus" (1967), repr. and expanded in: *idem.*, *Wiedergeburt und Neuer Mensch. Gesammelte Studien zur Geschichte des Pietismus* (Witten, 1969), 299-330.

107 See Schmidt, *Pietismus*, pp. 17-19.

cated; Pietism stood in a polemical relationship to Orthodoxy and yet it arose out of it. After the adoption of the Formula of Concord (1580), the Lutheran Church entered the classic period of Orthodoxy.¹⁰⁸ The battle was over "pure doctrine" and in the warfare against Reformed and Catholic scholars Lutheran theologians adopted the same Aristotelian metaphysical methodology as their opponents and clung tightly to their scriptural principle of verbal inspiration. At the same time there existed among many Orthodox theologians, including Arndt, a desire for reform and piety alongside that for pure doctrine. It is not completely accurate, therefore, to speak of a "dead Orthodoxy" against which Pietism reacted; Lutheran Pietism arose out of the spirit of piety and reform within the centre of Lutheran Orthodoxy.¹⁰⁹ Yet it differed from the reformist impulses within Orthodoxy: Pietism was more aggressive, impatient, clamorous, and uncomfortable within Protestantism.¹¹⁰ Soon after its rise, Lutheran Pietism engaged in a strong polemical confrontation with Orthodoxy in its later phase. Interestingly, classic Lutheran Orthodoxy prepared the way for and gave rise to both Lutheran Pietism and anti-Pietist late Orthodoxy.¹¹¹

Spener is the key for unlocking the complex relationship of Pietism to Orthodoxy. Boehm traced the "Seed of purer Christianity" from the early Luther through Arndt and reform Orthodoxy to Spener and Francke; yet he saw Spener not Arndt as the father of Pietism. Arndt propagated a type of piety which was taken up within much of Orthodoxy and Pietism, but did not initiate a movement as such. Only with Spener and the publication of *Pia Desideria* did Lutheran Pietism develop as a self-conscious historical movement and take on a form which threatened the prevailing Orthodoxy and stood in polemical relationship to it.¹¹² Though Spener was an irenic churchman and proposed little that could not be found within Lutheran Orthodoxy,¹¹³ he became the focal point of efforts to reform the Lutheran Church and Boehm

108 See J. Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation*, 2nd edn. (Tübingen, 1985 [1973]), pp. 101-113.

109 H. Leube, *Die Reformideen in der deutschen lutherischen Kirche zur Zeit der Orthodoxie* (Leipzig, 1924), p. 35; cf. J. Wallmann, "Pietismus und Orthodoxie. Überlegungen und Fragen zur Pietismusforschung" (1966), repr. in: M. Greschat, ed., *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung* (Darmstadt, 1977), pp. 57-68.

110 E. Beyreuther, *Geschichte des Pietismus* (Stuttgart, 1978), p. 54.

111 Wallmann, "Pietismus und Orthodoxie", pp. 65f, points out that at Strassburg Prof. J.K. Dannhauer had both Spener and J.B. Carpzov, the strong opponent of Pietism, as students.

112 K. Holl, "Die Bedeutung der großen Kriege für das religiöse und kirchliche Leben innerhalb des deutschen Protestantismus" (1917), repr. in: *idem.*, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 3: "Der Westen" (Darmstadt, 1965), pp. 346f.

113 J. Wallmann, "Die Anfänge des Pietismus", *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 4 (1977/78), pp. 49-53, says that only with his suggestions for *ecclesiolae in ecclesia* and his eschatological hope for better times did Spener break with Lutheran Orthodoxy. In this light, Wallmann adopts a two-fold definition of German Lutheran Pietism as a movement of piety stemming from Arndt primarily reflected in literary texts and a movement arising from Spener which in opposition to Orthodoxy lifted up new forms of ecclesiastical and religious life.

is correct in ascribing to him "that hopeful Reformation in the first place, which spreads itself at present so victoriously ... under the name of Pietism".¹¹⁴

By stating that Spener republished some "*Mystical and Spiritual Books of the best note*", Boehm introduces another issue debated by modern researchers: the influence of mysticism or anti-ecclesiastical mystical spiritualism on Pietism. Albrecht Ritschl, in his classic and unsurpassed *magnum opus*, understood Pietism as the spontaneous re-introduction of monastic mysticism from the middle-ages,¹¹⁵ while Pietism was carefully distinguished from mysticism by Heinrich Heppe.¹¹⁶ Both men, writing in the late nineteenth century, operated with the conviction that a mysticism by which a person is able to climb into a direct communion with God apart from faith is diametrically opposed to the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith. But such a view does not recognize the broad spectrum of mysticism and that one can adopt mystical elements without accepting the whole system. It seems undeniable that, like the young Luther and Arndt, Pietists drew fairly consistently on "moderate" mystical writings like *Theologia Germanica* and those by Tauler and Miguel de Molinos, seeking to combine ideas of the *unio mystica* with genuine Lutheran traditions.¹¹⁷ Though the debate will no doubt continue, one must place Pietists like Spener, Francke, and Boehm within a Lutheran spiritual tradition of personal, experiential Christianity.¹¹⁸

There are significant gaps in Boehm's history of Pietism. Quite surprisingly, he mentions nothing of the influence of British devotional literature in the rise of German Pietism. There can be no doubt as to the vast propagation and general acceptance of British devotional works in Germany during the seventeenth century;¹¹⁹ the degree of its influence, however, is debated. After 1630 British devotional literature entered German Lutheranism, especially through German translations of works by Lewis Bayly (d.1631), the "Puritan" Bishop of Bangor, and "Emanuel Sonthom". Bayly's *Practice of Piety* (1612), "practically the stereotype of the Puritan manual", was his lone claim to fame and retained its best seller status in England into the eighteenth century.¹²⁰ This work first appeared in a German Lutheran translation in 1631 at Lüneberg under the title *Praxis Pietatis*. At the same time a tract by "Emanuel Sonthom" came to light in Lüneberg entitled *Güldenes Kleinod*; it has been shown to be

114 [Boehm,] Preface to *Pietas Hallensis*, p. xxvii.

115 *Geschichte des Pietismus*, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1880-86), ii.417.

116 *Geschichte des Pietismus und der Mystik in der reformirten Kirche, namentlich der Niederlande* (Leiden, 1879), pp. 2-12.

117 Greschat, "Literaturbericht", p. 225.

118 E. Lund, "Johann Arndt and the Development of a Lutheran Spiritual Tradition" (Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1979), pp. 11-14; G.R. Sattler, "August Hermann Francke and Mysticism", *The Covenant Quarterly* 38, no.4 (1980), p. 3.

119 See McKenzie, "British Devotional Literature", i.146ff; U. Sträter, *Sonthom, Bayly, Dyke und Hall* (Tübingen, 1987), pp. 6ff.

120 Sommerville, *Popular Religion*, pp. 33-35.

the work of one Emanuel Thompson, based on Edmund Bunny's edition of the Jesuit Robert Persons' *A Booke of Christian Exercise* (1584).¹²¹ Both *Praxis Pietatis* and *Güldenes Kleinod* were "Lutheran" translations; because of the assumption that this Puritanical literature was Calvinist the texts were re-worked according to the Augsburg Confession and it is difficult to know if one is getting a translation or a commentary.¹²² Thereafter a torrent of British devotional literature, including Joseph Hall's *The Art of Divine Meditation* (1606), flowed into Germany.¹²³ After 1650 the most popular English author in German translation was Richard Baxter, twenty-four of whose works were translated by 1700.¹²⁴

This literature attained a widespread popularity. In his early life, Spener placed a high value on both Bayly and Sonthom, which, next to his Bible, were the books most often in his hands. He received particular "blessing" from Bayly's representation of the joyous state of the believer and the unhappy condition of the godless in life, in death, and after death. Later, however, Spener gave much more importance to Arndt.¹²⁵ What attracted him and other Pietists to British devotional writing? According to Martin Schmidt, Pietists recognized an inner kinship with the deep examination of conscience and the stress on rebirth to be found in this literature.¹²⁶ Along similar lines, Sträter has identified conversion, sanctification, and self-control as the three themes in these works and has directed attention to the precise ordering of piety found in these tracts.¹²⁷ After documenting the extensive dispersion of German translations of British devotional books, McKenzie concludes that these books were "a major and decisive factor in the rise and development of the Pietistic movement in Germany".¹²⁸ This conclusion, however, is overstated; the influence is not so clear-cut, especially within Lutheran Pietism.¹²⁹ The stress on conversion, piety, and rebirth already existed in the Lutheran spiritual tradition with Arndt. During this time, within the whole of both Protestant and Catholic Europe, a "new piety" was arising, of which Arndt, Bayly, and others were a part. Unrest was in the air; the complaint was common that complex doctrinal formulas might well be necessary but parish life was still suffering for want of due emphasis on the practical side of Christian

121 See McKenzie, "British Devotional Literature", i.151-81; Sträter, *Sonthom*, pp. 60-76.

122 Sträter, *Sonthom*, pp. 38-57.

123 The second volume of McKenzie, "British Devotional Literature", catalogues the extent of the publication and translation of this literature in Germany. McKenzie's careful work will soon be published in the series *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des Pietismus*.

124 McKenzie, "British Devotional Literature", i.233.

125 Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener*, pp. 46f, 264; *idem.*, "Wiedergeburt und Erneuerung", pp. 20, 25.

126 *Pietismus*, pp. 24f.

127 *Sonthom*, pp. 115-23.

128 "British Devotional Literature", i.325.

129 See Sträter, *Sonthom*, pp. 114f.

living.¹³⁰ Because of this general mood, the attractiveness of British devotional literature, in contradistinction to that of Arndt, is difficult to determine. It is best to award the particular emphases of this literature a supplementary and reinforcing role to the basic impulses to Lutheran Pietism which came from Arndt and the Lutheran spiritual tradition.

Why did Boehm not mention the spread of this literature? Most likely he was aware that his audience was an Anglican one for whom, notwithstanding the continued popularity of *Practice of Piety*, the mention of Puritan literature would have met with an unfavourable reception.

In his history Boehm limited himself to Spener-Francke-Halle German Lutheran Pietism and – probably consciously – did not regard as genuinely Pietist any of the more radical or separatistic elements in the German religious scene. In contemporary scholarship there seems to be a general acceptance of a five-fold division within German Pietism: Spener-Halle, Württemberg, Moravian-Zinzendorf, Reformed, and Radical.¹³¹ The weight of research in Germany is on German Lutheran Pietism and particularly on Spener; modern scholars, not unlike Boehm, in attempting to legitimize Pietism have tended to ignore Radical Pietism or place it in contradistinction to the “more acceptable” (ecclesiastical) strains. The interrelatedness and interdependence of streams within German Pietism remain debated.

The relation of Zinzendorf and the Moravian Brethren to Halle Pietism was something about which Boehm could say nothing since it developed well after his death, yet it marks one of the tragic episodes in German Pietism. Then as now, many people in England have had difficulty comprehending why Halle Pietism and the Moravian Brethren treated each other with such distrust and animosity when they seemed to have had so much in common. There were differences between the parties over their relationship to the Lutheran Church and the Lutheran confessions, as accusations flew from Halle that the Herrnhuters were proselytizing solid Lutherans into a fanatic sect. Though the roots of the division can be traced back to Zinzendorf's student days at Halle in the early 1710s and his unfavourable reaction to Francke's rigid *ordo salutis*, the antagonism between Halle and Herrnhut did not break out openly until 1733–1734, when A.G. Spangenberg, an associate professor at Halle sympathetic to

130 W.R. Ward, “Power and Piety: The Origins of Religious Revival in the Early Eighteenth Century”, *Bulletin of John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 63 (1980), pp. 232f; H. Lehmann, *Das Zeitalter des Absolutismus* (Stuttgart, 1980), pp. 114ff; W. Zeller, *Einleitung zu Der Protestantismus des 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. W. Zeller (Bremen, 1962), pp. xiii–lxvi.

131 M. Schmidt, “Pietismus”, in: *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3rd edn., ed. K. Galling (Tübingen, 1961), v.373–376; McKenzie, “British Devotional Literature”, i.24–35; Aland, “Pietismus”, col. 1152–1154; E. Beyreuther, “Pietismus”, in: *Evangelisches Kirchenlexicon*, ed. H. Brunotte and O. Weber (Göttingen, 1959), iii.217–219; F.E. Stoeffler, “Pietism: Its Message, Early Manifestation, and Significance”, *The Covenant Quarterly* 34, nos.1,2 (1976), pp. 6f.

Zinzendorf, was dismissed from the university.¹³² From then on little but acrimonious accusations and bitterness passed between the parties.

A.H. Francke and Halle Pietism

To gain a better grasp of the Pietists who resided in England one final task is necessary for which Boehm could only give a brief introduction: to describe the rise of Francke's institutions at Halle. Within the limits of this essay, only a cursory presentation can be given,¹³³ since our purpose is only to provide a sketch from which the details of Halle's relationship to the English religious scene can be understood, analyzed, and compared.

A.H. Francke was raised at Gotha where Arndtian piety dominated the religious landscape and where the reforms of Duke Ernest the Pious foreshadowed and contributed to those of Francke.¹³⁴ The turning point in his life occurred in 1687 when, preparing for a sermon, he realized his own lack of faith and doubts about the existence of God. After a long struggle Francke experienced his conversion:

Then, in a twinkling, all my doubts were gone; I was sure in my heart of the grace of God in Jesus Christ; I could call God not only God, but also my Father. All the sadness and unrest in my heart was taken away in a moment. On the contrary, I was suddenly so overwhelmed as with a stream of joy that I praised out of high spirits the God who had shown me such great grace. I arose again of a completely different mind than when I had knelt down. I had bent my knee in great sorrow and doubt, but rose again with inexpressible joy and great assurance.¹³⁵

This conversion experience, not unlike those of Luther and Wesley, was the watershed in Francke's life, colouring both his theology and life's direction.¹³⁶ After university and pastoral stints at Leipzig and Erfurt, he was called as Professor of Oriental Languages to the new university in Halle. The authorities in Berlin, as we have seen, wanted a university in Brandenburg to compete with those in Saxony, and so staffed the theological faculty with Pietists to

132 See G. Reichl, "Die Entstehung einer Zinzendorf feindlichen Partei in Halle und Wernigerode", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 23 (1902), 549-92.

133 Though we are lacking an extensive critical representation of Francke and Halle Pietism, the following are helpful: G. Kramer, *August Hermann Francke. Ein Lebensbild*, 2 vols. (Halle, 1880-82); E. Beyreuther, *August Hermann Francke, 1663-1727, Zeuge des lebendigen Gottes* (Marburg, 1956); *idem.*, *Francke und Anfänge*, pp. 23-103; Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, pp. 1-87; G.R. Sattler, *God's Glory, Neighbor's Good* (Chicago, 1982), pp. 19-101; *idem.*, *Nobler Than the Angels, Lower Than a Worm* (Lanham, Maryland, 1989), pp. 1-30.

134 L.C. Green, "Duke Ernest the Pious of Saxe-Gotha and his Relationship to Pietism", in: *Der Pietismus in Gestalten und Wirkungen. Martin Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Bornkamm, F. Heyer, A. Schindler (Bielefeld, 1975), pp. 179-191.

135 Peschke, ed., *A.H. Francke Werke in Auswahl*, p. 28, translated and printed in: Sattler, *Nobler Than the Angels*, p. 26.

136 In English, see esp. Sattler, *Nobler Than the Angels*, pp. 19-30.

oppose the strictly Orthodox faculties at Wittenberg and Leipzig.¹³⁷ With his call to the university came a call to be pastor at Glaucha, a poor suburb of Halle with a reputation for drunkenness.¹³⁸

It was predominantly as a pastor rather than as a university professor that Francke became renowned. Through his fight against immorality in Glaucha and his published works for the edification of his congregation Francke angered Orthodox pastors in the area, whose pastoral practices he attacked in a famous 1698 sermon on "false prophets". In this, according to Boehm, "he spoke out plainly, that the General degeneracy of Christianity was owing principally to the Lukewarmness and Deadness of the Clergy".¹³⁹ Despite angry Orthodox opposition, however, Francke had important official support in Berlin; his opponents were unable to stop his reforms.

To Francke the major cause of the poverty and immoral condition in Glaucha was the lack of religious education. To rectify this need he began in 1694 to offer both food and catechetical instruction to young persons from the town. When, early in 1695, Francke found 4 Thaler and 16 Groschen (a little over eighteen shillings) in a poor box he had set up in his home, he took it as a providential sign that he should begin a school for the poor (*Armenschule*), or, as Boehm translated it, a "Charity-School".¹⁴⁰ Within months of the establishing of the first charity school, Francke received requests to be a private tutor for some aristocratic children, but rather than commit himself to one family he set up a *Pädagogium* for the children of nobility. Towards the end of that same year he started an orphanage (*Waisenhaus*) with four orphans. In terms of numbers the *Waisenhaus* itself was never the dominant feature of Francke's institutions, yet it became the name by which his work was known. In 1696 he established his first free tables (*Freitische*) at which poor students were fed in exchange for some kind of domestic service. The founding of the free tables corresponded to that of the *Seminarium Praeceptorum* in which teachers and students were prepared for service within the Halle educational institutions themselves or in foreign lands. The *Collegium Orientale* was established in 1702 to instruct a small number of students in the Eastern languages and especially Hebrew. Further growth in the various schools and institutions meant the need for more space; the *Waisenhaus* became one of the largest and most impressive buildings in Europe. Almost all of the building was done during Francke's lifetime and is still in use today.

Education was not the whole of Francke's activity, nor were his educational institutions fully financed through private donation. Through the

137 W.R. Ward, "Orthodoxy, Enlightenment and Religious Revival", *Studies in Church History* 17 (1981), p. 291; cf. C. Hinrichs, *Preußentum und Pietismus* (Göttingen, 1971), pp. 1-125.

138 See E. Neuß, "Das Glauchaische Elend 1692", in: *August Hermann Francke. Das humanistische Erbe des großen Erziehers* ([Halle], 1965), pp. 19-27.

139 [Boehm,] Preface to *Pietas Hallensis* (1705), p. xl.

140 Francke, *Pietas Hallensis*, p. 13.

reception of special privileges from the authorities in Berlin, Francke was able to initiate a book store and printing press, a dispensary for medicines, and other manufacturing and trading enterprises, the income from which provided a strong financial base for the Halle institutions; at the beginning of Francke's work he was almost completely dependent upon private donations, but by 1710 fifty percent of its income came from these economic undertakings and by 1727 ninety percent.¹⁴¹ Whether support came through private benefaction, royal privilege, or commercial enterprise, Francke considered them all a part of "the most *Remarkable Passages* of Divine Providence that have hitherto befallen us in the Management of the Hospital".¹⁴² None of Francke's economic endeavours would have been as lucrative, nor would he, most likely, have survived the conflicts with Orthodox opponents during his first years at Glaucha, had he not had the legal protection of the government in Berlin.¹⁴³

But his ties to the State should not detract from Francke's organizational genius, confidence in God's provision, and charismatic personality. His work spawned imitations wherever news of it spread; former students were his best ambassadors and Francke developed a network of correspondents and supporters over Germany, Europe, and beyond. Representative of this propagation are the three students to whom Francke's nineteenth-century biographer has drawn particular attention: J.S. Schaarschmidt, who went to Russia, A.W. Boehm in England, and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, whose call took him to East India.¹⁴⁴ It was the conscious goal of Francke to bring about a "general betterment" [*allgemeine Verbeßerung*] in Church and society, not only in Germany and Europe, but in all parts of the world.¹⁴⁵ With his universal vision and international contacts, Halle's influence spread rapidly; even before Boehm arrived in England in 1701 friends of Francke were already at work.

3. Initial SPCK-Halle Links

The person who opened the door to Anglican-Halle ties was Heinrich W. Ludolf (1655-1712),¹⁴⁶ one-time secretary to Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Princess (soon Queen) Anne. After a serious illness, Ludolf had resigned his position and had begun propagating his ideas of a "Universal

141 H. Welsch, "Die Franckeschen Stiftungen als wirtschaftliches Großunternehmen", in: A.H. Francke. *Das humanistische Erbe*, pp. 28-44.

142 Francke, *Pietas Hallensis*, p. 166.

143 See K. Deppermann, *Der halle'sche Pietismus und der preußische Staat unter Friedrich III. (I.)* (Göttingen, 1961), p. 172.

144 Kramer, *August Hermann Francke*, ii.53-66.

145 O. Podczek, ed., *August Hermann Francke ... Der grosse Aufsatz* (Berlin, 1962).

146 On Ludolf, see J. Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland* (Berlin, 1955); E. Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt der deutschen Russlandkunde* (Berlin, 1953), esp. pp. 32-43; J.S.G. Simmons, "H.W. Ludolf and the Printing of his *Grammatica Russica* in Oxford in 1696", *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 1

Church". The work most accurately modelling this dream of a pan-confessional, inward Christianity was that of Francke at Halle, for whom he became an enthusiastic ambassador. His missionary endeavours took him to Russia in the early 1690s and to the Levant later in the decade, from which he developed a deep interest in and concern for Russian and Greek Orthodox Christianity.¹⁴⁷

In his fragmentary diaries Ludolf has left lists of Christians he had met from various lands in which he had travelled. His catalogue of those in Britain of whom he had a favourable impression is reproduced here in full.¹⁴⁸ 1) Dr. Frederick Slare,¹⁴⁹ 2) Theophilus Dorrington, former Chaplain to Ambassador Sir Joseph Williamson,¹⁵⁰ 3) J.W. Mecken, chaplain to Prince George of Denmark,¹⁵¹ 4) Pierre Poiret, Minister at the Walloon Church in London,¹⁵² 5) Francis Lee, son-in-law to Jane Leade "who can give an account of the best amongst the Philadelphians",¹⁵³ 6) Dr. Richard Lucas,¹⁵⁴ 7) Mr. English, "a Scotsman who has travelled to Italy various times as a steward. He is well-known among the good Scotsmen and can perhaps be asked for through Dr. Slare",¹⁵⁵ 8) Mr. Foxcroft at Marybone, 9) Mr. Ray, Gentleman of the Temple, 10) Dr. Arthur Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford,¹⁵⁶ 11) Dr. Benjamin Woodroffe, "Principal of Gloucester Hall, where the design is laid for the Oriental Seminary",¹⁵⁷ 12) Thomas Milles, vice-president of St. Edmund Hall and later Bishop of Waterford,¹⁵⁸ 13) Humfrey Wanley, secretary of the SPCK,¹⁵⁹ 14) Antoine Coignard, 15) John Wynn,

(1950), 104-29; E.W. Benz, "August Hermann Francke und die deutschen evangelischen Gemeinden in Rußland" (1936), repr. in: *idem.*, *Endzeitenwartung zwischen Ost und West*, ed. N. Fehringer and E. Geldbach (Freiburg, 1973), esp. pp. 153-166. The best contemporary sources are: [J. Le Neve,] *The Lives and Characters of the most illustrious Persons who died in the year 1712* (London, 1714), pp. 185-204; A.W. Boehm, *Reliquiae Ludolfianae: the Pious Remains of Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf* (London, 1712).

147 See pp. 55-58 below.

148 [H.W. Ludolf,] "Nomina nonnullorum amicorum meorum, a quibus meo nomina Salutatis officia Christiana expectari possunt" [c.1699-1700] (ArFrSt B 71a:2-4).

149 See p. 25 above.

150 DNB (v.1155-56). Ludolf later changed his mind about Dorrington. (Ludolf to Francke, London, 6 Dec. 1700 [ArFrSt D 71:64-65])

151 See pp. 49-51 below.

152 See G.A. Krieg, *Der Mystische Kreis. Wesen und Werden der Theologie Pierre Poirets* (Göttingen, 1978).

153 DNB (xi.792-93).

154 Minister of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, author of *Practical Christianity* (London, 1700), and member of the SPCK. Cf. DNB (xii.239-40).

155 "... ein Schottländer so unter verschiedlich mahl als Hoff meister nach Italien gereisen. Ist unter den guten Schottländern bekandt. Kan vielleicht bey Dr. Slare erfraget werden."

156 DNB (iv.119-20). For eight letters from Ludolf to Charlett, see Bodl., *Ballard MSS* 26:74-86.

157 DNB (xxi.876-78).

158 DNB (xiii.436).

159 DNB (xx.744-46).

Senior Fellow at Jesus College, 16) Bishop Hall of Bristol, the last surviving Calvinist in the Anglican episcopate,¹⁶⁰ and 17) Peter Wood, chaplain of New College.¹⁶¹

The diversity and breadth of Ludolf's contacts is shown in this list,¹⁶² which includes Nonjurors, a bishop, foreign Protestants, and Nonconformists. Many were linked with Oxford where Ludolf in 1696 published his Russian grammar.¹⁶³ The number of those whom Ludolf was able to introduce to Francke and his work is uncertain, but the indications are that it was not a few. Dr. Slare, one of Ludolf's first and closest English friends, told Francke that it was through Ludolf that he had "obtain'd the Great Blessing of your acquaintance and of the truly noble, Honorable, and Religious enterprizes you had engaged in".¹⁶⁴ Ludolf's relationship with Archbishop Tenison and Francis Lee led to Halle influence on the charity school movement,¹⁶⁵ while his interest in Eastern Christianity bore fruit in his contacts with Benjamin Woodroffe.¹⁶⁶ In 1707 Bishop Hall of Bristol became the only English prelate actually to visit Francke and the *Waisenhaus* in Halle.¹⁶⁷ The extent of Ludolf's contacts should not be underestimated; it was possibly through Ludolf that Gilbert Burnet learned of German Pietism and that Josiah Woodward made mention of Francke's work in the third edition of his extremely influential account of the religious societies.¹⁶⁸

160 DNB (viii.956–57). In a letter to Bishop Hall of Bristol, n.p., 4 June 1711 (ArFrSt D 23:92f), Ludolf thanks the Bishop for publishing of an account of a Swedish maid which he translated into English.

161 In a Ludolf letter to Peter Wood, London, 2 Apr. 1703 (ArFrSt D 23: 137f), he says that he is convinced "that God hath begun a work in the souls of men, which will hardly square with the rules of the old University Ideas".

162 This diversity is that much more apparent when one notes that, in addition to Ludolf's primary contacts just listed, he also attaches a roster of other "well-intentioned people" [wohl intentionirte Leute] in England, including: 1) Lord Pembroke, Lord Privy Seal who was Ambassador at the Hague, 2) Archbishop Tenison of Canterbury, 3) Bishop Williams of Chichester, 4) Bishop Compton of London, 5) Mr. Silvester, Presbyterian minister in London, 6) Dr. Gars [George Garden?], who "in Scotland has brought Mrs. Bourignon's writings very much among the people there and is famed on account of his piety", 7) George Keith [see p. 25 above & p. 131n13 below], who "appears also to have good knowledge and zeal and the honour of God", 8) John Rawlet, author of the Christian monitor, 9) Mr. Mersen[?], chaplain to the Bishop of Ely, 10) Charles Joy, a young businessman, and 11) Mr. Clark, an independent minister. ([H. W. Ludolf,] "Nomina nonnullorum amicorum meorum, a quibus meo nomina Salutatis officia Christiana expectari possunt" [c.1699–1700] [ArFrSt B 71a:2–4])

163 Cf. Simmons, "H.W. Ludolf", 104–29. Ludolf, in a letter to Francke, Oxford, 5 July 1701 (ArFrSt D 71:80–81), besides Milles and Wynn listed above also mentions Dr. Richard Traffes at New College and Mr. Potter at Lincoln College.

164 Slare to A.H. Francke, [Bath], [1722] (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.317).

165 See pp. 74, 80 below.

166 See pp. 156f below.

167 E.A. Lehmann, "August Hermann Franckes weltweites Wirken", in: *August Hermann Francke: Wort und Tat*, ed. D. Jungklaus (Berlin, 1966), p. 82.

168 J.B. Wigers to [Francke], London, 7 Nov. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.424); Ludolf to Francke, London, 6 Apr. 1701 (ArFrSt D 71:75–76).

Ludolf was the first person in England to propagate reports on Francke and the Halle orphanage. His efforts led directly to the first official contact between the SPCK and representatives of Halle Pietism, which took place only two months after the Society's founding, when Jacob B. Wigers and Johann C. Mehder, two teachers whom Francke had sent from Halle at the request of Archbishop Tenison and Ludolf to help with the infant charity schools, visited a Society meeting and reported on the Halle work.¹⁶⁹ Even before Francke was chosen a corresponding member of the SPCK,¹⁷⁰ Chamberlayne told him:

I am to acquaint you that they [the Society] desire to maintain a Frequent intelligence with you, both to be informed of the great things you have already don in Germany towards the promoting God's Glory and the spreading of Christian Knowledge etc., and also to communicate to you what Measures they take in the carrying on of the same Designs, etc.¹⁷¹

Like Francke, Ludolf became a corresponding member of the SPCK;¹⁷² when in London, he took a quite active part in the Society. They were joined as members by J.W. Mecken, Lutheran chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, Boehm, his successor, and Friedrich M. Ziegenhagen, who followed Boehm as chaplain in 1722.¹⁷³ Though Mecken remained on the sidelines, Boehm and Ziegenhagen were active contributors and even took their turns as monthly chairmen at Society meetings, using these opportunities to introduce their own particular concerns.¹⁷⁴ One role filled by these Germans was that of translator; Ludolf assisted Chamberlayne in drafting some of the Society's letters to Francke, while by his death in 1722 Boehm had become, in the words of the Society's secretary, "the life and soul of our Correspondence in religious affairs with Germany and Denmark".¹⁷⁵

What is particularly interesting about the involvement of these German Lutherans in the Society is that Mecken, Boehm, and Ziegenhagen were *subscribing* members of the Society; no Dissenter ever became a subscribing member, nor did the later Methodists. Why were these Lutherans – and Claude Groteste de la Mothe of the French Church in the Savoy¹⁷⁶ – the only non-Anglican subscribing members in a Society which required of its members that they be "well affected" to the Church of England "as by Law

169 SPCK *Minutes*, 11 May 1699, printed in: McClure, p. 24.

170 *Ibid.*, 27 June 1700, printed in: McClure, p. 70.

171 Chamberlayne to Francke, Westminster, 12 Dec. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XXVI. 841).

172 SPCK *Minutes*, 16 Dec. 1700, printed in: McClure, p. 98.

173 On these chaplains, see Chapter II.

174 SPCK *Minutes*, July 1716 (vii.173-78); Ziegenhagen to Francke, Windsor, 11 Sept. 1724 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/14).

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

176 Unlike his German counterparts, la Mothe never took an active role in the Society.

Establish'd"?¹⁷⁷ Clearly the SPCK differentiated between Dissenters and foreign Protestants. As a voluntary society with no binding government charter – such as the SPG possessed – it felt free to allow these foreign Protestants to participate in its work. It will also become evident that Ludolf and Boehm intentionally pursued involvement in and partnership with the Society and that the SPCK responded to the initiative of these men.

The initial interest of the SPCK in Halle Pietism should be seen in the context of the common movement for ecclesiastical and moral reformation in Europe and the English-speaking world.¹⁷⁸ Despite confessional differences, reformers in Switzerland, Germany, England, and New England adopted similar programmes which centred on Christian education for the poor, the suppression of immorality, the dissemination of practical and devotional literature, the use of small devotional cells, and the promotion of philanthropy and charity.¹⁷⁹ Why did this movement arise at this moment in history? W.R. Ward has pointed to the general frustration with “dry” Orthodoxy in both Catholic and Protestant Europe,¹⁸⁰ while Dr. Duffy has stressed the prevalent desire to “reform the reformation” on both sides of the Channel, coupled with a rising fear of Catholicism.¹⁸¹ The causes of the movement may not have been universally the same in the various lands, but the reformers quickly came to realize that they shared similar manifestations and a friendly correspondence developed.

The SPCK acted as a focal point for correspondence within this movement. Though the German Pietists and the Swiss reformers had variant views of Pietism,¹⁸² they both communicated with the SPCK. In spite of the fact that Cotton Mather in New England had little good to say about the work of the SPG, calling its missionaries in America “such ignorant, vicious, debauched wretches, and such finished rakes, that their hearers have in a little while with shame deserted them”,¹⁸³ he engaged in a friendly interchange with Henry Newman, the SPCK’s secretary.¹⁸⁴ Some of the letters of this New England

177 *The Standing Orders and Resolutions of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London, 1722), p. 5.

178 See Duffy, “Correspondence Fraternelle”, pp. 251–80; W.R. Ward, “The Relations of Enlightenment and Religious Revival in Central Europe and in the English-speaking World”, in: *Reform and Reformation*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1979), pp. 281–305; M. Crawford, “Origins of the Eighteenth-Century Evangelical Revival: England and New England Compared”, *Journal of British Studies* 26 (1987), 361–97.

179 See Duffy, “Correspondence Fraternelle”, p. 252f; *idem.*, “The SPCK and Europe”, p. 33.

180 “Power and Piety”, p. 233.

181 “The SPCK and Europe”, pp. 32f.

182 Ludolf to Francke, 6 Dec. 1700 (ArFrSt D 71:64–65); J.J. Scherer to Chamberlayne, 18 Feb. 1701 (Abs. 259), printed in: McClure, p. 324.

183 Cotton Mather to John Stirling, 16 Sept. 1715, printed in: K. Silverman, ed., *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather* (Baton Rouge, 1971), p. 186.

184 E.g. Cotton Mather to Newman, Boston, 7 Sept. 1719 (Bodl., Rawlinson MSS C 743:53); Newman to Mather, 31 Aug. 1722, printed in: Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, pp. 231–33.

Puritan were even read aloud in SPCK meetings. Mather also held Francke's work in high esteem, corresponding regularly with Francke, Boehm, and the East India missionaries¹⁸⁵ and sending gifts to the *Waisenhaus* via Newman and Boehm.¹⁸⁶

Francke's friends and representatives in London realized the growing importance of the SPCK; Ludolf told Francke that "one must by all means and ways seek to animate this Society".¹⁸⁷ Likewise, one of the two German teachers who first visited the SPCK encouraged Francke to correspond with Chamberlayne and Bray, "because these people in the future can do very much".¹⁸⁸ The value of the SPCK to Halle was also plain to Boehm, who in 1704 expressed to Francke his surprise

... that you, Professor, have not corresponded with the Society for such a long time, whereby it may quietly happen, that Halle in time will be forgotten. In particular we wish that you would keep up a correspondence with Mr. Slare, because he diligently seeks to make the Halle institutions known and loved.¹⁸⁹

Yet, despite some initial correspondence, Francke did not engage in as extensive an interchange with the SPCK as did the Swiss divines. In contrast to the Swiss reformers, who in a time of war and fear of Catholicism looked to the Church of England as the mother protector of Protestant interests in Europe,¹⁹⁰ Francke showed no interest in the Church of England as the guardian of Protestantism; he himself fulfilled that role in areas of Eastern Europe where Protestantism suffered.¹⁹¹ In spite of being elected the Society's first foreign corresponding member Francke treated it rather coolly.

The reason for this aloofness is clear. In 1701 Robert Hales, the itinerant Englishman who worked for Anglican, SPCK, and SPG interests on the Continent, planned to travel from Switzerland to Germany to visit Spener and Francke and talk with them about "attempting an Union of Protestants".¹⁹² This union was that proposed by Daniel E. Jablonski, the Reformed court chaplain in Berlin, who was also a bishop of the Bohemian Brethren. Drawn to

185 See E. Benz, "Ecumenical Relations between Boston Puritanism and German Pietism: Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke", *Harvard Theological Review* 54 (1961), pp. 159-93.

186 Cotton Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1911-12), e.g. 24 Oct. 1718 (ii.563).

187 "... mann muß auf alle mittel und wege diese Societät zu animiren suchen." (Ludolf to Francke, London, 6 Dec. 1700 [ArFrSt D 71:64-65])

188 "... denn diese Leute können ins künftige sehr viel thun." (Wigers to Francke, London, 12 Dec. 1699 [Nachlaß 30.XI.427f])

189 "Daß uns wundere, daß gel. H. Profess. so lange nicht mit der Societät alhier correspondiret, wodurch unter der Handt zu befahren, daß Halle mit der Zeit ins Vergeß fallen dörfte. Sonderlich wünschete, daß mit Hn. Slaren ein Brieff-Wechsel unterhalten würde, weil er mit Fleiß suchet die Hallischen Anstalten bekandt und beliebt zu machen." (A.W. Boehm to Francke, London, 24 Sept. 1704, printed in: Sames, p. 180)

190 Duffy, "Correspondence Fraternelle", p. 256.

191 Ward, "Power and Piety", pp. 236ff.

192 Hales to Hodges, St. Gall, 11 Apr. 1701 (Abs. 283), printed in: McClure, p. 331.

the Church of England during two years of study at Oxford in the 1680s, Jablonski hoped to unify the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Germany on the basis of the Anglican liturgy and episcopate.¹⁹³ He translated the Book of Common Prayer into German – introducing it in the royal chapel in Berlin in 1706 – and corresponded with Archbishop Sharp of York and Bishop Robinson of Bristol, though eventually this campaign for union ended in failure as much for political reasons and apathy in England as for religious grounds.¹⁹⁴ Jablonski corresponded frequently with Francke in the early eighteenth century¹⁹⁵ and shared with him a guarded interest in the religious societies – Jablonski translated Woodward's account of the religious societies into German¹⁹⁶ – so his church union proposals were scrutinized closely by Pietists in Berlin and Halle. When Robert Hales arrived in Germany, the Pietists afforded him a warm reception and tried to amend his poor opinion of Pietism (which had been reinforced during his sojourn with the Swiss reformers), but they were not at all open to Jablonski's dream of Church union.¹⁹⁷ Pietism envisaged a union of hearts based on regeneration and spiritual renewal, not on diplomatic agreements between ecclesiastical authorities.¹⁹⁸ Since Hales would have been seen as a representative of the SPCK – Francke probably did not know a sharp distinction between the SPCK and the SPG – his push for union would have reflected unfavourably on the Society in the eyes of Pietists in Germany.

But the relationship between the SPCK and Halle Pietism did not depend on Francke's direct involvement. His friends and former students in England saw more clearly the potential within the Society; as will be seen, it was Boehm himself who eventually invigorated the Society's relationship with Halle and established it on a solid and enduring basis. Before examining the development of these connections we must first consider the reasons which led these Pietists to be in England and what work they took up in their new home.

193 N. Sykes, *Daniel Ernst Jablonski and the Church of England* (London, 1950); W. Delius, "Berliner kirchliche Unionsversuche im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert", *Jahrbuch für Berlin-brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte* 45 (1970), 7–121; B. Levis, "The Failure of the Anglican-Prussian Ecumenical Effort of 1710–1714", *Church History* 47 (1978), 381–99.

194 Sykes, *Jablonski and the Church of England*, pp. 28–31; Levis, "Failure of Anglican-Prussian Ecumenical Effort", pp. 381–99.

195 See, for example, letters in ArFrSt C 214.

196 Jablonski to Francke, Berlin, 6 Jan. 1708 (ArFrSt C 214:1); Josiah Woodward, *Bericht von dem Ursprung und Fortgang der gottseligen Gesellschaften in der Stadt London*, trans. and intro. D.E. Jablonski (Berlin, 1700).

197 Ludolf to Francke, 6 Dec. 1700 (ArFrSt D 71:62–63); Francke to P.J. Spener, Halle, 15 Feb. 1701, printed in: K. Weiske, ed., "31 bisher unveröffentlichte Briefe August Hermann Franckes an Philipp Jacob Spener", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Kirchengeschichte der Provinz Sachsen und des Freistaates Anhalt* 27 (1931), p. 43; cf. Canstein to Francke, Berlin, 28 Aug. and 4 & 8 Sept. 1703, printed in: Schicketanz, pp. 238–240.

198 See Beyreuther, *Francke und die Anfänge*, pp. 124f; cf. pp. 216–20 below.

CHAPTER II

“That the Pietists might also be introduced
into the prince’s chapel”:

Pastoralia: German Expatriates in England and America

About the turn of the century Prince George of Denmark, consort to Princess Anne, received permission from William III to establish his own Royal Chapel. When the Prince’s first chaplain left a few years later, H.W. Ludolf, his former secretary with whom he remained on close terms, recommended A.W. Boehm as a replacement. Boehm was invited to preach and Ludolf expressed to Francke in Halle his hope that God would bless Boehm’s sermons, “so that the Pietists might also be introduced into the Prince’s Chapel”.¹ The Royal Chapel became the headquarters of the German Pietists in London. The ties of both Ludolf and Boehm to Prince George gave them a “respectable” profile and led to their favourable reception in the SPCK.² Our concern in this chapter is with the pastoral care which the Pietists provided for Germans both in England and America through their offices as royal chaplains. Their pastoral activity and the fundamental role of the German Royal Chapel in the founding of the Lutheran Church in America have been often overlooked by scholars and therefore form the focal point of what follows.

1. Pastoral Care of Germans in England: the German Lutheran Royal Chapel at St. James’s

Anthony William Boehm

When Prince George married Princess Anne in 1683 and moved his household from Copenhagen to London, he brought with him his court chaplain, J.W. Mecken (d.1711). While Princess Anne had a deep-seated loyalty to the Church of England, her consort remained Lutheran. Father Petre, James II’s Jesuit confessor, complained that Prince George

1 “... daß mann die Pietisten auch in des Princens Capelle introducire.” (H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, London, 23 Jan. 1705 [ArFrSt D 71:136c-d])

2 The link between the SPCK and Prince George was probably made through John Chamberlayne, “gentleman waiter” to His Highness. (DNB [iv.9])

... is a Prince with whom I cannot discourse about religion. Luther was never more earnest than this Prince ... He has naturally an aversion to our Society [the Jesuits], and this antipathy does much to obstruct the progress of our affair.³

Mecken held regular Lutheran services in St. James's palace at which only members of the Prince's household were present, until Prince George founded the German Lutheran Royal Chapel at St. James's about the year 1700.⁴ The Royal Chapel was the third German Lutheran Chapel in London: the first, Hamburg Lutheran Church, was consecrated in 1673 near St. Mary-le-Bow Church especially for the German Lutheran workers at the Hanseatic Shipyard; German Lutherans living west of Temple Bar established the German Lutheran Chapel in the Savoy in 1694.⁵ The German Lutheran Royal Chapel was one of three Royal Chapels at St. James's, a French Reformed and a Dutch Reformed being the other two.⁶ All three Chapels were under the ecclesiastical authority of the Bishop of London and included in their worship translations of prayers from the Book of Common Prayer;⁷ for example, the prayer book used in the German Royal Chapel after 1707 was made up of prayers collected "partly from the English liturgy, partly from other spiritual prayer books".⁸ By the 1710s, according to a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, the German Lutheran Royal Chapel employed two chaplains, a "Chapell-Keeper", a "Reader", possibly to help with the Anglican liturgy,⁹ and a "Doorkeeper".¹⁰

3 Quoted in: E. and M.S. Grew, *The Court of William III* (London, 1910), p. 194.

4 The official registers for the German Lutheran Royal Chapel are contained in two books (PRO, RG 4/4568,69), the first listing baptisms and marriages for 1712-1759 and the second listing baptisms only for 1760-1836. The registers, signed on 24 July 1837 by [Chaplain] W. Küper, also list most of the chaplains for the eighteenth century, though the records are not complete for the Chapel's first two decades. They state that the Chapel was founded by Queen Anne and Prince George in 1710, which is impossible since Prince George died in 1708.

5 The German Lutheran Royal Chapel at St. James's must be carefully distinguished from the German Lutheran Chapel in the Savoy, which should in turn be kept distinct from the German Reformed Church, established by Palatine emigrants in 1697, and from the Anglican Chapel in the Savoy where Horneck had served. On the German Lutheran churches in England, see J. Rieger, "The British Crown and the German Churches in England", in: *'And Other Pastors of Thy Flock': a German tribute to the Bishop of Chichester*, ed. F. Hildebrandt (Cambridge, 1942), pp. 101-23; C. Schoell, *Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Kirchen in England* (London/Stuttgart, 1852); J.S. Burn, *The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch and other Protestant Refugees in England* (London, 1846); J.G. Burckhardt, *Kirchen-Geschichte der Deutschen Gemeinden in London* (Tübingen, 1798).

6 "French and Dutch Chappells established by the late King William", n.d. (Bodl., Rawlinson MSS C.392:317a); Burn, *History of Protestant Refugees*, pp. 156-59, 222-23.

7 A.W. Boehm to J.H. M[ichaelis], London, 18 Feb. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 90; cf. Burckhardt, *Kirchen-Geschichte*, pp. 71f.

8 [A.W. Boehm, ed.] *Ein Gebeth-Büchlein: Theils Aus der Englischen Liturgie, Theils aus andern Geistreichen Gebeth-Büchern zusammengetragen* (London, 1707); cf. Boehm to Z[iegenbalg] and G[rundler], London, 8 Jan. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 292f.

9 Beyreuther, *Francke und die Anfänge*, p. 136.

10 "Establishment of a Chappell at St. James's of His late Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark", [c.1714] (Bodl., Rawlinson MSS C.392: 317b).

Mecken's attitude to Halle Pietism is unclear. He corresponded with Francke and had fairly cordial relations with other Halle Pietists in London. Ludolf lodged with Mecken when he was in London,¹¹ while Wigers and Mehder, the two teachers sent by Francke, went straight to Mecken when they arrived. For a short time Wigers lived with Mecken's family and established a German school under his supervision.¹² Mecken, however, took offence at "a small exercise", or *collegium pietatis*, held on Sunday afternoons by Boehm, who was accused of trying to erect another German Church in London.¹³ Later, when Boehm preached a sermon in the Savoy Chapel, Mecken reacted unfavourably to its Pietist message and withdrew a meagre stipend which had helped sustain Boehm during his early years of want.¹⁴

Yet other problems were brewing for Mecken. A conflict arose when he was angered that Prince George had twice received Communion in the Church of England with Queen Anne; since he was sworn to the Augsburg Confession, he declined to give the Prince the Lutheran Sacrament.¹⁵ Thomas Brett, the High Church controversialist, said that Mecken refused the Prince admission to Lutheran Communion "by a particular Order from the Divines of Denmark" after the Prince took the Sacrament in the Church of England in order "to qualifie himself to execute the Offices of Generalissimo, Lord High-Admiral, &c."¹⁶ Under such circumstances Prince George no longer had use of Mecken's services, so Ludolf recommended Boehm, who was unaware of his friend's intercession.¹⁷ Impressed by Boehm's Pietist preaching, the Prince invited him to become his new court chaplain. Boehm asked him if he wanted a Lutheran or an Anglican preacher, to which he responded that he wanted an ordained Lutheran preacher who would allow him to commune "extraordinarily" in the Church of England. Unsure about the ramifications of this arrangement, Boehm decided to preach on an interim basis while waiting on God's Providence and on word from Halle as to whether or not they would ordain him to such a delicate situation.¹⁸

According to Ludolf, Boehm was worried that the Prince's Communion practice might give Jablonski and friends renewed impetus to push for their

11 Thomas Smith to Dr. Bernard, London, 3 Dec. 1695 (Bodl., *Smith MSS* 57:526).

12 J.B. Wigers to Francke, Windsor, 10 July 1699 (ArFrSt B 71a:103-09) and London, 12 Dec. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.427).

13 Boehm to Francke, London, 19 Apr. 1704 (MArFrSt I C 1:9).

14 Beyreuther, *Francke und die Anfänge*, p. 131.

15 Boehm himself provides details of the problem in a letter to Francke, London, 12 July 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 181-83.

16 *A Review of the Lutheran Principles* (London, 1714), p. 45.

17 For a copy of Ludolf's letter to Prince George, see Burckhardt, *Kirchen-Geschichte*, pp. 119-22. The DNB (ii.762) inaccurately states that Boehm was appointed assistant chaplain to read the prayers from the Book of Common Prayer which the Prince had decided to introduce into the Chapel at the request of his wife.

18 Boehm to Francke, 12 July 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 181-83; cf. Boehm to G.H. Neubauer, Windsor, 20 June 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 180f.

union of Protestants, even among the Halle Pietists themselves.¹⁹ Indeed, G.W. Leibniz in Hanover voiced to Jablonski his hope that the Elector Prince of Hanover and his new wife Princess Caroline of Brandenburg-Anhalt, whose guardian was Frederick I of Prussia, would follow the example of Prince George of Denmark.²⁰ Boehm, aware of and concurring with Pietist distrust of official attempts at Church union,²¹ was soon pleased to be able to report that a solution had been reached which gave him "more joyousness and freedom of conscience in the matter".²² He was kept as the preacher in the Chapel, while a second Lutheran position was created solely for the administration of the sacraments, originally filled by Irenäus Crusius, minister at the German Lutheran Chapel in the Savoy. This answer seemed satisfactory to all, including the Prince; Dr. Slare told Francke: "Mr. Behm is very much in the Prince's esteime [*sic*], and I hope has warmed his Royal Heart by a spiritual Heat."²³

This division of responsibility and the presence of two chaplains help to clarify the previous confusion among historians over the situation in the Chapel during its first two decades. Boehm was never ordained, though he remained in the Chapel as Court preacher until his death in 1722; in 1715 he explained that the lack of ordination had not prevented him from receiving divine blessing in proclaiming the Word and translating devotional writings. Since the congregation had not been deprived of the Sacraments, he saw no reason to seek ordination, which he viewed as nothing other than a civil act.²⁴

Indeed, Boehm's pastoral ministry appears to have been very full. Besides his preaching and translation work, he was involved in weekly prison visitation and was an important figure in the reforming of English prisons.²⁵ His expertise on prison reform led to his first being introduced to the SPCK by John Chamberlayne,²⁶ to whom he offered some suggestions on a manuscript entitled *A Charitable Visit to the Prisons*, arguing that the necessity of reforming prisons should be demonstrated on theological and political grounds: "There being so many filthy and profane practices in such places, that it is enough to draw down in time the judgments of God upon the whole Nation."²⁷ His letter to Chamberlayne was read at a meeting of the Society, at which Boehm was asked "to draw up a Representation of the Necessity and Importance of

19 Baron von Canstein to Francke, Berlin, 10 Aug. 1705, printed in: Schicketanz, pp. 303f.

20 Leibniz to D.E. Jablonski, Hanover, 26 June 1706 (copy), printed in: J. Kvacala, ed., *Neue Beiträge zum Briefwechsel zwischen D.E. Jablonsky und G.W. Leibniz* (Jurjew, 1899), pp. 98.

21 See pp. 216–20 below.

22 "Ich kann nun mit mehrerer Freudigkeit und Freyheit meines Gewißens dieser Sache abwarten ..." (Boehm to Francke, London, 24 Sept. 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 183f)

23 Slare to Francke, London, 11 Apr. 1707 (ArFrSt D 81:1074–77).

24 Boehm to Canstein, London, 12 Sept. 1715, printed in: Sames, pp. 185–87.

25 J.J. Rambach, *Memoirs of the Life and Death of the late Reverend Mr. Anthony William Boehm*, trans. J.C. Jacobi (London, 1735), p. 60f; Secretan, *Memoirs of Robert Nelson*, p. 102.

26 SPCK *Minutes*, 3 Feb. 1709 (ii–iv.147).

27 Boehm to Chamberlayne, St. Martin's Street, 3 Mar. 1709 (Bodl., *Rawlinson MSS C 743:13*). For the full text of the letter, see Appendix.

inspecting and reforming the ill Practices of Prisons, and the means proper for such a work". Due to a planned trip to Germany, however, Boehm begged to be excused from the request.²⁸

Numerous contemporary sources testify to a further aspect of Boehm's pastoral care: his deep concern for the destitute. According to his early biographer, he "dedicated a good Part of his Salary for the Benefit of the Poor and Needy, having learn'd by his own Experience the Circumstances of Poverty". Boehm initiated a yearly collection for the needy in the Royal Chapel and created a German charitable society for their benefit which continued into the nineteenth century. A poor box was set up in his home "and as he was visited by a great many Gentlemen, many a poor Man has had a comfortable Relief from that Box".²⁹ Henry Newman called Boehm "a Hearty Friend to the Poor at Home" and attested that he

... could not be hired, for he thought as he had derived his ministerial Talents freely, he should impart them with the same liberality, trusting to Providence that he should always be supply'd with what was necessary.³⁰

Boehm's deepest pastoral concern was for the conversion of individual souls: "His Zeal for enlarging the Kingdom of *Christ*, made him study continually how to touch the Hearts of all sorts of People, not only in his publick Sermons, but also in ... private Discourses."³¹ Because of his "Love to all men destitute of the means of Christian Knowledge",³² Boehm worked hard to spread the Scriptures and devotional literature. In the summer of 1716, during a time when he chaired SPCK meetings, Boehm directed the Society's attention to the King's guards in Hyde Park; at the Society's request, he distributed some of its tracts and books among the soldiers.³³

To return to the German Lutheran Royal Chapel. When the first "Sacraments" chaplain, Crusius, was called to Stockholm, his position at the German Lutheran Chapel in the Savoy was filled by G.A. Ruperti, but another Halle Pietist, John Tribbeko, took his place at the Royal Chapel. In 1702 Tribbeko had been appointed adjunct to the theological faculty at Halle and inspector of the newly formed *Collegium orientale*, which focused on the study of Eastern languages;³⁴ later, he was made extraordinary Professor of Philosophy at

28 SPCK *Minutes*, 10 Mar. and 7 Apr. 1709 (ii-iv.155f,165).

29 Rambach, *Memoirs of Boehm*, pp. 61-62; Boehm, "Rules and Orders For a Charitable Society, set up by some Germans at London, in the Year MDCCXII", in: *Discourses*, pp. 209-218; cf. Burckhardt, *Kirchen-Geschichte*, p. 76.

30 [Newman,] "Epitaph on Mr. Boehm" [1722] (Bodl., *Rawlinson MSS C 743:98*); Newman to Cotton Mather, Middle Temple, 31 Aug. 1722, printed in: Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 233.

31 Rambach, *Memoirs of Boehm*, p. 56.

32 Newman to Mather, 31 Aug. 1722, printed in: Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, pp. 232f.

33 SPCK *Minutes*, 26 July and 9 Aug. 1716 (vii.179,181).

34 K. Aland, ed., "Die Annales Hallenses ecclesiastici. Das älteste Denkmal der

Halle.³⁵ After his ordination at Gotha he travelled to England in 1707 to take up his position alongside Boehm.³⁶ Three years later Boehm began to mention some problems with Tribbeko which had even resulted in an admonishment from Queen Anne.³⁷ It is unclear exactly what happened, but Boehm said Tribbeko had turned against him and other friends and was seeking a post elsewhere. These events hit Boehm very hard and it was particularly unpleasant when he heard it asked, "Did not the man [Tribbeko] study at Halle?"³⁸ Tribbeko's place in the Royal Chapel was filled by Ruperti, pastor of the German Lutheran Chapel in the Savoy, who held both positions until his death in 1731.

Prince George died on 28 October 1708. His inclination towards Pietism is evidenced by the continued favour he bestowed on Ludolf and by the appointments of Boehm and Tribbeko as chaplains. Both of his chaplains preached funeral sermons which stressed his piety, charity, and universal Christian spirit. His "Temper and Disposition", Tribbeko noted, were improved "by daily exercises of Piety and Devotion". The chaplain had perceived "unfeigned signs and tokens of a sincere and well-grounded Christianity in this our Prince, tho' indeed he retired in Secret to do the Duties of Religion, and never made the least Ostentation of it".³⁹ Boehm praised the non-sectarian nature of his master's charity, while hinting at an explanation to the "double Communion" practice of the Prince, who is quoted as saying, "*I really believe, that Faith there begins, where the Ceremony ends.*"⁴⁰ Though this explanation may simply be a Pietist gloss to the Prince's external conformity, Boehm was trying to stress the Pietist understanding of Church union; what was important was not the external practice itself but the spirit behind it, for, as Tribbeko declared, the Prince realized that "there is little or no hope of any solid Union, unless the different parties first seek by a true Conversion to be united to God".⁴¹

Because Prince George had set up a fund for support of the Chapel Queen Anne allowed both the Chapel and the salaries of the chaplains to continue, even though Boehm admitted it was somewhat unusual to have a German

Geschichtsschreibung des Halleschen Pietismus", *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* (Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe) 4/3 (1954/55), p. 391.

35 Canstein to Francke, Berlin, 6 May 1705, printed in: Schicketanz, p. 299; cf. J.C. Förster, *Uebersicht der Geschichte der Universität zu Halle in ihrem ersten Jahrhunderte* (Halle, 1799), p. 67.

36 Kramer, *Francke*, ii.61.

37 Boehm to Francke, London, 19 & 29 Sept. 1710 (ArFrSt C 229:55,56).

38 "Es ist mir keine angenehme frage wenn es heist: hat der Mensch in Halle studiert?" (Boehm to Francke, 19 Sept. 1710 [ArFrSt C 229:55]) On the lasting effect of the Tribbeko affair on Boehm, see Boehm to Francke, London, 6 May 1712 (ArFrSt C 229:37).

39 John Tribbeko, *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of ... Prince George of Denmark* (London, 1709), pp. 13,16.

40 A.W. Boehm, *The Life of a Christian: A Sermon On the Occasion of the Death of ... Prince George of Denmark* (London, 1709), pp. 14-15.

41 Tribbeko, *Funeral Sermon*, p. 17.

Chapel in the middle of a royal palace.⁴² Even as Boehm had had “free access” to the Prince, so he received the same privilege from the Queen and spoke with her more than once on behalf of the poor or about other concerns.⁴³ One example of the rapport Boehm had with Queen Anne was the problem of the French Reformed Protestants condemned to the galleys in France because of religion.⁴⁴ In his own accounts of the affair,⁴⁵ Boehm states that, after the signing of peace at Utrecht in 1713, Claude Grotteste de la Mothe, the French Reformed minister in the Savoy, brought the matter to Boehm and gave him a list of the prisoners. The French pastor had been unable to approach the Queen himself; according to Boehm, “since the High Church party had the greatest influence at Court, the Presbyterians found little sympathy for their complaints”.⁴⁶ Boehm gave the Queen the list of prisoners and spoke to her personally about them. Within weeks she was successful in getting the King of France to release the French Protestants serving aboard galleys.⁴⁷ Further evidence of the Queen’s accessibility and openness to Boehm is seen in the fact that she granted him 100 guineas yearly from which he supported an “English Table” in the Halle orphanage⁴⁸ and distributed to poor foreigners where and how he wanted.⁴⁹ Boehm’s personal relationship with Queen Anne becomes that much more significant when compared to the lack of any close rapport with the next Sovereign, German though he was.

In contrast to the Whigs and some more moderate Tories – including many members of the SPCK – who placed high hopes in the spiritual and religious leadership of the German Protestant Sovereign, the Pietists from Halle were under no such illusions. They knew the fifty-four year old Ruler to be a rationalist and indifferent in matters of religion. Though a Lutheran and head of the Hanoverian Church, he had no difficulty conforming to the Church of England; his only real concern was that established practices remain undis-

42 Boehm to Francke, London, 5 Nov. 1708 (ArFrSt C 229:67); to B.C.S. from P., London, 23 June 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 147. Around 1714 the annual salaries of each chaplain is given as £200. (“Establishment of the Chappell at St. James’s”, [c.1714] [Bodl., Rawlinson MSS C 392: 317b]) Cf. Burn, *History Protestant Refugees*, p. 235; Rieger, “British Crown”, p. 112; Burckhardt, *Kirchen-Geschichte*, p. 74.

43 Boehm to N[eubauer] in H[alle], London, 23 Nov. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 377.

44 See John Bion, *An Account of the Torments the French Protestants endure Aboard the Gallies* (London, 1708); “A Memorial humbly presented to the Honourable Robert Harley Principall Secretary of State, by John Dubourgdiu Minister, by order of his Congregation”, n.p., n.d. (Lambeth MSS 935:18).

45 “Historischer Bericht, von dem ... Arndtianischen Wahren Christenthum”, in: *ErSchrift*, iii.524–28; Boehm to Neubauer, 23 Nov. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 377f.

46 “... da die Hoch-Kirchliche Partey am Hofe das meiste zu sagen hatte, die Presbyterianer aber mit ihren Klagen wenig Gehör funden.” (Boehm, “Historischer Bericht”, *ErSchrift*, iii.525)

47 *A List of the Names of all the French Protestants that were in the Gallies upon account of Religion only, and have been discharg’d by Order of the Most Christian King, at the Instance of Her Majesty* (London, 1713); Boehm to Mr. T. in B., London, 13 Oct. 1713, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 279f.

48 See p. 88 below.

49 Boehm to Canstein, London, 26 Apr. 1715, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 418f.

turbed. However, things were not the same for Boehm. The Lutheran Church in Hanover represented one quite antagonistic to Halle Pietism, so Pietism had not gained a foothold there; in Prussia, on the other hand, the government in Berlin supported Pietism and used it to oppose Orthodox land owners. More importantly, Boehm no longer had personal access to the Sovereign, perhaps because he was seen as one of Queen Anne's favourites.⁵⁰ Halle sent him instructions on how he might "move the King's heart to bestow a grace on this work" by pointing to the example of the King of Prussia and his affection for Halle. If successful, it would not only be a blessing in England but might also help Pietism's cause in Hanover.⁵¹ The efforts of Boehm and Halle, though, were in vain; Queen Anne's yearly assistance of the Halle *Waisenhaus* lapsed under the new Ruler, despite Boehm's hope to turn the heart of Princess Caroline to the work.⁵² Not only did support for Halle deteriorate, but the whole Royal family went over silently to the Church of England. The efforts of Francke to keep Princess Caroline within the Lutheran faith failed and Boehm had to make room in the German Royal Chapel for her to hear prayers from a German translation of the English liturgy.⁵³

Nonetheless, the Royal Chapel itself continued basically as before. George I brought his own chaplain with him from Hanover, with whom Boehm alternated in preaching duties at the Chapel and who tried to replace the Halle Hymnal which Boehm had introduced into the Chapel.⁵⁴ But the King's German authorities decreed that

... everything relating in general as well as in particular to the ritual, in so far as the Communes Prieres are concerned, which have hitherto been customary in the chapel and which have been in use up to the present and which are to be found published in printed form, in each and every detail be left as originally introduced, without any change whatsoever.

This meant that Boehm's German prayer book, which included prayers from the Anglican liturgy, and the Halle Hymnal were maintained. Communion in the Chapel was to be held bi-monthly and sometimes monthly, instead of quarterly, because of "the increase in the members of the congregation due to the influx of courtiers from Hanover".⁵⁵

50 Boehm to Neubauer, London, 23 Nov. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 381.

51 "Ein argumentum, das des Königs Hertz mit bewegen kan, eine Gnade an diesem Wercke zu erzeugen." (Neubauer to Boehm, Halle, 3 Oct. 1714 [ArFrSt A 185:76])

52 Boehm to Canstein, 26 Apr. 1715, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 419.

53 Boehm to Neubauer, 23 Nov. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 381; Canstein to Francke, Berlin, 17 Nov. 1714, printed in: Schicketanz, p. 669; cf. Germann, *Ziegenbalg*, i.265f; Rieger, "British Crown", p. 110.

54 Boehm to Neubauer, 23 Nov. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 381f.

55 Royal Decree quoted in: Rieger, "British Crown", p. 108. For a copy of the decree in German, see Burckhardt, *Kirchen-Geschichte*, pp. 123-26.

When Boehm died in 1722, there was anxiety in Halle over his successor, since preference was given to Hanoverians in the nomination of Court chaplains, in spite of the strong Hallensian traditions. A young theologian, Frederick M. Ziegenhagen (1693?-1776), who had studied briefly at Halle, had been in correspondence with Francke since his student days at Jena.⁵⁶ In 1718 he was appointed cabinet preacher to Count von Platen, one of Francke's few Hanoverian friends who later went to London to work at the Court. From Ziegenhagen's correspondence the anti-Pietist feelings in Hanover are apparent, though he himself held tightly to his Pietist convictions and loyalty to Halle.⁵⁷ Francke indeed viewed Ziegenhagen as a true disciple and even asked him to consider becoming a missionary to the East Indies.⁵⁸ But Ziegenhagen's future lay in London, not Tranquebar;⁵⁹ when Boehm died, Count von Platen had his cabinet preacher appointed Court chaplain.⁶⁰ The Hanoverian Consistory raised no objection and Halle, which apparently had nothing to do with Ziegenhagen's call to London, breathed a sigh of relief. In Ziegenhagen, Halle not only had a close friend and correspondent, but someone who filled the office for fifty-four years.

It was the Ladies of the Court who were most active in the Lutheran churches.⁶¹ George I brought with him to England his two alleged mistresses, the Countess of Darlington and the Duchess of Kendal. A friend of Boehm reported that the Duchess of Kendal was drawn to Boehm, "but it has pleased God to take him away just when she began to like both his sermons and his World despising Conversation".⁶² According to Ziegenhagen, she read Spen-

56 See F.M. Ziegenhagen to Francke, Jena, 13 June & 8 July 1718 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.i/1,2); on Ziegenhagen, see "Kurzer Abriß des Lebens und Characters Herrn Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen", in: *Neuere Geschichte der evangelischen Missions Anstalten zu Bekehrung der Heiden in Ostindien*, 5 vols. (Halle, 1776-1804), ii.xi-xxiii.

57 See esp. Ziegenhagen to Francke, Linden [by Hanover], 18 Jan. 1719 (*Nachlaß* 30. FMZ. i/5), in which he speaks of the "great sensation" (*großes aufsehen*) caused by his arrival in Hanover and complains about the local pastor who stirs up more damage in his so-called prayer hours than can hardly be put right again in many Ziegenhagen sermons. Cf. Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 17. Jan. 1724 (*Nachlaß* 30. FMZ. ii/9).

58 Ziegenhagen's response to Francke request plainly shows his Pietist theological proclivities and his deep commitment to the mission in India. (Ziegenhagen to Francke, Linden, 27 Aug. 1721 [*Nachlaß* 30. FMZ. i/26]).

59 Ziegenhagen was apparently rejected for missionary service in East India because he was subject to "*Malum Hypochondriacum*". (Neubauer to J.C. Martini, Halle, 25 Nov. 1722 [extract] [ChCh, *Wake MSS* 24:126]).

60 George I issued the official call on 11/22 December 1722. Since each new King had to reconfirm appointments in the Royal Chapels, Ziegenhagen was installed by George I, II, and III. Cf. Burckhardt, *Kirchen-Geschichte*, pp. 74, 126-27.

61 See Rieger, "British Crown", pp. 110-12.

62 C.J. Jacobi to Francke, London, 15 May 1722 (ArFrSt A 149:196). Already in 1717 Boehm reported that the Duchess was no Papist and received Communion regularly in the Royal Chapel. (Boehm to Mr. de Ners., London, 26 June 1717, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 482).

er's sermons diligently.⁶³ The main supporter of the German congregations in London, however, was Princess (Queen) Caroline. In 1718 she had printed a third edition of the German translation of the Book of Common Prayer for use in the Chapel,⁶⁴ although it is unclear how much it was actually used given Boehm's prior preference for his own "collected" prayer book and the Halle hymnal. She was also an active patron of the German Lutheran Chapel in the Savoy, providing on one occasion the £400 cost of a small house "for the keeping and maintaining of a Charity school for the Education of Children in the German Tongue".⁶⁵

Ziegenhagen's years marked the pinnacle of the German Lutheran Royal Chapel itself. After his death, the Chapel gradually slipped from prominence, although it continued throughout the nineteenth century.⁶⁶

2. Pastoral Care of Germans in America: the Establishment of the Lutheran Church in America

Pastoral Care of German Palatines

Not only were Boehm and Ziegenhagen engaged in the pastoral care of Germans in London, but these Halle Pietists also took an interest in German Lutherans in America and used their position in the Royal Chapel to work for their benefit. Francke was aware of the plight of the German (separatistic) Pietists in America and their lack of clergy, through some personal contacts and through his correspondence with Spener,⁶⁷ out of whose broad circle in Frankfurt many of the emigrants had come and an ill-fated land company for America had been founded. A few years after his chaplaincy began, Boehm tried to procure Bibles and devotional books from Germany for the Lutherans in Pennsylvania.⁶⁸ After the death of Prince George, Boehm a number of times had considered going to America himself, but with the Queen's reiterated

63 Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 17 Jan. 1724 (*Nachlaß* 30. FMZ. ii/9).

64 *Das allgemeine Gebet-Buch ... Durch Ihre Königliche Hoheit der Princesse von Wallis ... fortgesetzt* (The Hague, 1718).

65 Disposition granted by George II on 18 Apr. 1728 confirming the concessions granted to the German Lutheran Savoy congregation, quoted in: Rieger, "British Crown", p. 111.

66 The Chapel was dissolved on 1 July 1901. Cf. Rieger, "British Crown", pp. 122f.

67 See *A Contribution to Pennsylvania History; Missives to Rev. August Hermann Francke from Daniel Falckner ... and Julius Falckner*, trans. G.T. Ettinger (Lancaster, 1909); Wigers to Francke, London, 2 Jan. 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.433); Spener to Francke, Berlin, 3 & 19 Mar. 1695, printed in: Kramer, pp. 325,329.

68 Boehm to Christian Friends in Germany, London, 22 July 1707, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 27-32.

promise to allow the Chapel to continue, he saw the door to ministry still open in London and decided to remain.⁶⁹

In the light of this concern for Germans in America it is not surprising that Boehm came to the aid of 53 German Protestants from the Palatinate who arrived in London en route to America in 1708 under the leadership of Joshua Kocherthal, a Lutheran minister. When Queen Anne was made aware of the situation (probably through Boehm), she gave each emigrant a small stipend and provided them with new clothing, travel expenses to New York, and two small chests of German Bibles, New Testaments, and Arndt's *True Christianity*. Reports of the care of both Queen Anne and Boehm spread quickly in their homeland. The following April over 800 of their compatriots arrived in London and went straight to Boehm to get help for their journey to the new world.⁷⁰ Leaving their homeland because of the devastation of war, heavy taxation, a severe winter, religious quarrels (but not persecutions), the liberal advertising of William Penn and English agents, and the benevolent attitude of the British government,⁷¹ these 800 "poor Palatines" were but the first allotment of an exodus which would eventually number 10-14,000. Eventually the largest groups of these emigrants were dispersed to Ireland and New York, with smaller numbers resettling in England and many others returning to Germany. Our purpose is not to recount the events of this massive emigration,⁷² nor to examine the political wranglings in England surrounding the Palatines,⁷³ but rather to portray the pastoral care given them by the Lutheran chaplains in London. Boehm's initial involvement was limited because of a previously planned journey to Germany, so the task of ministering to them fell to the German Lutherans, Tribbeko and Ruperti, and to two Reformed ministers from Switzerland.⁷⁴

When the Earl of Sunderland first informed the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations on 4 May 1709 "that some hundreds of poor German Protestants are lately come, and that more are coming", the Board immediately ordered "some of the Lutheran ministers in the Savoy to attend". One week later both Tribbeko and Ruperti were in attendance "setting forth the

69 Boehm to G.K., London, 14 July 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 152; Newman to Mather, 31 Aug. 1722, printed in: Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, pp. 232f.

70 Boehm to Francke, London, 5 Oct. 1708 (ArFrSt C 229:66); to B[aron von] C[anstein], London, 18 Nov. 1709; to J.U., London, 26 May 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 40ff, 134f; Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 6 vols. (London, 1823), vi.464.

71 W.A. Knittle, *The Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 2-31.

72 See Knittle, *Palatine Emigration*; D. Häberle, *Auswanderung und Koloniegründungen der Pfälzer im 18. Jahrhundert* (Kaiserslautern, 1909); F.R. Diffenderffer, *The German Exodus to England in 1709* ([Philadelphia], 1897); S.H. Cobb, *The Story of the Palatines* (London, 1897).

73 See H.T. Dickinson, "The poor Palatines and the parties", *The English Historical Review* 82 (1967), pp. 464-85.

74 Boehm to Canstein, 18 Nov. 1709, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 44f.

calamitous condition of those poor people". On their suggestion, £16 per day was distributed to the emigrants.⁷⁵ These ministers became intermediaries between the Board and the Palatines, dispensing the money provided by the Queen and reporting regularly to the Board. When the number of Palatines had reached 6519 and the daily amount dispersed £100, Tribbeko and Ruperti told the Board "that by reason of the great increase of the number of the poor Germans, they were no longer able, without further assistance, to take care of them, and to distribute her Majesty's bounty to them".⁷⁶ To supervise the care and settlement of the Palatines, therefore, Commissioners and Trustees were appointed,⁷⁷ whose number included Ruperti, Tribbeko, Ludolf, Sir John Philipps, Thomas Bray, Chamberlayne, and Slare.

As well as attending to the physical needs of the emigrants, the German ministers also looked to their spiritual concerns. Immediately after the first group had arrived Tribbeko and Ruperti told the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations that "we are ready to perform the divine services with 'em once or twice a week, if your Lordships would appoint a place near their dwellings in St. Catherine's where they might meet".⁷⁸ The majority of the newcomers were Reformed, though there were also significant numbers of Lutherans and even Roman Catholics. To aid in their anglicization, Tribbeko translated the Church of England catechism into German, which was printed in parallel columns of German and English.⁷⁹ Tribbeko was also involved in examining about forty Catholic emigrants who wanted to convert "into the Reformed Faith and Communion".⁸⁰ The number of Catholics who converted to Protestantism, however, was quite small; when faced with the choice of converting or returning to Germany, the vast majority of the 4,000 Catholics went home.

In addition to receiving the Sacrament from their German ministers, the Palatines heard prayers every day from a German translation of the Book of

⁷⁵ *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations from February 1708-9 to March 1714-15* (London, 1925), 4 May 1709 (p. 26), 12 May 1709 (p. 32).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 23 June 1709 (p. 47); C. Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, June 1708-1709* (London, 1922), 23 June 1709 (p. 370).

⁷⁷ *A Brief History of the Poor Palatine Refugees, Lately Arriv'd in England* (London, 1709), p. 34.

⁷⁸ Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers*, 9 May 1709 (p. 296).

⁷⁹ *Der Kirchen-Catechismus. The Church Catechism*, [trans. John Tribbeko] (London, 1709). A handwritten note on the inside cover of the copy in the Bodleian Library (Mar.229) says, "This was translated and published for the Use of the Palatine Refugees by John Tribbeko Chaplain to the late Prince George."

⁸⁰ "The Form and Manner of Receiving into the Reformed Faith and Communion, many of the Popish Palatines who publicly renounced the Errors of the Church of Rome, in the German Church in the Savoy, before the Lutheran Minister, the Reverend Mr. John Tribbeko, on several Days in Septemb. and Octob. 1709", in: *The Piety and Bounty of the Queen of Great Britain* (London, 1709), pp. 63f.

Common Prayer.⁸¹ Soon after the first Palatines arrived Thomas Bray went to the SPG and proposed that the Society provide a minister for the emigrants who could go along with them to the plantations, officiate in German, and "take Orders in the Church of England". To support his proposal Bray sent "Considerations. Why particular Care ought to be taken that the first Company of Palatines consisting of Lutherans and Calvinists should be Invited and gently lead into an Uniformity of Worship according to the Liturgy of the Church of England". If this had been done with the first Walloons, Bray believed that succeeding French and Walloon Protestants would have joined in following the Anglican liturgy and "not Retain'd a Form but little distant from that of the Presbyterians". The SPG responded to Bray's request by ordering that if no minister could be found in England "that some application may be made to Professor Frank at Hall in Germany for a fitting Minister for the said People".⁸² However, if Francke had provided someone for the SPG to send out, that person would have had to take Anglican orders. Bray makes it clear that according to the constitution of the SPG a missionary could not be sent except "in Conformity to the Church of England".⁸³ This was made plain by Boehm to his friends in Germany and no minister was forthcoming from Halle.⁸⁴

In his request Bray noted that prayers from the Anglican liturgy were already being read daily and hoped the practice would continue as more emigrants arrived. But he also saw that there could be a problem,

... considering it may be difficult for the Lutheran Ministers with Respect to some particular Considerations of their own to Read that Service, but the Ministers of the Reformation have no difficulty upon them to Read that Service, and the far greatest part of the People will join in it. Why should not some Minister or Ministers in Holy Orders according to the Church of England Read Prayers, leaving it to some Lutheran Minister or Ministers to take the Alternative in Preaching.⁸⁵

Bray does not clarify why the Lutheran ministers in London would have had qualms reading a German translation of the Anglican liturgy, while the Reformed ministers would not. German Lutherans considered Anglicanism to be essentially an off-shoot of Calvinism with which they had certain crucial theological differences. Furthermore, these Lutheran chaplains were Halle Pietists; Francke and his friends in Berlin, particularly Baron von Canstein, were not in favour of Jablonski's efforts to base Church union in Germany on

81 Exactly which translation was used is unclear. Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, 12 July 1709 (vi.463), said, "Ruperti is translating the liturgy of the church of England into High Dutch for the poor Palatines." Bray, in a letter to the Committee of the SPG, 16 May 1709 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS* 48:110f), stated it was Jablonski's translation.

82 *SPG Journals* 1 (1707-1710/11), 20 May 1709, p. 382 (ArUSPG).

83 Bray to SPG, 16 May 1709 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS* 48:111).

84 Boehm to von C[anstein], London, 29 Aug. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 160f.

85 Bray to SPG, 16 May 1709 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS* 48:110f).

the Book of Common Prayer. Their interest was in unity based on common spiritual renewal, not external union centred in official acceptance of a liturgy and episcopate. The Lutheran chaplains in London, therefore, could not acquiesce in reading a German translation of the Anglican liturgy, especially if it was Jablonski's translation.

When he returned from Germany Boehm joined in the care for the Palatines and became a friend and advocate, though his support of the wayfarers was not uncritical. From Boehm's perspective the emigration was by and large unnecessary; the worst part of the whole affair was that "the poor people are not willing to recognize that this is a time of divine judgment which must be removed not with outward flight but with the eradication of inner sinfulness".⁸⁶ It appeared to him that most of the people were unable to give an adequate explanation for the impulses which brought them.⁸⁷ In Boehm's Pietist theology affliction was not something to be avoided but endured and used for internal spiritual growth.⁸⁸

Boehm's dominant concern was for the spiritual well-being of the German emigrants. As the Palatines began to be dispersed to Ireland, New York, and other places, he hoped that even a few would want to take with them "a living foundation of truth in their souls, so that they would become salt and light in the dark corners of the earth and thereby prevent everything from falling into stench and blindness".⁸⁹ But he feared that instead they would daily fall into thicker darkness and run from sect to sect when they arrived in the new world. Boehm turned to providing Bibles and other devotional writings.⁹⁰ Through the Commissioners for the Palatines and friends in Germany he secured a number of large shipments of Bibles, New Testaments, Psalters, and devotional books, particularly Arndt's *True Christianity*.⁹¹ His dream was to open a bookshop "of genuine [i.e. spiritually edifying] books" in America and through such means to help further the salvation of the poor Germans.⁹²

86 "Das schlimmste ist, daß die armen Leute nicht erkennen wollen, daß dieses eine Zeit göttlicher Gerichte sey, so mit keiner äusern Flucht, sondern mit Ausrottung des innern Sünden-Uebels, muß aufgehoben werden." (Boehm to D.H.C., London, 14 Oct. 1709, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 39)

87 Boehm to C.R. at M., London, 20 Jan. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 75f.

88 See A.W. Boehm, *Spiritual Improvement of Temporal Afflictions: Set forth in a Sermon Preached ... On the 16th of January 1712* (London, 1712); cf. pp. 145f below.

89 "O! daß sie (oder doch nur einige) einen lebendigen Grund der Wahrheit in ihren Selen möchten mit sich nehmen, auf daß sie in den dunkeln Winckeln der Erde ein Saltz und Licht wären, und dadurch verhüteten, daß nicht alles in Stanck und Blindheit verfielen." (Boehm to Mrs. O., London, 2 Dec. 1709, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 56f)

90 See A.W. Boehm, *Ermahnungs-Schreiben an Die zerstreuten Pfälzzer und übrige Teutsche, in Pennsylvanien, New-York, Carolina, und andern Americanischen Provinzen* (London, 1710).

91 *Brief History of Palatine Refugees*, pp. 32f; Boehm to Mr. K[oherthal?] in New York, London, 14 Nov. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 174; to Francke, London, 17 Aug. 1711 (*ArFrSt C* 229:44).

92 "... so ist mir eingefallen, ob es nicht thunlich sey, in America einen aus realen Büchern bestehenden Buchladen, aufzurichten."

Boehm was well aware of the efforts of Bray, the SPG, and other concerned individuals to establish libraries in the American plantations,

... however, this [project] has not so much as its purpose general edification as the fortification and enlarging of their [own] Church; on the contrary, that [project, i.e. his bookshop] should be fixed upon a completely different footing and be managed from general principles; that is, that it should have as its purpose not the propagation of sects but true Christianity.⁹³

His opposition here is not so much to the Church of England and the SPG as to any efforts, whether Anglican, Lutheran, or Reformed, to propagate one party solely. As a Lutheran Pietist, his interest was in promoting a non-sectarian "true Christianity", a cryptic reference to Johann Arndt, whose spiritual and practical Christianity was to Boehm the one best suited to the American wilderness.

Among the scattered Germans in America, without ministers to conduct worship and perform pastoral duties, Boehm chose to cultivate a personal and family-centred Christianity through devotional literature and the Scriptures. Although scarcely one book per family could be provided and most of the books were found in the hands of Germans around the city of New York, Boehm saw this literature as the only remaining way to further any kind of awakening.⁹⁴ Henry Muhlenberg, the patriarch of the American Lutheran Church, provides testimony in his journals that Boehm's labours were not wholly in vain. In 1759 he visited an elderly German Palatine on his deathbed, who, though he had not attended public services for many years, still had "a sound knowledge of the order of salvation". Muhlenberg commented:

The late Mr. Böhm, court preacher in England, and other benefactors bestowed tremendous benefits upon the poor Germans who came to this country in the times of Queen Anne when they generously donated and provided these people with Bibles and copies of Arndt's *True Christianity* and the late Professor Francke's devotional writings. They will enjoy unceasingly the reward and the sweet fruits thereof in glad eternity.⁹⁵

The involvement of the German Lutheran ministers in London with the Palatine emigration was painstaking and time-consuming. Other projects had to be postponed because of the Palatine affair.⁹⁶ Initially, Ruperti and Tribbe-

93 "Allein dieses hat nicht so wol die allgemeine Erbauung, als die Befestigung und Grosmachung ihrer Kirche zum Zweck: dahingegen jenes auf einen gantz andern Fus gesetzet, und aus algemeinen Principiis solte geführet werden; also, daß es nicht Propagationem Sectae, sondern Veri Christianismi zum Zweck habe." (Boehm to Mr. S. in Pennsylvania, London, 10 Feb. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 86-88)

94 Boehm to [Francke?], London, 22 Aug. 1721 (copy) (ArErSt A 144:871-75).

95 *Muhl Journ.*, 19 Sept. 1759 (i.414f); cf. 21 July 1751 (i.297); Report of Muhlenberg, Brunholtz, and Handschuh to Ziegenhagen, G.A. Francke, and Fresenius, Philadelphia, 9 July 1754, printed in: *Muhl Korres.*, ii.172f.

96 Boehm to P[rof.] F[rancke], London, 19 May 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 108.

ko bore the brunt of the task. An eyewitness account of the emigration published in 1711 singles out Tribbeko for special praise: "It would be hard to say how much the court preacher, now an inspector at Magdeburg, John Tribbeko, spent in behalf of the Germans."⁹⁷ When Boehm returned from Germany he brought with him Samuel Urlsperger, a student from Halle who served as an assistant for two years at the Savoy German Lutheran Chapel.⁹⁸ The effect of the sufferings of the Palatines on this young man's life should not be under-estimated; twenty years later it would bear fruit in his efforts for the Salzburger.⁹⁹ Boehm, too, was remembered for his deeds for the Palatines. At his death in 1722 one London newspaper said of him: "The poor Palatines found a Father in him."¹⁰⁰

The 1709 emigration of Palatines was not the last; the British government settled 400 Palatines in the Bahamas in 1717.¹⁰¹ As soon as these new Palatines arrived in England Boehm tried to raise a yearly subscription of £50 to provide a minister for them.¹⁰² Though his endeavours were apparently unsuccessful,¹⁰³ a few years later he was able to send a packet of books to the Palatines in the Bahamas through the SPCK. Henry Newman told the British Governor that the books were

... for the Use of the Palatines and other Germans settled under Your Government, and he [Boehm] requests at the same time Your Protection of those poor People, who have Travelled so far, that they and their Posterity may enjoy the Priviledges of Englishmen.¹⁰⁴

Although the SPG was prohibited by constitution from sending anyone other than an ordained Anglican as a missionary to the West Indies, Boehm almost succeeded in working through Newman and the SPCK to obtain money for a missionary or schoolmaster for the Palatines in New York. Newman knew of a yearly pension of £60 originally intended to provide a minister to the Vaudois Churches;¹⁰⁵ when no candidate could be found Newman submitted to the Bishop Robinson of London

97 *Das verlangte / nicht erlangte Canaan bey den Lust-Gräbern* (Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1711), p. 108; quoted from translation in: Diffenderffer, *German Exodus*, p. 395.

98 Boehm to Mr. E. in Moscow, London, 20 Apr. 1711, printed in: ErBrief, p. 207; Canstein to Francke, Dalwitz, 25 Oct. 1712, printed in: Schicketanz, pp. 544f.

99 See pp. 167–76 below; cf. Boehm to Francke, London, 25 July 1712 (ArFrSt C 229:38).

100 Quoted in: Rambach, *Memoirs of Boehm*, p. 38; cf. Newman to Mather, 31 Aug. 1722, printed in: Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 232.

101 Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, August 1717-Dec. 1718* (London, 1930), 6 Sept. 1717 (p. 29).

102 Boehm to Mr. de Ners., London, 7 May 1717, printed in: ErBrief, p. 481.

103 A note in Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, 1717–18*, 6 Sept. 1717 (p. 29), says, "There is a person in London who will procure £50 per annum for a minister and £30 per annum for a schoolmaster for them." But there is no evidence either of these persons was sent.

104 Newman to Gov. Finley and Thomas Walker in the Bahamas, 14 Apr. 1722 (ArSPCK, *Special Letters, 1708–1732* [CS3/2, p. 182]).

105 On Newman and the Vaudois situation, see Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 132ff.

... the case of a number of Poor Palatines who are now Subjects of Great Britain under the New York Government but in a deplorable condition with respect to any provision for the maintenance of Religion among them as Your Lordship will be inform'd by the Letter enclosed, sent to me by the Revd. Mr. Boehm.¹⁰⁶

But the following year Newman told the Bishop that the project to send someone to the Palatines

... which Your Lordship was pleas'd to approve of as a good Method of applying that Pension seems to be at an End at least for the present by reason of the death of the late Revd Mr. Boehm who undertook for recommending proper persons for the Service to Your Lordship.¹⁰⁷

If Boehm was the one responsible for recommending a missionary or schoolmaster for the Palatines in New York, the candidate would undoubtedly have been a German Lutheran from Halle. Bishop Robinson's approval of such an arrangement is interesting, especially in light of repeated refusals by the SPG to support German ministers in Carolina, Virginia, and New York.¹⁰⁸ The cases of Joshua Kocherthal, the Lutheran minister in charge of the original 53 emigrants, and J.H. Hager, a former Reformed minister who went with the large transport of Palatines to New York, provide a fascinating comparison. When Kocherthal applied to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations for a yearly salary, the Board reported that there was no precedence in the books "of her Majesty's having settled a salary upon any foreign clergyman in the Plantations".¹⁰⁹ But after some deliberation,

... as the said Kocherthal is very poor and the Lutherans, who go over with him, are not in a condition to make him any allowance, we humbly offer that Lord Lovelace have directions to grant him a reasonable portion of land for a glebe etc., and that he be allowed £20 for his voyage.¹¹⁰

From this glebe the New York governor paid Kocherthal a yearly salary of £50.¹¹¹ Hager, on the other hand, had been (re)ordained by Bishop Compton of London and was sent by the SPG also with a £50 salary.¹¹² Though separated, the two groups of settlers were well aware of each other and of the

106 Newman to Bishop of London, Middle Temple, 23 Oct. 1721 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/11]).

107 Newman to Bishop of London, Middle Temple, 23 June 1722 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/12]).

108 Boehm to SPG, 30 June 1711 (ArUSPG A6:89); John Sharpe to SPG, New York, 23 June 1712 (ArUSPG A7:214-17); Boehm to Chamberlayne, Strand, 19 Aug. 1714 (ArUSPG A9:21); "The Case of Thirty two Protestant German Families Settled in Virginia" (1720) (ArUSPG A14:21-22).

109 *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations* (London, 1720), 8 July 1708 (p. 524).

110 C. Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, June 1708-1709* (London, 1922), 13 July 1708 (p. 34). The salary was to be based on "a grant of glebe-land not exceeding 500 acres". (10 Aug. 1708 [p. 61])

111 Joshua Kocherthal to SPG, New York, 15 Nov. 1710 (ArUSPG A6:45).

112 Petition of Jeremiah Long for J.F. Hager (1721) (ArUSPG A15:27f).

differences in the ordinations of their ministers. One correspondent informed the SPG that the members of Hager's congregation were upset because they had to conform to the Anglican liturgy while the Lutherans under Kocherthal did not.¹¹³ A shrewd man, Kocherthal explained to the SPG:

I have several times this summer sounded our Lutheran Palatins to know how they were disposed towards a Union with the Church of England, but find most of them averse to it by degrees at least so far as relates to the Ceremonials thereof; and hope that the Society will be sensible of the trouble I have therein.¹¹⁴

In spite of such assurances Kocherthal was not really interested in Church union but in financial security; the SPG, however, would not support him, even when his salary was later withdrawn.¹¹⁵ Ironically, for unknown reasons the SPG suspended the salary of Hager in 1718, even though his congregation conformed to the Anglican liturgy and despite a petition stating that he had served the Palatines constantly since 1710 and that the poor people could not afford to pay him.¹¹⁶ The unwillingness of the SPG to compromise on questions of Anglican ordination stands in stark contrast to Newman's and Boehm's efforts to secure a minister for the poor Palatines and especially to the SPCK's sending of German Lutheran missionaries to East India.¹¹⁷

One final aspect of Boehm's efforts for the Palatines deserves mention. In 1720 Johann Bernhard van Dieren, a German tailor who had experienced a spiritual conversion, offered to serve the German Palatines in New York, so Boehm sent him to New York to erect a school and through his own private life and conversation to further an awakening among the people. The people received him openly and called him as their pastor. Boehm was unsure if other Lutheran pastors in America had ordained van Dieren, but even if they had not, Boehm was convinced his life would not be without blessing.¹¹⁸ Ten years later, there were conflicts among the American Lutheran churches over the ordination status of van Dieren and one Caspar Leutbecker, both of whom claimed to have been ordained by Boehm.¹¹⁹ Since Boehm himself was not ordained, obviously he did not ordain either van Dieren or Leutbecker, though in the case of van Dieren he was not opposed to his being ordained in America.¹²⁰ Still, that the two men should claim Boehm's authority shows the respect with which he was held in the American German community.

113 Col. Lewis Morris to SPG, New York, 25 July 1710 (ArUSPG A5: 143).

114 Kocherthal to SPG, 15 Nov. 1710 (ArUSPG A6:45).

115 Cf. Kocherthal to SPG, New York, 12 June 1713 (ArUSPG A9:104).

116 Petition of Jeremiah Long (1721) (ArUSPG A15:27f).

117 See Chapter IV.

118 Boehm to Neubauer, London, 22 Aug. 1721 (copy) (ArFrSt D111: 28a); Boehm to [A.H. Francke?], London, 22 Aug. 1721 (copy) (ArFrSt A144:871-75).

119 E.g. *Muhl Journ*, 6-7 July 1742 (i.170); cf. T.E. Schmauk, *A History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania (1638-1820)* (Philadelphia, 1903), pp. 447-59, 473-85.

120 Ziegenhagen says that he was ordained in New York. (Ziegenhagen to A.H. Francke, London, 27 Oct. 1724 [Nachlaß 30.FMZ.ii/16]).

Support for Daughter Churches in America

Unlike the Netherlands, Sweden, and England, no colony was ever established in America by a government in Germany; although large numbers of Germans, seeking a land "flowing with milk and honey", settled in America, especially on English colonial territory, they had no official support from home – as, for example, the early Swedish Lutheran settlers had – and were forced in religious matters to fend for themselves.¹²¹ As time went on German Lutherans in the American colonies regarded the German ministers in London as intermediaries between themselves and Germany. Ziegenhagen took Boehm's place as the key contact for Germans in North America. As the need for Lutheran clergy became more apparent, colonists sent letters and representatives to London and Germany to secure pastors and much needed financial support. The first requests Ziegenhagen received came from Spotsylvania in Virginia where three colonies of Germans had settled between 1714 and 1719.¹²² These Lutheran families had sent Ziegenhagen "very moving letters", imploring that a Lutheran minister be sent to them.¹²³ In 1724 two of the Germans told Governor Spotswood of Virginia: "Wee design to go to England and from thence to germany to bring in a Minister for us high Germans who are here."¹²⁴ It was over two years before the two deputies from Virginia, ragged and lacking both money and letters of identification, appeared in London. When they asked for a pastor and promised as compensation land which would yield £30 worth of tobacco every year, Ziegenhagen, thinking this an unsuitable trade for a minister, told Francke that if he would provide a student Ziegenhagen would take a yearly collection in the Royal Chapel for support.¹²⁵ Princess Caroline met the two German envoys and gave them each a guinea, while the King offered them each two guineas because they had cared for an animal which Governor Spotswood had sent to the King (the men assured the anxious court preacher that there were no man-eating animals in Virginia which might devour a Hallensian pastor).¹²⁶ In spite of Ziegenhagen's hope that Francke would soon find them a minister, they returned empty-handed.¹²⁷

121 T.G. Tappert, "The Church's Infancy", in: *The Lutherans in North America*, 2nd edn., ed. E.C. Nelson (Philadelphia, 1980 [1975]), p. 21.

122 "The Germans in Madison County, VA. Documents Bearing on their History", trans. and ed. W.J. Hinke, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 14 (1907), pp. 136f.

123 "... einige Luthersche Familien die in America und zwar in Spotsylvanien leben, sehr bewegliche brieffe haben anhero geschrieben." (Ziegenhagen to A.H. Francke, London, 24 Nov. 1724 [*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/17])

124 From the Virginia State Archives [23 Apr. 1724], printed in: "Complaint by Germans Against Governor Spotswood", *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 6 (1899), pp. 385–86.

125 Ziegenhagen to A.H. Francke, London, 20 Sept. 1726 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/42).

126 Ziegenhagen to A.H. Francke, London, 4 Nov. 1726 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/43).

127 "Report of J.C. Stoeve, Sr., 1737", printed in: "Germans in Madison County", ed. Hinke, p. 148.

The Virginian delegation was the first that Ziegenhagen encountered, but it has drawn little mention from scholars. Much more attention has been devoted to the deputation in 1734 of three German Lutherans from the Pennsylvania congregations at Philadelphia, Neu Hannover, and Providence.¹²⁸ These men travelled to London, Holland, and Germany to collect money for their homeland churches, without which many would either wander to other sects or live totally without worship.¹²⁹ Ziegenhagen had received many letters of complaint (*Klag-Briefe*) that the Sacraments were not being ministered and the Word was not being preached and taught, but he did not know how to help the people.¹³⁰ But the journey of the three men to Halle had reaped some benefit, for G.A. Francke, the elder Francke's son who had taken over leadership of the *Waisenhaus* at his father's death in 1727, was prepared to help. He determined that the *Waisenhaus* in Halle and the Royal Chapel in London should act as parents to the daughter congregations in America.¹³¹ Yet the search for a candidate in Halle proved futile; besides, Ziegenhagen had problems gaining financial assurances from the American congregations, who even asked Ziegenhagen to approach "the local Society [SPG]" to obtain maintenance for a pastor for a few years.¹³²

Over seven years later Francke approached H.M. Muhlenberg about a three-year call to America, which was to be issued through Ziegenhagen since he had been commissioned by the Pennsylvanian congregations.¹³³ On the way there Muhlenberg spent nine weeks with Ziegenhagen, conferring with him "as often as time and circumstances would allow".¹³⁴ His journals and letters testify to Ziegenhagen's influence. At the end of his sojourn in London, Muhlenberg told Francke:

The man [Ziegenhagen] has such a power in exegesis, especially in the New Testament, that one is astonished. If I did not have the present call, I would have wished to become his amanuensis, in order to profit from his exegesis and dogmatic

128 See esp. M. Schmidt, "Die Anfänge der deutschsprachigen evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche in Nordamerika nach archivalischen Quellen", *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsischen Kirchengeschichte* 75 (1977), pp. 181ff.

129 "Nachrichten die von denen drey Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinden zu Philadelphia, Neu Hannover und Providence in Pennsylvanien suchende Collecte zur Erbauung von Kirchen und Schulen wie auch deren Versorgung mit einigen tüchtigen Predigern und Schul-Leuten betreffende" (1734) (MARFrSt IV A 1:3); cf. Schmidt, "Anfänge in Nordamerika", pp. 181f.

130 Ziegenhagen to a preacher in Hanover, Kensington, 28 Jan. 1734 (MARFrSt IV B 1:2).

131 G.A. Francke to Ziegenhagen, Halle, 31 May 1734 (abstract) (MARFrSt IV A 1:9); cf. Schmidt, "Anfänge in Nordamerika", pp. 183f.

132 Ziegenhagen to [G.A. Francke?], London, 17 Oct. 1735 (extract) (MARFrSt IV B 3:9).

133 K. Aland, ed., "Ecclesia Plantanda. Die ersten brieflichen Dokumente zur Wirksamkeit H.M. Mühlens in den Vereinigten Staaten", in: *Der Pietismus in Gestalten und Wirkungen. Martin Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Bornkamm, F. Heyer, A. Schindler (Bielefeld, 1975), pp. 12f.

134 *Muhl Journ.*, 17 Apr. 1742 (i.18).

theology ... Now God be eternally praised, who has not only so gloriously revived me in Halle and Göttingen, but has also strengthened me here!¹³⁵

The lasting effect of Ziegenhagen on Muhlenberg during his stay in London should not be under-valued. Over twenty years later Muhlenberg recalled some of the Court preacher's exegetical insights;¹³⁶ more importantly, it marked the beginning of an enduring friendship.

Ziegenhagen's influence in America stretched beyond Muhlenberg. Every Hallensian designated for work in either the West or East Indies passed through London and met personally with the Court preacher. His long life meant that many pastors benefitted from his pastoral care, exegetical insights, and spiritual strengthening.¹³⁷ He kept up a regular correspondence with the German Lutheran Church in America and was regarded as a spiritual father. F.W. Pasche, a lector at the Royal Chapel, informed Muhlenberg of Ziegenhagen's death:

What a great loss this will be for the dear United Evangelical Lutheran congregations and their preachers in Pennsylvania I need not set forth here. You will know much better than I, and you will have a sufficiently painful sense of your loss.

Muhlenberg's response reinforces Pasche's assessment and shows the depth of his personal feeling for Ziegenhagen:

This unexpected and important news, which affected my heart and spirit, would have caused my end if His Reverence Mr. Pasche had not been pleased in his wisdom to invest and accompany it with grounds of divine promises and comfort ... To lose such a spiritual father, counselor, benefactor, intercessor, guide, etc. in these very critical and dangerous times is no small thing either for the whole or for its smallest part.¹³⁸

The significance of the Lutheran ministers in London for the development of the infant German Lutheran Church in America has been underestimated. If, as has been suggested, Pietism was the dominant influence in the early years of the American Lutheran Church,¹³⁹ then the contributions of ministers like Boehm and Ziegenhagen deserve greater appreciation. They became the key contact point of Lutherans in America and provided important pastoral care

135 "Der Mann hat eine solche force in der Exegesi, besonders im N.T. daß man erstaunen muß. Wenn ich den gegenwärtige Beruf nicht gehabt, so hätte gewünscht sein Amanuensis zuwerden um von seiner Exegesi und Theologia dogmatica zu profitiren ... Nun Gott sey ewig gelobet, der mich nicht allein in Halle und Göttingen so herrlich erquicket, sondern auch hier gestärket hat!" (Muhlenberg to G.A. Francke, Kensington, 22 June 1742, printed in: *Muhl Korres*, i.32f)

136 *Muhl Journ*, 12 Apr. 1764 (ii.64).

137 E.g. J.A. Krug and J. Voigt to G.A. Francke, Kensington, 9 Dec. 1763 (MArFrSt IV A 5:14) and J.C. Kunze to [Fabricius], London, 28 July 1770 (MArFrSt IV A 8:4).

138 *Muhl Journ*, 20 Mar. 1777 (iii.24ff).

139 T.G. Tappert, "The Church's Infancy", pp. 62-64; P.P. Kuenning, *The Rise and Fall of American Lutheran Pietism* (Macon, Georgia, 1988), pp. 33-51.

through their procurement of Bibles and devotional books, their written spiritual counsel and admonition, and their preparation of clergy en route to the new world.

Not only did the Royal chaplains in London care for German expatriates in England and the new world and, as will be seen, for the German missionaries in India, but they also had a pastoral ministry with some English friends. Boehm commented on one occasion that during his ministry he had held "all kinds of spiritual exercises on the Scriptures among Englishmen";¹⁴⁰ at his death, Dr. Slare commented on how much three "Good Societys" that Boehm had initiated would miss him.¹⁴¹ Despite these wider pastoral connections it was primarily within the SPCK and the related charity school movement that Halle Pietists found an Anglican home.

140 "... ich bishero unter den Engländern allerley geistliche Uebungen über die Schrift gehalten habe." (Boehm, "Historischer Bericht", in: *ErSchrift*, iii.548)

141 Slare to Francke, [Bath.] [1722] (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.319).

CHAPTER III

“After the orphan house manner as much as possible”: Halle Pietism and the Charity School Movement

In about 1711 John Trevese, an Englishman studying at Halle, asked A.H. Francke for wisdom “in ordering the course of my studies”, since his intention was to prepare himself to manage a charity school in England when he returned, “and that after the Orphan House manner as much as possible”.¹ The significance of the charity school movement for the education of poor children is well attested: in the words of its major modern historian, these schools, despite their flaws, “provided tens of thousands of children in the eighteenth century with their only means of instruction”.² But what is too little understood and appreciated is the role Halle Pietism had in the origins, organization, and animation of this movement. Largely using manuscript sources in the *A.H. Francke Nachlaß* in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, our purpose in this chapter is to highlight the German influences on this movement, bringing them to the attention of English scholarship for the first time. It will become apparent that the charity school movement would not have developed as it did apart from the contributions of Halle and Pietist representatives in London.

1. The Early Years of the Charity School Movement

The SPCK and the Charity School Movement

The roots of popular education in England go back to the seventeenth century when endowed elementary schools were formed. However, when many poor could not afford the fee for these schools, there developed a movement to provide free education for these children.³ In 1688 Thomas Tenison, rector of St. Martin in the Fields, and Simon Patrick, the Dean of Peterborough, noting that two small free schools had been already formed, agreed to create another school for the boys in the parishes of St. Martin in the Fields and Covent

1 John Trevese to A.H. Francke, [Halle, c.1711] (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.376f).

2 Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, p. 344. This account, first published in 1938, remains unsurpassed.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 15–27.

Garden. Masters would be provided and children maintained free of charge so long as parents did not abuse this charity.⁴ These free schools, established to counteract the Roman Catholic school in the Savoy,⁵ were the prototypes of the charity schools, the first of which were instituted in the late 1690s.⁶ By the summer of 1699 seven or eight schools had been started in parts of London and Westminster with 30-50 poor children in each school.⁷

From the beginning the charity schools were associated with the religious societies. In Josiah Woodward's *Account of the religious societies* the twelfth of fifteen "Orders of the Society" was that "each Member shall encourage the catechizing of young and ignorant People in their respective Families according to their Stations and Abilities".⁸ One of the early charity school leaders informed Francke of their first schools and that "the Charge hereof is defrayed by some of the Religious Societies, and other Christians who voluntarily subscribe towards it".⁹ Through another leader Francke had learned of "a particular Society of Gentlemen concerned in the promoting this very design in all places of England".¹⁰ Given the connection of the charity schools to the religious societies, it is not surprising that the SPCK became integrally linked with them.

The SPCK coordinated the opening of numerous schools in London and aroused public interest in the charity schools. In the metropolitan area the Society usually interacted with the schools through their "Agents for Schools", three of the most prominent being Charles Bridges, Samuel Mitchell, and a Mr. Skeate.¹¹ Bridges was the most frequent early visitor to the Society, reporting on the efforts within parishes to establish schools and relaying information from the SPCK to parishes and religious societies.¹² Through its network of correspondents the SPCK stimulated interest in charity schools throughout Britain. The Society itself provided only limited financial resources,¹³ though it contributed to the movement through its network of correspondents and charity school agents both the subscription method of

4 Broadsheet with handwritten date of 14 Apr. 1688 (Lambeth MSS 952:80); [Journal] of Extraordinary Envoy Van-Dyckveld, 30 Apr. 1688 (BL, Add.34510:115b).

5 [Journal] of Van-Dyckveld, 19 Dec. 1687 and 6 & 30 Apr. 1688 (BL, Add. 34510:67, 110f,115b).

6 White Kennett, *The Charity of Schools for Poor Children Recommended in a Sermon ... May 16. 1706* (London, 1706), p. 32.

7 Samuel Mitchell to Francke, London, 15 Aug. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIV.568).

8 Woodward, *Account of the Religious Societies*, p. 129.

9 Samuel Mitchell to Francke, 15 Aug. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIV.568).

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

11 SPCK *Minutes*, 18 May 1699 and 22 Feb. 1700, printed in: McClure, pp. 24,50-51; 18 Dec. 1718 (viii.211).

12 E.g. SPCK *Minutes*, 25 Jan. 1700, printed in: McClure, p. 43.

13 On 8 June 1699 Josiah Woodward reported on a charity school at Poplar "where twelve Scholars are taught at the Charge of the Society and four by him". (SPCK *Minutes*, printed in: McClure, p. 26)

finance and administration¹⁴ and the charity school service and sermon. When subscriptions to a charity school were insufficient, a sermon or lecture was given after which a collection was taken at the door. In addition to these local sermons, the Society itself began in 1704 to hold a yearly charity school service and sermon, at which a collection was taken and after which the sermon was published. This tradition, which continued yearly until 1877, kept the schools before the public and the subscribers.

For the first quarter of the eighteenth century the SPCK coordinated the charity school movement which spread from London and Westminster to much of the British Isles. In 1725 the Society reported that the 1597 charity schools established in London and south Britain had provided education for 32,810 children.¹⁵ W.K. Lowther Clarke, defending the SPCK from criticism that in the 1720s it relinquished its role as overseer of the movement,¹⁶ has argued that "there is no evidence to show either that education of poor children ever was its primary objective or that it had the power to lead the country".¹⁷ It is difficult in this matter to draw conclusions based on a perusal of the Society's *Minutes*; however, the testimonies of contemporaries provide solid indication that not only were charity schools the "Darling Employment" of the SPCK,¹⁸ but the members of the Society were the "chief promoters" of this design in England.¹⁹ Though it may not have created the institution, the crucial role played by the SPCK in the expansion of the charity school movement should not be underestimated.²⁰

Bridges and Mitchell, Wigers and Mehder

M.G. Jones suggests that the news of Francke's work at Halle "exercised a remarkable influence upon the charity school movement in England, Wales and Ireland" and that when the SPCK wanted to organize an education movement for the poor, "it was the religious discipline on the German pattern which they commended as a cure".²¹ In spite of this recognition the signifi-

14 See pp. 97–98 below.

15 Account of the charity schools appended to: William Berriman, *The Excellency and Reward of Charity. A Sermon Preach'd ... May the 20th, 1725* (London, 1725), p. 43. Joan Simon, "From charity school to workhouse in the 1720s: The SPCK and Mr Marriott's solution", *History of Education* 17 (1988), pp. 113f, argues that the Society's statistics for counties like Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire are inflated and unreliable. However, Geoffrey Holmes, *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society, 1680–1730* (London, 1982), pp. 53f, asserts that there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the SPCK's statistics for the metropolitan area and that its ledger for distant counties, though not as accurate, probably erred on the low rather than the high side.

16 Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 59.

17 Clarke, *History SPCK*, p. 29.

18 Chamberlayne to Francke, Westminster, 29 July 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.XXVI. 847).

19 Newman to Princess Sophia, [London,] 3 Aug. 1713, printed in: Clarke, *Eighteenth Century Piety*, p. 77.

20 *pace* Simon, "From charity school to workhouse", pp. 128f.

21 *Charity School Movement*, pp. 37f.

cance of Halle Pietism within the charity school movement has not been well documented.

The first educational contacts between Halle and England were mediated through Ludolf. Already in 1696 Ludolf had personally visited both Bishop Compton of London and Archbishop Tenison of Canterbury.²² Tenison, a key advocate of the voluntary societies,²³ had his attention turned by Ludolf to Francke. In 1699 one of Francke's associates at Halle, Johann D. Herrnschmid, told his father

For some time he [Ludolf] mediated a literary intercourse by the revered Francke with the Archbishop of London. Thus, among other things, something about the methods of the Glaucha *Pedagogium* became known to this man [the Archbishop], and since it was recommended to him, he asked the revered Francke for two zealous men, by whom every method of the *Pedagogium* had been properly examined: he will carefully use these men to provide some similar arrangement.²⁴

Later, Herrnschmid added that after the two students had arrived in England, the same person had asked Francke for yet another student. Francke had sounded out Herrnschmid about going, so Herrnschmid turned to his parents for counsel, but asked them to tell no one about the possibility, lest it be judged unfavourably if word should get out.²⁵ These comments provide the only extant evidence of a correspondence between Francke and Tenison, yet there is no reason to doubt their accuracy. Francke hoped to propagate his educational reforms throughout Europe and the growing interest in schools for the poor in England, of which Tenison gave proof before his promotion to Canterbury, gave Francke an official outlet for expansion. He did not want word of these arrangements to become public, lest it give further impulse to efforts for formal union by showing how the Anglicans and Lutherans could cooperate. His interest was not ecumenical cooperation but the spread of his own institutions and ideas.

Soon after their arrival, Francke's two students, Wigers and Mehder, met Bridges and Mitchell, two of the charity school agents,²⁶ through whose instigation the two Germans were invited to a meeting of the newly formed SPCK.²⁷ John Chamberlayne discoursed with Wigers and Mehder when they

22 Ludolf to Dr. Charlett, London, 6 June 1696 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS* 26:78).

23 G.V. Bennett, "Conflict in the Church", in: *Britain after the Glorious Revolution*, ed. G. Holmes (London, 1969), pp. 164f.

24 "Intercessit ex aliquo tempore literarium commercium Domino Franckio cum Archiepiscopo Londiniensi. Sic inter alia de institutis Paedagogii Glauchensis nonnihil innotuit huic viro, et quoniam ipsi probabatur, petiit a Domino Franckio, ut studiosos duos mittat sibi, quibus singula de paedagogio probe sint perspecta: horum se usurum esse opera in adornando simili quodam instituto." (J.D. Herrnschmid to his father, Halle, 30 Jan. 1699, printed in: Nebe, p. 50)

25 Herrnschmid to his father, Halle, 20 July 1699, printed in: Nebe, p. 53.

26 J.B. Wigers to Francke, London, 4 May 1699 (ArFrSt B 71a:100-102).

27 Cowie, *Henry Newman*, p. 35, says that Francis Lee introduced the two Germans to his

attended; the *Minutes* say nothing other than that the Germans were ordered to attend again.²⁸ Wigers, however, reported briefly to Francke on the meeting. After visiting the SPCK and seeing the work of both the religious societies and the societies for the reformation of manners Wigers was persuaded

... that God is awake and would reform not only our Lutheran Church but also other sects, because the reputation here is that they [the voluntary societies] intend a complete reformation in the English Church; surely, my worthy Professor, you and your colleagues will strengthen [them] in their intended work and if God would unite us in spirit and in truth, then we would be able indeed to offer an acceptable offering to the Lord.²⁹

Wigers was clearly stirred by the potential connections between the voluntary societies and Halle. The role of animating these relations, however, did not fall to Wigers and Mehder; their place was limited to education.

Though Wigers and Mehder never returned to the Society, they continued to exercise an influence over the charity schools through their connection with Bridges and Mitchell. During their first summer, when their financial situation was critical, Wigers worked at Windsor with the children of Prince George's chaplain, Mecken, while Mehder stayed in London tutoring Mitchell in Hebrew. When Mehder's financial situation worsened Bridges gave him some assistance.³⁰ Bridges himself is an enigma; his importance to the charity school movement is unattested, yet Mehder said that charity schools and the support of poor children were two projects which came from Bridges himself.³¹ When the SPCK was approached about instructions for managing a charity school the Society resolved "that Mr. Bridges' method be sent ... as soon as printed".³² In the summer of 1706 he took a "Journey to all the Corporation Towns in the West of England" promoting charity schools; five years later he took another such tour.³³ Bridges told Francke of having received "large measures both of temporall as well as spiritual blessings" and that he wished to know as much as possible about educating young children, "which I design to

friend Robert Nelson who then invited them to the SPCK. This is possible, but neither Wigers nor Mehder mentions Nelson; the link with Bridges and Mitchell is more likely.

28 SPCK *Minutes*, 11 May 1699, printed in: McClure, p. 24.

29 "... so habe ich genug, daß Gott auff ist, und will nicht allein unser Luthertum, sondern auch andere Secten reformiren, denn einen solchen Nahmen hat es hier würckl. daß sie indendiren eine völlige reformation in der Englischen Kirche, welche gewiß mein wehrter H. Prof. Sie und Ihre H. Collegen stärke wird in ihren vorgenommen Werck, und wenn uns Gott wollte vereinigen im Geist und in der Wahrheit, so würden wir ja dem Herrn ein angenehm Opfer bringen können." (Wigers to Francke, London, 10 July 1699 [copy] [ArFrSt B 71a:103-109])

30 Bridges to Francke, [London,] 26 Aug. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.677).

31 Mehder to Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIII.562).

32 SPCK *Minutes*, 17 Aug. 1699, printed in: McClure, p. 30. Unfortunately, I cannot locate of printed copy of these instructions.

33 SPCK *Minutes*, 4 July 1706 (i.395) and 2 Aug. 1711 (v.208).

give up my self wholly to, as GOD shall order and enable me".³⁴ With his wealth, commitment, and religious society-SPCK connections, Bridges was undoubtedly an instrumental figure during the incipient years of the charity schools.

To have two such qualified teachers in London as Wigers and Mehder pleased Bridges, especially since they could teach Latin.³⁵ He asked Francke for a written recommendation of the two Germans so that the SPCK could employ them in the charity schools they were promoting, assuring the Professor

... that I am very much pleased with these two strangers and promise my self much satisfaction and benefit from them by the little acquaintance I have had with them, ... they being your Epistle themselves from the good lines imprinted on their lives.³⁶

At this same time Chamberlayne approached Mehder about the possibility of going with Bray to Maryland as a schoolmaster (Wigers was unavailable because he worked with Mecken's children). Nothing came of Chamberlayne's suggestion; besides, Mehder was unsure what he would have done since Francke had commanded them not to leave London.³⁷

Bridges had other plans for Wigers and Mehder, asking them to give him an essay on how they would instruct children according to the Halle method and promising to provide his house for their own grammar school to start in Michaelmas, 1699.³⁸ A grammar school was a possibility because, as Bridges explained to Francke, a number of parents with money "have been speaking to have a school to bring up their children after the same manner that the poor are brought up". Should he and another friend or two join Wigers and Mehder, they would "not want for those that are able to pay for their own as well as for those that contribute towards the Charge of the poor Schooling". But there was one great obstacle: in order to teach Latin or Mathematics a school must have a license from the Archbishop of Canterbury. But "Mr. Mehder seems very backward to comply with the Church of England for fear of giving offence to his Countrymen and so I suppose is Mr. Wigers". Bridges doubted whether the Archbishop would grant a license to those not of the established Church, since several priests and Jesuits had recently come into England and ignorant people considered any foreigner to be a Roman Catholic. Since Francke was "the most proper Judge in this matter", Bridges offered him some scriptural advice:

O, Sir the value of one Soul; how much more of so many Thousand: lett us therefore go on and labour while we have mind and strength or anything whereby we may be

34 Bridges to Francke, London, 7 May and 26 Aug. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.675-677).

35 Wigers to Francke, London, 4 May 1699 (copy) (ArFrSt B 71a:100-102).

36 Bridges to Francke, London, 7 May 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.674).

37 Mehder to Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIII.564).

38 Wigers to Francke, Windsor, 13 & 30 Aug. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.416f,419).

enabled to gain one for whom Christ Dyed. lett us learn to become all things to all men, that we may by any means win some; which sure is the highest wisdom.³⁹

Wigers and Mehder also expressed their anxieties to Francke over the situation, aware that parents would not trust their children to them without a license from the Archbishop. Exemption from subscription to the Anglican formularies had been requested from Bridges and Mitchell, because should the Hallensians subscribe they would

... cause a scandal among the Germans. Because both the [German] ministry here and the people would partly very much glory over the Pietists and partly interpret it as nothing other than having done it for bread.⁴⁰

Mehder explained that, because they could not in good conscience subscribe, they had suggested that an Anglican teacher be attached to them who could teach the Church of England catechism.⁴¹ While waiting for a solution, the two Germans formed a school under the German chaplain Mecken hoping that eventually a grammar school could be formed under the patronage of Bridges and the religious societies.⁴²

The difficulty of subscription to the Church of England was a recurring one for Wigers and Mehder. In 1703 a fellow schoolmaster warned them that they must as soon as possible get a license to have a school or else pay a penalty.⁴³ Though they wanted to buy a license, Wigers explained that they could not subscribe, because the Book of Common Prayer does not hold to a doctrine of ubiquity in the Holy Communion as prescribed in the Formula of Concord.⁴⁴ The theological debate over the Lord's Supper was one of the most contentious between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Germany; as will be seen, the Lutheran Pietists from Halle regarded the Church of England doctrinally as essentially an extension of the Reformed Church.⁴⁵ Wigers and Mehder would not compromise this fundamental Lutheran doctrine and never did get a license, though they continued teaching for at least thirteen years.

When no acceptable resolution to the issue of subscription was forthcoming, Wigers and Mehder built up their own English school and also helped

39 Bridges to Francke, London, 26 Aug. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.677-679)

40 "... wo wir nicht unter der Deutschen ein ärgerniß anrichten wollen. Denn so wohl das Ministerium allhier, alß auch das Volck würden theils sehr gloriviren uber die Pietisten, theils würden sie es nicht anders außlegen, alß wirs umbs Brodt thäten ..." (Wigers to Francke, Windsor, 30 Aug. 1699 [*Nachlaß* 30.XI.419])

41 Mehder to Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIII.560f).

42 Wigers to Francke, London, 12 Dec. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.427).

43 The terms of subscription and penalties for failure to comply during this period are spelled out clearly in James Talbott, *The Christian School-Master* (London, 1707), pp. 7-13.

44 Wigers to Francke, London, 25 Apr. 1703 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.460-463).

45 See p. 209 below.

teach Latin at Bridges' school in the neighbourhood.⁴⁶ Ludolf was impressed at how much the two Germans had been able to accomplish.⁴⁷ By the summer of 1701 they had over 50 students in their own English school, an increase brought about by a particular benefactor: "Dr. Slare is our good patron, recommending our school everywhere," Wigers told Francke, "for this reason do not doubt, God will bless our work."⁴⁸ On Slare's counsel they had found a new house for their growing school,

... but he [Slare] serves us particularly by recommending to us the children of distinguished people who are able to pay the school fees, though we have with us at the same time some who give nothing.⁴⁹

The school continued to grow; by the spring of 1703 it had over 100 students and was growing weekly. They feared the possibility that Parliament might stop the schools of all foreigners not associated with the Church of England, but when the Occasional Conformity Bill was thrown out they hoped to have more room for their work.⁵⁰ In 1710 they were anxious about the recoil from the Sacheverell affair and the High Church efforts to suppress Presbyterians and Dissenters;⁵¹ indeed, Sacheverell had denounced unlicensed Nonconformist academies – legally not dissimilar to the school operated by Wigers and Mehder – as full of false brethren who

... are suffer'd to combine into *Bodies*, and *Seminaries*, wherein *Atheism*, *Deism*, *Tritheism*, *Socinianism*, with all the *Hellish Principles of Fanaticism*, *Regicide*, and *Anarchy*, are openly *Profess'd*, and *Taught*, to *Corrupt* and *Debauch* the *Youth* of the *Nation*.⁵²

But with Slare's patronage and diligent work their English school developed to the point that in 1712, after having worked daily for thirteen years, Wigers requested more help.⁵³ Francke did send help for the school, but its fate after the 1714 Schism Act is unclear. This act, which required all teachers and schoolmasters to receive Communion in the Church of England or else be ineligible to teach, excluded from its compass foreign Protestant teachers who

46 Francke to Spener, Halle, 13 Jan. 1700, printed in: Kramer, p. 431.

47 Ludolf to Francke, London, 6 Dec. 1700 (ArFrSt D 71:64–65).

48 "Der H. Dr. Shlare ist unser guter patron, recommendiret unsere Schule allenthalben, zweiffel derothalben nicht, Gott wird unsere Arbeit gesegnen." (Wigers to Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.446)).

49 "Er dienet unß aber sonderl. darinnen daß Er unß feiner leute Kinder recommendiret, die das Schulgeld bezahlen könnten, ob wir gleich auch unterschiedl. bey unß haben die nichts geben." (Wigers to Francke, London, 29 July 1701 [*Nachlaß* 30.XI.439])

50 Wigers to Francke, London, 26 Dec. 1702 and 26 Jan. 1704 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.458,469f); cf. N. Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 93f,97; M.R. Watts, *The Dissenters* (Oxford, 1985 [1978]), pp. 264ff.

51 Mehder to Francke, London, 20 Apr. 1710 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIII.566).

52 Henry Sacheverell, *The Perils of False Brethren, both in Church and State: Set forth in a Sermon Preach'd ... On the 5th of November, 1709* (London, 1709), p. 15.

53 Wigers to Francke, London, 25 Feb. 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.471f).

taught children of foreigners only; since the two Germans conducted an English school, they were subject to its qualifications.⁵⁴ Though the Schism Act never came into force and was repealed in 1719, its passing, according to a 1736 Dissenting biography, "gave reason to expect much greater Severities" and numerous academies closed.⁵⁵

Why were Wigers and Mehder allowed to operate a school for English children without subscribing to the Church of England? Certainly the patronage of Slare was a factor in their avoiding prosecution. Every school was independent; despite the coordinating role taken on by the SPCK, neither the Society nor any parochial authority had control over individual charity schools. After the arrival of the Hanoverian Sovereign, the problem faced by the SPCK was not Dissent but Jacobitism. The Society made every effort to bring schools in line, but their autonomy made its task formidable.

Though the move to a new building in 1701 meant that Wigers and Mehder could no longer teach at Bridges' school, they continued on good relations. That same year Bridges visited Halle for a month and Wigers hoped that Bridges' association with Francke would be fruitful, "so that through him also much good will be brought over here".⁵⁶ After his return, Wigers informed Francke that Bridges now conducted his school "according to our method" [*nach unserer Methode*].⁵⁷ That the Halle Pietists made a lasting impression on Bridges is evident from the fact that in 1704 he suggested opening a college to train teachers for charity schools which would differ very little from Halle and at which both Wigers and Mehder would serve as instructors.⁵⁸ Though nothing came of Bridges' proposal it shows the extent to which Francke's institutions were admired by some key leaders in England.

Lee, Nelson, Hoare, Slare, and Philipps

Bridges and Mitchell were not the only early connections of the charity schools with Halle; when one looks at other persons involved in the movement the ties with Halle become even more apparent. Secondary literature has pointed to such people as Robert Nelson, Francis Lee, Henry Hoare, Frederick Slare, and Sir John Philipps as significant figures in the rise of the movement. Their personal connections to Halle are acknowledged, but they are poorly documented.⁵⁹

54 Sykes, *Sheldon to Secker*, pp. 95f.

55 J[ames] Clegg, *Assistance in Preparing for Death and Judgment. A Discourse Occasion'd by the Sudden Death of the Reverend Mr. John Ashe . . . To which is added, A short Account of his Life and Character* (London, 1736), p. 71.

56 "... auf daß auch durch ihn viel gutes herüber gebracht werde." (Wigers to Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1701 [*Nachlaß* 30.XI.444-446])

57 Wigers to Francke, London, 13 Sept. 1702 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.455).

58 Wigers to Francke, London, 26 Jan. 1704 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.467-469).

59 Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 8,37,290; Cowie, *Henry Newman*, p. 35; Secretan,

In 1697 the Nonjuror Francis Lee and his friend Richard Roach, now both avid members of Jane Leade's Philadelphian Society, began publishing their *Theosophical Transactions*. In volumes IV and V extensive mention is made of Francke's institutions at Halle, based on a printed Latin account, though Francke is not mentioned by name.⁶⁰ Rather than producing a history of the institutions, Lee focused on the methods and objectives of education, the qualifications for teachers, and the subjects taught. The purpose of publishing the accounts was in order that "much good may be done by it, by stirring up a Spirit of Holy Emulation" with the hope that "it may prove an Excitement to some of the Ingenious Instructors of Youth in this Nation".⁶¹ This praise of Halle by members of the eccentric and enthusiastic Philadelphian Society, despite it being the first publicity Francke's institutions received in England, may have initially done more harm to the Halle cause than good. Though Francke later distanced himself from the Philadelphians and warned others in Germany about them,⁶² the SPCK treated Wigers and Mehder with some suspicion at first because of their connections with Lee. Only a recommendation from Court chaplain Mecken resulted in their being received politely.⁶³

How did Lee himself learn of Francke's work? Though he had travelled through Holland and Germany in the 1690s, he had returned to England in 1694, when Francke's work was yet in its infancy.⁶⁴ It is likely he was given his Latin account of the *Waisenhaus* through Ludolf, who himself tended towards some of the universal Church ideas espoused by the Philadelphians. Lee's major service to Halle-English ties lay not in his publications in *Theosophical Transactions*, but rather in his personal connections with other leaders in the charity school movement. Indeed, in the Preface to Lee's posthumously published *Dissertations* his daughter writes that Lee "was the first that put Mr. Hoare, and Mr. Nelson, upon the Founding of Charity-Schools; upon the same Plan as that of Hall in Germany".⁶⁵

Robert Nelson's diligent support of charity schools has been best shown by his biographer through an examination of SPCK *Minutes* and Nelson's

Memoirs of Robert Nelson, pp. 118ff; Shankland, "Sir John Philipps", pp. 129ff; W.H.G. Armytage, *The German Influence on English Education* (London, 1969), p. 6.

60 "A short Project of the Manner of Education of Youth, How it is Ordered in a College Erected in Germany 1695", *Theosophical Transactions* 4 (1697), 218-225; "The Manner of Education of Youth in a College in Germany, Erected 1695", *Theosophical Transactions* 5 (1697), 238-247.

61 *Theosophical Transactions* 4 (1697), p. 225; 5 (1697), p. 247.

62 Thune, *Behmenists and Philadelphians*, pp. 128ff.

63 Wigers to Francke, 10 July 1699 (ArFrSt B 71a:103-109).

64 [D.J. de la Fontaine,] Preface to *APOLEIPOMENA. Or, Dissertations Theological, Mathematical, and Physical*, by Francis Lee, 2 vols. (London, 1752), i.xvi.

65 [de la Fontaine,] Preface to *Dissertations*, i.xvii; cf. Thune, *Behmenists and Philadelphians*, pp. 82ff, 144f. On Lee's friendship with Nelson, see, for example, Lee to Nelson, 19 Nov. 1714, printed in: C. Walton, *Notes and Materials for an Adequate Biography of ... William Law* (London, 1854), p. 251.

correspondence.⁶⁶ Nelson is the only major personality linked with the charity school movement for whom there exists no evidence of direct personal links with Halle.⁶⁷ Still, he was at least familiar with the institutions in Halle and in his "Ways and Methods of Doing Good" used Halle's example to recommend establishing a training school for schoolmasters and schoolmistresses.⁶⁸

Two other laymen closely linked to English charity schools were Henry Hoare and Frederick Slare. Hoare, whose father, Sir Richard, was a fervent Tory and well-known banker and goldsmith, followed his father into banking and was a faithful member of the SPCK, acting as treasurer of the East India mission. According to a short biography and epitaph, he was a "strictly pious" man, who "liv'd under a settled Habit of Private Charities, and bore a Noble Share in all those Publick Acts of Piety and Mercy". In his will he left £2000 to charity schools and another £2000 for Bibles, Books of Common Prayer, and *The Whole Duty of Man*.⁶⁹ His links with Halle were almost certainly activated through Ludolf. After Ludolf's death, Hoare, his executor, told Francke that he missed Ludolf's "constant Instructions and Exhortations. but God is all Sufficient for us, and can raise up another Mr. Ludolf. or give us himself which is far better".⁷⁰ Hoare's role in the charity school movement was the same as that of Slare: they were two of its major benefactors. In addition to his own charity, as a banker Hoare also served as an intermediary for other donations.⁷¹ Slare's support of charity schools is witnessed to by Henry Newman who informs a charity school agent that Slare is willing to give £500 in order to teach 25 boys the art of navigation.⁷² Both Slare and Hoare carried on a frequent correspondence with Francke, largely because of their patronage of English boys studying at Francke's institutions.⁷³

The role filled by Hoare and Slare in England was taken up by Sir John Philipps in Wales, the main person in the rise of the charity school movement there.⁷⁴ He was a key link between Wales and the SPCK and largely through his efforts the SPCK helped establish 95 Welsh schools by his death in 1737. The founder of over a dozen charity schools in Wales himself, Philipps not only put up the money but was also involved in the details of school management and, to a degree, in the lives of the children themselves, as evidenced by these words to his wife:

66 Secretan, *Memoirs of Robert Nelson*, pp. 118–34.

67 Armytage, *German Influence*, p. 6, hints that both Lee and Nelson were acquainted with Francke through their travels in Germany, but I can find no support for this suggestion.

68 *An Address to Persons of Quality and Estate* (London, 1715), p. 166.

69 W. Lupton, "The Character of Henry Hoare, Esq", and Henry Hoare's "Epitaph", in: *Memorials and Characters*, ed. J. Wilford (London, 1741), pp. 777f, 40 (Appendix).

70 Hoare to Francke, [London,] 18 Mar. 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.672).

71 Nelson, *Address to Persons*, p. 174.

72 Newman to Mr. Skeate, Middle Temple, 22 June 1715 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/5]).

73 See pp. 89–93 below.

74 Shankland, "Sir John Philipps", pp. 136–53; Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 290f.

The Children, I bless God, are all in a good state of health, very dutiful, and improve well in their studies[;] they take the air with me in the Coach as often as my Affairs will permit, and want for no encouragement to engage them to their duty.⁷⁵

He also took an interest in English schools and proposed to the SPCK new methods for training schoolmasters,⁷⁶ probably a training college after Halle's model similar to the one suggested by Bridges. Like his good friend Slare, Philipps was an admirer, supporter, and correspondent of Francke. At his death the mantle of leadership in Wales fell to his disciple, Griffith Jones,⁷⁷ another person firmly committed to Francke's methods.⁷⁸

Bridges, Mitchell, Nelson, Lee, Hoare, Slare, and Philipps were major figures during the early formative years of the charity school movement in England and Wales. Apart from Nelson, each one stood in a significant relationship with Francke or one of his representatives in London. During this early period Francke's main propagandists were Ludolf, Wigers, and Mehder; but the awareness of Francke's work was to soon take a large leap forward with the arrival of A.W. Boehm.

2. *Pietas Hallensis*

Boehm and Pietas Hallensis

When Boehm arrived in London in 1701 he established a school for a few German children, but he could neither help Wigers and Mehder nor work with students at Oxford⁷⁹ because of his unfamiliarity with English. Wigers thought Boehm too fragile to work in England since his frail constitution allowed him to teach only a few hours a day.⁸⁰ The meagre income from his school meant that Boehm lived in poverty, though he turned down frequent invitations from Bridges to work in his school.⁸¹ It would seem that Francke had things other than teaching in mind for Boehm from the beginning. Wigers hints at this in a letter expressing his concern at Francke's choice of Boehm for England; in addition to Boehm's physical limitations Wigers was worried that Boehm had been imprisoned in Waldeck by the Orthodox Lutheran authorities for his Pietist views and confessional "indifference".⁸² "if such [informa-

75 Sir John Philipps to Lady Philipps, London, 21 Sept. 1717 (Picton, No.1467).

76 SPCK *Minutes*, 18 Nov. 1708 (ii-iv.129).

77 See Sir John Philipps to Lady Philipps, London, 3 May 1715 (Picton, No.1464).

78 See pp. 188–90 below.

79 These were probably the Greek students at Benjamin Woodroffe's Greek Orthodox college at Gloucester Hall. See pp. 156f below.

80 Wigers to Francke, London, 6 Nov. 1701 and 8 Apr. 1702 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.447,450f).

81 Boehm to Francke, London, 26 Apr. 1703 (ArFrSt C 229:81); 19 Apr. 1704 (MArFrSt I C 1:9).

82 On this period in Boehm's life, see Sames, pp. 58–106; W. Irmer, *Geschichte des Pietismus in der Grafschaft Waldeck* (Greifswald, 1912), pp. 26–41.

tion] should come to light here, we will be declared heretics by the divines, and there will be that much less hope of his preaching here.”⁸³ If indeed Boehm had been sent to preach, his early years of want in London as a teacher gave no indication of a breakthrough to another calling.

In the midst of these low times Dr. Slare, whom Boehm had met just after his arrival in London,⁸⁴ took him out of the miserable air of London and into the country, to his home in Greenwich. This marked the beginning of a life-long friendship; it was in Slare’s home eighteen years later that Boehm died. Slare took Boehm on a 250-mile tour around the English country, visiting pastors and charity schools, during which, according to the latter, Slare “diligently related the example of Halle to others for imitation, so that it is becoming somewhat well-known in the country.”⁸⁵ One of the places they visited was Kidderminster, where Slare and Bishop Lloyd of Worcester helped raise a charity school.⁸⁶ It was this journey which persuaded Boehm of the importance of translating into English Francke’s own account of his *Waisenhaus*. The need for an account in England of Francke’s institutions had often been expressed; six years earlier Bray had suggested to Wigers that an account of the *Waisenhaus* be translated into Latin and published in England.⁸⁷ With the help of Lee and Roach from the Philadelphian Society⁸⁸ and in the quiet of Slare’s country home, Boehm brought *Pietas Hallensis* to the English public in the middle of 1705, for which the publisher, Joseph Downing, paid him one pound.⁸⁹

According to his Preface, Boehm chose the title, *Pietas Hallensis*, in order to counter the Roman Catholic reputation for charitable activity found in the works entitled *Pietas Romana* and *Pietas Parisiensis*,⁹⁰ which had been translated, combined, abridged, and republished in Oxford in 1687.⁹¹ *Pietas Hallensis*, however, was by no means an anti-Catholic tract; Boehm admitted that some

83 “... wo solches allhie außkommen solte, wir alß Ketzer von den geistl. werden declariret werden, und desto weniger Hoffnung zum predigen für ihn allhie sein wird.” (Wigers to Francke, 6 Nov. 1701 [Nachlaß 30.XI.447])

84 Boehm to Francke, London, 15 Nov. 1701, printed in: Sames, pp. 176f; Slare to Francke, [Bath], [1722] (Nachlaß 30.VIII.319).

85 “... hat er das Hallische Exempel andern zur Nachfolge fleißig erzehlet, also, daß es auch im Lande etwas bekand wird.” (Boehm to Francke, London, 24 Sept. 1704, printed in: Sames, p. 180)

86 SPCK Minutes, 16 Nov. 1704 (i.307); A.W. Boehm, “Send-Schreiben an einen Freund in Deutschland”, 14 Nov. 1717, printed in: *ErSchrift*, ii.410.

87 Wigers to Francke, 30 Aug. 1699 (Nachlaß 30.XI.420).

88 Boehm to G.H. Neubauer, Windsor, 20 June 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 180f. Boehm expressed the hope that Francke would send a letter of thanks in Latin to Lee and Roach.

89 Boehm to Francke, 19 Apr. 1704 (MARFrSt I C 1:9); to Neubauer, 20 June 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 180f; to G.K., London, 14 July 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 150f.

90 Boehm, Preface to *Pietas Hallensis* (1705), p. i.

91 *Pietas Romana et Parisiensis*, [trans. and abridged Abraham Woodhead] (Oxford, 1687); cf. [James Harrington,] *Some Reflexions Upon a Treatise Call’d Pietas Romana & Parisiensis* (Oxford, 1688).

Roman Catholics "have acted purely on Principles of Genuine Christianity". "Let Virtue and Piety where ever they are found, have their due value," he said, for God "accepts every one, that is Devout according to his present Light and Knowledge". Since Protestants had greater light they ought to bring forth even greater works: "Yea verily they [Roman Catholics] shall rise up in Judgment against us in that Day, if we walk not worthy of that Vocation, unto which we are called in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."⁹² A second purpose of Boehm's was to show that in Halle one indeed saw the uncommon Providence of God at work in ways unseen in any other charity. This led him, rather triumphantly, to describe the book as an account of

... one of the greatest Transactions at this day in the World; which if it proceeds as it has hitherto done, will in a very few Years come to have a much greater Influence on the Publick Affairs of Europe, than all the Battles and Sieges with which our Gazettes, Mercuries and Registers are filled.⁹³

Pietas Hallensis was a translation of Francke's own account of the rise and progress of the orphanage and other institutions at Halle.⁹⁴ It contained a narrative of the origins and growth of the undertaking from its rudimentary beginnings and stressed Francke's dependence on the special Providence of God, which was detailed in a long list of miraculous particulars focusing on the private donations of individuals. He testified that "the *main scope* of the whole Undertaking ... is nothing else but the Salvation of Souls and their Conversion to life everlasting". The means to reaching this objective were simply described:

The Word of God is instilled into the Children from their Youth up ... *Unfeigned Faith* in our Lord Jesus Christ, is laid for a Foundation, and a real sense of *Godliness* attended with a conscientious behaviour, are the most material points.⁹⁵

Godly teachers to model these aims were central to Francke's pedagogical methodology. In closing his account and updating the size and growth of the hospital, charity schools, and other institutions, Francke again stressed that trust in the Providence of God was the foundation of his whole work.

Boehm was uncertain when he published *Pietas Hallensis* what its result would be: "Time will now tell what kind of an effect this work will have in England."⁹⁶ However, a few months later Boehm reported that he had heard many favourable judgments, including one from Archbishop Tenison who "highly approved" of the work despite a few "small superstitions" here and

92 Boehm, Preface to *Pietas Hallensis* (1705), pp. xii-xv.

93 *Ibid.*, p. ii.

94 *Die Fußstapfen des noch lebenden und waltenden liebreichen und getreuen Gottes* (Halle, 1701). Later editions were titled: *Segens-volle Fußstapfen des noch lebenden...*

95 Francke, *Pietas Hallensis* (1705), pp. 96-97.

96 "Die Zeit wird nun lehren, was für Effect diese Schrifft in Engelland haben werde." (Boehm to Neubauer, 20 June 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 180f)

there,⁹⁷ perhaps a reference to some of the more extraordinary examples of special Providence in *Pietas Hallensis*. Josiah Woodward, author of the account of the religious societies, advised the SPCK to distribute *Pietas Hallensis* under its own auspices, but the Society voted against reprinting the whole book.⁹⁸ Instead, Boehm was asked by the Society to abridge the book; when *An Abstract of the Marvellous Footsteps of Divine Providence* was finished and published early in 1706 the SPCK bought 500 copies and put three in every packet sent to its correspondents.⁹⁹ This abstract was enlarged and reprinted in 1707, though Boehm attached to it the original title, *Pietas Hallensis*. In 1710 Part II of the abstract appeared, followed in 1716 by Part III; in every new edition the progress of the Halle institutions was updated. Included in Part III was Boehm's English translation of a Latin letter from Francke to Cotton Mather in Boston.¹⁰⁰ That Boehm mediated this letter from a German Pietist to a New England Puritan, including it in an English publication, and that the SPCK purchased 500 copies of this edition to distribute to correspondents,¹⁰¹ provide further evidence of the interrelatedness and comradeship among the reform movements in Europe and America.

The first abstract was published with a Preface by Woodward, a recommendation by "another Eminent Divine of the Church of England," probably Dr. Thomas Manningham,¹⁰² and an appendix "Giving an Account of some Persons who have been Instrumental in promoting the Truth of Religion, and the Power of Godliness in some Parts of Germany".¹⁰³ The inclusion of this appendix, a shortened version of the history of Pietism in the Preface to *Pietas Hallensis* (1705), meant that with this abstract the first history of Lutheran Pietism in the English-speaking world received a wide propagation.

97 "... welcher [Tenison] es höchlich adprobiret, ohne daß hin u. wieder kleine superstitiones wie ers nennet, mit einlieffen, die aber der Sache selbst nicht schadeten." (Boehm to Francke, London, 24 Sept. 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 183f)

98 Boehm to Francke, London, 13 Dec. 1705 (ArFrSt C 229:73).

99 SPCK *Minutes*, 29 Nov. 1705 and 10 Jan. 1706 (i.357,362). Boehm told Francke that he thought 4000 extracts would be printed, but the SPCK records give no evidence that that many were actually published. (Boehm to Francke, 24 Sept. 1705, printed in: Sames, pp. 183f)

100 See K. Francke, "Further Documents concerning Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke", *Americana Germanica* i/4 (1897), p. 31.

101 SPCK *Minutes*, 23 Aug. 1716 (vii.185f).

102 Boehm told Francke that the person was a Doctor of Theology and a court preacher that year to the Queen. (Boehm to Francke, 13 Dec. 1705 [ArFrSt C 229:73]) The SPCK *Minutes*, 10 Jan. 1706 (i.362), say that Slare, Woodward, and Manningham had all read and approved the abridgement. From 1689–1692 Manningham was headmaster of Westerham grammar school in Kent. (DNB [xii.960])

103 Francke, *Abstract of the Marvellous Footsteps*, pp. 46–64. This appendix was expanded in the 1707 edition and given its own title page with the title, "A Short Account of Some Persons who have been Instrumental in promoting the most Substantial Points of Religion In some Parts of Germany. Whose Proceedings some have endeavoured of late to render Odious by the new-invented Name of Pietism." Whether it was published separately is unknown.

The support by Woodward and Manningham for Francke and his Halle work in the "Preface" and "Recommendation" deserves attention. Woodward begins, "The Assurance of God's *special Providence* continually engaged in Favour of his *Faithful People* is one of their greatest Comforts upon Earth." If trust in God should waver one finds in the narrative "such a Glorious *Train* of surprizing *Providences* in the behalf of a Pious and Charitable Undertaking, as is enough to *strengthen* a very weak Faith, and to *enliven* a Heart almost *dead* in Despondency". However, Woodward, no doubt concerned lest he be seen as arousing "enthusiasm" by encouraging a naive providentialism, warned against abusing this work "by *unwarranted applications* of it: Where neither the *Call* of God is so *manifest*, nor the *Matter* so important, nor the *Qualifications* for the Undertaking so suitable, as in the Case hereafter related." He stressed the way in which the work would further orthodoxy, by promoting the religious societies and societies for the reformation of manners, the instruction of youth and families, and the propagation of Christianity among infidels.¹⁰⁴ Manningham hoped that reading the account "may warm your Heart and strengthen your Faith in God". He also recommended Boehm and Francke as persons who "are of unquestionable sincerity, and have distinguished themselves in the World by their Piety and good learning".¹⁰⁵

That Boehm highly prized this official support from English divines in his efforts to make the Halle institutions better known is apparent in his Preface to the 1716 edition of *Pietas Hallensis*. Here, he states that Woodward was "so fully convinced of the good Tendency of those charitable Constitutions" that he publicly mentioned Francke's work in a sermon at the 1700 opening of a London charity school¹⁰⁶ and that he would recommend Francke's establishments "on any Occasion"; the "Eminent Divine" in London who had recommended the book was "since raised to the Episcopal Dignity in the Church";¹⁰⁷ and White Kennett had praised the Halle orphanage in a 1706 charity school sermon.¹⁰⁸ These "impartial Attestations" by "learned Divines" had helped to remove prejudices and to win over some who thought the book "a Piece of a Romance".¹⁰⁹ Boehm was especially pleased with Kennett's unsolicited recommendation, "by which," he told Francke, "the book ought in time to be made further known".¹¹⁰ He knew full well that favourable testimony from "learned divines" was unusual; he explained that *Pietas Hallensis* would probably have its greatest influence not on the *literati* but on popular piety: it would

104 Preface to *Abstract of Marvellous Footsteps*, n.p.

105 Recommendation to *Abstract of Marvellous Footsteps*, n.p.

106 *The Great Charity of Instructing Poor Children. A Sermon Preached ... Mar. 24. 1700*, 3rd edn. (London, 1703 [1700]), p. 18.

107 Manningham became Bishop of Chichester in 1709.

108 *Charity of Schools*, pp. 31f.

109 Boehm, Preface to *Pietas Hallensis* ... Part III, pp. iii-viii.

110 "Wodurch denn mit der Zeit das Buch dörfte weiter bekand gemacht werden." (Boehm to Francke, London, 22 May 1706 [ArFrSt C 229:72])

... mostly come into prominence among the common people; whereas the learned, because they lead everything to the point of an external morality and experience little of the effects and outpourings of the power of Christ, read the same narrations like a new newspaper, whereby for a short while they satisfy the natural desires of excessive reason and then put it aside again.¹¹¹

There is some evidence, however, that the “learned divines” who welcomed *Pietas Hallensis* did so partly because they were encouraged, rather than repelled, by its providentialism. Kennett confessed of Francke’s work that “nothing in the World seems more Providential, or rather more miraculous”.¹¹² The threat of Deism and the growth of more mechanistic perceptions of the natural order, propagated by natural science, had rendered many divines somewhat uneasy about the future of religious supernaturalism. The role of God’s immediate governorship of his universe seemed at some risk in a world explicable more and more in terms of impersonal mechanical laws. *Pietas Hallensis* attracted many readers by providing respectable evidence not only for the idea of God’s active government of his people, but for his approval of the kinds of charitable and educational work into which the English voluntary societies had poured so much effort.

Whatever the reaction of learned divines, *Pietas Hallensis* seems to have met with a favourable response. To the original full account was added the abstract, printed in three parts and three editions.¹¹³ Sir John Philipps suggested to the SPCK that the abstract “does very well deserve to be translated into other Languages”.¹¹⁴ *Pietas Hallensis* was also well-received in America,¹¹⁵ but its strongest impact was felt within the charity school movement in Britain.

111 “... wiewohl solcher [Einfluß] meist unter den gemeinen Leute sich hervorthut; die Gelehrten aber weil sie alles zu der Spitze einer äußeren Moralität führen, u. von denen Wirkungen, und Ausflüssen der Krafft Christi wenig erfahren, lesen sie dergleichen Erzählungen als eine Neue Zeitung womit sie auff eine kurtze Zeit die natürliche begierde der außschweifenden Vernunft sättigen und denn wieder weglegen.” (Boehm to Francke, 13 Dec. 1705 [ArFrSt C 229:73])

112 *Charity of Schools*, p. 32; cf. Ludolf to Francke, London, 23 Jan. 1705 (ArFrSt D 71:136c-d), in which similar sentiments from friends of Woodward are reported.

113 In 1729 a motion was made in a SPCK meeting to reprint *Pietas Hallensis* at large; it was referred to Committee and no further action was taken. (SPCK *Minutes*, 28 Nov. 1729 [xiii.77])

114 SPCK *Minutes*, 3 Oct. 1706 (i.409).

115 Boehm to Francke, London, 3 Mar. 1713, printed in: ErBrief, p. 239. Cf. Boehm to Francke, London, 14 June 1715, printed in: ErBrief, pp. 425ff, in which he reports on Moses Bartlett, an Anabaptist from Rhode Island, who after reading *Pietas Hallensis* journeyed to London in a effort to secure two of Francke’s students to go to Rhode Island, open schools, and proclaim the gospel. According to Newman, Boehm himself considered going to Rhode Island to work with Bartlett. (Newman to Mather, 31 Aug. 1722, printed in: Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, pp. 232f)

The Fruits of Pietas Hallensis

Largely as the result of the publication of *Pietas Hallensis* and through the promotional efforts of Boehm himself,¹¹⁶ the *Waisenhaus* in Halle became the target of a significant amount of English charity. Prince George gave £1,000 to Francke's work in 1706, the largest gift ever given at one time.¹¹⁷ Starting in 1710, Queen Anne, following her late husband's example, gave Boehm £60 per year to support an "English Table" at Halle, at which twelve German boys learned English two hours a day and then helped with translation work.¹¹⁸ Boehm collected a small library of English devotional works for use at this "English Table", though we do not know which ones.¹¹⁹ In time he hoped to be able to establish some scholarships for certain boys at the Table in order to set the work on a better footing.¹²⁰ Unfortunately, the Queen's support, which Boehm did not make public in England until after her death, was not continued by George I.

Hoare, Slare, and Sir John Philipps were frequent contributors to Francke's work.¹²¹ Lady Elizabeth Hastings sent a contribution to Francke as "a testimony of the High opinion I have of your Charitable Foundation".¹²² Benefactions came from MPs and clergy, Anglicans and Nonconformists, men and women in the city and country.¹²³ A unique gift from England was sent in 1707, when, after Boehm had mentioned the orphanage at a religious society he had attended, Dr. Slare's unmarried sister, Jane, gathered her friends together and collected two large cases of cheese for Halle.¹²⁴

116 In a letter to Francke, London, 14 Sept. 1706 (ArFrSt C 229:70a), Boehm tells him of some of the good he has been able to do for the *Waisenhaus* in conversations with individuals.

117 Boehm, Preface to *Pietas Hallensis*, Part III, pp. xi-xii; cf. Francke to the Comtesse Wurmbrand zu Breslau, Halle, 1 Oct. 1712 (copy), printed in: B. Schmidt and O. Meusel, ed., *A.H. Franckes Briefe an den Grafen Heinrich XXIV ... und seine Gemahlin Eleonore* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 146.

118 Boehm to Francke, London, 14 Feb. 1710 (ArFrSt C 229:51); Francke to Cotton Mather, Halle, 19 Dec. 1714, printed in: Francke, *Pietas Hallensis ... Part III*, pp. 5f.

119 Boehm to Francke, London, 19 May 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 108.

120 Boehm to Francke, London, 30 Dec. 1709, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 63.

121 E.g. Hoare to Francke, [London,] 25 Apr. 1709 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII. 666); Slare to Francke, n.p., [c.1723] (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.324); Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 5 Feb. 1725 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/24).

122 E. Hastings to Francke, n.p., 28 June 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.688). At her death in 1741 Lady Elizabeth left over £300 to the East India mission. (*An Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* [London, 1812], p. 51)

123 SPCK *Minutes*, 13 Apr. 1710 (v.80); Boehm to Francke, London, 19 May 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 107; to Neubauer, London, 25 July 1721 (ArFrSt A 175:108) and 18 Mar. 1720 (ArFrSt C 229:12); Ziegenhagen to Francke, Windsor, 11 Sept. 1724; London, 25 Sept. 1724, 16 & 26 Feb. 1725, and 16 Aug. 1726 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/14,15,25,26,41); *A General Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London, 1813), pp. 209ff.

124 Boehm to Francke, London, 24 Dec. 1707 and 6 Jan. 1708 (ArFrSt C 826:25 and C 827:1).

In addition to these benefactions, Boehm informed Francke in 1706 of another result of the work:

With this comes over a fruit of *Pietas Hallensis*, which up to now has worked secretly in a few minds and at last has now broken through, so that they have decided to have the boys travelling with this letter educated by you.¹²⁵

Boehm saw in the sending of these boys a significant breakthrough in what Francke and the Halle orphanage could do to uphold and encourage English education. He did not doubt but that as more boys were sent to Halle a "Seminarium Anglicanum" – envisaged perhaps as a Protestant equivalent of the English college at Rome – could be initiated at Halle, in which English youth could be prepared by Francke's methods for service in their homeland.¹²⁶ This seminary never became a reality, although one of the new buildings built in 1710 was called the "English House" because of the number of English students studying there.¹²⁷ When one also considers the establishing of the English Table by Queen Anne and the continued efforts of Ludolf, Wiggers, Mehder, and Boehm in England, it is not surprising that the ties which Halle had with England were closer than those it had with any other foreign nation.

These boys were not the first from England to study at Halle. The first was Thomas Turner, who was sent in 1701 at the recommendation of Ludolf. His father, Jacob Turner, an English tradesman at Smyrna in the Levant, wanted his son to learn Latin, Greek, and the Oriental tongues to prepare him to be a merchant,

... but what I chiefly [sic] aime at in sending him to you is, that I may have him taught by examples as well as precept the Christian Religion which in many places is profest but in very few practic'd as it ought to be.¹²⁸

Turner was soon joined by Michael Belke, sent by Slare as an apprentice in order to return later to teach in English charity schools.¹²⁹ Turner and Belke had different fortunes at Halle. Francke felt that Turner was not progressing well and should return to England, but that Belke was quite successful and pious in his studies.¹³⁰ Turner went to Constantinople with his father,¹³¹ while

125 "Hier überkommt abermal eine Frucht Pietatis Hallens. die bißhero in einigen Gemüthern verborgentlich gewircket hat, und jetzo endlich dahin durchgebrochen ist, daß sie sich entschlossen die hier beykommende Knaben bey Ihnen erziehen zu lassen." (Boehm to Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1706 [ArFrSt C 229:71])

126 Boehm to Francke, London, 4 Sept. 1706 (ArFrSt C 229:71).

127 Kramer, *Francke*, ii.63f.

128 Jacob Turner to Francke, London, 24 Feb. 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.X.379); cf. Jacob Turner to Francke, London, 6 May 1701 (ArFrSt D 71:79); Francke to Edmund Chishull, English Chaplain at Smyrna, Halle, 24 Dec. 1703, printed in: Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, p. 340.

129 Wiggers to Francke, London, 8 July and 8 Nov. 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.443,448).

130 Francke to Herrnschmid, [Halle], [c.1703] (extract), printed in: Nebe, p. 72.

131 Thomas Turner to Francke, London, 21 Apr./2 May 1704 (*Nachlaß* 30.X. 389).

Belke stayed at Halle until 1708 or 1709. Whether or not Belke assisted in the charity schools on his return to England is uncertain; in 1711 he told Francke that he was studying medicine but would not forget the strong theological training he had received at Halle.¹³²

The boys sent to Halle in 1706 as a result of *Pietas Hallensis* were met in Hamburg by Francke's associate, G.H. Neubauer, and by Belke.¹³³ Like Belke, they were all under the patronage of English benefactors, led and represented by Slare and Hoare. Though Belke had care of the English lads while they were at Halle, he was not their tutor.¹³⁴ Through extant correspondence we are able to identify some of the English youths who went to Halle. Three of the boys who went in 1706 were Joseph Acors, Thomas Parsons, and a boy named Creeke. On their return from six years of study at Halle Slare hoped to have "a prospect of placing them for Ushers in some schools, or in some private Gentlemens Families for Tutors".¹³⁵ When Acors came back to England he served under Wigers and Mehder;¹³⁶ later he was in charge of his own school, from which a lad was sent in 1734 to assist two German pastors in Georgia.¹³⁷ Creeke returned to London to be employed by Dr. Mapletoft, rector of St. Lawrence's, London,

... to whom he is a menial Servant; but with this Encouragement, that after some time, the Dean of Peterborow Dr. Kennet, and the Doctor to whom he was recommended by the Dean, may, if he behaveth himself well, find some means or other to send him to one of our English Universities, to study there.¹³⁸

The registers of Oxford and Cambridge, however, show no one named Creeke matriculating during these years. Parsons returned to Halle to enter the university, still under the patronage of his English benefactors.¹³⁹ He felt that university studies at Halle

... can fit and prepare such a one as I am much better to fulfil the desire of my Honoured Patrons, and to serve my Neighbour, but especially bring one unto a better understanding of the divine Word, and per consequens how one shall aright care for his own soul, as being the sole reason why we are born.¹⁴⁰

Parsons' destination after his university studies is unknown.

132 Michael Belke to Francke, London, 27 June 1711 (ArFrSt F 14:284-285).

133 Francke to Slare, [Halle, c.1706] (copy) (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.328); Francke to Canstein, Halle, 30 Oct. 1706, printed in: Schicketanz, p. 337.

134 Henry Hoare to Francke, London, 13 July 1708 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.660).

135 Slare to Francke, London, 2 July 1711 (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.313).

136 Mackbeth to Francke, n.p., 17/28 Nov. 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIV.575).

137 Newman to J.M. Boltzius and I.C. Gronau, Bartlet's Buildings, 29 Oct. 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 135.

138 Mackbeth to Francke, 17/28 Nov. 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIV.575).

139 Ibid.

140 Thomas Parsons to Francke, Halle, 15 Feb. 1713 (*Nachlaß* 30.III.171f).

Another member of the original group was Michael Smith. He came from a gentry family in England and probably went to Francke's *Pädagogium* for the children of nobility. He was treated differently from the other English boys and ate at a separate table. Hoare refers to the care "of the four English lads and of Mr. Smith", while Francke tells Slare to give his love and affection to benefactors and friends "and especially the honoured Parents of young Mr. Smith".¹⁴¹ But in 1710 Smith was the occasion of some trouble and was sent home;¹⁴² soon thereafter Boehm reported that

... Smith is going with this fleet to the East Indies, in order to learn navigation. He told someone: now he wants to write off all books, except the Halle Bible and Halle hymnal, which he intends to keep.¹⁴³

Two other boys from prominent backgrounds joined Smith at his table, Henry Hastings and Harry Benson. Hastings' patron was Lady Elizabeth Hastings, the pious philanthropist who associated with such churchmen as Archbishop Sharp, Robert Nelson, and Bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man;¹⁴⁴ she explained to Francke that her "names sake" was in particular need of charity because his father was a Roman Catholic and his mother an Anglican "too much taken up by the Cares of the World".¹⁴⁵ Lady Elizabeth allowed Francke to choose a tutor for Henry, though she desired that he be instructed "in no Principles contrary to that of the Church of England".¹⁴⁶ Hastings evidently flourished at Halle; in 1713 Ruperti in London informed Sir Hans Sloane of an English boy named Hastings at Halle who had invented a perpetual motion machine which he wanted to prove to the Royal Society.¹⁴⁷ Harry Benson was the son of Sir William Benson, sheriff of London in 1708 and brother-in-law to Henry Hoare.¹⁴⁸ Harry only remained at Halle two years before he became a merchant.¹⁴⁹ In 1711 he thanked Francke for "the great Love you have always showed me namely In the great desire which you have for my Eternal happiness".¹⁵⁰

141 Hoare to Francke, 13 July 1708 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.657); Francke to Slare, [c.1706] (copy) (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.329); Slare to Francke, 4 July 1709 (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.307).

142 Hoare to Francke, n.p., 21 July 1710 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.669).

143 "Smith gehet mit dieser Flotte nach Oest-Indien, umb die Navigation zu lernen. Er sagte zu jemanden: Nun wolle er alle Bücher abdencken, ausser der hallischen Bibel und dem hallischen Gesang-buch, die er zu behalten gedächte." (Boehm to Francke, London, 12 Dec. 1710 [ArFrSt C 229:52]).

144 On Lady Elizabeth, see Thomas Barnard, *An Historical Character relating to the holy and exemplary Life of ... Lady Elisabeth Hastings* (Leeds, 1742).

145 E. Hastings to Francke, 28 June 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.689); cf. Boehm to Francke, London, 4 Jan. 1712 (ArFrSt C 229:34a).

146 Hoare to Francke, 13 July 1708 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.663).

147 G.A. Ruperti to Sir Hans Sloane, Savoy, 16 June 1713 (BL, Sloane MSS 4065:109).

148 G.W. Marshall, ed., *Le Neve's Pedigrees of the Knights* (London, 1873), pp. 482,494.

149 William Benson to Francke, London, 12 July 1708; Harry Benson to Francke, [London?], 30 Oct. 1710 (*Nachlaß* 30.XXI.732-33).

150 Harry Benson to Francke, Amsterdam, 14 Aug. 1711 (ArFrSt F 14:322-324).

In 1708 Abraham Mackbeth took Belke's place at Halle with responsibilities for the English lads. Hoare told Francke that he doubted not "but Mr. Mackbeth will by his Conduct approve himself so well towards you as to merit your favour and esteeme".¹⁵¹ The schoolmaster Mackbeth was also praised by Boehm, who called him "one of their best people and one who has a great love for their institutions [i.e. charity schools]".¹⁵² When he returned to England a few years later, the benefactors made him inspector over a newly formed society of schoolmasters

... to teach and farther Instruct them [the schoolmasters] in all the Necessary Dutys, which there [*sic*] Profession requires them to be Master of. and the Good Instruction he received from you [Francke] att Hall made me think him well qualified for such an Undertaking.¹⁵³

Mackbeth served as a charity school agent and prepared the SPCK's large account of the schools in 1712 for press.¹⁵⁴

John Trevese was yet another English youth sent to Halle by Slare and Hoare to be instructed in those sciences which "may qualify and prepare him for the education of Youth". Trevese, who was to assist Francke in the instruction of the other English boys,¹⁵⁵ wrote soon after his arrival in Halle:

Since I know too well how much Gods Word is neglected and despised in Schools there [England], I would alter this Matter, and so ground my self here in Gods Word, that when I enter upon my intended Buisness [*sic*], I may seek to bring up those, that shall be under my care, in the love and Fear of God, the Discourse which in most of our Schools now a days is become as it were a laughing Stock and a Trifle. Thus my only Intent is to prepare myself to govern a School, and that after the Orphan House manner as much as possible.¹⁵⁶

As late as the summer of 1715 Trevese was still in Halle,¹⁵⁷ but thereafter his course is unknown.

When Trevese returned to Halle he took with him a boy named John Godfrey, whose father, Boehm said, was concerned only that his son not be taught a particular Lutheran doctrine, probably ubiquity. Because this doctrine was hated in England Boehm suggested that on this point the English children be taught general instead of Lutheran principles.¹⁵⁸ Minor theological incon-

151 Hoare to Francke, 13 July 1708 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.660).

152 "Sonst ist der Schuel-meister einer von ihren besten Leuten und hat eine grosse Liebe zu ihren Anstalten." (Boehm to Francke, London, 9 July 1708 [ArFrSt C 229:68])

153 Hoare to Francke, n.p., 17 Aug. 1711 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.670f).

154 SPCK *Minutes*, 29 May 1712 (v.283), 23 Oct. 1712 and 18 June 1713 (vi.19,85); *An Account of Charity-Schools in Great Britain and Ireland*, 11th edn. (London, 1712).

155 Slare to Francke, 29 June and 2 July 1711 (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.312, 314f).

156 Trevese to Francke, [c.1711] (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.376f).

157 Trevese to Francke, Zerbst, 6 June, 1715 (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.336-38).

158 Slare to Francke, 29 June 1711 (*Nachlaß* 30.VIII.315); Boehm to Francke, London, 30 June and 26 Oct. 1711 (ArFrSt C 229:45,43).

gruities did not hinder the flow of yet more English boys to Halle through the 1710s.¹⁵⁹ Though the numbers were not large they provide evidence of the respect and high reputation with which Halle was held in England as a result of Boehm's endeavours.

The effect of *Pietas Hallensis* was far-reaching. Not only did it result in financial contributions for the Halle *Waisenhaus* and in boys and apprentices being sent to Halle for education, but more importantly it propagated the news about Francke's institutions and helped bring about a greater awareness of Halle Pietism. It spawned imitations throughout Britain, Ireland, and America and was of particular importance to later evangelicals like George Whitefield, Griffith Jones, and Wesley.¹⁶⁰ As a propaganda tool, *Pietas Hallensis* gave a higher profile to Halle and thereby to education and charity schools in general. But Halle's influence on the charity school movement went beyond the catalytic working of *Pietas Hallensis*; our final task is to analyze and compare their respective methodologies and pedagogies.

3. Influences and Comparisons

Charles Bridges asked Francke in 1699 "to give us some light for the better ordering and perfecting in some measure what is here I hope so sincerely begun".¹⁶¹ According to Wigers, some friends in the English Church wanted to print Francke's "Institutionis Paedagogii Hallensis" in English at their own costs.¹⁶² Bridges' links with Wigers and Mehder were certainly formative in the advice on method which he penned and the SPCK printed and distributed.¹⁶³ Halle influenced and invigorated the charity school movement in three marked ways: its pedagogical aims, the selection and training of teachers, and the method of finance. Though the goals and methods were anglicized and there developed important differences, Francke's ideas were formative.

Pedagogical Aims

What were Francke's pedagogical methods? The aim of his institutions, as expressed in the title of his fundamental work on the education of children, was to guide children "to true piety and Christian wisdom".¹⁶⁴ Francke's

159 Boehm to Francke, London, 25 July 1712 (ArFrSt C 229:38); Henry Scheibell to Francke, London, 15 Sept. 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.VII.294f); Samuel Stott to Francke, Halle, 21 Apr. 1713 (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.334); Boehm to Francke, London, 8 Aug. 1718 (ArFrSt C 229:90b).

160 See pp. 186–90 below.

161 Bridges to Francke, London, 7 May 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIX.674).

162 Wigers to Francke, London, 4 May 1699 (ArFrSt B 71a:100–102); to Francke, London, 7 Nov. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30. XI.423).

163 SPCK *Minutes*, 17 Aug. 1699, printed in: McClure, p. 30.

164 *Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Teacher Training

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Subscription

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

186 *Charity of Schools*, p. 32.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

188 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

189 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

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

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

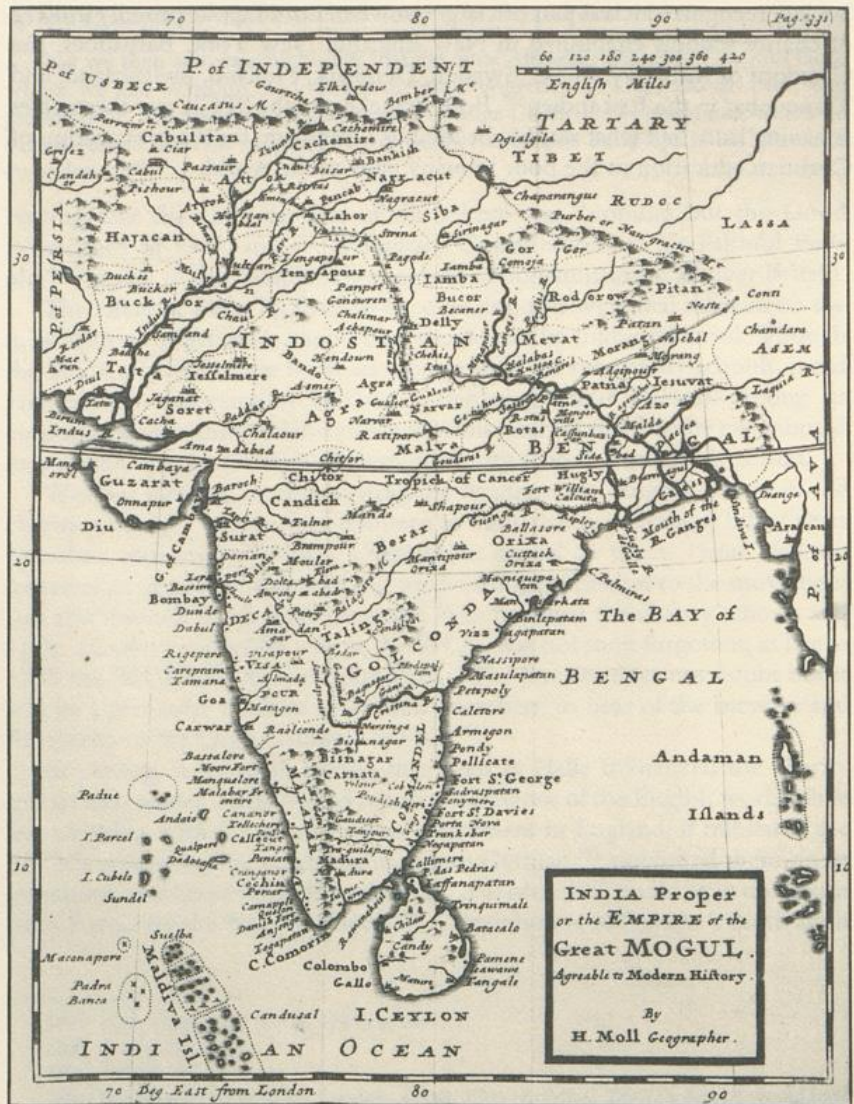
192 *Nachricht von den milden Schulen in und um Londen* (Halle, 1708).

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

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

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

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



Map by Hermann Moll, printed in: Thomas Salmon, *Modern History: Or, the Present State of All Nations*, 10 vols. (London, 1725-29), ii.331.

CHAPTER IV

“We must not put out the smoaking flax”: The SPCK and the East India Mission

In 1712 George Lewis, chaplain to the East India Company at Fort St. George in Madras, responded to a request from Henry Newman for his opinion on some German missionaries working at nearby Tranquebar:

The Subject of your Letter is of the greatest Moment and therefore not to be hastily and rashly answered. The Missionary's at Tranquebar ought and must be encouraged. It is the first attempt the Protestants have ever made of the kind. We must not put out the smoaking Flax.¹

The involvement of the SPCK in the East India mission marks a unique aspect of the Society's history. Most unusually, we find this Anglican society supporting a Royal Danish Mission in sending German Lutheran missionaries from the Pietist centre of Halle to southern India. Though the mission was numerically small, it marks one of the earliest examples of cooperation in Protestantism. Our purpose is not to give a history of the Tranquebar mission or of the SPCK's work in East India,² but to examine through the manuscript sources available in England and Germany important aspects of the SPCK's involvement which have not drawn sufficient attention from English scholars in particular: the role of Boehm in eliciting and animating English interest in the mission, the ramifications of the mission within the SPCK itself, and the comparative ecumenical and theological attitudes of the Society and Halle.

1 George Lewis to Newman, Fort St. George, Oct., 1712, rinted in: *PGE III* (1718), pp. 41f, and Clement, pp. 57–58.

2 The secondary literature on the Tranquebar mission is extensive, though a critical, comprehensive treatment is wanting. See J.F. Fengar, *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, trans. E. Francke (Tranquebar, 1863 [1843]); W. Germann, *Ziegenbalg und Plütschau* (Erlangen, 1868); E.A. Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, trans. M.J. Lutz (Madras, 1956 [1955]); idem., ed., *Alte Briefe aus Indien* (Berlin, [1956]); S.C. Neill, *A History of Christianity in India, 1707-1858* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 28–58. On the SPCK's involvement, see Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, pp. 258–88; Clarke, *History SPCK*, pp. 59–76; Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 104–31.

1. English Reaction to the Tranquebar Mission

Historical Background

The road to Protestant missionary work in the eighteenth century was opened by King Frederick IV of Denmark. Following the example of Roman Catholic Sovereigns and the doctrine of *cujus regio, ejus religio*, he felt responsible not only for the civil but also the religious affairs of all Danish possessions, including the trading colony of Tranquebar on the eastern coast of southern India.³ It is possible that Frederick may also have known of the work of the SPG in the West Indies through his uncle, Prince George of Denmark, and was induced to imitate it in the East Indies.⁴ In 1704 his court chaplain found two former students of Francke who were willing to go to Tranquebar as missionaries, Heinrich Plutschau and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg. They were ordained at Copenhagen by a Lutheran bishop and landed at Tranquebar on 9 July 1706, thus beginning the first Protestant mission work in India.

In typical Pietist fashion the missionaries concentrated on two main strategies.⁵ First, they learned the local languages, Portuguese and Tamil, in order to communicate with the native people and translate the Scriptures into the local tongue. Ziegenbalg, a brilliant linguist who promptly established himself as the head of the mission, learned Tamil quickly and started putting out Tamil works, which, for lack of a printing press, were transcribed by hired Tamils.⁶ In less than two and a half years he finished translating the New Testament into Tamil and then began work on the Old Testament.⁷ Meanwhile he was also engaged in a careful study of Indian native religion on which he became an early authority.⁸ The second major emphasis of the early missionaries was education. While these early missionaries did not neglect direct pastoral care and evangelism, the primary interpretation of their calling

3 See map on p. 100

4 So declared an abstract of the SPG's proceedings from 1711 attached to White Kennett's sermon, *The Lets and Impediments in Planting and Propagating the Gospel of Christ. A Sermon Preach'd ... on Friday the 15th of February, 1711-12* (London, 1712), p. 47.

5 Although Roman Catholic missionaries had been in India since the mid-sixteenth century and Ziegenbalg appreciated their missionary methods, one need not look past the theological training at Halle to understand the motivation behind the methodology of the Hallensians, which saw education and the translation and distribution of the Scriptures as the chief agency of conversion. Cf. H. Grafe, "The Relation between the Tranquebar Lutherans and the Tanjore Catholics in the First Half of the 18th Century", *Indian Church History Review* 1 (1967), 41-58; A. Meersman, "The Catholic Church in Tranquebar and Tanjore During the Formative Years of the Lutheran Mission", *Indian Church History Review* 1 (1967), 93-112.

6 Ziegenbalg to?, Tranquebar, 16 Sept. 1706, and Plutschau and Ziegenbalg to?, Tranquebar, 16 Oct. 1706, printed in: *PGE I* (1710), p. 26f.

7 I.H. Victor, "Tamil Translations of the Bible by the Danish-Halle Mission during the Eighteenth Century", *Indian Church History Review* 16 (1982), pp. 73-79.

8 H.W. Gensichen, "'Abominable Heathenism': A Rediscovered Tract by Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg", *Indian Church History Review* 1 (1967), p. 38.

was scholastic. Besides catechetical work, they established charity schools for Tamil (or, Malabarian) and Portuguese children. Ziegenbalg considered these children the nursery or stock for the future church; with pride he wrote after a few years in Tranquebar: "Above all things, I must tell you, that what taketh me most, is the *Education of the Malabar Children* here."⁹

Slowly, through education and long catechetical instruction, the missionaries raised a small church among the native population. They believed that the church could have been even larger but for the opposition they faced from Tranquebar's secular and religious leaders. Not much love was lost initially between Danish Lutherans and the German Pietist missionaries; the Danish chaplains painted the missionaries from the pulpit as false prophets and on one occasion the governor jailed Ziegenbalg for over four months.¹⁰ In 1711 Plutschau left Tranquebar for Germany, hoping to remove some of the hindrances to the mission.¹¹

Early SPCK Involvement

From the beginning the missionaries sent letters home to Germany and Denmark, but the Tranquebar mission remained basically unknown in England.¹² The person responsible for translating and publishing these letters and the first promoter of the East India mission in England was Boehm.¹³ He published the letters early in 1709 under the title, *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*,¹⁴ dedicating the volume to the SPG and its president, Archbishop Tenison. Besides translations of ten missionary letters, it included "A Preliminary Discourse concerning the Character of a Missionary", in which Boehm drew attention to "the sad Fate of the Eastern Churches" in the Levant, of whom St. John had written in Revelation ii-iii, and warned the European Churches that it was of little avail "to have the Name and Form of an Orthodox Communion, without the Life and Power which should attend it". He emphasized that missionaries needed a spirit of impartial love, an ability to distinguish between the essential and accessory parts of religion, a conversation conformable to doctrine, and a spirit of martyrdom.¹⁵ By 1718 *Propagation of*

9 [Ziegenbalg] to a Friend at London [Boehm], Madras, 17 Jan. 1710, printed in: *PGE II* (1710), pp. 28f.

10 Ziegenbalg to Francke, Tranquebar, 1 Oct. 1709, printed in: *Alte Briefe*, p. 109.

11 Plutschau to Boehm, Cape of Good Hope, 3 Jan. and 6 Feb. 1712, printed in: *PGE III* (1718), p. 203.

12 Some of the missionary letters were published in Germany: *Merckwürdige Nachricht aus Ost-Indien* (Leipzig/Frankfurt, 1708).

13 See J.F. Foster, "The Ecumenical Significance of A.W. Boehm, 'The Propagation of the Gospel in the East'", *Oecumenica: Jahrbuch für ökumenische Forschung* 1968, pp. 117-32.

14 Boehm to Francke, London, 25 Feb. 1709 (ArFrSt C 229:64).

15 [Boehm], "A Preliminary Discourse concerning the Character of a Missionary", in: *PGE I* (1709), pp. i-xxxi.

the *Gospel in the East* had been published in three parts and had gone through three editions.¹⁶

Boehm dedicated the book to the SPG hoping that the Society would assist the mission. The SPG ordered 500 copies of *Propagation of the Gospel in the East* "to be distributed by and among the Missionaries in the Plantations and here in England";¹⁷ however, as the secretary of the SPCK later explains, the SPG's charter "in the opinion of the Attorney General limited them to the English Plantations in America",¹⁸ a situation which did not prevent individual members of the SPG from contributing to the support of the mission.¹⁹ With the SPG unable to help, Boehm turned to the SPCK. In recommending the mission to Chamberlayne, he told him that since the missionaries were erecting charity schools "this work agreed all the more with the main purpose with which our Society has already been occupied for many years".²⁰ One week later, on 7 September 1710, the Society decided to admit Ziegenbalg and Plutschau as corresponding members and to open a subscription for the Tranquebar mission.²¹ Of these developments Boehm said,

A God-inspired mind will recognize also here the finger of God and take delight in it. Though the whole work is yet an embryo and tiny seed, from which one cannot quickly harvest ripe fruits, it already serves that by such approval of eminent people the project could be commended to others rather better and more forcibly and be made known in the whole land.²²

A few months later Boehm reported that Archbishop Tenison himself had contributed 30 guineas and "because he is the head of the moderate party he has set thereby a good example for it".²³

16 Part II came out in 1710; the second editions of Parts I and II were published in 1711. In 1714 the third part was published at the request of the SPCK, consisting of abstracts of missionary letters put together by Boehm, though later the title "Part III" was dropped. (SCM [ME/m/3], 5 Sept. 1713, 1 Mar. 1714) The 1718 and final publication saw the third editions of Parts I and II plus a Part III completely different from the 1714 edition with thirty-seven new letters.

17 *SPG Journals*, 20 May 1709 (p. 381f) (ArUSPG). Because of this large purchase the publisher, Joseph Downing, asked Boehm to prepare another edition. (Boehm to Francke, London, 13 Oct. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 169)

18 [Newman] to Isaac Hollis, Bartlet's Buildings, 10 May 1728 (copy) (ArSPCK, File 7 [Original Letters:3]).

19 SPCK, *Circular Letter* (11 Aug. 1711) (Camb., *Baumgartner Papers* 6.III.III.No.433).

20 "... so halte ich davor, daß dieses Werck destomehr übereinkomt mit dem Haupt-Zweck, damit unsere Societaet schon viele Jahre her beschäftigt gewesen." (Boehm to Chamberlayne, London, 31 Aug. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 161-62)

21 SPCK *Minutes* (v.126).

22 "Ein göttlich einfältig Gemüth wird auch hierin den Finger GOTTes erkennen, und sich darüber freuen können. Denn obzwar das gantze Werck noch ein Embryo und kleiner Saame ist, davon man nicht flugs reife Früchte erndten kan, so dienet es doch schon dazu, daß durch eine solche Approbation ansehnlicher Leute das Project andern desto besser und nachdrücklicher könne angepriesen und im gantzen Lande bekant gemacht werden." (Boehm to Francke, London, 19 Sept. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 164-66)

23 "... und weil er das Haupt der moderaten Partei ist, hat er dadurch derselben ein gutes

The SPCK appointed a Special Committee for the Mission which directed SPCK involvement.²⁴ From the minutes of this Committee's frequent meetings the full extent of SPCK action is made clear. Some of the most faithful attenders included Sir John Philipps, Boehm, Slare, Ludolf, Henry Hoare, the treasurer, and Henry Newman. Boehm's influence on the Committee is apparent from the start. At the end of the 1710 edition of *Propagation of the Gospel in the East* he had appended "A Proposal for Printing the New-Testament in Portuguese". The Committee made printing this New Testament its first task and, after some delays, brought out 1250 copies for use by the Tranquebar missionaries.²⁵ The other major goal of the Committee was sending a printing press and printer to Tranquebar, since the missionaries had to transcribe all their translated works. Jonas Fincke, the schoolmaster at G.A. Ruperti's German school in London, was willing to go to Tranquebar as the printer, so the Committee placed him with Downing, "in order to be instructed by him in the Art of Printing".²⁶ Josiah Woodward, chaplain to the East India Company in London, asked the Company to grant free passage to Fincke, the press, paper, and supplies. The Company allowed the freight to be shipped free of charge and the owners of the ship granted free passage for Fincke.²⁷ Woodward seems to have been deeply impressed with the mission reports from East India. Even before he requested free passage for Fincke and the freight, he had already sent a letter to the directors of the East India Company, laying before them the work to bring the Gospel to the East Indies, and asking, "And on what can we lay out the Riches of this World, which will not long continue in our Hands, to such Advantage; as in handing to perishing Souls the Light of Eternal Salvation?" He proposed that "the Hundredth Part of their Gains should be appropriated to this sacred Purpose", following the example of the Dutch East India Company, and closed by saying,

I shall therefore confide in the Candour of this Honourable Committy, to bear with Me in this sincere Discharge of my Conscience; not only recommending but pressing this most sure and profitable sort of Merchandice.²⁸

After such a suggestion Woodward's request for free shipping for the cargo probably seemed insignificant to the directors. Their approval set a precedent followed by the Company for years to come.

Exempel gestellet." (Boehm to Francke, London, 5 Jan. 1711, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 178); Boehm to Mr. de Ners., London, 2 Feb. 1711, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 196; to Francke, London, 29 May 1711 (ArFrSt C 229:47).

24 SPCK *Minutes*, 23 Nov. 1710 (v.144).

25 SCM (ME/m/1), 28 Nov., 1 & 5 Dec. 1710, 16 & 22 Feb. 1711.

26 SCM (ME/m/1), 24 Nov. 1710.

27 SCM (ME/m/1), 5, 15, & 23 Dec. 1710. Woodward also gave his support to the printing of the Portuguese New Testament. (Woodward to Newman, Poplar, 30 Sept. 1710 [BL, Add.4276:209])

28 Josiah Woodward to the Secretary of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, Poplar, 21 Nov. 1710 (India Office Library and Records, *Home Misc. Series* 59/9).

A few months after he set sail Fincke sent a letter to Boehm from Brazil.²⁹ The ship had been plundered and all the people taken captive by a French admiral. Joseph Collet, who was bound for India to serve the East India Company, ransomed the ship, including Fincke and the printing press, for £3500, giving up his son as a hostage until the money was paid. Collet's cost for the press, utensils, books, etc. was £300, but he lowered his charge to £150 out of regard for the mission and the SPCK, who later paid this part of the total ransom.³⁰ Tragically, Boehm later informed the Committee that Fincke had apparently fallen overboard and drowned two days after leaving the coast of Brazil.³¹

Sending books, money (£130), a printer, a printing press, and paper was not the full extent of the SPCK's involvement. A short prayer had been composed for the missionaries in India to be used at the SPCK general meetings.³² The Society was also actively endeavouring to send English missionaries to India. In 1712 Sir John Philipps recommended "Griffith Jones of Carmarthenshire in Wales as one extraordinarily qualified to be sent upon the Protestant Mission to the East Indies".³³ The Committee concurred with Philipps' assessment and invited Jones to go to India. Jones considered the request seriously and sought some advice.³⁴ One of those asked to counsel Jones was Boehm,³⁵ who told him that God alone must convince him "by a Divine Impression" and not by "Human Persuasions"; for evidence, Boehm related the manner of his own decision in coming to England.³⁶ He told the missionaries at Tranquebar about Griffith Jones and the plans for the English mission in India, hoping that after a few weeks Jones could visit them.³⁷ But, to the disappointment of Boehm and the SPCK, Griffith Jones declined the Society's offer because of his responsibilities in Wales and thereby missed the opportunity to become England's first missionary to India.³⁸ Certainly Wales benefited from his decision, since later he earned himself a place in his nation's history through his successful system of circulating schools, as an early biogra-

29 Fincke to Boehm, St. Sebastian, 20 Oct. 1711, printed in: *PGE III* (1718), pp. 1-15; cf. Boehm to Francke, London, 16 Feb. 1711 and 21 Mar. 1712, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 203, 219f.

30 *SCM* (ME/m/1), 29 Feb., 4 Mar., and 13 May 1712. The SPCK actually remitted only £128.11.6 of the £150 ransom, because later, when Collet's son was released, one-seventh of the total ransom was not paid. (6 May 1713)

31 *SCM* (ME/m/1), 27 June 1712; "Account by Michael Smith of Mr. Finck's Life and Death", 13 July 1712 (ArSPCK, *Letters from India* [ME/CR1]).

32 Sir John Philipps to SPCK, Picton Castle, 20 Nov. 1712, printed in: Clement, p. 53.

33 *SCM* (ME/m/1), 11 Nov. 1712; on Philipps' relationship to Jones, see Shankland, "Sir John Philipps", pp. 87-93.

34 *SCM* (ME/m/1), 13 & 21 July 1713

35 *SCM* (ME/m/3), 18 Sept. 1713.

36 Boehm to Griffith Jones, n.p., 22 Sept. 1713, printed in: Clement, pp. 330-33.

37 Boehm to J.E. Grundler, London, 23 Jan. 1713, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 234.

38 Griffith Jones to SPCK, Laugharne, 22 Nov. 1713, printed in: Clement, p. 62.

phy of Jones declared: "Wales was not to be deprived of so eminent a Minister, who proved so great a Blessing to it."³⁹

"Sectarian Lutheranism"

The SPCK could not find any Anglican clergy who had the qualities of the German Lutheran missionaries. In his influential *Address to Persons of Quality* Robert Nelson wished the work of the missionaries "would excite a Spirit of Zeal and Emulation in our Universities, and especially in the younger Students of Divinity, to offer themselves to be sent forth on this glorious Expedition",⁴⁰ but his call fell on deaf ears. Newman envied the zeal of the Lutherans from Halle and called it "a reproach to the English Nation"; with no English missionaries he acknowledged that "those that are well disposed in Britain for Propagating the Gospell among the Heathen must be content to come in as Auxiliaries to other Nations since they have forfeited the Honour of being Principals".⁴¹

Archbishop Tenison in 1713 first raised the delicate issue of the propriety of an Anglican society providing support to a Lutheran mission. He took particular offence at the omission in the Tranquebar catechism of the second Commandment in the Decalogue against false images, which appears in the Anglican and Reformed but not the Lutheran and Catholic catechisms. This omission was brought to the attention of the Special Committee in letters from Chamberlayne and Boehm.⁴² Newman told Chamberlayne that, because of the matter's importance, the Committee had sent it to the Society where a long debate ensued.

The major part [of the Society] seemed to wish the matter had never come in Question before them. ... The Members who have solicited for charities to this Mission have thought it their prudence and Charity to avoid as much as they could putting it into the heads of the Benefactors that the Missionarys were Lutherans or Ministers not episcopally ordained, etc. because Mankind are too apt to catch at objections to save their Purses. ... They considered that, though they unfeignedly wish'd to see the Gospel in its purity propagated without any bias to the sects or opinions that unhappily divide Christians, yet that it is rather to be conniv'd at that the heathen should be Lutheran *Christians* rather than no *Christians*.⁴³

The members of the SPCK were aware that these were ordained Lutheran missionaries, but evidently few of them had mentioned it when they had sought to raise subscriptions for the work. With the battles raging in the Church of England at this time over lay baptism and the validity of non-

39 *A Sketch of the Life and Character of ... Griffith Jones* (London, 1762), p. 5.

40 *An Address to Persons of Quality*, p. 132.

41 Newman to Jennings, Lewis, Stevenson, and Long, Whitehall, 22 Dec. 1713 (ArSPCK, *Letters from India* [ME/CR/1]).

42 SCM (ME/m/3), 16 Dec. 1713

43 Newman to Chamberlayne, Whitehall, 19 Dec. 1713 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/3]).

episcopal orders, the Society was anxious to avoid such debates, which would only harm the more important task of mission.

But an angry Archbishop could not be ignored. The Special Committee asked the missionaries in Tranquebar to conform their catechism to one prepared by Plutschau when he had been in England, in which "the second Commandment is set down in the manner used by the Church of England",⁴⁴ though, as if to show that they themselves held no malice, the Committee gave £70 to the mission, "considering the great zeal of the Danish Missionaries in India to promote the Protestant Mission".⁴⁵ According to Newman, the Society viewed the omission as "one of the Raggs of Popery that has been unfortunately handed down among the Lutheran Reformers".⁴⁶ When sending a copy of Newman's letter about the proceedings in the Society to Tenison, Chamberlayne added:

If the inclos'd from Mr. Newman about the Malabar Mission should not appear altogether as satisfactory to your Grace as it does to me, yet I hope it will appease in some measure your just Resentments of the Proceedings of the wel-meaning Men at Tranquebar, and suspend the Effects of it, til your Grace has what further satisfaction you please which I assure you our Society is entirely dispos'd to give your Lordship.⁴⁷

Chamberlayne reported that the Archbishop was satisfied with the steps taken by the Society;⁴⁸ however, a year later, when the Archbishop received further Portuguese books from Tranquebar, he "complained of the Lutheranism in them" and said the missionaries "seem to go on in promoting the way of their Party".⁴⁹

Because of the importance of this affair the Special Committee asked Boehm to write a letter to the missionaries, acquainting them "with much respect and Christian Tenderness of the offence that has been taken by some Gentlemen, their Benefactors at the omission, and particularly by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury".⁵⁰ Either this letter or another personal one sent by Boehm shortly thereafter has been preserved in Boehm's printed letters;⁵¹ because of its significance in showing the tightrope which Boehm tried to walk in England between Lutheran Pietism and the Anglican Church we will deal

44 Early in 1713, before it received the Portuguese catechisms printed at Tranquebar (SCM [ME/m/3], 28 July 1713), the SPCK had had Plutschau's Portuguese catechism printed at its own costs and had sent a large number of them to Tranquebar. (Boehm to P[utschau], London, 9 June 1713, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 246)

45 SCM (ME/m/1,3), 14 & 20 Nov. 1712, 22 & 24 Dec. 1713.

46 Newman to Chamberlayne, 19 Dec. 1713 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/3]).

47 Chamberlayne to Archbishop Tenison, Petty France Westminster, 21 Dec. 1713 (Lambeth MSS 953:102).

48 SCM (ME/m/3), 26 Dec. 1713.

49 White Kennett to Chamberlayne, 17 Aug. 1714, and Archbishop of Canterbury to Chamberlayne, 19 Aug. 1714 (copy) (ArSPCK, *Letters from India* [ME/CR.1]).

50 SCM (ME/m/3), 22 Dec. 1713.

51 Boehm to Ziegenbalg and Grundler, London, 8 Jan. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 288-309.

with it at length. In it, Boehm informed Ziegenbalg and J.E. Grundler, his closest associate, that he had been working hard in England to further interest in the Tranquebar mission and that "my weak efforts have not been without all blessings. Many see the possibility of such an undertaking right before their eyes and are truly applying themselves to assist the workers."⁵² Since the missionaries were the first in such a work they had a responsibility to use divine wisdom and set a good example, especially now, since Tenison had taken particular offence at their catechetical omission:

You can easily see, that through this unexpected objection (especially since it was made by one of the most noble theologians in the whole land) much disruption and animosity has developed, though indeed I spared no effort from my side to pacify minds and to forestall further damaging results. The Archbishop went so far that he informed the Society that he would advise the clergy strongly against taking up in the least bit further or assisting in any way such a mission which aimed at planting sectarian Lutheranism.⁵³

Having no idea such a stir would be caused by a trifle [*Kleinigkeit*], he testified that Tenison was a well-intentioned and honest man who had been a friend and supporter of the mission. The missionaries could see, though, how much caution they needed in the performance of their office if they wanted other nations to support the work.

Boehm then offered some advice. The second commandment must be included in the Decalogue of the next edition of the Catechism and he suggested printing it as in Exodus xx, with no numbers, which is what he had done in the prayer book used in the Royal Chapel.⁵⁴ Urging the missionaries to forgo all human and party names, he could see no need to call the catechism Luther's as they had done on the title page, since Luther's name would have no authority with Indian natives. Every effort should be used to bring the affair back into good standing. In their future letters to the Society he counselled against speaking of the matter in particulars and urged that they should in a friendly manner offer to conform themselves to the Society's reminders. Then,

52 "Mein schwaches Bemühen ist nicht ohne allen Segen gewesen. Viele sehen die Möglichkeit eines solchen Unternehmens gleichsam vor Augen, und legen wirklich Hand an, den Arbeitern beizuspringen."

53 "Ihr könnet leicht erraten, daß durch diesen unvermutheten Einwurf, (zumal da selbiger von dem vornemsten Theologo im gantzen Lande gemacht wurde,) viele Zerrüttung und Widerspruch entstund, ob ich zwar an meiner Seite keinen Fleis sparete, die Gemüther zu besänftigen, und fernerne schädlichen Folgen vorzukommen. Der Erz-Bischof gieng so weit, daß er der Societaet entbiethen ließ, er wolle der Clerisey mit Macht widerrathen, sich solcher Mission, welche auf Fortpflanzung des Sectirischen Lutheranismi abziele, ferner im geringsten anzunehmen, oder selbiger einigen Vorschub zu thun."

54 Although the text from Ex. xx was used in the prayer book, including the prohibition against false images, the commandments were not exactly unnumbered. They were written as a litany and the ten responses of the congregation corresponded to the Lutheran numbering. (Boehm, ed., *Gebeth-Büchlein*, pp. 44-47)

slowly, things would be forgotten. He assured the missionaries that the members of the SPCK had such a high esteem for their work in East India

... that they would have no qualms sending their own missionaries to you in order to watch first your whole conduct, methods, and teaching-style among the heathen, before they themselves set their hand to the matter.⁵⁵

But Boehm did not wish the missionaries to misunderstand his advice:

With all this business, dear brothers, is it in no way my opinion that you should go over to another party or by any chance introduce the liturgy or confession of another Church; because I would be truly opposed to such a case, whereby bad would become worse, and would rather let everything fall apart and sink as consent to such a dangerous mixture.⁵⁶

He hoped that the missionaries would take a middle way by which they remained Lutheran but did not employ the name. The doctrine in the Lutheran Church was as pure as any Protestant Church and especially "when we practise it in such an order as it has been expounded in recent years by Dr. Spener",⁵⁷ but Boehm would identify it only as Christian, not Lutheran.

To ensure that the missionaries grasped the gravity of the matter Boehm suggested that Francke or others give the missionaries some "further advice ... to carry on the work with proper theological prudence".⁵⁸ Eventually the message got through; the Anglican/Reformed second commandment was added as a clarification to the first commandment in the second edition of the catechism.⁵⁹ The missionaries told the SPCK, "As to what relates to Party-Names, or Distinctions, the divine Wisdom, which is without Partiality, has taught us to abhor them. Our Scholars [students] know not so much as the bare Name of Luther or Calvin."⁶⁰

Despite the growing toleration in Europe this kind of cooperative venture did not come about easily; the SPCK, Halle, and Copenhagen were pioneers, an insight recognized in 1713 by Francke: "Posterity shall learn ... how one Nation can help the other in the common Cause of Propagating the Christian

55 "... daß sie kein Bedencken tragen würden, ihre eigene Missionarios zu euch zuschicken, um euren gantzen Wandel, Methode und Lehr-Art unter den Heiden erst zusehen, ehe sie selbst die Sache angreifen."

56 "Bey alle diesem Handel gel. Br. ist die Meinung keinesweges, als ob ihr zu einer andern Partei treten, und etwa einer andern Kirche Liturgie oder Confession einführen soltet: denn in solchem Fal, wodurch übel ärger werden müste, würde ich getrost widersprechen, und lieber alles fallen und sincken lassen, als in ein solches gefährliches Gemenge willigen."

57 "... wenn wir sie in solcher Ordnung treiben, wie sie in diesen letzern Jahren von Hr. D. Spenern vorgetragen worden."

58 "... fernerer Raht ... mit rechter Theologischer Prudence das Werck zutreiben." (Boehm to G.H. Neubauer, London, 22 Jan. 1714 [ArFrSt C 229:29])

59 W. Germann, *Johann Philipp Fabricius* (Erlangen, 1865), p. 131.

60 Ziegenbalg and Grundler to SPCK, Tranquebar, 27 Sept. 1714, printed in: *PGE III* (1718), pp. 115f.

Religion, finding that the *German* Nation assisted the *Danes*, as the *English* do both."⁶¹ Despite Francke's optimism the situation was a delicate one, as C.B. Michaelis at Halle made clear in a 1719 letter to the missionaries:

One has to make every effort to treat the English nation with respect and to behave towards them moderately and wisely, that they may not find the least reason to go back on their affection and good will. However, on the other hand, you should also take care not to do something trying to please everyone which would bring vile gossip in Denmark and in the Lutheran Church.⁶²

As long as the cooperation took place on a material or external plane conflicts were minimalized; but when theological or doctrinal questions were raised problems were unavoidable. Not only was the SPCK Anglican and the Danish authorities and Halle Lutheran, but the Lutherans in Denmark were Orthodox and those in Halle Pietist. Boehm was familiar with these tensions and wanted for the sake of the mission to avoid theological disagreement as much as possible, so he advised the missionaries to keep a low theological profile. The mission should remain solidly Lutheran and Pietist in doctrine, but not in name.

Because of the concern among some in England that the missionaries were spreading sectarian Lutheranism Boehm feared that enthusiasm for the mission might decline.⁶³ One of the ways in which he hoped to awaken anew support for the mission was through publishing a third part of *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*.⁶⁴ After the yearly charity school sermon in 1714, fifty copies of this new edition were distributed among the people there, by which Boehm hoped to renew or awaken awareness of the mission.⁶⁵ Even as Boehm was the catalyst for the initial involvement of the SPCK in the mission, it was largely due to his efforts that the Society's interest continued unabated after the affair with Tenison.

Through regular publications Boehm kept the East India mission before benefactors and the public. The final volume of *Propagation of the Gospel in the East* came out in 1718. In 1720 Boehm also published some correspondence between George I and the missionaries in Tranquebar, together with a letter from Francke. In the "Advertisement" which prefaced these letters Boehm wrote that this work was to be an "earnest" on a fourth volume of letters.⁶⁶

61 Francke to Newman, Halle, 26 Feb. 1713, printed in: *PGE III* (1718), p. 61.

62 "Man hat die englische Nation mit allem Fleiß zu schonen und sich dergestalt gegen sie zu bescheiden und weislich zu verhalten, daß sie keine wenigstens gegründete Ursach finden, mit ihrer Neigung und Willigkeit zurückzugehen. Jedoch werden Sie auch andererseits sich vorsehen, daß Sie nicht etwa aus Menschengefälligkeit etwas thun, welches in Dänemark und bei der evangelischen Kirche eine üble Nachrede machen könnte." (C.B. Michaelis to [Ziegenbalg and Grundler], [Halle,] 27 Nov. 1719, quoted in: Germann, *Fabricius*, p. 131)

63 Boehm to Ziegenbalg and Grundler, London, 31 Dec. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 397f.

64 Boehm to Ziegenbalg and Grundler, 8 Jan. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 308.

65 Boehm to Mr. P[lutschau], London, 30 June 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 349f.

66 [Boehm,] Advertisement to *Several Letters relating to the Protestant Danish Mission* at

One year later a letter from William Stevenson, English chaplain at Madras, appeared in print, in which he appealed for missionaries on English settlements in India.⁶⁷ This letter was the last work published for the general English readership; the fourth volume to which Boehm referred never appeared. The reason for the abrupt end is that Boehm died in 1722 and Ziegenhagen, his successor, was unable to find someone qualified to translate the fourth volume.⁶⁸ Newman told Archbishop Wake that by Boehm's death "the Society, the missionaries in the East Indies, Professor Franck, and the College of Copenhagen have a very great loss, he being the grand cement of all their Interests".⁶⁹ From 1709 to 1721 it was Boehm alone who kept the East India mission before the English public; he was the prime mover for SPCK involvement and for English interest in the Tranquebar mission.

2. The First English Mission

Struggles in Tranquebar

When Plutschau returned to Europe in 1712, he was unsuccessful in removing the difficulties with the Danish government in Tranquebar, so Ziegenbalg decided to go to the homeland.⁷⁰ In Denmark he obtained assurances that the mission would be set on a better foundation with the government at Tranquebar.⁷¹ From there he journeyed to Halle and then crossed the Channel with his new wife to London, where he was received warmly by the SPCK. William Nichols, rector of Stockport, offered a congratulatory speech in Latin; Ziegenbalg responded in Tamil and Newman read a Latin translation.⁷² During his stay in London Ziegenbalg went with Boehm and Sir John Philipps to give George I an oral account of the whole mission undertaking,⁷³ while Lady Mary Philipps, Sir John's wife, introduced Ziegenbalg's wife to the Princess of Wales.⁷⁴ This exchange gave Boehm some hope that the Court would begin

Tranquebar in the East-Indies (London, 1720), n.p. Newman asked Archbishop Wake in 1721 for letters to be included in the fourth volume. (Newman to Archbishop Wake, Middle Temple, 5 Oct. 1721 [ChCh, *Wake MSS* 24:109])

67 *A Letter from Fort St. George in the East-Indies* (London, 1721).

68 Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 18 Dec. 1724 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/18).

69 Newman to Wake, Middle Temple, 28 May 1722 (ChCh, *Wake MSS* 24:121).

70 Ziegenbalg to SPCK, Cape of Good Hope, 15 Jan. 1715, printed in: *PGE III* (1718), pp. 144f.

71 Ziegenbalg to Boehm, Halle, 20 Oct. 1715, printed in: *PGE III* (1718), p. 158.

72 SPCK Minutes, 29 Dec. 1715 (vii.101); see *Orationes Duae* (London, 1716); repr. in: *PGE III* (1718), pp. 219–230.

73 *SCM* (ME/m/3), 7 Feb. 1716; cf. Ziegenbalg and Grundler to George I, Tranquebar, 2 Jan. 1717, printed in: *Several Letters relating to the Protestant Danish Mission at Tranquebar in the East-Indies* (London, 1720), p. 6.

74 Ziegenbalg to Francke, London, 6 Jan. 1716, printed in: *Alte Briefe*, p. 448.

to further the mission, especially since he had had no access to the royal household previously.⁷⁵ Newman was asked to wait on Ziegenbalg and "show him the remarkables of London".⁷⁶ The Special Committee was intending only to give Ziegenbalg free quarters while in London, until Newman reminded them that they had given twenty guineas to Plutschau.⁷⁷ So they offered Ziegenbalg the same amount "as an acknowledgement from the Society of his great Services in Propagating the Christian Religion in the East Indies and of the particular Value and Esteem they have for him".⁷⁸ After about nine months in Europe he set sail on board an East India Company ship.

The Indian climate took its usual heavy toll of missionaries and Ziegenbalg died in February, 1719, at the age of 36, leaving Grundler alone to run the mission. Three reinforcements came later that year, but Grundler died in March, 1720. William Stevenson, home from his chaplaincy in India where he was a frequent correspondent of the Society and friend to the mission, expressed the fears of many associated with the mission, "Mr. Grundler's Death is a very great Loss, and may perhaps stop the Progress of the Mission abroad".⁷⁹ Archbishop Wake was also concerned over the loss of Ziegenbalg and Grundler and told Newman,

The Loss of these two excellent Servants of Christ will make it absolutely necessary to send a new supply, as soon as possible, thither: I think Professor Frank or some other proper person abroad, should be written to, without loss of time, about it.⁸⁰

Just before his death Grundler had ordained Benjamin Schultze, one of the three novices, who assumed leadership of the mission. In spite of the ever-pressing need for missionaries, four years passed before three reinforcements were sent from Halle at the request of Archbishop Wake.⁸¹ En route to Tranquebar they passed through London, where they were chosen corresponding members of the SPCK, entertained at dinner by some of its members, and introduced to the King and members of the Royal family.⁸² The Society had sent books on the mission to the Royal family and had even asked the King to

75 Boehm to Mr. de Ners., London, 12 Oct. 1717, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 484; cf. Boehm to Ziegenbalg and Grundler, 31 Dec. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 399f.

76 SCM (ME/m/3), 3 Jan. 1716.

77 Boehm to Neubauer, London, 2 Jan. 1716 (ArFrSt C 229:18).

78 SCM (ME/m/3), 6 Dec. 1715, 11 Jan. 1716.

79 W. Stevenson to Newman, Morningthorp, 26 July 1721 (ArSPCK, *EIM Pap* [ME/cr/9]).

80 Archbishop of Canterbury to Newman, Lambeth House, 5 May 1721 (ArSPCK, *Arab Bible* [CS2/1.No.8]); cf. Francke to William Wake, Halle, 4 Jan. 1722 (ArSPCK, *Original Letters* [CR2/5]); Boehm to Neubauer, London, 19 May 1721 (ArFrSt C 229:9).

81 SPCK Minutes, 22 Sept. 1724 (xi.73); Newman to Archbishop Wake, Middle Temple, 22 Sept. 1724 (ChCh, *Wake MSS* 24:110); Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 25 Sept. 1724 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/14).

82 SPCK Minutes, 22 Dec. 1724 and 5 Jan. 1725 (xi.95,99); Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 22 Dec. 1724 and 1, 8, & 19 Jan. 1725 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/19-22).

make a yearly allowance of £200–£300 for the missionaries,⁸³ but not only was the court impervious to these appeals, public support for the mission was also declining. Only within the SPCK did interest in the mission work remain strong.

Expansion in Madras

Even though Schultze earnestly desired assistance he was a very difficult and prickly character, who found it almost impossible to work with colleagues.⁸⁴ Schultze wanted to leave Tranquebar to begin his own work, so, when the new missionaries arrived, he felt free to depart; one associate wrote, “Mr. Schultze can not live collegially and for this reason he has left here”.⁸⁵ Against the advice of his colleagues, Schultze went to Fort St. George at Madras, the largest English territory in southern India,⁸⁶ and obtained permission from the Governor there to establish his own mission.⁸⁷ The Mission College in Denmark, the official authority of the Tranquebar work, opposed Schultze’s move and ordered him to return to Europe. But Schultze refused, sending a bitter refutation back to Denmark; Ziegenhagen intercepted this letter and dispatched in its place a shortened, less violent version.⁸⁸ Since Schultze was in Madras, he asked the SPCK if the Society was willing to take him on as their missionary.

The Society had long desired to have a mission in English-controlled Madras. Indeed, at the end of the 1711 edition of *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, Boehm, at the request of the Special Committee, enlarged the “Proposal for Printing the New-Testament in Portuguese” to include the possibility of mission work in English holdings (or factories).⁸⁹ The Society had written to the English authorities in Madras about making attempts to propagate Chris-

83 SCM (ME/m/3), 20 & 27 Sept. 1715; “To the King’s most Excellent Majesty, The Petition of several Gentlemen at London in behalf of the Protestant Danish Missionaries in the East Indies”, n.d. (ArSPCK, EIM Pap [ME/cr/9]); SPCK to the Earl of Sunderland, n.p., n.d. (copy) (ChCh, Wake MSS 24:131).

84 See A. Norgaard’s thorough account of Schultze’s years in Tranquebar based on original sources in the Halle archives: “Missionar Benjamin Schultze als Leiter der Tranquebarmission (1720–26)”, *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 33 (1977), pp. 181–201.

85 “Herr Schultze kann nicht kollegialisch leben, und eben deswegen hat er sich von hier weg begeben.” (Walther to G.A. Francke, Tranquebar, 15 Oct. 1726, quoted in: Norgaard, “Schultze”, p. 198)

86 See map on p. 128.

87 Benjamin Shooltze [sic] to George Morten Pitt, Fort St. George, 7 Jan. 1731 (printed) (ArSPCK, EIM Pap [ME/cr/9:63]).

88 Schultze to Missions College, Madras, 31 Jan. 1729, cited in: Norgaard, “Schultze”, p. 198; Ziegenhagen to Schultze, London, 26 Jan. 1730, printed in part in: Germann, *Fabricius*, pp. 119f.

89 [Boehm,] “A Proposal for Printing the New Testament in Portuguese”, in: *PGE II* (1711), p. 3; SCM (ME/m/1), 15 Dec. 1710 and 20 Mar. 1711.

tianity "in the British Territories in India".⁹⁰ In 1713, when Griffith Jones was weighing the opportunity to go to India, Boehm, who himself had frequently expressed the hope that the English would send out their own missionaries,⁹¹ told Halle that because of the success of the Tranquebar mission the SPCK had made application to the East India Company for permission to begin a work at Madras.⁹²

Some insight into Boehm's perceptions of the SPCK's ability to establish its own mission in English factories is gained from an unpublished 1720 letter to Neubauer in Halle. Grundler in Tranquebar had sent a letter (probably to Boehm), requesting

... that one ought to recommend him to the Society [SPCK] to be called to Madras and thus in the English territory. He wanted thereafter to work among the heathen as an English missionary in the so-called black city of Madras, etc. He is also inclined to come to England to confer with the Society thoroughly over this matter.⁹³

Boehm added,

I have not presented such a request to the Society, nor will I present it. The reason is that the matter is not at all practical, because of the circumstances of the present time and the condition of Grundler.⁹⁴

He provided three reasons why such a suggestion was impractical. First, the SPCK did not have the authority to dispatch a missionary, only the East India Company did. Second, the Society lacked a financial basis from which it could support a missionary – providing further evidence of dwindling public support: "everything by which the mission has hitherto been seconded is an incidental contribution, since sometimes a lot, sometimes a little comes in, but nothing certain is available."⁹⁵ Third and most importantly, even if these other difficulties were overcome, one must still consider "that the local High Church clergy would in time insist that Grundler fully conform to the Church of England".⁹⁶ This would result in all sorts of problems. Perhaps Grundler

90 SPCK to Governor and Council at Fort St. George, London, 2 Feb. 1712 (copy) (ChCh, *Wake MSS* 28:12).

91 E.g. Boehm to A.H. Francke, 5 Jan. 1711, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 178.

92 Boehm to Neubauer, [London], 22 May 1713 (copy) (ArFrSt C 229:31).

93 "... daß man ihn der Societät recommendiren möchte, umb nach Madras und also in das Engelsche Territorium beruffen zu werden. Er wolte sodann als ein Engelscher Missionarius in der sogenannten schwarzen Stadt zu Madras unter den Heyden arbeiten, &c. Er sey auch geneigt nach England zu kommen, umb mit der Societät außführlich auß der Sache zu conferiren."

94 "... daß ich solches begehren der Societät nicht vorgetragen habe, auch nicht vortragen werde. Die Ursach ist, weil nach der Umständen der jetzigen Zeit, und beschaffenheit des Gründler, die Sache gantz nicht practicable ist."

95 "Alles das womit die Mission bishero secondiret worden, ist ein zufälliger Beytrag, da bald viel, bald wenig einkommt, aber nichts gewisses verhanden ist."

96 "... daß die hiesige Hoch-Kirchliche Clerisey mit der Zeit drauf dringen dörffe, daß Hn. Gründler sich völlig zu der Kirche von England conformiren müsse."

would have to come to England to receive ordination by a bishop, since his existing ordination would be considered null and void. Nor would it help if he received ordination by a Danish Lutheran bishop, because "the local [English] bishops do not recognize the Danish bishops as orthodox, at least as far as ordination, but they regard them as mere superintendents, as in Germany".⁹⁷ Boehm concluded that "should now Grundler move to Madras, especially under such uncertain circumstances, he could easily fall between two stools and make himself useless",⁹⁸ while if he remained in Tranquebar he would still receive the best assistance from England.⁹⁹

Even though Boehm had actively given his assistance in obtaining English missionaries for English territories, he had no particular interest in German missionaries going to English territories. Though willing to encourage English support for the mission, he would not allow Lutheran missionaries to become Anglican. Because of the influence of High Church clergy in England, he felt that there would be no way to carry on the Lutheran Pietist nature of the mission if it should come under English control. But Boehm's attempts to keep Grundler's proposals from the SPCK were unsuccessful, because the Tranquebar missionary had also written the Countess of Portland, governess to the princesses, who had passed the letter on to the SPCK. The Society sent £50 to Madras to be kept for a future missionary,¹⁰⁰ but its efforts were in vain because Grundler had died about a year earlier. Since ships only travelled between India and England once a year and took six to eight months each way to make the journey, communication was slow and difficult.

Thus, the request from Schultze was the Society's first since that from Grundler. Before accepting Schultze the Society sought permission from the East India Company.¹⁰¹ The Company ordered:

That if any of the Danish missionaries shall visit or reside at Places under the Company's Jurisdiction, our Governors and Officers may give them their Protection; We hereby consent thereunto, upon supposition that they behave themselves respectfully and suitable to the Rules of the Place.¹⁰²

The Mission College in Denmark, however, was opposed to Schultze's move, directing Ziegenhagen to ask the Society not to take Schultze into its service.

97 "... daß die hiesigen Bischöffe die dänischen am wenigsten quoad ordinationem, nicht für orthodox erkennen, sondern sie als blosse Superintendentes, als in Teutschland regardiren."

98 "Solte nun Hn. Gründler nach Madras ziehen, und zwar bey solchen ungewissen Umständen, so könnte er sich leicht zwischen zweien Stühlen niedersetzen, und sich unbrauchbar machen."

99 Boehm to Neubauer, London, 16 Aug. 1720 (ArFrSt C 229:12).

100 Boehm to C.B. Michaelis, London, 2 Mar. 1721 (ArFrSt C 229:11).

101 Newman to the Directors of the East India Company, Middle Temple, 19 Dec. 1727 (ArSPCK, *Letters to India* [ME/CS2]).

102 *General Letter from the Hon. Directors of the East India Co. to the Governors and Officers within the Company's Jurisdiction*, 1727, para. 93, printed in: *SPCK Minutes*, 13 Feb. 1728 (xii.190).

Ziegenhagen kept this request from the SPCK,¹⁰³ so the Society accepted Schultze as its first missionary, making Madras its first mission field. Although English chaplains had worked in India since the mid-seventeenth century, the SPCK's station at Madras was the first one dedicated to working with the native population.¹⁰⁴

In 1728 Schultze formally received orders from the SPCK "to settle a Protestant Mission" in Madras.¹⁰⁵ It is interesting that the Society decided to take Schultze into its service, because at the same time Stevenson, the former English chaplain at Madras, was raising queries about the methods of the missionaries. He had seen one of the journals which Schultze had regularly sent from India, comparing it with what he knew of Ziegenbalg and Grundler. Besides the fact that the missionaries divided the Decalogue according to the "popish way", Stevenson found their theological exercises "excessively tedious", their catechetical instructions "obscure and unedifying", and their Pietist "Order of Salvation", in which the conversion process was laid out in distinct stages, confusing.¹⁰⁶ When Ziegenhagen heard about the "disputes" occasioned by Stevenson's letter, he asked to see it.¹⁰⁷ Newman tried unsuccessfully to bring Stevenson and Ziegenhagen together; nonetheless, nothing more seems to have come from Stevenson's letter and Schultze was accepted into the Society's service.

Initially, the SPCK had hoped that James Christian, an Englishman recommended by Bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man, would be willing to go to India as an assistant to Schultze in 1729, but the Society and he could not agree on "the Terms of his Salary, and the time of his Continuance at Fort St. George".¹⁰⁸ The chaplains to the East India Company received £100 yearly instead of the £60 given to Schultze and were only asked to make a three-year commitment; Newman told Bishop Wilson that the Society had decided not to send his candidate.¹⁰⁹ Instead, Halle rushed J.A. Sartorius, an inspector at the Orphanage, to London in order to dispatch him to Madras. Later J.E. Geister was sent by the Society from Halle to work with Schultze and Sartorius in Madras.¹¹⁰ Both Sartorius and Geister were sent directly by the SPCK and

103 Ziegenhagen to Schultze, 26 Jan. 1730, cited in: Norgaard, "Schultze", p. 200; cf. Germann, *Fabricius*, pp. 119f.

104 On English mission work in India, see F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904-22); E. Chatterton, *A History of the Church of England in India* (London, 1924); M.E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India 1600-1970* (New Delhi, 1972).

105 Shootze [sic] to Pitt, 7 Jan. 1731 (ArSPCK, *EIM Pap* [ME/cr/9:63]); cf. SPCK *Minutes*, 12 Dec. 1727 (xii.172).

106 Stevenson to Newman, Colwall, 7 Feb. 1727 (ArSPCK, *EIM Pap* [ME/cr/9: 31]).

107 Ziegenhagen to Newman, St. James's Place, 10 Jan. 1727 (ArSPCK, *EIM Pap* [ME/cr/9:30]); to SPCK, London, 24 Jan. 1727 (ArSPCK, *ALB* [CR1/13: 9126]).

108 SPCK *Minutes*, 5 Feb. 1730 (xiii.149f).

109 Newman to Bishop Wilson, Bartlet's Buildings, 7 Mar. 1730 (ArSPCK, *Letters to India* [ME/CS2]).

110 G.A. Francke to Newman, Halle, 22 Dec. 1731 (ArSPCK, *ALB* [CR1/16: 11525]).

were not under the authority of the Mission College in Denmark. Every new missionary undertaking outside Tranquebar was thus taken on and supported by the SPCK, although all the missionaries themselves, whether bound for Tranquebar or an English mission, received their training exclusively at Halle, a place, according to Newman, "that seems by Providence pointed out and remarkably supported to qualify Persons for this [missionary service]".¹¹¹

Dissension in Madras

It was not long before conflicts arose between the missionaries, for Schultze again showed his inability to work with others by excluding his partners from decision-making in the mission. This crisis in Madras rapidly became a crisis in the SPCK. Already in 1733 Newman began receiving letters through Ziegenhagen from all three missionaries spelling out their grievances. Keeping the letters to himself, Newman tried to work out the differences on his own, though he did show the letters to Isaac Hollis, a liberal benefactor. When the Special Committee learned about his actions they chastised Newman and ordered him never to conceal any such information from them again. But Newman explained:

I doubt not but Mr. Ziegenhagen who cannot be suspected to want Zeal for the Mission, will be so just as to excuse to the Society my keeping my promise to him of not exposing those letters which he implanted to me, on condition I would not let the Contents be known, and that he will convince the Society that it was much against my inclination to conceal them though neither he nor I could see which way the Grievances complain'd of could be redress'd by the Society any more than they could dethrone the Great Mogul. He thought the exposing of them would exasperate the Enemies of the Mission and make them more outrageous, as an indiscreet publication of them would undoubtedly have done.¹¹²

Having borne the brunt of the Society's discipline, Newman wished that Ziegenhagen had "taken some share of the severe (I won't say unjust) blame I am under".¹¹³ He was only doing what the Pietists considered normal, withholding adverse information which would fuel the enmity to the mission. Conflicts among missionaries were a recurring problem, though the European public knew little of them, since in their regular mission reports the Halle Pietists repressed any unsavoury material.¹¹⁴ On one occasion Boehm for-

111 Newman to [Selina, Countess of Huntingdon], Bartlet's Buildings, 17 Dec. 1730 (Hunt Lib, HA 9593).

112 Newman to James Vernon, Bartlet's Buildings, 6 Jan. 1735 (ArSPCK, *Private Letters* [CN4/6]).

113 Newman to Ziegenhagen, Bartlet's Buildings, 4 Jan. 1735 (ArSPCK, *Private Letters* [CN4/6]).

114 *Der Königl. Dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandter ausführlichen Berichten*, 9 vols. (Halle, 1708-72). These reports were accurate in what they said, but since they did not include anything which might be interpreted unfavourably they yield a false picture of the mission. Cf. Norgaard, "Schultze", p. 181; Fengar, *History of Tranquebar Mission*, pp. 193f.

warded to Halle an angry letter from a Tranquebar missionary suggesting "that care be taken that the hateful things which he writes be suppressed as much as possible, since their publication can be of no advantage, but can well do great damage".¹¹⁵

The Society sent numerous letters to India but was unsuccessful in effecting reconciliation between the contending parties. Sartorius had asked to have the opportunity to establish a new mission work at Fort St. David in Cuddalore, another English-controlled territory between Tranquebar and Madras.¹¹⁶ But the Society thought Schultze should begin the new work because of his age and experience.¹¹⁷ Schultze, however, looked upon this order as a disgrace and a "Sentence of Banishment", to which Newman responded, "What have the Society ever done to provoke You to think and speak of them in such a manner?" In order to separate the missionaries and secure a large gift which had been promised to the mission if the problems in Madras could be resolved, the Society insisted that Schultze go to Cuddalore:

They [the Society] have carried you all already beyond the Bounds of duty, reason and common decency ... You have, good Sir, we believe, as few failings as any Missionary in India and as warm a Zeal to promote the glory of God. Do what you can to sacrifice your chiefest failing to this Zeal; to mortify the least degree of pride that can tempt you to a Superiority or Rule over your Fellow Labourers.¹¹⁸

But Schultze refused to leave Madras, so in 1737 Sartorius and Geister, unable to endure Schultze any longer, went to Cuddalore, once again leaving Schultze alone. The two Cuddalore missionaries were given permission by the SPCK to instruct and to baptize, but were to consider themselves "as entering upon a new Tryal".¹¹⁹

Under these circumstances the SPCK entered into its own foreign mission work, an involvement which required a large commitment of time and money. The Society sent annual shipments of money and goods both to its own stations and to Tranquebar. Boehm and Ziegenhagen would also give money, books, medicines, etc. to Newman to be shipped to the missionaries. By the 1730s the SPCK was spending £360 per year on the East India mission. Yearly benefactions amounted to only £150, so the Society had to rely on

115 "Mein Wunsch ist, daß man Sorge, daß die verhaßten Dinge die er schreibt, so viel als möglich, supprimiret werden, indem deren publication keinen Vortheil, wohl a[ber] grossen Schaden thun kann." (Boehm to Neubauer, 19 May 1721 [ArFrSt C 229:9])

116 See map on p. 100.

117 Newman to Schultze, Sartorius, and Geister, London, 26 Nov. 1734 (ArSPCK, *Letters to India* [ME/CS2]).

118 Newman to Schultze, London, 25 Jan. 1737; to Wynch, Howard, Fowke, Morse, Torriano, Rous, and Johnson, Corresponding Members at Fort St. George, Bartlet's Buildings, 11 Jan. 1737 (ArSPCK, *Letters to India* [ME/CS2]).

119 Newman to Sartorius and Geister, London, 26 Jan. 1739 (ArSPCK, *Letters to India* [ME/CS2]).

money from Halle, special gifts from the generous Isaac Hollis, and two earmarked legacies to meet the balance.¹²⁰

3. Analysis and Ramifications

Reasons for SPCK Involvement

Why did the SPCK get involved in the East India Mission? It was unprecedented that an Anglican Society, which had hitherto focused almost exclusively on charity schools and the distribution of literature, should support Denmark's effort to send out Lutheran missionaries from Halle. One modern historian, at least, has depicted it as an act of tentative ecclesiastical imperialism by the Church of England. Because Archbishop Tenison expressed suspicion of sectarian Lutheranism, E.A. Lehmann, in his 1955 history of the Tranquebar mission, suggests the possibility that the SPCK became involved in order one day to bring the whole enterprise under Anglican control.¹²¹ This is highly unlikely. Even though in the nineteenth century all mission stations except Tranquebar itself eventually came under Anglican authority, none of the early minutes or records of the SPCK give any evidence to support Lehmann's conjecture. Certainly the Society wished to send Anglican missionaries, but when none were forthcoming, the Society was large-hearted enough to feel (if Newman's description is accurate) "that the heathen should be Lutheran Christians rather than no Christians".¹²²

Julius Richter, writing in the first decade of this century, suggested that the mission was "thrust" upon the SPCK which "had no real heart" for the work.¹²³ However, this is hardly compatible with the fact that the SPCK continued its support for over a century and from the beginning made a significant commitment both in time and money. There was a close correlation in aim between the work of the SPCK in Britain and the mission it subsidized in India. One can see strong similarities between Ziegenbalg's stress in Tranquebar on the need for Church extension by means of education and publication, and the emphases of the SPCK in Britain. In essence the SPCK diverted some of its educational and publishing activity from Britain to India.

Another possible reason for SPCK involvement is that in the colonialist spirit of the times the English Society did not want to be left behind the Danes in christianizing India. Boehm told the Missions College in Copenhagen in

120 *An Account of the Origin and Designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London, 1737), p. 6.

121 Lehmann, *It Began in Tranquebar*, p. 99.

122 Newman to Chamberlayne, 19 Dec. 1713 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/3]).

123 J. Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, trans. S.H. Moore (Edinburgh/London, 1908), p. 164.

1714 that the English were seeking to emulate the Danish mission work.¹²⁴ Competition characterizes the situation more than emulation, evidenced by Boehm's suggestion to Ziegenbalg that he refer to the mission as "German" or "Protestant" rather than "Danish", because of the objection to Denmark in the East India Company.¹²⁵ This sense of rivalry certainly helped motivate the Society to establish a work in Madras in 1728, but until then it had only assisted Danish efforts in Tranquebar. Even after starting its own work at Madras the Society continued to send gifts and supplies to Tranquebar.¹²⁶

Protestant Churches were united during the early eighteenth century in their common opposition to Roman Catholicism and fears of the global expansion of Roman missions. George Lewis, an early English chaplain in Madras, said that to "put out the smocking Flax" of the early missionaries "would give our adversary's the Papists, who boast so much of their Congregation de Propaganda Fide too much cause to triumph over us".¹²⁷ Notwithstanding such sentiments, they can be overrated as a causative factor in this context. In the letters associated with the mission from the SPCK side anti-Rome attitudes are present, but not as a dominant force. It is equally justifiable to understand the main motives in the SPCK as charitable, philanthropic, and even evangelistic.

One is left with the conclusion that perhaps the main reason for SPCK involvement in the East India mission lay in the energetic idealism of a few strong-minded and well-positioned individuals rather than in any political grand strategy, secular or religious. On the German side the dominant person was Boehm. Through his publications and involvement in the Society Boehm inspired and initiated what was to become over a century of SPCK activity in India. But it is doubtful, given the prejudice against Lutheranism in some High Church circles, whether his initiatives could have succeeded without correspondingly strong support from within the Society itself. Here Henry Newman's role was vital. Boehm testified that Newman "has a great love for the missionaries at Tranquebar"¹²⁸ and that he "furthers this work with burning enthusiasm".¹²⁹ Since ships usually left for the East Indies around January, Newman was almost exclusively occupied for five to six weeks at the end of each year getting goods and letters onto the ships and negotiating with the East

124 Boehm to W[endt] at Copenhagen, London, 30 Mar. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 340f.

125 Boehm to Ziegenbalg, London, 31 Oct. 1715 (copy) (MArFrSt I C 7:77); cf. Newman to Boehm, Middle Temple, 27 Oct. 1715 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/5]).

126 E.g. *Circular Letter* (1 May 1735), n.p.

127 Lewis to Newman, Oct. 1712, printed in: *PGE III* (1718), pp. 41f, and Clement, pp. 57-58.

128 "Der Societät Secretarius Hn. Newman so eine grosse Liebe zu denen Missionariis zu Tranquebar hat ..." (Boehm to A.H. Francke, London, 7 Oct. 1712 [ArFrSt C 229:39])

129 "Der gute Hn. Neumann, der mit brennendem Eiffer dieses Werck treibet, hat hiebey nicht wenig Kummer gehabt ..." (Boehm to Neubauer, London, 22 Jan. 1714 [ArFrSt C 229:29])

India House.¹³⁰ But Newman was not alone. Already in 1709, Henry Hoare, who became the SPCK's treasurer for the mission, sent his own "mite" to Halle for the missionaries,¹³¹ and from Boehm we learn that he had also suggested sending one of the English lads at Halle to Tranquebar as a schoolmaster, to erect a school under their supervision.¹³² Chamberlayne offered to go to the East India Company with a proposal for publishing the Portuguese New Testament:¹³³ he too identified himself closely with the Germans' enterprise. In 1712 he referred to Plutschau as "our Pious Missionary", noting, "I call him ours, because the Society to which I belong, and because I myself claim so great a share in him."¹³⁴ Both Sir John Philipps, whose father-in-law was a wealthy East India merchant, and Archbishop Wake, had, according to Newman, a "particular affection" for the East India mission.¹³⁵ Wake's concern for the mission was particularly significant after the difficulties with Tenison. Support also came from English citizens in India, of whom George Lewis¹³⁶ and William Stevenson¹³⁷, successive chaplains at Fort St. George in Madras, deserve special mention. The involvement and interest of these individuals was the chief reason why the SPCK became involved in the way it did.

Anglican-Lutheran Relations

Until 1825, when the SPCK handed its East India work over to the SPG, the Society only employed Lutherans as missionaries, most of them from Halle.¹³⁸ In this regard the question of episcopacy has drawn the attention of scholars, in particular Hans Cnattingius and Norman Sykes, who concur that though the SPCK desired episcopal orders for its missionaries, it nevertheless accepted Lutheran orders as valid, though irregular.¹³⁹ Our purpose is not to alter their

130 Boehm to Neubauer, London, 8 Sept. 1719 (ArFrSt C 229:13); cf. Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 108f.

131 Hoare to Francke, [London,] 25 Apr. 1709 (*Nachlaß* 30.XVIII.666).

132 Boehm to Francke, 29 May 1711 (ArFrSt C 229:47).

133 Boehm to Francke, London, 28 Mar. 1710 (ArFrSt C 229:61).

134 Chamberlayne to Francke, Westminster, 24 Nov. 1712 (*Nachlaß* 30.XXVI.855).

135 Newman to Dal, Bosse, Pressier, and Walther at Tranquebar, London, 8 Feb. 1737 (ArSPCK, *Letters to India* [ME/CS2]); cf. N. Sykes, *William Wake*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1957), ii.212-14.

136 Boehm was particularly impressed with Lewis, including two of his letters in *PGE III* (1718), pp. 41-42, 55-59, and speaking highly of him in correspondence with the missionaries and the Mission College (Boehm to Ziegenbalg and Grundler, 31 Dec. 1714; to Mr. W[endt] at C[openhagen], 14 Feb. 1715, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 396, 404ff). When Lewis returned to England, Boehm highly recommended him to the SPCK as a residing member. (Boehm to Newman, Strand, 7 July 1715 [Bodl., *Rawlinson MSS C 743:34*]; for the full text of the letter, see Appendix)

137 Boehm included four of Stevenson's letters in *PGE III* (1718), pp. 121-23, 149-53, 190-93, 198-200, and published separately a 1716 letter to Newman, *A Letter from Fort St. George*.

138 The only exception was the Englishman A. T. Clarke who served as a missionary of the SPCK in Calcutta from 1789-1791 before taking up a chaplaincy with the East India Company.

139 H. Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies* (London, 1952), pp. 38-54; N. Sykes, *Old Priest and New Presbyter* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 154-67.

conclusions but rather to enlarge upon some of the source material from the first decades of the SPCK's involvement and to balance the Anglican perspective by clarifying the Halle perception of Lutheran-Anglican relations in India.

The Society recognized quite clearly that it was assisting Lutheran missionaries in India. We have already noted the controversy raised when Archbishop Tenison was angered by the Portuguese catechism of the missionaries.¹⁴⁰ The members of the Society did not wish unnecessarily to dwell on the fact that "the missionaries were Lutherans or ministers not episcopally ordained".¹⁴¹ But the Lutheran nature of the mission was not something they were allowed to forget. In 1716 Stevenson in Madras told the Society that one of the hindrances to the mission work in India was

... the mixing of disputable opinions with the plain and necessary Doctrines of the Gospel. It is Expected of the Danish Missionaries that they plant not only a *Christian*, but a *Lutheran Church*: and make Proselytes not only to the Gospel, but to a particular *Sect*.¹⁴²

Along with a copy of this letter Newman sent Archbishop Wake paragraphs transcribed both from a letter which the Society had dispatched to the missionaries earlier and from their reply, in order "to prevent any hard thoughts what that Paragraph in Mr. Stevenson's Letter might insinuate".¹⁴³ Ziegenhagen describes an uncomfortable occurrence at a meeting of the Society in 1725:

As I was in the Society last Tuesday, a letter from the country was read, in which was found first news that a good friend has given five guineas to the East India mission, but afterwards a question addressed to the secretary: 'Would he report how it came about that the Society is supporting a mission in which it is recognizable even in the reports of the mission printed in English that the missionaries are Lutherans; it is well-known that they have a few erroneous principles upon which they stand rigid and firm.' Here the secretary stopped reading, so I do not know what else is in it [the letter]. However, no one in the Society answered one word to this letter, therefore I also kept quiet. The chairman at that time was an MP, Sir Daniel Dolins, a very reasonable and Christian man, for whom it was painful that the letter was read, as I could tell from his behaviour.¹⁴⁴

140 Scholars have incorrectly identified Chamberlayne as the instigator of this contention, but he was only the intermediary between Tenison and the SPCK.

141 Newman to Chamberlayne, 19 Dec. 1713 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/3]).

142 Stevenson to Newman, Fort St. George, 27 Dec. 1716 (copy) (ChCh, *Wake MSS* 28:31); cf. Sykes, *Sheldon to Secker*, pp. 162-63.

143 Newman to Archbishop Wake, Middle Temple, 24 July 1717 (ChCh, *Wake MSS* 15:424).

144 "Wie ich am vergangen diens-tag in der Societät war so trug sich zu daß ein Brief, der aus dem lande geschickt war, gelesen ward, in demselben ward zu erst Nachricht gegeben daß ein guter Freund 5 Guineas zur Ost-Indischen Mission gegeben, hinterher aber fand sich eine Frage, die an den Secretarium getahn ward, nemlich 'er mögte doch melden, wie das käme das die Societat sich dieser Mission annehme, indem man doch aus der Nachricht, so in englischer Sprache von dieser Mission gedruckt sey, erkenne, daß die Missionarii Lutheraner wären, von welchen

Whether out of consideration for Dolins¹⁴⁵ or solely for the good of the mission itself, the reaction of the Society is remarkable: no one said a word and the matter was dropped. A little over a year later the Society did not respond to further critical comments from Stevenson on the methods and theology of the Lutheran missionaries¹⁴⁶ and accepted Schultze into missionary service.

But the problem still smouldered and was fanned to flame again when one of the English chaplains at Fort St. George questioned the validity of the ordination by the Lutheran missionaries in Tranquebar of a native Indian named Aaron to a preaching and sacramental ministry. Ziegenhagen was instructed by the Society to learn from G.A. Francke

... what Powers the Missionaries at Tranquebar are invested with by the Ecclesiastical constitution in Germany and by the appointment of the College at Copenhagen, particularly whether they are impowered to ordain others, and to give the Persons so ordained Authority as well of administering the Sacraments as of instructing in the Principles of Christianity.¹⁴⁷

On receiving Francke's assurances on the regularity of what the missionaries had done, Newman told him that the Society had "unanimously express'd their entire satisfaction at the Account you gave" and would seek to prevent any disputes which may arise in India "upon a supposition of the Holy Orders confer'd in India not being valid".¹⁴⁸ Writing privately to an associate of the chaplain in Madras who had raised the issue of Aaron's ordination, Newman said that it was

... a tender point for the Society to engage themselves in, to make a comparison of the validity of Episcopal with foreign Ordination, which could yeild [*sic*] no Service to the Mission but might do abundance of mischeif [*sic*].

Newman stated that Archbishop Wake was "in favour of ordinations in India" and added, "If the Primitive Christians had been as scrupulous on this head as some well meaning persons now adays are, how much would it have obstructed the progress of Christianity."¹⁴⁹

bekannt wäre, daß sie einige irrige Lehrsätze hatten, darauf sie sehr steif und fest bestünden'. hier hörte der Secretarius mit lesen auf, daß ich also nicht weiß was weiter darin gestanden. es andwortete aber kein Mensch in der Societät ein Wort auf diesen Brief, deswegen schwieg ich auch stille. der Praeses war eben das mahl ein Parlaments Herr Sir Daniel Dolings, ein sehr vernünftiger und christlicher Mann. welchem es empfindlich war, daß der Brief war gelesen worden, wie ich aus seinen geberden abnehmen konnte." (Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 8 Oct. 1725 [*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/32])

145 Sir Daniel Dolins was an active supporter of Francke and someone Ziegenhagen held in high esteem. Both Dolins and Sir John Philipps expressed considerable excitement when Ziegenhagen mentioned to them that Francke himself might come to England. (Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 26 Oct. and 16 Nov. 1725 [*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/33,35])

146 See pp. 117 above.

147 SPCK *Minutes*, 19 Apr. 1735 (xvi.99).

148 Newman to G.A. Francke, London, 6 June 1735 (ArSPCK, *Misc. Letters* [CN2/1:1]).

149 Newman to Rev. Mr. Wynch, London, 4 Feb. 1736 (ArSPCK, *Misc. Letters* [CN2/2:11-12]).

All these examples show that the members of the SPCK chose to ignore or play down the obvious: they were assisting in Tranquebar and propagating in Madras a thoroughly Lutheran enterprise. Though from the outset the Society was uncomfortable with Lutheran orders and would have preferred episcopal ordination, as late as the 1730s it explicitly – not tacitly as is sometimes assumed¹⁵⁰ – and unanimously accepted the validity of Lutheran orders. Why did the SPCK accept these orders? If it wished to have any mission in India the Society was forced to use Lutherans, because, in spite of all their efforts, no members of the Church of England were available. Many Anglicans distinguished continental Protestants from English Dissenters,¹⁵¹ a perception prevalent in the SPCK itself, though we have noted the fear Boehm had that some High Churchmen would insist on Anglican (re)ordination for the Lutheran missionaries. Some of the leading members of the SPCK were strongly latitudinarian or at least pragmatic on this question, especially Newman, who told an Independent correspondent in New England:

But where inveterate customs have established themselves, as episcopacy is, with the addition of temporalities, blended with the constitution in England, and presbyterianism in Scotland, it would be turning the world upside down to oblige people to alter an establishment that implies no idolatry nor deviation from the fundamentals of Christianity, and with which they may go to heaven, let them be on which side of the question they may please.¹⁵²

It may have been helpful that the first missionaries were ordained by a Danish Lutheran Bishop, though Boehm felt this would mean little to High Churchmen; it was of little consequence anyway, since most missionaries had no Danish bishop present at their ordination. The fact that the missionaries were serving in remote India also made it easier to accept their Lutheran ordination; a somewhat imperialist (and racist?) attitude which in effect implied that what would not be legal at home to English men and women was tolerable for distant natives.¹⁵³ Furthermore, the SPCK feared losing the financial support from Halle and Germany if it refused to accept the Lutheran ordination of the missionaries. Finally, as Newman's correspondence makes clear, the Society refused to make ordination an issue because it did not wish to harm the mission. Even if there was a growing uncertainty concerning Lutheran ordinations in the SPCK as the century progressed,¹⁵⁴ it never changed its practice: for over one hundred years mission took priority over confessional rigidity.

150 Neill, *History of Christianity in India*, p. 117.

151 See pp. 212–16 below.

152 Newman to B. Colman, Bartlet's Buildings, 24 Sept. 1736 (ArSPCK, *New England Letters* [CN3/5:8]).

153 On a somewhat similar assumption, Anglican bishops later ordained low-born ex-Methodist preachers for colonial service.

154 Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies*, pp. 46–54; Sykes, *Old Priest*, pp. 159–64.

How was the involvement of the SPCK in the East India mission perceived from the Halle side? Here, too, there were some ecclesiological anxieties. We have seen that Boehm was wary of German Lutheran missionaries serving under an Anglican Society because of High Church sensitivities. When in 1729 the SPCK was considering sending an Englishman, James Christian, to work with Schultze, G.A. Francke expressed fears similar to Boehm's: "Should the Society send you [Schultze] a Reformed colleague, you would certainly come into difficult circumstances and under pressure."¹⁵⁵ He suggested that with all love and friendliness Schultze should let the Anglican missionary begin an Anglican enterprise while he went about his own work, for "it is better that in such a way there would be two missions in Madras rather than that one is a mixture of two religions".¹⁵⁶ Halle considered the Church of England to be Reformed and distinct from Lutheranism in the important doctrines of predestination and the Holy Communion;¹⁵⁷ therefore, it did not desire any intermingling on the mission field.

Because of this antagonistic attitude to Reformed doctrine Halle opposed any efforts to introduce Anglican elements into either of the SPCK's missions at Madras or Cuddalore. In the early 1740s Geister, the SPCK's missionary at Madras, wrote to the SPCK about introducing the Anglican catechism and the Book of Common Prayer into the English missions.¹⁵⁸ The Society in 1744 "particularly consider'd whether it may not be proper to take care, that in their [the missionaries'] Administration of the Two Sacraments the form of the Church of England be used".¹⁵⁹ Later, it ordered that the Anglican catechism be translated into the native tongues and recommended "to the Missionaries at Madras and Cudalore to continue the use of the Church of England Catechism in Instructing the Heathen, and when they Baptize to use the Form in the Book of Common Prayer".¹⁶⁰ J.P. Fabricius, Geister's colleague at Madras, told Francke that when Geister received these orders he quickly set about introducing the Anglican catechism in the Portuguese and Tamil schools, resulting in an open quarrel and break with Fabricius.¹⁶¹ He hints that the purpose of implanting the Anglican catechism was to "unify the evangelical Lutheran Church and the reformed English Church with each other, at least

155 "Sollte Ihnen die Societät einen reformirten Collegien schicken, würden Sie freilich in schwere Umstände und in ein Gedränge kommen."

156 "Es ist besser, daß solchergestalt zwei Missionen in Madras seien als daß Eine ist aus zwei Religionen vermenget." (G.A. Francke to Schultze, [Halle], [c.1729-30], quoted in: Germann, *Fabricius*, p. 135)

157 See pp. 208-09 below.

158 J.P. Fabricius to G.A. Francke, [Madras,] 31 Jan. 1746, quoted in: Germann, *Fabricius*, pp. 137-39.

159 SPCK *Minutes*, 6 Mar. 1744 (xx.61).

160 *Ibid.*, 4 Dec. 1744 (xx.132f).

161 Fabricius to G.A. Francke, 31 Jan. 1746, quoted in: Germann, *Fabricius*, p. 139.

here in India".¹⁶² However, Boehm and others had warned explicitly against such controversial actions, which were not only disruptive but also unnecessary, since the SPCK had not initiated the idea but had only responded to a proposal from Geister. Should Geister succeed, pure Lutheran doctrine would be revoked, the congregations in Madras would be separated from Tranquebar, bad reports would spread throughout Germany, and only English missionaries would be able to serve Madras in the future.¹⁶³ G.A. Francke concurred with these sentiments and told Ziegenhagen that both his father and Boehm were of the same opinion; therefore,

... it is indeed certain that in the matter of the catechism we can concede nothing to Geister and the Society ... Should this affair not quietly be rescinded or the Society not be amenable to our suggestions, then one must clarify that the Danish missionaries would be withdrawn to Tranquebar and I could not be responsible for benefactors bestowing anything further on the English missions.¹⁶⁴

With such an uncompromising attitude both in Europe and in India on the part of the German Pietists, it is fortunate that the conflict in Madras resolved itself when Geister soon left. The Anglican catechism was abolished and everything reestablished on a Lutheran foundation.¹⁶⁵ No one in the SPCK – except Ziegenhagen – was aware of these developments; the Society passively acquiesced to the Lutheran nature of the mission, though it would have preferred an Anglican one.

The "ecumenical" attitude of the SPCK, in relation to that of Copenhagen and Halle, has not been fully appreciated by historians of the East India mission.¹⁶⁶ There was in fact little mutual cooperation between Halle and the SPCK, since the Society basically only offered aid to Halle's work. Halle was from the beginning strongly opposed to any anglicization of the India mission; it welcomed material and administrative assistance from England but fought any theological or doctrinal interference. Even when the mission spread to English territories, Halle would make no theological or doctrinal compromises. The true ecumenical spirit – if we can call it that – of toleration and

162 "... Daß die evangelische-lutherische und die reformirte englische Kirche mit einander vereinigt werden, wenigstens hier in Indien."

163 Fabricius to Kiernander, Madras, 23 Dec. 1745, printed in: Germann, *Fabricius*, pp. 140–42.

164 "Es ist wohl gewiß, daß wir in der Catechismussache dem H. Geister und der Societät nichts einräumen können ... Sollte sich nun die Sache nicht in der Stille rückgängig machen lassen, oder die Societät unsern Vorstellungen nicht zugänglich sein, so müßte man erklären, daß die dänischen Missionare nach Trankebar zurückgehen würden und ichs bei den Wohlthätern nicht verantworten könne, ferner den englischen Missionen etwas zufließen zu lassen." (G.A. Francke to Ziegenhagen, [Halle, c.1746,] quoted in: Germann, *Fabricius*, pp. 144f)

165 For more details on the whole affair, see Germann, *Fabricius*, pp. 136–46.

166 Though he recognizes the tensions between London, Halle, and Copenhagen, Beyreuther, *Francke und Anfänge*, pp. 245–47, fails to recognize the unique ecumenical contribution of the Society.

understanding is seen not in Halle but in the SPCK and in Boehm, who inspired Anglican interest in the mission and urged compromise and discretion with regard to the omitted Commandment, though even he was unwilling to forgo the Lutheran Pietist nature of the East Indian work. Among the members of the Society the opportunity for mission came to appear more important than precise doctrinal agreement.

Our focus in this chapter has been on the formative years of Anglican involvement in the East India mission.¹⁶⁷ The Society took up support of the work whole-heartedly and upheld its financial and administrative commitment throughout the eighteenth century, despite frequent anxiety over insufficient funds. Though seldom emphasized, the SPCK was active in India over three-quarters of a century before William Carey's historic landing. The Society's missionary endeavour may not have been Anglican theologically, but it was the first English outreach to India. The key figure in soliciting and motivating the interest of the Society was Boehm. The East India mission is the most enduring result of his personal influence within the SPCK.

¹⁶⁷ By the end of the eighteenth century the mission had been served by over fifty missionaries, ordained twelve native pastors, baptized over 36,000 converts, and was located in six centres in southern India.

CHAPTER V

“A closer correspondence of books with other lands”: The Publishing and Distribution of Christian Literature

When Boehm came to England in 1701 he was aware that Francke's associate, H.J. Elers, wished to establish a bookshop in London for Pietist literature, and he suggested that Elers concentrate on Latin books in order to achieve “a closer correspondence of books with other lands”.¹ That such an exchange between English and German reformers was desired is not surprising: one of the chief means adopted by both the SPCK and Halle to further reform was through the distribution of Christian literature. These two campaigns had parallels and divergences and to a limited extent produced an interesting cross-fertilization of literature. The purpose of this chapter is to compare the printing and distribution enterprises of the SPCK and Halle and also to examine the nature of this interaction, the types of Pietist literature which Boehm brought to the English public, and the British authors who were either translated into German or studied by the Halle Pietists.

1. The SPCK and Halle

Distributing Christian Literature in Britain

In addition to its charity school work, one of the chief cares of the SPCK in Britain, according to Newman, was “to disperse good Books among those who are not able to buy them”.² From the outset the SPCK expressed interest in propagating Christian literature and erecting libraries. During the first month of its existence the Society helped George Keith print and disperse his catechism for converting Quakers.³ One of Bray's original dreams had been to establish parochial libraries in the West Indies,⁴ but when the West Indies

1 “... einer nähern Bücher-Correspondenz in andere Länder.” (Boehm to Francke, London, 7 Sept. 1702 [ArFrSt C 229:80])

2 Newman to Sir Hans Sloane, Bartlett's Buildings, 1 Sept. 1731 (BL, Sloane MSS 4052:4).

3 SPCK *Minutes*, 10 & 20 Mar. 1699, printed in: McClure, pp. 18, 20f.

4 *Ibid.*, 4 May 1699, printed in: McClure, pp. 21ff.

work was turned over to the SPG, the SPCK focused its attention on the distribution of Christian literature at home.

The Society dispersed books primarily to and through its correspondents. In its second circular letter the SPCK promised its clerical correspondents "a packett of Books and Papers"⁵ and from this small beginning came the Society's extensive programme of book distribution. At first books were disseminated free of charge, but within a few years many members contributed towards their cost. Until 1732 members automatically received every new book which the Society dispersed.⁶ In 1719 the Society decided to sell stitched small tracts at half price and bound books at prime cost, the SPCK accepting the cost of binding.⁷ These prices were only available to members and from 1719 a catalogue of available books was sent regularly in circular letters. The SPCK budgeted £200 per year for its book distribution work and depended on the integrity of its correspondents not to abuse the system.⁸

What kind of literature did the SPCK make available to its correspondents? In addition to books which gave the history of and promoted the voluntary societies and charity schools, the Society distributed works of a catechetical, devotional, and practical (moral) nature. The general tone of these has been described as "uniformly High Church" and "non-Evangelical",⁹ but, though devotional works by the Nonjurors Nelson and Kettlewell were certainly included in the SPCK's early packets, this conclusion is doubtful, at least for the first decades of the Society, since treatises by Burnet, Tillotson, Kennett, and Woodward were also prominent, not to mention works by continental authors such as Ostervald and Francke. However, if it is difficult to call the literature "uniformly" High Church it can certainly be said that, with the exception of the foreign Protestant authors, the Society distributed works that were decidedly Anglican.¹⁰

In spite of its role as a Church Society, the SPCK took care to avoid theological controversy. Newman told a correspondent in 1727:

The Society have purposely declin'd (as foreign to promote Christian knowledge) to concern themselves with the Controversies between the Establish'd Church and Dissenters except in the Instance ... of defending Infant Baptism; the common results of disputes among Protestants being rather a lessening of charity than conviction of truth.¹¹

5 *Ibid.*, 8 Feb. 1700, printed in: McClure, pp. 45f. For a list of the books included in this and later packets, see Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, pp. 166–69.

6 SPCK *Minutes*, 2 Mar. 1732 (xiv.141).

7 A printed page explaining this arrangement was sent to correspondents. One was sent to Archbishop Wake dated Middle Temple, 22 June 1719 (ChCh, *Wake MSS* 27:169).

8 Newman to Rev. Tho. Allen, London, 8 Dec. 1719; to Rev. Mr. Rayner, Middle Temple, 24 Feb. 1726 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/8,16]).

9 Clarke, *Eighteenth Century Piety*, pp. 1–29, 142–45.

10 Duffy, "SPCK and Europe", p. 32.

11 Newman to Rev. Mr. Paley, Middle Temple, 27 May 1727 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/18]).

This passive attitude towards Dissent, which could not have pleased many High Churchmen, did not mean that the Society wavered in its Anglican commitment, but merely reflected a conscious determination to promote the cause of moral reformation and avoid the vehement theological controversies of the day.

The SPCK's publisher was Joseph Downing in Bartholomew Close: to be published by Downing was almost to have the Society's imprimatur, or at least to appear to have it.¹² When in 1703 Downing published a work by Madam Guyon, the celebrated French mystic and Quietist, the Society told him sharply "that if he prints any more such like Books, he shall print no longer for the Society". Downing accordingly withdrew his name from the title page of the book and the SPCK dropped the affair, though not before calling him before the Society and giving him "several cautions".¹³ The books published by Downing reflect a larger spectrum than those the SPCK made available to its correspondents. Almost all of the significant German Pietist works (which will be examined below) were sold by him. In an extant catalogue from 1712 of books, tracts, and sermons printed by Downing, German Pietist works figure prominently.¹⁴ It could be argued that the fact that Pietists published with Downing does not necessarily indicate SPCK approval, in spite of the Society's power with its printer. In 1706 *Pietas Hallensis* was the only Pietist book listed among those sent to correspondents and in 1719 *Propagation of the Gospel in the East* was the only one included in the Society's circular letter (between those years no catalogue is available).¹⁵ Four Pietist works were included among those recommended in 1712 for schoolmasters and one of Boehm's publications is listed among the fifteen used in the charity schools proper.¹⁶ It needs to be noted, however, that the absence of a book title in the SPCK catalogues after 1719 does not mean that it stopped recommending the work; the Society also sent books to establish libraries in various centres throughout Britain and the Pietists were represented in these consignments. In 1739 one Edwin Belke requested that Arndt's books and Boehm's sermons "may be exchange'd for other useful works of our Englishmen to be sent to the

12 Duffy, "SPCK and Europe", p. 36.

13 SPCK *Minutes*, 2 & 23 Dec. 1703, printed in: McClure, pp. 249, 253f. It is possible that this controversial book had been translated by George Keith, the former Quaker whose efforts to convert Quakers to Anglicanism was one of the first projects taken on by the SPCK [see p.p. 24f above]. H.W. Ludolf told A.H. Francke, London, 27 Feb. 1703 (ArFrSt D23:126), that Keith was a friend of Pierre Poiret and an admirer of some of Madam Bourignon's writings.

14 [Joseph Downing,] *Books Printed; And are to be sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West-Smithfield* ([London, 1712]).

15 Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, pp. 169f; *Circular Letter* (1719), n.p. (ChCh, *Wake MSS* 27:165).

16 *Account of Charity-Schools* (1712), pp. 70–72. The books for the schoolmasters were Boehm's *Plain Directions for Reading the Holy Bible*, Arndt's *True Christianity*, Francke's *Short Introduction to the Practice of Christian Religion*, and *Pietas Hallensis*. Boehm's *The First Principles of Practical Christianity* was used in the charity schools.

Library at Canterbury". The Society's response was to "persuade Mr. Belke of the usefulness of the Books he mention'd and let him know the Opinion of the Society".¹⁷ As late as 1739 the SPCK still considered the works of Boehm and Arndt important enough to be included in the libraries it supported.

The Bookshop and Bible Institute at Halle

The SPCK's publishing and distribution programme was paralleled in Halle, where a bookshop had been set up in 1697 by H.J. Elers. It quickly received the support of Baron von Canstein in Berlin who helped secure for it royal privileges, giving it authority to manufacture and sell goods and exempting it from paying excise taxes.¹⁸ In 1701 a print shop was added so that Francke could do his own printing at Halle. Possessed of his own publishing agency and print works, Francke was enabled to spread his published material throughout Germany more easily. Already in 1698 Ludolf told his friend Arthur Charlett in Oxford of Francke's successes in the distribution of Pietist literature:

My friend [Francke] here [in Halle] ... hath indeed baffled the booksellers at last, some of his breeding being up and down Germany in Schools and Churches, which spare for no labor to disperse the writings he puts out for the edification of the Lutheran Church; though God hath enlarged his soul beyond the Confining his charity and Zeal to the rails of the Augustan Confession.¹⁹

As Ludolf's letter implies, Francke had sole control over what was dispersed from the Halle bookshop. Consisting predominantly of Bibles and Pietist devotional treatises and sermons, this literature was largely propagated by Francke's friends and former students.

The book and print shops were but preludes to the Bible Institute which Francke and Canstein founded in 1710.²⁰ The purpose of this enterprise, Canstein told Francke, was "to print the Bible, and above all the New Testament, in all languages and so inexpensively as has never happened before ... so that the precious Word of God will be brought among all nations".²¹ Canstein's interest in providing Bibles, his clear Pietist proclivities, his influ-

17 Edwin Belke to SPCK, London, 4 Oct. 1739, with Society response (ArSPCK, ALB [CR1/20:15153]).

18 Canstein to Francke, Canstein, Nov. 1697, printed in: Schicketanz, p. 6; cf. Sattler, *God's Glory*, p. 84.

19 Ludolf to Dr. Charlett, Halle, 17 Feb. 1698 (Bodl., Ballard MSS 26:81-82).

20 See A.H. Niemeyer, *Geschichte der Cansteinschen Bibel-Anstalt seit ihrer Gründung bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit* (Halle, 1827); A. Schürmann, *Zur Geschichte der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses und der Cansteinschen Bibelanstalt in Halle* (Halle, 1898); W. Fries, *Die Cansteinsche Bibelanstalt und ihr Stifter Carl Hildebrand Freiherr von Canstein* (Halle, 1910).

21 "Mein vorsatz ist allemahl gewesen, vermittelst gottlicher gnade, die bibel und zuporderst das N.T. in allerley sprachen in druck zu bringen, und so wohlfeyl, als niemahlen noch nicht geschehen, ... damit das theure wort gottes recht unter alle nationen gebracht werde." (Canstein to Francke, Canstein, 16 June 1710, printed in: Schicketanz, p. 419)

ence with the Berlin authorities, and his personal wealth were joined with Francke's organizational skills and the printing and distribution facilities at Halle to create what was in effect the first Bible Society.²² Canstein insisted that the Bibles be available to everyone and priced the new German Bible at considerably less than Francke had anticipated. To forestall criticism, he promised to accept liability for all losses.²³ When the use of fixed type came into full use a few years later the Bible Institute flourished. The Institute printed religious literature, especially Francke's sermons, and even some medical and philological works, but its main purpose was to print Bibles. From 1712, when the first Bible was printed, to Canstein's death in 1719, 40,000 Bibles and 100,000 New Testaments were printed and by 1810 over 2 million Bibles had been printed in almost 400 editions.²⁴

Contacts and Comparisons

What links were there, if any, between Halle and the SPCK with regard to publishing and distribution? Boehm knew that Elers wanted to establish branch bookshops in both England and Holland, but soon after his arrival he informed Elers that it was difficult to find German books in London.²⁵ He suggested that Elers concentrate on Latin books, even though he knew of too few Latin devotional books written from the standpoint of a genuine experiential religion.²⁶ Elers himself, he suggested, should visit England to see if it would be advantageous to the *Waisenhaus* to open a bookshop there.²⁷ A possibility for the circulation of Halle books in England presented itself in 1708 when Boehm informed Francke that Thomas Bray's son, who had learned the book trade in Holland, had approached him with questions about bookshops in Germany and especially in Halle; he thought that young Bray was inclined to set up a book trade with a capable bookseller in Germany, if it could be conveniently done.²⁸ In Bray Elers now had the freedom to yoke with a

22 Sattler, *God's Glory*, pp. 85f.

23 Canstein to Francke, Berlin, 10 Feb. and 8 Apr. 1710, printed in: Schicketanz, pp. 408, 414.

24 Niemeyer, *Geschichte der Cansteinschen Bibel-Anstalt*, p. 12, Beilage V [p. 89]. K. Aland, "Der Hallesche Pietismus und die Bibel", in: *Die bleibende Bedeutung des Pietismus*, ed. O. Söhngen (Witten/Berlin, 1960), p. 55 n50, says that if anything Niemeyer's figures may be too low. In any case, the number seems that much more significant when compared with other Bible-distribution efforts both before and after. Cf. K. Aland, "Bibel und Bibeltext bei August Hermann Francke und Johann Albrecht Bengel", in: *Pietismus und Bibel*, ed. K. Aland (Witten, 1970), pp. 90-92.

25 Boehm to H.J. Elers, London, 17 Nov. 1701, printed in: Sames, p. 178.

26 Boehm to Francke, 7 Sept. 1702 (ArFrSt C 229:80).

27 Boehm to H.J. Elers, London, 3 Sept. 1706, printed in: Sames, pp. 184f.

28 "Er schiene geneigt to seyn, mit einem tüchtiger Buchhändler in eine Correspondence und Bücher-Commercium sich einzulassen, so ein solches füglich möchte ins Werck gerichtet werden."

"young well-disposed mind",²⁹ and by this means spiritual books, he hoped, could be procured more easily for both the East and West Indies.³⁰

It would appear that nothing came of Bray's approaches to Elers, but in 1709 J.C. Jacobi, a former student at Halle and friend of Mackbeth and the English lads there, opened a German bookshop in London, presumably for Elers and Halle.³¹ This was a precarious enterprise, and Boehm reported that it opened "under meagre circumstances and few book shelves";³² if it succeeded it would be God's doing. To its stock Boehm contributed some copies of the Latin edition of Arndt's *True Christianity*, hoping that "this book by such means might become the reason for the whole bookshop".³³ What became of this bookshop is unclear, though Jacobi remained in England for many years, soon becoming "Chapel-Keeper" for the German Lutheran Royal Chapel, probably to supplement the meagre income from the bookshop.³⁴

The labours of Elers, Boehm, Bray, and Jacobi had little direct contact with the SPCK, but they show an incipient attempt to link Halle and England. Both the Pietists and the SPCK were aware of each other's publishing enterprises and sent books to each other across the Channel. When Francke was elected a corresponding member in 1700 Bray sent him some of his own works and later Boehm took books to Francke from the Society.³⁵ In turn Francke sent books via the Court chaplains to the SPCK and to prominent churchmen like Archbishop Wake, Sir John Philipps, and Dr. Slare.³⁶

A comparison of the two publishing and distribution enterprises shows that numerically the Society's distribution work could not approach Halle's. In 1719 the Society proudly proclaimed that since its inception it had sent over 100,000 books and tracts to correspondents,³⁷ but by 1719 Halle had printed 140,000 Bibles and New Testaments alone, not including its other religious literature. The SPCK did not have Francke's resources, depending on its more well-to-do correspondents to make books available to the poor. Newman explained that it was not the Society's design

... to see Bibles etc. to the poor at the Prices mentioned in their Circular Letter[,] a thing which they cannot propose to do because if their Fund were fifty times larger

29 "... so hat er Freyheit mit Mr. Bray einem jungen wohl-disponirten Gemüthe anzuspinnen."

30 Boehm to Francke, London, 6 Apr. 1708 (MArFrSt I C 1:39); cf. 9 July 1708 (ArFrSt C 229:68).

31 J.C. Jacobi to Elers, London, 1 Apr. 1709 (*Nachlaß* 30.XIV.572).

32 "... bey kümmerlichen Umständen u. wenig bücher-Geräthe."

33 "... und dörfte solches buch der Grund dieses gantzen Bücher-handels auf solche weise werden." (Boehm to Francke, London, 30 Dec. 1709 [ArFrSt C 829:56])

34 Jacobi was also an active translator. See *Psalmodia Germanica*, [trans. J.C. Jacobi] (London, 1722).

35 Chamberlayne to Francke, Westminster, 12 Dec. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XXVI.842); Boehm to Newman, Halle, 23 July 1709, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 32.

36 Boehm to Newman, London, 25 Feb. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 320; Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 18 June 1724 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/12).

37 *Circular Letter* (24 Oct. 1719) (Camb., *Baumgartner Papers* 9.IV.III.no.323.[Add.9]).

than it is it might not be sufficient to answer all demands in such a manner, and they would inevitably draw on themselves a Clamour from the Booksellers in all parts of the Kingdom as if the Society were undermining their business.³⁸

Francke was his own bookseller and publisher and had the financial backing and official influence of Canstein, who insisted that Bibles and New Testaments be available at the cheapest possible prices. Halle was far more of a model to the great nineteenth-century Bible Societies in Britain and North America than the SPCK.

The two agencies also differed to a certain degree in the types of literature produced. Significantly, the Society put a strong emphasis on the Book of Common Prayer and other liturgical aids, Anglican devotional and catechetical works, and moral tracts, while Halle was more oriented to Bibles and Pietist devotional literature – especially sermons – of a more experiential nature. The SPCK was an amalgamation of people and perspectives and its literature reflected its diversities. Francke was the single dominant personality behind Halle's publishing empire which took its lead directly from him; his sermons and tracts dominated the Halle presses. Despite their common purpose of "reformation", ecclesiastical and cultural differences naturally resulted in unique, indigenous emphases.

Yet there are important parallels. Both sought to further the work of reformation through the printed word and to distribute it as cheaply as possible, by a reliance upon subscriptions, money from the wealthy, royal patronage, and an extensive network of friends and correspondents. Despite distinct Anglican and Pietist emphases, both Halle and the SPCK propagated similar types of devotional, catechetical, and moralistic literature. Both aimed to bring the Bible into the native languages of others, although this purpose is much more clearly seen in the Pietists. Canstein suggested sending the report of the Bible Institute at Halle to Boehm in order to excite the English and encourage the SPCK to imitate his work.³⁹ Indeed, in one of the Society's largest ventures into Bible translation work, publishing the Arabic Psalter and New Testament, the influence and instigation of Halle Pietists is unmistakable.⁴⁰ In order to grasp more completely the links between England and Halle our attention turns to an analysis of the Pietist literature published in England and the English works available in Halle.

38 Newman to Tho. Allen, 8 Dec. 1719 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/8]).

39 Canstein to Francke, Berlin, 4 Dec. 1714, printed in: Schicketanz, p. 675.

40 See pp. 158–63 below.

2. The Literary Exchange between the SPCK and Halle

Literature Published by Boehm in England

In addition to personal contacts, the chief means used by German Pietists in London to propagate the news of the Halle institutions and their own Pietist perspectives were translating and publishing key works in English or Latin. Without a doubt the main exponent of this method was Boehm. Reference has already been made to the two most influential works he brought before the English public, *Pietas Hallensis* and *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*.⁴¹ This is not the place to reproduce an exhaustive register of Boehm's publications,⁴² but his literary activity in England is worthy of far closer attention than it has so far received.

Before dealing with the individual works a few general comments are necessary. First, with only one exception,⁴³ every work which Boehm made public in England was published with Joseph Downing. Some were published at the direct request of the SPCK; however, there is no reason to doubt that the Society gave its tacit approval to every work Downing published, at least in the early years, as evidenced by the Madam Guyon affair. Secondly, one reason why the full extent of Boehm's publishing activity has not previously been appreciated is because he published many of the works anonymously. Only through careful inquiry into his correspondence and other literary clues are we able to establish the extent of his authorship. Restrictions of space preclude a detailed analysis of the texts of each publication, so that our main focus here will be on Boehm's Prefaces and Introductions and on the general type of literature which he brought before the English public.

Boehm translated or edited other writings by Francke in addition to *Pietas Hallensis*.⁴⁴ The first of these works appeared in 1706, *Manuductio Ad Lectionem Scripturae Sacrae*, which Francke first published in 1693 as a general practical guide to interpreting the Scripture for his students.⁴⁵ Boehm persuaded Peter

41 See pp. 82–93, 103–04 above.

42 The most complete bibliography of Boehm's works is L. Curtze, "Nachrichten über Gelehrte, Schriftsteller und Künstler der Fürstenthümer Waldeck und Pyrmont von der Reformation an bis auf die Gegenwart", in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Fürstenthümer Waldeck und Pyrmont*, 4 vols., ed. L. Curtze and A. Hahn (Arolsen, 1866–72), ii.188–92. Cf. Rambach, *Memoirs of Boehm*, pp. 42–51.

43 The only exception is Boehm's sermon, *The Doctrine of Original Sin, Set forth in a Sermon Preach'd ... On the Third Sunday after the Epiphany*, 1711 (London, 1711), which was sold by "The German Bookseller", perhaps the bookshop established by J.C. Jacobi in 1709.

44 Besides those mentioned below there is no reason to doubt that Boehm translated or at least edited Francke's *Three Practical Discourses: I. Of the Love of God. II. Of Charity to the Poor. III. Of differing Degrees of Glory* (London, 1716).

45 E. Peschke, "August Hermann Francke und die Bibel", in: *Pietismus und Bibel*, ed. K. Aland, pp. 60–69.

Allix, a French Reformed pastor and Hebrew scholar who came to London in 1685 and established a French church for refugees on the Anglican model, to write a recommendation for the book.⁴⁶ Allix had for a number of years known of and held a high esteem for Spener, Francke, and the work at Halle.⁴⁷ The English appendix to *Manuductio*, a "Collection from several eminent English Authors, relating to the Study of the sacred Scriptures", which quoted from such figures as Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Sprat, More, Cudworth, Whiston, Boyle, and others, was written by a young Anglican preacher, Francis Fox.⁴⁸ Boehm later sent Francke one of Fox's printed sermons, noting that the young Anglican was "a diligent promoter of your institutions and has faithfully helped me in the publication of *Pietas Hallensis* and other Halle writings".⁴⁹ In return, Boehm presented Fox with some Latin books from Halle, because, as he explained to Francke, "such a man [Fox] can privately be used for several good things and especially for the benefit of your orphanage".⁵⁰ Francke continued to keep in touch with Fox and years later sent him books through Ziegenhagen.⁵¹

In 1708 Boehm published Francke's *Definitio Studii Theologici*, a short sixteen-page introduction to Christianity for students of theology. The title had been chosen by Tribbeko and it was printed "in order to make him [Francke] well-known among the Oxford students",⁵² as part of Francke's attempt to establish a relationship with Oxford University.⁵³ With both the *Manuductio* and *Definitio Studii Theologici* Boehm hoped to contribute to theological study in England and that is why he left them in Latin, which would ensure them a scholarly and prestigious readership.

What impact they made is not recorded. Far more obviously influential was Francke's *Nicodemus: or, A Treatise against the Fear of Man*, which went to press in 1706, soon after *Manuductio*. The theme of *Nicodemus* was a description of

46 Boehm to Francke, London, 22 May 1706 (ArFrSt C 229:72). The DNB (i.334) incorrectly says that Allix edited *Manuductio*; he only wrote the recommendation.

47 Wigers to Francke, London, 8 Apr. 1702 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.449f); Boehm to Francke, 7 Sept. 1702 (ArFrSt C 229:80); to S.U., London, 14 Jan. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 69f.

48 Boehm to Francke, 22 May 1706 (ArFrSt C 229:72); [Francis Fox,] Appendix to *Manuductio*, pp. 217–48. Fox (1675–1738) was an active member of the SPCK who was promoted by Bishop Burnet to the prebendary of Salisbury in 1713 and after 1728 held the wealthy vicarage of St. Mary's in Reading. A strong Whig, he was later accused of undervaluing the Sacraments and supporting Dissenters. (DNB [vii.557])

49 "Es ist selbiger ein fleissiger beförderer ihrer Anstalten und hat mir in publication der Fuesstapffen und anderen hallischen Schrifften treulich die Hand gebethen."

50 "... weil solcher Mann unter der Hand zu mehreren Guthes und insonderheit zum Nutz ihres Waysen-hausses kann gebraucht werden." (Boehm to Francke, London, 15 Oct. 1707 [ArFrSt C 826:11])

51 Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 18 Dec. 1724 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/18).

52 "... umb selbigen unter denen Oxfurtischen Studenten bekand zu machen." (Boehm to Francke, 9 July 1708 [ArFrSt C 229:68])

53 Boehm to Francke, 7 Sept. 1702 (ArFrSt C 229:80); Wigers to Francke, London, 6 Nov. 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.447).

the power of faith in overcoming any fear within the human soul. Religion was presented as something more than obligation and law, but as the out-working of a living faith, of which, Boehm assured the English reader, Francke had given a "powerful demonstration".⁵⁴ Boehm reported to Francke that unfortunately he knew of no theologian who would assist him by recommending the book.⁵⁵ But its mean beginnings were not a portent of things to come. *Nicodemus* went through three editions before it was read by the young John Wesley en route to Georgia with his Moravian companions. The living faith in the face of fear and adversity, written about in *Nicodemus* and *Pietas Hallensis*, was powerfully demonstrated to Wesley by his travelling Moravian friends.⁵⁶ Wesley deemed the book significant enough to publish his own abridged edition in 1744, which went through three more editions in his lifetime. The second edition in 1709 was dedicated by Boehm to the Gentlemen of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners and he used the dedication to offer a sharp theological corrective to these societies. True reformation, he insisted, was impossible apart from conversion and he closed with a Lutheran Pietist critique of the incompleteness of the societies for the reformation of manners:

And would to God that some might be inspired with an holy Zeal to add the Top-stone to a Work so happily begun by many Societies ... For Truly, it is the Dispensation of the GOSPEL, that roots out that intractable Temper, which the Law did restrain; It cures from within, what the Law bound down from without ... It acts by Love, as the Law doth by Fear.⁵⁷

In Boehm's view, it was ultimately impossible to achieve a national reformation by coercive methods alone. Legal deterrents had their undoubted place in curbing the sinful actions of people, and securing a degree of outward conformity to the law, but they could not affect the interior motivation of the human will, unless – as St. Paul had observed in Galatians iii – the law was made a "schoolmaster to bring us to Christ". The application of the law must be regarded as a preparation for the reception of the Gospel, in its inward renewing and regenerating power. The essence of Boehm's Preface and Francke's treatise was that faith was the root of the Christian life: just as faith overcame fear in *Nicodemus*, so the love proclaimed by the Gospel replaces the terror of the law.

Two years after *Nicodemus* appeared in print Boehm translated and published Francke's *A Short Introduction to the Practice of Christian Religion*. The book, Boehm explained, was also about faith; a living faith that "uniteth the Soul with Christ", "cannot but have a constant Intercourse with God in Christ", and "is to deal in nothing but Works of Love". The volume only gives

54 [Boehm,] Preface to *Nicodemus*, n.p.

55 Boehm to Francke, 22 May 1706 (ArFrSt C 229:72).

56 *Wes Journ*, 25 Jan. 1736 (i.142f).

57 [Boehm,] Dedication to *Nicodemus*, 2nd edn. (1709), p. xxi.

"a Hint of so useful an Exercise, whereby one may make a fuller Discovery of the Nature and divine Pedigree of so great a Work as Faith is".⁵⁸ Boehm defines faith in a way similar to Luther in his "Introduction to Romans", including both *unio mystica* and the impossibility of a faith which did not express itself in works of love. To reinforce the theme of faith found in *Pietas Hallensis*, *Nicodemus*, and *A Short Introduction* Boehm translated and published in 1709 Francke's sermon, *Faith in Christ*, which urged on Christians that the only ground of interior peace was the assurance which came from a living faith in Christ: "you will never be at rest, till you are fully assured in your Heart, that you are a Child of God, and that you have the true characters of a living Member of Jesus Christ."⁵⁹ To the Pietists, faith was not true faith unless it was manifest in deeds, but those deeds could never bring acceptance in the eyes of God or peace and joy unless they were grounded on faith in the atoning merits of Christ. Boehm strove hard to ally the Pietist stress on experience with the stress on obligation and duty which figured largely in Anglican ethical literature, such as *The Whole Duty of Man*.

During the years 1708-1709 Boehm published and translated three tracts of a similar genre, *Praise out of the Mouth of Babes*, *Early Piety Recommended in the Life and Death of Christlieb Leberecht von-Exeter*, and *Daily Conversations with God*. *Praise out of the Mouth of Babes* is the account of the extraordinary and spontaneous devotion of children in Silesia during a turbulent time of recatholicization, in which, as W.R. Ward has recently pointed out, the revivalistic tendencies which broke out within the Protestant community foreshadowed the evangelical revivals in the eighteenth century.⁶⁰ But Boehm did not publish the tract to propagate camp-meetings or to reinforce anti-Catholic feelings, but rather to emphasize that the Spirit was still visibly active in the world and especially among the simple, child-like, and youthful. Human reason, Boehm claims, could be taken with "a wonderful Start of Devotion", but it would inevitably pass quickly away "because it hath no inward Spring in the Soul. That Spirit is there wanting, which is a Well of Water springing up into Life everlasting".⁶¹ The accounts of both Good Armelle in *Daily Conversation with God* and Christlieb Leberecht von-Exeter are in a similar vein. Boehm's main intent in translating the story of Armelle, the simple French country-maid whose life was "a Daily and uninterrupted Conversation with God", was to show that "neither Time nor Place can restrain within it self the free and boundless Operations of the Spirit of God".⁶² The narrative of

58 [Boehm,] Preface to *A Short Introduction to the Practice of Christian Religion* (London, 1708), pp. iii-xi.

59 A.H. Francke, *Faith in Christ ... A Sermon Preach'd on the XV Sunday after Trinity*, 1708 (London, 1709), p. 22.

60 "Relations of Enlightenment and Religious Revival", pp. 286-88.

61 [Boehm,] Preface to *Praise out of the Mouth of Babes* (London, 1708), pp. iii-vi.

62 [Boehm,] Preface to *Daily Conversation with God: Exemplified in the Holy Life of Armelle Nicolas*, 2nd edn. enl. (London, 1710 [1709]), pp. iii-v.

Christian Leberecht, the German boy who from an early age was taken with reviving "True Christianity", shows that

... we are certainly now in an Age wherein God appears to be Doing very much for Children ... both by affording them outwardly better Accommodations for their Christian Education, and by inwardly shedding abroad into their Hearts the Grace of his Spirit more abundantly.⁶³

Far from being mere anti-Catholic propaganda, these accounts were used to support the religious and spiritual education of children, best seen in the charity schools and Francke's orphanage. It may well be that Pietism here had an influence on John Wesley, who had an account of Armelle Nicolas reprinted in *The Arminian Magazine* in 1780.⁶⁴ Wesley found in it a strong reinforcement of his conviction that the Spirit was readily accessible to the poor, ignorant, and lowly, and that a revival of religion which started confidently from this assumption could swiftly reach the hearts of the poor. Boehm's declaration that "the true Service of God is *Spiritual*, universal, plain and easy, so that no Person can be excused from it by any Pretence whatsoever",⁶⁵ is perhaps echoed by Wesley in his celebrated affirmation to Dr. Conyers Middleton in 1749:

How plain and simple is this! and how level to the lowest Capacity! Is not this the sum – 'One thing I know; I was blind, but now I see'? An argument so plain that a peasant, a woman, a child may feel all its force.⁶⁶

It was probably Boehm who in 1708 published *Three Posthumous Tracts ... of Dr. Rob[ert] Leighton*.⁶⁷ The style and content of the Preface is Boehm's and in a published letter to a friend in Germany in 1717 he quotes favourably from one of Leighton's sermons.⁶⁸ Leighton (1611–1684) was the archbishop of Glasgow, a moderate and irenic Calvinist but devout Episcopalian, someone attracted to Jansenist piety and highly esteemed and admired by contemporaries.⁶⁹ In the Preface to the three tracts it was said of him, "We may indeed justly conclude him to have held as constant and familiar Communion with the Father of Spirits, as any Man the last Age has produced."⁷⁰ If Boehm indeed

63 [Boehm,] Preface to *Early Piety Recommended in the Life and Death of Christlieb Leberecht von-Exeter*, by W.E. Arends (London, [1708]), n.p.

64 "The Life of Armelle Nicolas, Wrote by her intimate Friend", *The Arminian Magazine*, vol. 3 (London, 1780), pp. 19–24, 81–91, 137–40, 194–99.

65 [Boehm,] Preface to *Daily Conversation with God*, p. iv.

66 Wesley to Middleton, 24 Jan. 1749, printed in: *Wes Lett*, ii.384.

67 Though this publication is not included in Boehm's bibliographies it is one of eight tracts bound together in one volume in the main library at the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle, the other seven of which stemmed from Boehm.

68 "Send-Schreiben", London, 14 Nov. 1717, in: *ErSchrift*, ii.469f.

69 *DNB* (xi.883–86).

70 [Boehm?,] Preface to *Three Posthumous Tracts ... by Dr. Rob. Leighton* (London, 1708), pp. iii–iv.

brought this pamphlet to light, it fits well with his stress on the validity and importance of spiritual experience; Leighton's almost "Rapturous and Extatick [sic]" prayer legitimizes Boehm's emphasis that the Spirit was yet at work in the world.

Despite the significance of both *Pietas Hallensis* and *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, Boehm put even greater hope for a true spiritual reformation onto his translations into both Latin and English of Johann Arndt's *True Christianity*, the book which more than any other reflected Boehm's own style of experiential Christianity. Boehm himself provided a report on his publishing of *True Christianity*.⁷¹ In it, he explained that he had read the "most important and most edifying books" in England which "were honoured before others as a blessing in the conversion of souls",⁷² but complained that many books sought only to raise up their own party and diminish others. *True Christianity* was not well enough known, so Boehm published his own Latin edition with Downing in 1708. Not only did he aim to supplement the short supply of Latin devotional books, but he also hoped that through the Latin edition the learned would recommend an English version.⁷³ In 1709 he translated an extract of *True Christianity* into English to test the waters;⁷⁴ in this he bore witness to the good effect Arndt's book had had on "Millions of People" within the Lutheran Church, though others scoffed at the book, because they had not taken hold of the "Inward Life of Christianity". If a work smacks of "inward Piety" it is disparaged by the name of "Enthusiasm". He saw Arndt's work as proposing a "Masculine Piety" which steers between "the Two Rocks so many are apt to split upon in these latter Days", a "False Enthusiasm" and "False Rationalism":

As the first of these is too forward to undervalue the ordinary Means of Grace, and the Institutions of Christ, and to set itself up without the Light of the Written Word: So the latter is too apt to rest in the Letter only, and to frame thence abundance of Virtues, or rather Images of Virtues, but without a true inward Principle, which is CHRIST JESUS the Hope of Glory, and the very productive source of a manly and substantial Piety.⁷⁵

71 "Historischer Bericht", in: *ErSchrift*, iii.495-550.

72 "... wichtigsten und erbaulichsten Bücher ... [die] vor andern eines Segens in Bekehrung der Seelen gewürdiget worden."

73 Boehm, "Historischer Bericht", in: *ErSchrift*, iii.500f.

74 Johann Arndt, *A Short Instruction concerning the Principles of True Christianity* (London, 1709). Boehm said that part of Arndt's treatise had been translated into English in 1646, but it "shews rather the Good will of the Translator, for promoting real Piety, than his Ability in translating". (p. viii)

75 [A.W. Boehm,] Preface to *Short Instruction*, pp. iii-xii. This theme of the dangers of both a false rationalism and false enthusiasm, introduced in the Prefaces to Arndt's works, was expounded on again by Boehm in his Latin Preface to a sermon, "Animalis homo", preached at Oxford by Edward Reynolds, a post-Restoration Calvinist and later Bishop of Norwich. The sermon, first published in 1650, was republished by Boehm in 1719. I have been unable to locate a copy of this publication, though the Preface is reprinted in German translation in: *ErSchrift*, ii.836-54.

The success of this extract in attracting public notice led Boehm to work on the task of translating all four books which make up *True Christianity*. Getting money was difficult, so he collected subscriptions. In 1712 he brought out the first volume which was so successful that Downing himself bore the cost of the second volume, which appeared in 1714.⁷⁶ Boehm dedicated the first volume to Queen Anne, since he had dedicated the Latin edition to her late husband. In the Epistle Dedicatory he contrasted in strongly Pietist style "*True Christianity*" with "the Christianity now in vogue". True Christianity, which requires that the Gospel combine with faith in the hearer in order to work salvation, has been corrupted into formality:

What we now commonly call Religion, Christianity, Church, Faith, Prayer, Duties are generally Things that do not answer at all the Nature and Constitution, the Power and Energy of the Religion introduced by Christ. The Hearing of Sermons, the Saying of Prayers, the Reading of Books, (by which too many do now a-days measure up their Religion) even then when they are duly performed on all Hands, are not properly the Divine Worship it self, as it is required by the Gospel; but a Means only to come at it.⁷⁷

Boehm attacks that type of piety which sees devotion and the Christian life only in terms of externals, with no sense of the inner power of the gospel. Here he was not only aiming at those Anglicans who saw the "whole duty of man" in formal observances – that Boehm hoped both to connect with and correct this external Anglican piety is seen in the subtitle of his translation: "Wherein is contained the Whole Oeconomy or God towards Man; and the Whole Duty of Man towards God" – but in the Preface he aims a blow at Lutherans as well. When Luther rejected justification by works and brought in justification by faith,

... many of his Followers readily fell in with that Doctrine; but instead of a living, active, operative, purifying Faith (as Luther required, and which is constantly attended with a Train of heavenly Operations) they set up a mere carnal Conscience, and humane Persuasion.

Boehm even brings Luther himself into question by stating that his endeavours were weakened when he was drawn into hurtful controversy and lost the zeal he had in the early years. After his death Protestants "should have carried the Work begun by Luther and his Fellow-Labourers, to a higher Degree, and betimes repaired what was weak and tottering".⁷⁸ Instead, the fervour of the early Reformation had begotten a wearisome scholasticism.

The criticism which Boehm levels at Luther and the Reformation shows the lengths to which he went to promote a common, spiritual Christianity. Though Arndt was Lutheran, Boehm believed that *True Christianity* rose high

76 Boehm, "Historischer Bericht", in: *ErSchrift*, iii.502f.

77 Boehm, Epistle Dedicatory to *True Christianity*, pp. v-x.

78 [Boehm,] Preface to *True Christianity*, pp. xix-xxxiii.

above party differences and that one could scarce find among Protestants a book from which there came as much blessing or so many converted souls.⁷⁹ He worked hard to propagate it, including it in every shipment of books to America, giving Latin copies to the SPCK's library project in Wales, helping to bring out a French edition, sending copies of the Dutch edition to East India, and supporting the publication of an English edition in Scotland.⁸⁰ In 1720 he published the second edition of both volumes. His was the first translation into English of the four books which made up *True Christianity*.⁸¹ It is not easy to establish the impact of Arndt on the English reading public, but it later certainly reached a wide audience when Wesley included large sections of Boehm's translation in the first two volumes of his *Christian Library*.⁸² Arndt's *The Garden of Paradise* was published in 1716,⁸³ which, when added to the two volumes of *True Christianity*, provided what Boehm called "a Sort of a Spiritual Library".⁸⁴

It is not possible here to examine every work Boehm brought before the English public.⁸⁵ In addition to the works of other authors Boehm brought out his own sermons and writings. His major treatise was *Enchiridion Precum*, consisting of prayers and extracts put into over fifty categories, which he hoped would further a fundamental godliness.⁸⁶ This work made a particular impression on Isaac Watts, who said, "His [Boehm's] Opinion of Prayer in the Introduction is so entirely the same with what I have long embraced, that I take Pleasure in finding a Person of such uncommon Piety in one Sentiment with myself."⁸⁷ Boehm told Watts he was pleased that he had taken an interest

79 "Historischer Bericht", in: *ErSchrift*, iii.506f; Boehm to Mr. J.D., London, 26 Feb. 1713, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 237.

80 Boehm to Francke, London, 5 Oct. 1708 (ArFrSt C 229:66); to Mr. O.H., London, 3 Aug. 1713; to Ziegenbalg and Grundler, London, 8 Jan. 1714; to Mr. F. at Edinburgh, London, 27 Jan. 1715, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 273f, 305f, 401f.

81 Boehm's edition was reissued in 1815 in London by William Jacques and revised by C.F. Schaeffer in the mid-nineteenth century. Cf. P. Erb, Introduction to *True Christianity*, by Johann Arndt, trans. P. Erb (New York, 1979), p. 17.

82 For an analysis of Wesley's version and a comparison of it with Boehm's edition, see O. Wiebe, "Johann Arndt: Precursor of Pietism" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Iowa, 1965), pp. 210-17.

83 Curtze, "Nachrichten", ii.191, says someone else translated this work though Boehm corrected it. Boehm clearly wrote the Preface.

84 [Boehm,] Advertisement to *The Garden of Paradise*, pp. iv-viii.

85 He also issued Comenius' *De Bono Unitatis* in 1710, Lange's *Medicina Mentis* in 1715, and Ludolf's *Reliquiae Ludolfianae* after his death in 1712, which he dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Hastings, "because I know You relish, by the Grace of God, experimental Discourses, and particularly such as favour of divine Love". (*ErSchrift*, ii.929-1030; Boehm to Lange, London, 28 May 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 346-48; Boehm, Dedication to *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, n.p.)

86 A.W. Boehm, *Enchiridion Precum, Ad Promovendum solidioris Pietatis Studium collectum* (London, 1707). According to Curtze, "Nachrichten", ii.189, a German translation by J.H. Grischow with an Introduction by J.J. Rambach was published at Altona in 1731.

87 Watts to [J.C. Jacobi], quoted in: J.C. Jacobi to Francke, London, 15 May 1722 (ArFrSt A 149:19c-d).

in *Enchiridion Precum*: "You grasp my sense very well when you say that I am concerned to walk a true middle way in the design of the prescribed forms of prayer."⁸⁸ In *Reliquiae Juveniles* (1734), Watts praised "a German Divine" named "*Bohemus*" who was able to observe with an "indifferent Eye" the "Disputes and Divisions in *England* about the Imposition and the Use of Forms of Prayer". In the conflict between Anglicans, who felt prayer should be "duly considered", and Dissenters, who regarded it "but the Expression of our Sense of divine things to GOD", *Bohemus* asserted that the Spirit of God "neither confines his sacred Influences to those who worship without Forms, nor withholds it from those who use them". Both "*Formistes* and *Libero*" (the Anglican and Nonconformist) could thank *Bohemus* for his *via media* between rejecting all forms of prayer and utter confinement to them.⁸⁹ Watts' health prevented him from translating *Boehm's* work. In 1731 Abraham Mackbeth, the English schoolmaster who had gone to Halle for training and who had helped *Boehm* with translation work,⁹⁰ translated *Boehm's* treatise and asked Henry Newman to get subscriptions towards its publication,⁹¹ but neither Mackbeth's nor any other English translation of *Boehm's* main personal work was in fact published.

Boehm's strong biblicism is evident in two 1708 publications, *Plain Directions for Reading the Holy Bible*, which the SPCK bound in its duodecimal Bible,⁹² and *The First Principles of Practical Christianity*. The arguments in *Plain Directions* are clearly *Boehm's*, distinguishing law and gospel, stressing Christ's death and resurrection and not mere morality as the centre of Scripture, and playing down the sufficiency of human reason.⁹³ *First Principles* was a short catechetical collection of Scriptures, which

... relate to the more practical Part of Christian Religion, and especially to the inward Operation of the Spirit of God, in order to raise up the Soul from her present deplorable Condition, and to revive in her a lively Sense of her former Happiness.

Boehm did not intend his catechism to resemble the host of catechisms produced by particular Churches "to favour their particular Notions and Forms". Instead, the purpose was to set down through Scriptural quotation the progressive stages of regeneration rather in the style of some Puritan "physicians of the soul". This was to be

88 "Ihr begreift meinen Sinn sehr wol, wenn ihr saget: Ich bemühet mich, eine rechte Mittel-Strasse, in Absicht auf die vorgeschriebene Gebets-Formeln zu treffen." (*Boehm* to Isaac Watts, London, 9 Aug. 1721, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 536)

89 Isaac Watts, *Reliquiae Juveniles*, pp. 202-14.

90 *Boehm* to Francke, 9 July 1708 (ArFrSt C 229:68).

91 Mackbeth to Newman, Paul's Walden Hertfordshire, 20 May and 6 Sept. 1731 (ArSPCK, ALB [CR1/16:11237,11363]).

92 Curtze, "Nachrichten", ii.189.

93 [*Boehm*,] *Plain Directions for Reading the Holy Scriptures*, 8th edn. (London, 1771).

... an Experimental Draught of the several ways and degrees, by which the Lord commonly procedes, in working out the Spiritual Recovery of the fallen Soul. Such then as are under any experimental leading of the Spirit of God, of what Party soever they may be, will soon be convinced of the ORDER set down here.

The catechism would prove especially useful for children if their tutors had "an experimental Relish themselves of the Work of God".⁹⁴ From Arndt Boehm took the content of the catechism: its dual concern of first bringing to the reader a knowledge of his sinful state, and then assisting him to recover, through a living faith in Christ, the divine image which had been defaced by the Fall. The method, stressing the experiential faith of the teacher, is borrowed from Francke.

Boehm published a number of sermons in English,⁹⁵ most of which, together with a few other works, were collected in 1717 in *Several Discourses and Tracts for Promoting the Common Interest of True Christianity*. Its contents summarize the themes familiar throughout Boehm's writings. The two funeral sermons for Prince George and Ludolf are included.⁹⁶ In both he comments that death and calamity should be faced by looking into "the Sanctuary of Providence". Only the eye of faith – and not natural reason – is able to see into the deeper workings of the Wisdom and Providence of God.⁹⁷ A major reason for the inability of most Christians to face trials and tribulations is that they have "found out a Way to Heaven so easy and free from Temptations, that it seems altogether different from what it was in Times of Old, when it was called Narrow".⁹⁸ This idea is taken up further in a sermon on the "Spiritual Improvement of Temporal Afflictions",⁹⁹ in which Boehm states that earthly afflictions are meant as medicine to cure the soul and prepare the mind to hear the gospel.¹⁰⁰ It was this belief in the purifying effects of suffering which caused Boehm to criticize the massive Palatine emigration; the refugees, instead of allowing their souls to be cleansed, had fled from their God-appointed trial and thereby missed the opportunity for great spiritual benefit.¹⁰¹

In his collection Boehm included four doctrinal sermons. The first, dealing

94 [Boehm.] Introduction to *The First Principles of Practical Christianity*, 2nd edn. (London, 1710 [1708]), n.p.

95 Many of Boehm's sermons were also published in German and a few of them were translated into Swedish and helped further Pietism there. Cf. H. Pleijel, *Der schwedische Pietismus in seinen Beziehungen zu Deutschland* (Lund, 1935), pp. 102, 161. The British Library (4371.a.10.[4–6]) has three of Boehm's sermons in Swedish.

96 *The Life of a Christian* (1709); *The Faithful Steward: Set forth in a Sermon Preach'd ... the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany*, 1712 (London, 1712); repr. in: *Discourses*, pp. 1–38, 131–76.

97 *Discourses*, pp. 2f.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

99 *Spiritual Improvement of Temporal Afflictions* (1712); repr. in: *Discourses*, pp. 99–130.

100 *Discourses*, pp. 117f.

101 Boehm to J.U., London, 26 May 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 137.

with illumination,¹⁰² reveals Boehm's strong christocentrism by which "an *experimental* and saving Knowledge of *CHRIST*" is made the ultimate object of all spiritual convictions.¹⁰³ He draws a sharp distinction between nature and grace; not only are natural reason and wisdom unable to bring people to Christ, they will actually prove to be obstacles to salvation. Only illumination from above and the grace of God lead finally to Christ. Here Boehm attacks by implication the shift in post-Restoration Anglicanism to a natural religion, brought about partly by the rise of science¹⁰⁴ and partly by a reaction to the very sharp antithesis of nature and grace within Puritanism.¹⁰⁵ His conviction that true Christianity could not arise from natural reason was based largely upon his belief in the pervasiveness of original sin. In his sermon on original sin,¹⁰⁶ he draws on a theme familiar in Johann Arndt, that only by comprehending the depth of one's sin can one understand the greatness of the restoration in Christ:

Consider therefore, that *the Knowledge of our Fall in Adam, and of our Recovery in CHRIST*, are the *TWO* grand Hinges, whereon the whole Structure of the Christian Religion moves, and which go link'd together, as it were, Hand in Hand.¹⁰⁷

In his consideration of the doctrine of justification¹⁰⁸ Boehm raises up the centrality of law and gospel: the preparatory work of the law must destroy before the promise of the gospel can build up. Using the model of forensic justification, he stresses the passivity of faith in justification in a way not uncommon to classic Lutheran Orthodox theologians, while forcefully emphasizing at the same time that this "Imputative Righteousness ... is one of the greatest *Quickners* of the Practice of unfeigned Religion". For "the same Christ, who died *for* her, in order to justify her, now also liveth *in* her, in order to sanctify her."¹⁰⁹ With his stress on imputed righteousness, the passivity of faith, and justification as the source of sanctification, Boehm places himself solidly within the Lutheran tradition, while his sermon on regeneration¹¹⁰ marks him clearly as a Pietist:

102 *The Glorious Epiphany: A Sermon Preach'd ... On the 6th of January, 1710* (London, 1710); repr. in: *Discourses*, pp. 39–67.

103 *Discourses*, pp. 43f.

104 See R.S. Westfall, *Science and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, 1958), pp. 141–42.

105 McGee, *Godly Man in Stuart England*, pp. 107f; Sommerville, *Popular Religion*, pp. 89ff.

106 *Doctrine of Original Sin* (1711); repr. in: *Discourses*, pp. 68–98.

107 *Discourses*, p. 87.

108 *The Doctrine of Justification: Set forth in a Sermon ... On the Sixth Sunday after Easter, 1714* (London, 1714); repr. in: *Discourses*, pp. 219–44.

109 *Discourses*, pp. 235–36.

110 "The Doctrine of Regeneration. Preached the First Sunday after Epiphany, 1716–17", in: *Discourses*, pp. 245–64. I have not found a separate publication of this sermon.

Our Fall from the divine Life is so profound, our Corruption so general, our Imperfections are so many and dangerous, that no less a Change can restore us, than an entire *Regeneration*, or new Birth, wrought by God himself.¹¹¹

He steers a course between a mysticism, in which "Man himself *metamorphos'd* into the very Being of God", and a rationalism whereby "Morality, *Honesty*, *good Nature*, is nothing but a Sort of Froth, that floats upon the Outside of their Manners, but works no saving Change upon the Heart".¹¹² Rebirth becomes the foundation of Boehm's whole theology of piety: "Regeneration is the very Source whence the whole Practice of Piety doth depend, and from whence the succeeding Holiness of Life draws a constant Supply for its daily Increase."¹¹³ His sharp distinction between the effects of nature and grace is again unavoidable: "the most illiterate Man, if *born again*, is better acquainted with the Truth of Religion, than the acutest Scholar and Reasoner, if he be destitute of the Grace."¹¹⁴

One final important feature of Boehm's theology is given prominence in *Several Tracts and Discourses*: the centrality of love for the pursuit of the Christian life and for uniting Christians. In his sermon on "The Character of Christian Love"¹¹⁵ he makes love the *sole* important factor in the practice of the Christian religion and says "that great Works and Gifts are little, nay, nothing without Love; and that little Works and Gifts are great, if they be accompany'd with Love".¹¹⁶ This idea is very similar to Luther's emphasis that it is faith which makes a work good in God's eyes and nothing intrinsic to the work itself. The dominant feature of Boehm's concept of love is best expressed in his republished tract on "Universal Love",¹¹⁷ in which he bitterly attacks the misplaced "love" of parties within Christendom which results in the antagonism between different parties. The lack of love between people can only be overcome by the love of Christ, "the Union of our Soul with Christ, being the sole Foundation, whereon also a Union betwixt Man and Man is to be raised".¹¹⁸ Love and conversion are the absolute and solitary prerequisites to the only union valid in Boehm's mind:¹¹⁹ "a Union, not in the Sect, but in the *Spirit*; not so much in the *Form*, as in the *Power*, not in the *Shadow*, but in the *Truth* of Religion."¹²⁰

111 *Discourses*, p. 245.

112 *Ibid.*, p. 249.

113 *Ibid.*, p. 257.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 259.

115 *The Character of Love: Set Forth in a Sermon Preach'd ... on the Third Sunday after Easter, 1713* (London, 1713); repr. in: *Discourses*, pp. 177–208.

116 *Discourses*, p. 204.

117 *Universal Love the Surest Way to Advance the Interest of Religion, And Unite the several contending Parties about it* (London, 1709); repr. in: *Discourses*, pp. 293–319.

118 *Discourses*, p. 315.

119 On Boehm's thoughts on the union schemes based on the Anglican liturgy and episcopate, see pp. 216–20 below.

120 *Discourses*, p. 316.

We are now in a position to summarize the key themes in Boehm's Pietist theology as they can be drawn out of his published sermons, tracts, Introductions, and Prefaces: a strong biblicism, a living, experimental faith, a distinction between law and gospel, the necessity and validity of a spiritual experience other than mysticism, the lifting up of grace over nature, the insufficiency of Luther's Reformation in terms of practice, a quiet submission to Providence in the face of affliction, a strong christocentrism, a Lutheran doctrine of forensic justification, the inevitability of a living faith showing itself in works of love, the fundamental nature of conversion and rebirth, and an anti-sectarian, spiritual Christianity.¹²¹

Some indication of Boehm's energy as an indefatigable translator, publisher, and author is evident, when to the works above are added the various parts and editions of both *Pietas Hallensis* and *Propagation of the Gospel in the East* and other publications not mentioned here. Scarcely a year passed after the appearance of *Pietas Hallensis* in 1705 in which Boehm did not publish at least one work.

English Works Known in Halle

To complement Boehm's voluminous publishing activity in England we turn to inquire into the reciprocal influence of the English books which were known and read in Halle.¹²² The Pietists took a keen interest in the voluntary society movement and the charity schools. When Jablonski finished translating Woodward's account of the religious societies into German he informed Francke;¹²³ it is quite possible that Francke had sent Jablonski Woodward's book to be translated.¹²⁴ As previously noted, Francke published a German translation of the SPCK's account of the charity schools in 1708.¹²⁵ His interest in these historical reports came from their witness to the world-wide spread of the work of reformation.

Boehm gathered intelligence on hospitals and other institutions in England, intending to publish this information in Germany under the title "*Pietas Anglicana*".¹²⁶ He also hoped to edit a "*Systema Theologiae Anglicanae practicum*", in which he organized some of the most skilled English writers under such categories as rebirth and self-denial.¹²⁷ Though neither of these

121 For a comparison of Boehm's theology and piety with that of the Church of England, see Chapter VIII.

122 Our concern is only with those English books connected with Halle. For a survey of the British devotional literature translated into German during this period, which may or may not have been studied at Halle, see McKenzie, "British Devotional Literature", esp. Chap. IV.

123 See pp. 47f above.

124 D.E. Jablonski to Francke, Berlin, 8 Mar. 1700 (ArFrSt C 214:1).

125 See pp. 98f above.

126 Boehm to Francke, London, 6 Jan. 1708 (ArFrSt C 827:1).

127 Boehm to H.J. Elers, 3 Sept. 1706, printed in: Sames, pp. 184f.

works appeared, they show his concern to make known in Germany the best of what he saw in the Anglican Church. Other projects simply took priority.¹²⁸

It is instructive to see which English theologians were deemed to be of most interest to Halle Pietists. Boehm was attracted to writings by some of the Cambridge Platonists. He sent Francke two English works by the "solid English theologian", Henry More (1614-1687), for use in the library of the orphanage.¹²⁹ He held a high esteem for John Worthington (1618-1671), master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and friend of the Cambridge Platonists,¹³⁰ whose book on Christian self-resignation [*Gelassenheit*] was well-received in Germany. Praising Worthington's English translation of the *Imitation of Christ*, Boehm noted with pleasure how highly he spoke of Arndt.¹³¹ He also translated into German sermons of both John Smith (1618-1652)¹³² and Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688).¹³³ In particular he picked out Smith's sermons on "The Shortness and Vanity of a Pharisaick Righteousness", in which Smith contrasts the externals of a false religion with a true religion centred in the renewed souls of believers, and on "A Christians Conflicts and Conquests", emphasizing that in the battle against the devil the Christian's life is not passive but consists of inward life and power.¹³⁴ Boehm also published a work entitled "The Doctrine of the Living Knowledge of God and its Characteristics" which was mostly drawn from a Cudworth sermon on I John ii.3, though Boehm admitted he had not printed the whole sermon. He liked Cudworth's distinction between an active, living knowledge of God and a dead, fruitless one and his raising up the life of Christ in the heart over speculative notions about religion.¹³⁵ But the Hallensian approach to Cambridge Platonism was understandably somewhat eclectic. While they would have had great difficulty with such Cambridge Platonist ideas as the exalting of reason and the deification of

128 Boehm did pen a lengthy history of the Church of England, *Acht Bücher von der Reformation Der Kirche In England* (Altona, 1734), which was published posthumously. Cf. Burckhardt, *Kirchen-Geschichte*, pp. 75f.

129 "... eines gründlichen Engelländischen Theologi." (Boehm to Francke, London, 15 Oct. 1707 [ArFrSt C 826:11]); cf. Boehm, "Send-Schreiben", 14 Nov. 1717, in: *ErSchrift*, ii.378ff; DNB (xiii.868-70).

130 DNB (xxi.955-57).

131 Boehm to Mr. de Ners., London, 23 Oct. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 170; Boehm, "Send-Schreiben", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.409; John Worthington, *The Great Duty of Self-Resignation to the Divine Will* (London, 1675); *The Christians Pattern; Or A Divine Treatise Of the Imitation of Christ*, [trans. John Worthington] (London, 1663).

132 DNB (xviii.482f).

133 DNB (v.271f).

134 "Die Unvollkommenheit und Eitelkeit Pharisäischer Gerechtigkeit"; "Eines Christen Kampff und Überwindung", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.301-40, 747-86. English versions in: John Smith, *Select Discourses*, [ed. John Worthington] (London, 1660), pp. 347-72, 453-80.

135 "Die Lehre von der Lebendigen Erkenntniß Gottes, Und Deren Kennzeichen", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.787-834; *The Life of Christ the Pith and Kernal of All Religion: A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, At Westminster, March 31. 1647* (Cambridge, 1647); cf. Boehm, "Universal Love", in: *Discourses*, pp. 310f.

the person, they could identify closely with those tenets which displayed an inward spirituality similar to *Theologia Germanica*, disapproved of institutionalized and external religion, and lifted up the importance of love and the imitation of Christ.¹³⁶

In 1718 Boehm published a sermon by Isaac Barrow (1630–1677), master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and one of the leading Caroline divines, on “The Duty and Reward of Bounty to the Poor”, perhaps Barrow’s most famous sermon and the only one he saw in print.¹³⁷ Barrow’s insistence that true charity to the poor should be universal and impartial, regardless of sect or opinion, echoed the belief in universal love which lay near the centre of Arndtian piety.¹³⁸

It is not surprising that a Hallensian should prize the piety of those moderate representatives of the old Reformed tradition who survived as Anglicans after 1662, combining loyalty to the national Church with a devotion to the “doctrines of grace”. Boehm was so taken with one of the most important survivors, Ezekiel Hopkins (1634–1690), the Bishop of Derry, that he translated three of his sermons into German, “The Doctrine of the Right Use of Holy Scripture”, “The Doctrine of Brotherly Admonition”, and “The Doctrine of Regeneration”.¹³⁹ To a correspondent who had requested information about English devotional books Boehm replied that he found Bishop Hopkins particularly profound because he

... observes the difference between a legalistic and an evangelical mortification, which is very necessary to teach in someone a true taste of godliness and to show others what kind of a difference there is between true Christianity and the web of a heathen morality.¹⁴⁰

Boehm saw two different types of asceticism: a legal one, which led to mere obedience to an external morality, and a gospel mortification, which implied a

136 On the Cambridge Platonists, see C.A. Platides, “‘The High and Aiery Hills of Platonism’: An Introduction to the Cambridge Platonists”, in: *The Cambridge Platonists*, ed. C.A. Platides (Cambridge, 1980 [1969]), pp. 1–41.

137 *The Duty and Reward of Bounty to the Poor: In a Sermon Preached ... in Easter Week, MDCLXXI* (London, 1671); *Die Pflicht gegen die Arme, und der Pflicht Lohn*, trans. A.W. B[oehm] (Wernigerode, 1718); cf. *DNB* (i.1219–25).

138 Boehm, “Universal Love”, in: *Discourses*, pp. 307–09.

139 “Die Lehre Vom rechten Gebrauch Der Heiligen Schrifft”, “Die Lehre von Brüderlicher Bestrafung”, and “Die Lehre Von der Wiedergeburt”, in: *ErSchrift*, ii.589–746. English versions of the last two sermons are in: Ezekiel Hopkins, *The First Volume of Discourses or Sermons on several Scriptures*, 2nd edn. (London, 1694 [1691]), pp. 120–78; *idem.*, *A Third Volume of Discourses or Sermons* (London, 1694), ii.1–188. I have not found an English copy of the first sermon.

140 “Dieser Autor bemercket den Unterschied zwischen einer gesetzlichen und einer Evangelischen Ertödtung, welcher Unterschied sehr nöthig ist, iemand einen wahren Geschmack der Gottseligkeit beyzubringen, und andern zu zeigen, was vor ein Unterschied sey, zwischen dem wahren Christenthum, und dem Gewebe einer heidnischen Moralitaet.” (Boehm to Mr. de Ners., 23 Oct. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 170)

continual putting off of the old nature as a result of the grace of God working in one's life.¹⁴¹

It was with the seventeenth-century Puritans and their modern Dissenting heirs that the Halle Pietists clearly found their closest theological kinship in England. The most popular English author in Halle was without question Thomas Goodwin (1600–1680), one-time President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and later a leading Independent minister.¹⁴² Spener had been impressed with Goodwin's writing and had sent one of his tracts to Canstein to be translated. These sentiments were shared by Samuel Urlsperger, who hoped to translate some of his treatises himself.¹⁴³ Francke, too, derived profit from reading Goodwin and asked Boehm to purchase some of his works, even though they were reported to be rare and expensive.¹⁴⁴ In Francke's *Monita Pastoralia Theologica*, in which pastoral suggestions are laid down for former students, he mentions Goodwin's tracts as ones which present the grace of Christ particularly well because "the article of justification is put forward with emphasis upon the inward practice of faith".¹⁴⁵ To make Goodwin better known selected works had been translated and published at Halle.¹⁴⁶

This admiration for Puritan and Nonconformist authors was shared by Boehm. Besides affirming the Pietist opinion of Goodwin,¹⁴⁷ he sent J.H. Michaelis at Halle a volume of works by John Bunyan (1628–1688),¹⁴⁸ noting that his influence had reached from England to Holland, Germany, and even France. He was grateful that few people knew that Bunyan was a Baptist since this might have hindered the good work his writings had accomplished.¹⁴⁹ Bunyan's *Pilgrims Progress*, he wrote, "was one of the first books through which God worked on my heart and convinced me of the nature of living Christianity".¹⁵⁰ Boehm was similarly impressed with Richard Baxter (1615–1691), particularly since during his 1704 tour with Slare around the English countryside he had visited Kidderminster, where he found evidence of Baxter's

141 Cf. Boehm, "Doctrine of Original Sin", in: *Discourses*, pp. 81–86; *Des hocherleuchteten engelländischen Lehrers Thomae Bromley geistreiches Tractätlein von denen Reisen der Kinder Israel*, trans. A.W. B[oehm], 2nd edn. (Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1722 [1710?]); Thomas Bromley, "The Journeys of the Children of Israel", appended to: *idem.*, *The Way to the Sabbath of Rest* (London, 1710 [1655]), pp. 47–147.

142 DNB (viii.148–50).

143 Canstein to Francke, Berlin, 22 Oct. 1698, and Dalwitz, 25 Oct. 1712, printed in: Schicketanz, pp. 44, 544.

144 Boehm to Francke, London, 18 July 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 154f.

145 "... daß der Articulus de Justificatio mit Nachdruck auf die internam praxim fidei geführt wird." (A.H. Francke, *Monita Pastoralia Theologica* [Halle, 1718], p. 43)

146 Thom. Goodwin, *Geistreiche Schriften* (Halle, 1715).

147 Boehm, "Send-Schreiben", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.378ff.

148 DNB (iii.275–84).

149 Boehm to J.H. Michaelis, London, 18 Feb. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 89f.

150 "Es war eins der ersten Bücher, wodurch GOtt an meinem Herzen arbeitete und mich von der Art des lebendigen Christenthums überzeugete." (Boehm to N.N. in New York, n.p., n.d., printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 547 [544–48])

legacy and heard much praise of his life-style, teaching, and pastoral care.¹⁵¹ In Boehm's mind, Baxter had a glorious gift of putting forward the simplicity of true Christianity in a powerful way, even though this gift was spoiled to some extent by later controversies with the Anglican Church over the issue of conformity. Nonetheless, Baxter was someone who put into practice what he preached and who left observable footprints of his pastoral ministry in Kidderminster.¹⁵²

Pietist interest in English authors was concentrated on but not limited to those outside the Anglican communion. Though receiving only a minor place, a number of English historical and apologetical works are briefly mentioned in *Monita Pastoralia Theologica*, including *Origines Sacrae* by Edward Stillingfleet (1635–1699),¹⁵³ Horneck's work on the Primitive Church,¹⁵⁴ and Worthington's piece on self-resignation.¹⁵⁵ Towards the end of his treatise Francke lists some tracts to read when one has spare time and includes Stillingfleet's *Epistola contra Deistas*¹⁵⁶ and *Dissertationes de stilo Scripturae Sae- und de veneratione, humani intellectus erga Deum* by Robert Boyle (1627–1691).¹⁵⁷ Because of the excellence of Boyle's works they had been translated into German and published at the *Waisenhaus*.¹⁵⁸ Though Francke appreciated all these books, none but Goodwin received a significant place in *Monita Pastoralia Theologica*. Only two of these English works – the selected works of Goodwin and Boyle – were actually translated and published at the orphanage. The only other publication of an English book at Halle, at least during the elder Francke's lifetime, was the SPCK's account of the charity schools.

Ziegenhagen was of a different breed than Boehm. He was not, like his predecessor, a translator or a publisher. The driving concern of Boehm was to spread "true Christianity", as it was expressed devotionally in Arndt and outwardly in Francke's work and the East India mission, while Ziegenhagen was more of a theologian and was not impelled by the same spiritual imperative. When asked in 1725 to recommend some useful English books, Ziegenhagen included two works by Samuel Clark, Matthew Henry's *Exposition*, Tillotson's *Works*, *The Whole Duty of Man*, Gilbert Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Prideaux's *Connexion of the Old and New Testament*, Echard's

151 Boehm, "Send-Schreiben", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.410f; cf. DNB (i.1349–57).

152 Boehm to S.S., London, 11 Apr. 1712, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 220–23.

153 *Origines sacrae*, or, *A Rational Account of the Grounds of Christian Faith, as to the Truth and Divine Authority of the Scriptures* (London, 1662); cf. DNB (xviii.1262–65).

154 "A Letter to a Person of Quality, concerning the Heavenly Lives of the Primitive Christians", appended to: *The Happy Ascetic* (London, 1681), pp. 475–542.

155 Francke, *Monita*, pp. 94f, 97ff.

156 *A Letter to a Deist, in answer to several objections against the truth and authority of the Scriptures* (London, 1677).

157 *Some Considerations Touching the Style of the H. Scriptures* (London, 1661); *Of the High Veneration Man's Intellect Owes to God* (London, 1685); cf. DNB (ii.1026–31).

158 Francke, *Monita*, pp. 112f; Robert Boyle, *Auserlesene Theologische Schriften* (Halle, 1709).

Roman History, and Addison's *The Freeholders*.¹⁵⁹ It almost need not be stated that a comparable list from Boehm would look considerably different. Ziegenhagen was more closely attuned to the cooler, more rational piety of the early eighteenth century: in him the concern for the "inwardness" of piety has diminished – a shift in religious sensibility which was visible at Halle itself, where the devotional fires of A.H. Francke's Pietism had begun to sink.

In spite of the fact that both Francke and Boehm took an interest in certain English authors, the literary exchange between Halle and Britain was significantly imbalanced. There was no one from England in Halle to complement the efforts of Boehm in England, who was more inclined to bring German works into England than English ones into Germany. With regard to the SPCK's and Halle's similar work to further reformation by dispersing literature, one final point deserves mention: in both Britain and Protestant Germany no one could match either the SPCK or Halle in the extensiveness of their activity. Norman Sykes observed that the SPCK "controlled almost to monopoly" the publishing of educational literature in Britain during the early eighteenth century.¹⁶⁰ Halle's distribution empire was greater still, reaching literally from Russia to America. It set an example which the Society sought to emulate.

159 Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 4 May 1725 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/28).

160 Edmund Gibson (London, 1926), pp. 197f.

CHAPTER VI

“Jerusalem is being built”: Expanding the SPCK’s Work Beyond Britain

The decision of the SPCK in 1710 to support the East India mission was a momentous one. Not only did it initiate what would become over one hundred years of work in India, but it also set in motion the processes by which the Society gradually expanded its work beyond Britain to other parts of the globe. When a £200 legacy was left for the mission in 1715 Boehm enthusiastically declared:

Thus the tiny mustard seed of the Kingdom of God is penetrating through all hindrances and Jerusalem is being built, although at a time of scarcity. The East and West Indies will at length be made fragrant with the blessed knowledge of Christ.¹

Boehm’s words proved prophetic for the SPCK, which within twenty years was involved in work that stretched literally from East to West. Our purpose in this chapter is to examine the Society’s major endeavours of the 1720s and 1730s, which, though seemingly unconnected, including as they do such unrelated interests as the publication of books in Arabic, a mission to the Jews, and the resettlement of German-speaking Protestants, have one common cord which binds them together: they were inspired by Pietists. Even as these Germans turned the attention of the Society to India, so they pointed them to opportunities in such distant venues as the Levant and the newly established colony of Georgia in America.

1. The Arabic Psalter and New Testament

Background: Ludolf and the Eastern World

English interests in the near East were well established by the late seventeenth century, due largely to the flourishing Levant trade, exemplified by the Levant Company, which was experiencing its most prosperous period.² The lucrative

1 “So dringet sich das Senf-Körnlein des Reiches Gottes durch alle Hindernissen hindurch, und Jerusalem wird gebauet, wiewol zu einer kümmerlichen Zeit. Ost- und West-Indien wird endlich mit der seligen Erkenntnis Christi, wolriechend gemacht werden.” (Boehm to Samuel Urisperger, London, 6 Dec. 1715, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 468f)

2 See A.C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford, 1935).

nature of the Eastern market had made it a cause of bitter economic rivalry, as French and English merchants after the signing of peace at Ryswick struggled for the lion's share of the trade.³ The mercantilist conflicts were given an added religious edge, for the English trading communities at Constantinople, Aleppo, and Smyrna felt insecure, surrounded as they were by the vast Muslim world and uneasy at the competition of Roman Catholicism. There was a certain interest in Anglican circles in an *entente* with the Eastern Church, which was perceived as a bastion against Roman expansionism. High Church and Nonjuring exponents of the "branch theory" of Catholicism saw in Orthodoxy a valid stem of the visible Church less militant and threatening than the Roman – perhaps because of its remoteness – and were interested in establishing relations with it. But doctrinal disparities especially over transubstantiation in the Holy Communion and Anglican suspicions of Orthodox mysticism and superstition meant that by the time of the arrival of two Orthodox dignitaries in 1714,⁴ Anglican interest in Greek Orthodoxy had subsided. Despite their mutual rejection of papal authority and their common retention of the Apostolic Succession, the main characteristic which they held in common was a mutual fear of Rome, which was not enough to keep them close together.⁵

Interest in the Eastern Church proved to be a useful point of contact between Halle and the English Church. Here again the chief instigator was H.W. Ludolf, whose missionary passion for a "universal Church" coupled with his philological interest in the Eastern languages led to a particular concern for Russian and Greek Orthodoxy. In addition to an earlier lengthy visit to Russia, he had in 1699–1700 journeyed to the Levant. Ludolf's deep concern was for the inward renewal of the Greek Orthodox Church. His reform program was in essence a globalization of Spener's eschatological "hope for better times" for the Lutheran Church. Using *ecclesiolae in ecclesia* and encouraging contacts between reborn groups and individuals, Ludolf hoped to propagate a renewal of Christendom. His goal was not proselytism to a universal Church structure, but non-sectarian spiritual renewal.⁶ Writing in 1699 to Dr. Charlett at University College, Oxford, from Constantinople,

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 119ff.

4 G. Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1868), pp. xxvi–xxx. Cf. Boehm to Francke, London, 15 Oct. 1707 (ArFrSt C 826:11); to Canstein, London, 12 Sept. 1715, printed in: ErBrief, p. 459; Chamberlayne to Archbishop Tenison, Petty France, 13 June 1713 (Lambeth MSS 930:30).

5 See J.C.S. Runciman, "The Church of England and the Orthodox Churches in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", in: *Anglican Initiatives in Christian Unity*, ed. E.G.W. Bill (London, 1967), pp. 1–18; *idem.*, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 289–319.

6 See H. Goltz, "Ecclesia Universa. Bemerkungen über die Beziehungen H.W. Ludolfs zu Rußland und zu den orientalischen Kirchen", in: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* (Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe) 28/6 (1979), pp. 21f, 26f; J. Wallmann, "Wiedergeburt und Erneuerung bei Philipp Jakob Spener", *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 3 (1976), pp. 30f.

Ludolf encouraged "a correspondence with some well disposed people of the Eastern Church".⁷ A few weeks later he described how he had met the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem and attempted to speak with him about "essential and genuine Christianity" [*essentialis und realis Christianismus*], but had found the elderly Patriarch unresponsive and anxious always to turn the conversation back towards "his antiquities and patristic traditions" [*auf seine antiquitatem et patrum traditionem*].⁸ This exchange convinced Ludolf that the renewal of the Greek Church would not come easily from its hierarchy, if all leaders were so tradition-bound: the way forward lay with the education of Greek youth in such a way that they would be freed from denominational narrowness of mind.

Such sentiments led to Ludolf's contacts with Benjamin Woodroffe, Principal of Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College), Oxford, who had a particular interest in Orthodox Christianity and in the late 1690s had actually brought into being a scheme to establish a college of boys belonging to the Greek Church at his Oxford college,⁹ where they could be instructed in the fundamentals of religion to enable them more effectively to defend the faith on their return. Both Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton of London warmly recommended a petition to William III to gain his financial support for this project to reinforce "the true primitive religion" in the Greek Church in its struggle against "the pressure of the Mohametans and the Romish impostures".¹⁰ The first youths arrived in 1699 from Smyrna. The recruitment had been carried out by Ludolf, who travelled to Smyrna and secured six Greek boys for Oxford. Archbishop Tenison himself wrote to Francke, seeking a teacher from Halle to work in Woodroffe's college.¹¹ In the end, Boehm was designated for this task, though as it transpired, he never worked at Oxford as hoped. Wigers, one of the first two teachers Francke had dispatched at Tenison's request, went to meet Woodroffe and passed on to him Francke's pedagogical method for the instruction of the youths.¹² Unfortunately, due to poor living conditions and lack of money Woodroffe's design ended in failure. However, Greek youths were later successfully incorporated in Francke's institutions, where he founded his *Collegium Orientale* in 1702; this was in part due once more to the influence of Ludolf,¹³ who in 1701 had

7 Ludolf to Charlett, Constantinople, 10 July 1699 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS* 26:83b).

8 Ludolf to Francke, Constantinople, 30 Aug. 1699 (ArFrSt D 71:20-21).

9 See undated printed broadsheet, "A Model of a College to be Settled In the University, For the Education of some Youths of the Greek Church" (Lambeth MSS 938:38); cf. E.D. Tappe, "The Greek College at Oxford, 1699-1705", *Oxoniensa* 19 (1954), pp. 92-111; C.H. Daniel and W.R. Barker, *Worcester College* (London, 1900), pp. 128-51.

10 Petition to the King, 20 May 1700, printed in: E. Bateson, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series* (London, 1737), pp. 41f.

11 Herrnschmid to his father, Halle, 20 July 1699, printed in: Nebe, pp. 53-54; see p. 74 above.

12 Wigers to Francke, London, 12 Dec. 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.428).

13 Ludolf to?, 30 Aug. 1699, cited in: E. Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt der deutschen*

informed Francke of Woodroffe's carelessness.¹⁴ The English chaplain at Smyrna, an acquaintance of Ludolf who visited Halle in 1702 or 1703, was helpful in sending the first recruits to the *Collegium Orientale*.¹⁵

In the Levant, Ludolf had been able to direct a number of English merchants towards Francke's work. One of these, Jacob Turner, an English businessman at Smyrna, sent his son to Halle,¹⁶ where he himself had visited Francke and inspected the institutions. It was Francke's devout hope that Turner and other English merchants in the East might serve as patrons and correspondents for his ever increasing commercial ventures.¹⁷

On returning from the Levant in 1700 Ludolf began vigorously to promote his proposals for renewing the Greek Church. Already in 1698 he had expressed to Charlett in Oxford his wish for a seminary which would so train chaplains serving the Anglican Church in the Levant that "they might be enabled to serve Christs Universal Church all under one".¹⁸ Next year he brought to the SPCK proposals for the "Propagating of Christian Knowledge amongst the Orientall Churches", in which he suggested a seminary for English chaplains in which Oriental languages would be taught, establishing a further college in the Levant for Greek youths, the election of a committee from within the Society which would make the Eastern Church its particular care, and the publication of a small catechism in modern Greek. The Society requested Ludolf to make extractions from seventeen catechisms which "would be most acceptable to the Orientall Christians, and likely to enlarge their Christian Knowledge".¹⁹ A few months later Ludolf presented a scheme for a short Scriptural catechism; the Society asked Bishop Williams of Chichester to draw up a paper for Greek Christians, but, sadly, despite a reminder from the Society, the Bishop did not respond and the Society laid aside Ludolf's proposals.²⁰

But Ludolf was not to be put off by the SPCK's inaction. In 1702 he and Papa [Lapas] Seraphim, a Greek priest who had come to England to help Ludolf, brought before the SPG a proposal for publishing the New Testament

Russlandkunde im 18. Jahrhundert (Berlin, 1953), pp. 32f; E. Benz, "Die Beziehungen des August-Hermann-Francke-Kreises zu den Ostslaven", in: *Festschrift für Dmytro Cyzevskij [Tschizewskij] zum 60. Geburtstag am 23. März 1954*, ed. M. Vasmer (Berlin, 1954), p. 79.

14 Ludolf to Francke, London, 10 Mar. 1701, printed in: Nebe, pp. 82f.

15 Ludolf to Francke, Constantinople, 1 May 1699, and London, 27 Feb. 1703 (ArFrSt D 71:16, D 23:126); Francke to Chishull, Halle, 24 Dec. 1703 (draft), printed in: Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, p. 339; cf. Aland, ed., "Die Annales Hallenses ecclesiastici", p. 393; Benz, "Beziehungen des August-Hermann-Francke-Kreises", pp. 92f.

16 See pp. 89f above.

17 Francke to Chishull, 24 Dec. 1703, printed in: Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, p. 340.

18 Ludolf to Charlett, Halle, 17 Feb. 1698 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS 26:81f*); cf. Ludolf to Charlett, 10 July 1699 (Bodl., *Ballard MSS 26:83f*).

19 SPCK *Minutes*, 23 & 30 Dec. 1700, printed in: McClure, pp. 99-103.

20 *Ibid.*, 17 & 24 Feb., 17 & 31 Mar. 1701, printed in: McClure, pp. 113-15, 118, 124, 126.

in "Vulgar Greek".²¹ The SPG's Committee for Receiving Proposals took up this request but rendered the cautious opinion that such a publication might appear provocative and

... that no Private Person is fitt to be Entrusted with the Care of such a Translation which shall afterwards be sent from the Society to the Gracian [*sic*] Churches, and that no such Translation be sent unless it be approv'd of by the Governour of the said Churches.²²

Ludolf remained unperturbed and began raising money to publish the New Testament. In a handwritten account he listed some of the contributors to his project: they numbered not only Anglicans – Charles Bridges, Woodward, Thomas Bray, J.E. Grabe, Dr. Slare, and Archbishop Sharp of York – but also Edmund Calamy, the most celebrated Nonconformist leader.²³ Archbishop Tenison also gave his blessing to the project.²⁴ In 1703 the New Testament was finished at a total cost of about £150²⁵ and Ludolf set about the difficult task of propagation.²⁶ His New Testament was poorly received in the Levant and ordered to be burnt by the Patriarch of Constantinople, apparently because of a Preface written by Seraphim, Ludolf's friend, who was an unfrocked Greek priest; a new edition was published in 1705 without the scandalous Preface, the contents of which are unknown.²⁷

Though in this initiative Ludolf was unsuccessful in eliciting a response from either the SPCK or the SPG, he had nonetheless planted a seed which would bear fruit two decades later.

The Arabic Psalter and New Testament

In 1720 Boehm returned to the theme, laying before the Society

... a proposal for printing the New-Testament in Arabick for the use of the Christians in the Eastern Countries, where Arabick is used, but for want of *printing*, Books of any sort and especially of the Holy Scriptures cannot be obtained but at such prices as very few can reach to.²⁸

This time the project had a very different response. In the interim, knowledge of Halle's work with the *Collegium Orientale* and Bible distribution, coupled

21 SPG *Journals* 1, 1 May 1702 (p. 60) (ArUSPG).

22 SPG *Journal of the Committee for Receiving Proposals* 1, 5 May 1702 (p. 20) (ArUSPG).

23 "Account of the Moneys received and disbursed about printing the New Testament in Vulgar Greek", n.p., n.d. (ArFrSt D 23:8-9).

24 Ludolf to Francke, London, 8 July 1702 (ArFrSt D 71:109-10).

25 T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture*, 2 vols. (London, 1911), ii.680, incorrectly state that this edition was printed at the expense of the SPG.

26 Ludolf to Mr. de Lente, n.p., 6 Feb. 1703; to Mr. Williams at Constantinople, London, 16 Apr. 1703; to Mr. Clutterbock, [Rotterdam,] 15 June 1703 (ArFrSt D 23:121f,9-10,139).

27 Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, ii.680.

28 SPCK *Minutes*, 24 Mar. 1720 (ix.92).

with the SPCK's experience of mission in the East Indies, had helped to produce a greater optimism in the Society, an optimism which is that much more remarkable given the generally low Anglican interest in Greek Orthodoxy at this time.²⁹ When Archbishop Wake himself urged that the SPCK "should cheerfully go on with that Design" and when the Society learned that Arabic was indeed widely read by Christians in Palestine, it agreed that printing and dispersing both the New Testament and the Psalter would "answer the pious and charitable design of the Society".³⁰

To encourage benefactions, the Society sent out a tract, transcribed and prepared for the press by Boehm, containing extracts from letters in favour of the project and a proposal for raising subscriptions.³¹ In this tract the SPCK printed letters of support, including one from Solomon Negri, a native of Damascus living in England, who drew attention to the scarcity and high cost of the New Testament among Christians in Eastern Churches and to the proselytizing efforts of Rome.³² Former Anglican chaplains in the Levant and India lent their approval, as did the Rev. Gennadius, Archimandrite of the Convent of Greeks at Alexandria, who had written enthusiastically, "I can't express to you the Joy which I felt, when I heard that such a design was beginning to be put in Execution."³³

The enterprise did indeed seem to have strong support. Writing to Henry Newman, Archbishop Wake expressed his hope that it would arouse public interest: "I think there is enough to Satisfy any reasonable man of the Charity and Usefulness (so I would rather have it, than necessity) of such a Design."³⁴ Hearty recommendations for the proposal came from Francke in Halle, Sir John Philipps, and Bishop Tylor of Llandaff, a former chaplain in India, who sent the princely sum of £100, remarking that "he could not better contribute to so Christian a Design".³⁵ Even the King promised £500, though it took four years and the intercession of Sir John Philipps, uncle to Sir Robert Walpole's wife, to extract the money from him.³⁶

29 John Covell, *Some Account of the Present Greek Orthodox Church* (Cambridge, 1722), confirmed Anglican mistrust of Orthodox superstition. Cf. Runciman, "The Church of England and the Orthodox Churches", p. 17.

30 SPCK *Minutes*, 30 June and 24 Nov. 1720 (ix.112f,127). The only detailed treatment of the Society's involvement in this project is: Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 67-71.

31 *An Extract of several Letters Relating to the Great Charity and Usefulness of Printing the New Testament and Psalter in the Arabick Language* (London, 1720); Boehm to Newman, Strand, 4 July 1720 (ArSPCK, *Arab Bible* [CS2/1.No.8:14]).

32 *Extract of several Letters*, pp. 4-6.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

34 W. Cant. to Newman, Lambeth, 10 Oct. 1720 (ArSPCK, *Arab Bible* [CS2/1. No.8:43]).

35 Francke to Archbishop Wake, Halle, 4 Jan. 1722 (ArSPCK, *Original Letters* [CR2/5:414]); Sir John Philipps to SPCK, Picton Castle, 10 Sept. 1720 (abstract); Bishop of Llandaff to SPCK, Hereford, 4 Jan. 1721 (abstract), printed in: Clement, p. 109-10.

36 SPCK *Minutes*, 6 Apr. 1721 (ix.165); Sir John Philipps to SPCK, Picton Castle, 9 Sept. 1725 (abstract), printed in: Clement, pp. 134f. Cf. Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 69f.

The task of preparing the Psalter and New Testament for the printer was turned over to Solomon Negri, a Syrian and old friend of Ludolf,³⁷ who, at Ludolf's suggestion, had travelled to Halle in 1701, where for a short time he taught Arabic at the *Collegium Orientale*.³⁸ By 1719, after itinerant wanderings over Europe, he had returned again to London with John Xeres, a Jewish convert to Christianity: both men were in such financial straits that the Society took a collection and divided it among them.³⁹ Negri had a warm recommendation from Francke:

Salomon Negri, a Man I highly respect, is a Person in my Opinion very well qualify'd to be entrusted in this laborious work and through God's assistance may bring it fair Conclusion: He for some Time ... taught the Arabick language in this University.⁴⁰

The work was to prove laborious. The *Minutes* and correspondence of the Society and its standing Committee give evidence of the many difficulties involved with this project, due in part to the "narrowness of the Fund" and the "niceties" of the Arabic script.⁴¹ It was four years before the Psalter was finished. When at last the Society printed 6,000 copies, 2,000 were immediately sent to an English merchant at Aleppo for distribution.⁴² The New Testament was an even more extensive and expensive effort. Considerable delays were incurred because of "various sharp disputes" in the Society over whether orthographical notes should be used in the New Testament in order to make it "more intelligible to the Common People".⁴³ Eventually 10,000 New Testaments and 5,000 catechisms were printed to go with the 6,000 Psalters.⁴⁴ The catechism, a short account of the chief truths of the Christian religion, was amended by Archbishop Wake before being translated into Arabic.⁴⁵ It was printed at the request of C.M. Rodde, a Lutheran pastor at Narva in Russia and corresponding member of the Society.⁴⁶ Once a prisoner in Russia for twelve years, Rodde had studied under Negri at Halle in 1716 and then returned to Narva where he worked among prisoners who spoke

37 [H.W. Ludolf,] "Nomina nonnullorum amicorum meorum", n.p., [c.1699-1700] (ArFrSt B 71a:2-4). On Negri, see G.A. Freylinghausen, ed., *Memoria Negriana* (Halle, 1764).

38 Ludolf to Francke, London, 10 Mar. 1701, printed in: Nebe, p. 83; Francke to Spener, Halle, 2 July 1701, printed in: Kramer, p. 470; cf. Jacob Turner to Francke, London, 24 Feb. 1702 (*Nachlaß* 30.X.387).

39 SPCK *Minutes*, 22 Jan. 1719 (viii.225).

40 Francke to Archbishop Wake, Halle, 4 Jan. 1722 (ArSPCK, *Original Letters* [CR2/5:414]).

41 Newman to Sherman, Middle Temple, 23 Dec. 1724 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/15:28-29]).

42 SPCK *Minutes*, 22 Dec. 1724 (xi.95).

43 "Über den druck des Arabischen N. Testaments sind unterschiedene scharffe disputen in unserer Societaet entstanden." (Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 21 July 1724 [*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/13]); Newman to Sherman, 23 Dec. 1724 (ArSPCK, *Soc Lett* [CS2/15:28-29]).

44 *Account of the ... SPCK* (1737), p. 7.

45 SPCK *Minutes*, 10 Sept. 1728 (xii.288).

46 Ziegenhagen to G.A. Francke, London, 24 Sept. 1728 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/46).

Arabic, Turkish, or Persian.⁴⁷ During his stay at Halle he had helped with the printing of Luther's catechism in Russian.⁴⁸ Rodde became the Society's key link with Russia.⁴⁹

The final task was that of disseminating the Arabic impressions. Though the SPCK had the approval of the Archbishop of Aleppo and contacts in that city willing to offer their services, distribution did not go well in Palestine.⁵⁰ The SPCK sent copies to the missionaries in the East Indies, to Rodde for use with Persian prisoners in Russian garrisons, and to the pastor of the German Lutheran Church in St. Petersburg. Rodde reported how well the prisoners received the literature and asked for a fresh supply.⁵¹ Copies were also sent later to James Oglethorpe, founder of the Georgia colony, for distribution to Muslim slaves, the "Mohametary Africans in Carolina", and some even reached Africa, at a later date, through the Sierra Leone Company.⁵²

In the end the whole project cost the Society about £3,000. It was the largest venture of its type which the SPCK attempted and absorbed a large share of the Society's energy and correspondence. Not only was it far more expensive and time-consuming than expected, but the distribution in Palestine was poor. Ziegenhagen was frustrated because the frequent debates in the Society over the Arabic New Testament had set back interest in the East India

47 D. Tschizewskij, "Die 'Russischen Drucke' der Hallenser Pietisten", *Kynos: Vierteljahresschrift für Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte Osteuropas* 3 (1938), p. 69; Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, pp. 301f; Benz, "Beziehungen des August-Hermann-Francke-Kreises", pp. 81-84.

48 Rodde to J.H. Callenberg, Narva, 29 June 1725 (extract), printed in: Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, p. 365; Tschizewskij, "Die 'Russischen Drucke'", p. 69; *idem.*, "Zu den Beziehungen des A.H. Francke-Kreises zu den Ostslaven", *Kynos: Vierteljahresschrift für Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte Osteuropas* 4 (1939/40), pp. 297ff.

49 Ernst Benz, "Beziehungen des August-Hermann-Francke-Kreises", pp. 78-90, overstates the Society's importance in Halle-Russian relations. He misreads an abstract of a Rodde letter referring to London editions of Arndt's *True Christianity*, which Benz assumes incorrectly are Russian translations. The SPCK was not the centre which Benz claims for sending books off the Halle presses around the world. In 1731 Rodde asked the Society if it was willing to contribute towards publishing his Russian translation of Francke's catechism and part of Arndt's *True Christianity*. The Society responded that it would be glad to "if the present Demand from the Mission in the East Indies and other Branches of their Designs did not disable them from it". Later, Newman questioned G.A. Francke about the cost of this printing. Francke assumed that the Society would support this project, causing some confusion in the Society which resolved: "To inquire which Promise was made to Professor Franck that this Society would aspire in publishing Arndts True Christianity in the Russian Language." No money was sent for this design. (Rodde to SPCK, Narva, 21 June 1731 [ArSPCK, *ALB* (CR1/16: 11414)]; SPCK *Minutes*, 14 Sept. 1731 (xiv.85f); Rodde to Ziegenhagen, Narva, 6 Sept. 1733, and Newman to G.A. Francke, London, 21 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 87, 355f; G.A. Francke to SPCK, Halle, 28 July 1735, with Society response [ArSPCK, *ALB* (CR1/18:13293)])

50 Newman to Sir Gerard Conyers, Bartlet's Buildings, 9 July 1736 (ArSPCK, *Misc. Letters* [CN2/2:41]).

51 SPCK *Minutes*, 6 Feb. 1728 (xii.187); *Circular Letter* (1 May 1735); Newman to Rev. Mr. L.O. Trefurt, London, 31 May 1737 (ArSPCK, *Misc. Letters* [CN2/3:36]).

52 Newman to Oglethorpe, Bartlet's Buildings, 13 Apr. 1738 (ArSPCK, *Misc. Letters* [CN2/4:50]); *General Account of the SPCK* (1813), p. 17.

mission.⁵³ Why did the SPCK get involved in such an ambitious project as publishing the Arabic Psalter and New Testament? The impetus was largely religious, since many in the Church of England were undoubtedly concerned for the survival of the Orthodox Church against the onslaughts of Islam and Catholicism. The circulation of the Scriptures was seen – as later by the British and Foreign Bible Society – as a counter-attack against Rome, which feared the power of an “open Bible”. Boehm felt that the Jesuits would seek to undermine their efforts and defame the publication.⁵⁴ Because of “the Vigilance of the Papists to defeat the Work”, Newman said that the Psalter and New Testament should be published anonymously and dispersed quietly.⁵⁵ The project was also concerned to raise morale and the level of faith among Middle Eastern Christians, by providing religious reading for the “Poor Christians destitute of Books” in the Levant.⁵⁶

The driving force behind this particular venture was undoubtedly the vision of the Hallensians. After the SPCK had turned over its West Indies library work to the SPG, it was Halle which turned the SPCK's gaze back overseas, to the wider world, first with the East India mission work and then with the printing of the Arabic Psalter and New Testament. Boehm, Negri, and Rodde were closely associated with Francke at Halle, as was Ludolf whose care for the Greek Church was still remembered by the Society.⁵⁷ The Pietists had already put out editions of the New Testament in modern Greek and Bohemian and the Bible in Hebrew and Bohemian.⁵⁸ When the SPCK expressed interest in printing the Bible and other religious books to sustain the beleaguered Protestants in Hungary and Transylvania, it was to Francke that Archbishop Wake suggested that they should turn for advice.⁵⁹ In 1715 when Negri was in England, Boehm had expressed to Francke his hope that “the existing Turkish and Arabic versions of the New Testament would be revised by him [Negri] and issued in a more convenient edition”.⁶⁰ Although the

53 Ziegenhagen to A.H. Francke, London, 22 Feb. and 9 Dec. 1726 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/38,44).

54 Boehm to [Halle], London, 29 Dec. 1721 (extract) (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/15a).

55 Newman to Rev. Mr. Bedford, Middle Temple, 2 Jan. 1724 (ArSPCK, Soc Lett [CS2/14]).

56 Salomon Negri to [Boehm], n.p., 28 Mar. 1720 (copy) (ArSPCK, *Arab Bible* [CS2/1.No.8:1]). One of Ludolf's major frustrations was that the ruling Ottoman power would not allow printing in the Orthodox Church. (Ludolf to Francke, 30 Aug. 1699 [ArFrSt D 71:20–21])

57 Henry Hoare had £10 left from Ludolf's legacy and asked the Society if the Arabic Psalter and New Testament “would not, in their Opinion, be conformable to the Inclination of the late Mr. Ludolf”, to which the Society agreed. (SPCK *Minutes*, 18 Dec. 1722 [x.113])

58 K. Aland, “Der deutsche Pietismus als Wegbereiter für die Arbeit der Bibelgesellschaften”, in: *On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida*, ed. M. Black and W.A. Smalley (The Hague/Paris, 1974), pp. 3–21; cf. idem., “Bibel und Bibeltext”, pp. 119–27.

59 SPCK *Minutes*, 15 Jan. 1723 (x.122).

60 “... daß die verhandene [*sic*] Türkische und Arabische Versiones des Neuen Testaments, durch ihn revidiret, und in einer bequemen Edition, zum Druck ausgefertigt würden.” (Boehm to Francke, London, 14 June 1715, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 429)

Society had previously committed itself to Bible distribution, having prepared the Portuguese New Testament for the East India mission – at the suggestion of Boehm – and having subscribed in 1714 for 100 copies of the Welsh Bible,⁶¹ the Arabic Psalter and New Testament was a scheme far outside the scope of its normal *modus operandi*. The mainspring of this venture came from Boehm and Negri, who persuaded the SPCK to take on and pay for a project designed in Halle.

Epilogue: Callenberg's Judaico Institute

Shortly after the completion of the Arabic impressions the SPCK took an interest in another Halle project: J.H. Callenberg's mission to the Jews. The idea of the conversion of the Jews – “God's ancient people” – was one which periodically troubled missionary-minded Christians, especially those who saw it as one of the prophesied preliminaries to Christ's millennial reign.⁶² The orthodox Christian mind oscillated between dislike of the Jews as aliens and outsiders, and recognition that they possessed a role in the redemptive processes set out in the Scriptures. P.J. Spener's own chiliastic eschatology had stirred up hope for the conversion of the Jews within German Pietism.⁶³ At Halle in 1727, Johann H. Callenberg (1694–1760), who was taught Arabic at Halle by Solomon Negri⁶⁴ and later became Professor of Oriental Languages at the University, initiated a mission to the Jews, or Judaico Institute. The design was simple: using his own printing press at the *Waisenhaus*, Callenberg issued books in Yiddish for the conversion of the Jews and works in Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Hindostani for the conversion of the Muslims. Travelling candidates in theology at the University would distribute these books in their various journeys around Europe.⁶⁵ It was largely through Sir John Philipps that the SPCK took an interest in this enterprise.⁶⁶ In 1731 Ziegenhagen had a letter from Callenberg translated and read before the Society, which approved it sufficiently to have fifty copies made and disseminated in England.⁶⁷ In the

61 Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 203.

62 See M. Vereté, “The Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought 1790–1840”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 8 (1972), pp. 18f.

63 Wallmann, *Spener und die Anfänge*, pp. 307, 316ff.

64 F.T. Adler, *Mittheilungen aus Johann Heinrich Callenberg's Briefen* (Halle, 1898), pp. 11–16.

65 Förster, *Uebersicht der Geschichte der Universität zu Halle*, pp. 112f. See J.H. Callenberg's *Short Account of an Essay to Bring the Jewish Nation to the Knowledge & Practice of the Truth of the Gospel & his Endeavor to Promote the Conversion of the Mohammadans to Christianity . . . done into English* (n.p., 1751). Unfortunately, since the only extant copies of this work of which I am aware are in Philadelphia, I have been unable to consult it.

66 Sir John Philipps to [Halle], n.p., 16 Mar. 1731 (copy) (ArFrSt K 21:239); cf. Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, London, 13 Aug. 1731, and Kensington, 30 Aug. 1734 (ArFrSt K 7:240; K 19:24).

67 Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, London, 23 Apr. 1731 (ArFrSt K 6:273–74); cf. Ziegenhagen to G.A. Francke, London, 24 Sept. 1728 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/46); to G.A. Francke, London, 5 Nov. and 10 Dec. 1728 (ArFrSt K 2:136, 150).

letter, Callenberg offered the SPCK copies of a treatise published at Halle for the conversion of the Jews called "Light in the Evening". Optimistically, he compared his infant Jewish ministry with the small beginnings of the Halle orphanage and suggested that the Society might consider sending some support to what could grow into a significant enterprise.⁶⁸ In response, the Society set up a committee to discuss the idea and ordered 100 copies of "Light in the Evening".⁶⁹

In the autumn of 1734 two students from the Judaico Institute arrived in England, J.A. Manitius and Mr. Widmann.⁷⁰ They had already travelled through Europe, distributing books and conversing with Jews.⁷¹ Widmann soon returned to the Continent, but Manitius stayed in London over the winter, improving his English and receiving some theological instruction from Ziegenhagen.⁷² Before leaving England he thanked the SPCK "for all the undeserved Kindness, shew'd to me in a favourable Reception", though he could report but twelve converts from his work in London.⁷³ The Society, praising the work of these two envoys, made them corresponding members and decided to publish an appendix to the charity school sermon of 1735, in which it gave a short account of the Judaico Institute, expressing the wish "that some proper Means for these Ends [the conversion of the Jews] maybe attempted in *Great Britain*".⁷⁴ In spite of continued interest in the Institute by individuals like Philipps, Sir John Thorold, and Isaac Hollis,⁷⁵ the SPCK took no further action in support of the mission to the Jews, though its initial interest foreshadowed the later work of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, founded in 1809.⁷⁶

There was no clear consensus on the necessity of a mission to the Jews. The expense involved and the small harvest in converts dissuaded many from supporting Callenberg's mission. He was told that the prophetic hour for the conversion of the Jews was still far distant.⁷⁷ Isaac Watts informed him,

68 Callenberg to Ziegenhagen, Halle, 14 Mar. 1731 (copy) (Bodl., *Bishop Edmund Gibson MSS Dep C 233:39*).

69 SPCK to Ziegenhagen, London, 15 June 1731 (ArSPCK, *ALB* [CR1/16:14509]); SPCK *Minutes*, 5 Aug. 1731 (xiv.75); Newman to Callenberg, London, 6 Apr. 1732 (ArFrSt K 10:52-53).

70 Manitius to Callenberg, Westminster, 21 Oct. 1734 (ArFrSt K 19:131-33).

71 Callenberg to Newman, Halle, 16 Feb. 1735 (ArFrSt K 22:92-102).

72 Manitius to Widmann, London, 22 Mar. 1735 (ArFrSt K 21:220-21).

73 Manitius to Newman, London, 29 Apr. 1735 (copy) (ArFrSt K 22:169-71).

74 "An Account of the Origin and Designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge", appended to: Zachary Pearce, *A Sermon Preach'd ... April the 17th, 1735* (London, 1735), pp. 9-10; Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, Kensington, 9 May 1735 and 3 Mar. 1736 (ArFrSt K 22:213-14; K 25:69-70); Newman to Callenberg, London, 6 June 1735; Newman to Widdman [sic] and Manitius, London, 16 Aug. 1735 (ArFrSt K 22:262; K 80:30-31).

75 Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, 3 Mar. 1736 (ArFrSt K 25:69-70).

76 W.T. Gidney, *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews* (London, 1908), pp. 10-12.

77 Callenberg to Newman, 16 Feb. 1735 (ArFrSt K 22:92-102).

I am persuaded, whensoever the appointed Season is arrived for the Conversion of the Jews, there will be a glorious Powring [*sic*] down of the Spirit from above to render their Return to God very conspicuous and extensive ... If these two Gentlemen [Manitius and Widmann] you speak of shall be the happy Instruments in the hand of God for such a Purpose I shall rejoice. I hear their Success hitherto has been but small.⁷⁸

It is unlikely, though, that eschatological convictions of this sort discouraged the SPCK from offering whole-hearted support to Callenberg's Institute: logistics were more important. As Ziegenhagen had realized already, the SPCK's heavy involvement with the Salzburger did not allow it to respond as fully as it might like to Callenberg's plea.⁷⁹

2. The Salzburger Emigration

Not only did the range of the SPCK's activity stretch from East India to the Levant, but in the 1730s it also reached from Salzburg to the fledgling colony of Georgia in America, where the Society was soon engaged in a heavy philanthropic and religious colonial commitment. Here, at least, the agents of the Society could pursue their philanthropic designs under the British flag, with a degree of operational security.

Background: Salzburg and Georgia

Despite the slow extension of religious toleration in the German-speaking world after the Thirty Years War, vast numbers of Protestants were still left unprotected in Catholic states, and were particularly vulnerable under certain Bishops of the Roman Church.⁸⁰ Such a place was Salzburg, where Archbishops had sporadically sought to clear their terrain of heresy, but in the mountains of Gastein around the city had allowed Protestantism an uneasy existence.

Archbishop Firmian, elected to the see of Salzburg in 1727, decided to purge his state of heretics and commissioned Jesuits to go into the mountains and report on the spread of Protestantism.⁸¹ They found evidence that

78 Watts to Callenberg, Newington, 30 Oct. 1734 (ArFrSt K 19:186-87). Watts also sent some books to Manitius, including one on preaching, and wished him every blessing in his labour. (Watts to Manitius, Newington, 28 Apr. 1735 [ArFrSt K 22:178-79])

79 Ziegenhagen to Callenberg, Kensington, 23 Aug. 1734 (ArFrSt K 19:8-9).

80 W.R. Ward, "Power and Piety", pp. 237ff.

81 On the Salzburger emigration, see G. Florey, *Geschichte der Salzburger Protestanten und ihrer Emigration 1731/32* (Vienna, 1977); idem., "Die 'Große Emigration'", in: *Reformation – Emigration* (Salzburg, 1981); G.F. Jones, *The Salzburger Saga* (Athens, Georgia, 1984), pp. 4-8. For an extensive bibliography, see A. Ehmer, *Das Schrifttum zur Salzburger Emigration 1731/33* (Hamburg, 1975).

Protestants were reading forbidden devotional books and gathering secretly for worship. Despite appeals to the *Corpus Evangelicorum* in Regensburg (Ratisbon), Firmian issued an Edict of Expulsion (*Emigrations-patent*) in November 1731, giving Protestants the option of renouncing their Lutheran faith or leaving the country. Over the next year approximately 20,000 emigrants fled Salzburg, most of whom were rescued by Frederick William I of Prussia. He sent agents to gather the refugees and march them in columns to East Prussia and Lithuania, where the previous population had been decimated by a plague. As the wayfarers went through various towns and villages they were received enthusiastically and generously by the Protestant population, many of whose leaders were amazed that the faith of these pilgrims had been kept alive in the midst of Roman Catholicism only through Luther's Bible, his Small Catechism, and a few devotional classics and without pastors or the organized Church.⁸² The news of the expulsion and emigration spread quickly through Europe, exciting much sympathy.

At much the same time that these events were unfolding in Salzburg and Prussia and capturing the attention of Europe, a seemingly unrelated, less dramatic development was taking place in England. Thomas Bray and the Associates who succeeded him had devised a plan to provide employment for imprisoned debtors and Christianize the Indians in the region to the south of South Carolina in America. One of the Associates was James Oglethorpe, who became the key figure in the founding of what soon became the colony of Georgia.⁸³ In 1732 the English crown granted a charter to twenty-one Trustees to establish the colony. The reasons for its foundation were varied, a blend of the military and philanthropic.⁸⁴ As a general, Oglethorpe was well aware of the strategic importance of a buffer colony, which would separate South Carolina to the north from the developing Spanish power to the south. In addition, Georgia was to be a haven for the unemployed and debtors from prison. It was further advertised as a new and abundant source for raw materials, especially silk and wine.⁸⁵ Finally, it was intended as a model Christian state in which the Indians would be converted and persecuted Protestants could find refuge.⁸⁶ Into this plan the Salzburg refugees found a convenient, and some thought, a God-given place. The Earl of Egmont noted in 1733: "it seems a particular design of Providence to erect a colony at this time for an asylum to the persecuted Protestants of Saltsburg."⁸⁷

82 Ward, "Power and Piety", p. 247.

83 On Oglethorpe, see P. Spalding, *Oglethorpe in America* (Chicago/London, 1977).

84 "Charter of the Colony", printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.11-26. Cf. R.C. Strickland, *Religion and the State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1939), pp. 11-19.

85 *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia* (London, 1733), pp. 5-12; *Gentleman's Magazine* 2 (1732), pp. 893f; Egmont, 10 May 1733 (i.373).

86 *The Weekly Miscellany*, No. 35 (11 Aug. 1733); cf. *London Magazine* 2 (1733), pp. 399f.

87 Egmont, 10 May 1733 (i.373); *London Magazine* 1 (1732), p. 198.

On 22 February 1732 Ziegenhagen laid before the Society "a Translation of an Account of the Persecuted Protestants at Saltzburg", almost certainly by Samuel Urlsperger, Senior of the Evangelical Ministry in Augsburg and corresponding member of the SPCK, who had been in London during the Palatine emigration, an experience which had not been lost on him.⁸⁸ Even though Bishop Gibson of London declined to lay the matter before the Secretaries of State, the Society ordered 3,000 impressions of *An Account of the Sufferings of Persecuted Protestants in the Archbishoprick of Saltzburg* (1732)⁸⁹ and dispersed copies among the Royal family.⁹⁰ As the word began to spread, benefactions began to pour into the Society for the persecuted Salzburger and within months £1,000 was raised.⁹¹

The money collected by the Society was sent to Urlsperger in Augsburg who was entrusted with its distribution among the exiled Protestants. He was given some freedom in the use of these funds; all that was asked was that none of the Salzburger money go towards Roman Catholic proselytes unless they declared themselves Protestant.⁹² What the Society knew of the Salzburger basically came through Urlsperger, who provided them with dramatic accounts of Catholic vindictiveness and Protestant heroism and fidelity. He described how the Salzburger bore their sufferings with patience and contentedness; how thousands had marched through Augsburg singing hymns and accepted charity with humility and gratefulness.⁹³

Though applauding the principle of charity for the exiled Salzburger, the members of the SPCK thought something more permanent remained to be done. To the Trustees of Georgia they proposed that some of the Salzburger be settled in Georgia. The Trustees approved the proposal.⁹⁴ The Society

88 SPCK *Minutes* (xiv.135f); Urlsperger, Introduction to *Reports*, i.4. On Urlsperger, see H. Baier, "Die evangelische Kirche zwischen Pietismus, Orthodoxie und Aufklärung" in: *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg*, ed. G. Gottlieb et al. (Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 524-27.

89 The SPCK later printed 2000 extracts of an Urlsperger letter (SPCK *Minutes*, 1 Aug. 1732 [xiv.188]) and *A Further Account of the Sufferings of the Persecuted Protestants* (London, 1733), which consisted of extracts of examinations of particular Salzburger testifying to their sound Protestant faith.

90 SPCK *Minutes*, 14 & 28 Mar. and 20 June 1732 (xiv.145, 149, 174f).

91 E.g. SPCK *Minutes*, 27 June, 4 July, 29 Aug. and 10 Oct. 1732 (xiv.176-77, 198f, xv.2). Due largely to the Salzburger, the Georgia Trust became a favourite object of charity for English churches. Cf. E.M. Coulter, "When John Wesley Preached in Georgia", *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 9 (1925), pp. 317f.

92 SPCK *Minutes*, 29 Aug. 1732 (xiv.198); Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 8 Sept. 1732, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 26-27.

93 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 1 Sept. 1732, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 241.

94 SPCK *Minutes*, 29 Sept. 1732 (xiv.208); *Minutes* of Georgia Trustees, 12 Oct. 1732, printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.77; Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 13 Oct. 1732, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 28-30. Note, though, that for an unknown reason the 12 Oct. 1732 *Minutes* of the Georgia Trustees were later expunged. (24 May 1733, printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.119)

accordingly set up an "Extraordinary Committee for Saltzburger", among whose members were Sir John Philipps, James Vernon, Ziegenhagen, and J.C. Martini, the reader at the Royal Chapel.⁹⁵ Urlsperger was commissioned to make the arrangements to send a large group of about 300 persons to Georgia by the following spring. Once arrived, the emigrants were promised free land (50 acres per family), a Lutheran minister in their own language, a free passage, financial support in Georgia for one year, together with all the rights and privileges of English subjects. The Trustees received a generous grant of £10,000 from Parliament to aid in the emigration.⁹⁶ As the spring and summer of 1733 wore on, however, Urlsperger found it difficult recruiting emigrants.⁹⁷ By this time the exiles were only trickling through Augsburg; the main emigration from Salzburg had already occurred, a year earlier. Urlsperger was only able to gather a band of 41 emigrants in Augsburg, but it was nonetheless decided to send them, the Trustees "being assured that their Reception in Georgia will encourage others to follow them".⁹⁸

While Urlsperger was preparing the expedition, he was trying to obtain from Halle a minister and a catechist for the emigrants, requesting from the Society "full power to do in this Affair what is just and right before God".⁹⁹ When the group reached Rotterdam it was joined by its two ministers, Johann Martin Boltzius and Israel Christian Gronau, who had gone from Halle to Wernigerode, where they had been ordained in the Lutheran Church.¹⁰⁰ At Dover they were met by Christopher Ortmann, a schoolmaster provided for the refugees,¹⁰¹ by Henry A. Butjenter (Ziegenhagen's associate chaplain at the Royal Chapel who went at the request of the SPCK), and by Thomas Coram, who had been sent by the Trustees.¹⁰² Newman told Coram:

95 SPCK *Minutes*, 24 & 28 Oct. 1732 (xv.7). Vernon, a commissioner of the excise and earlier envoy to the King of Denmark, was the most consistent worker of the Georgia Trustees and one its most dominant members. He was the key link between the Trustees and the SPCK, although clergy like Samuel Smith were also active. (See J.L. McCain, *Georgia as a Proprietary Province* [Boston, 1917], pp. 28-56) Later, Urlsperger was made a corresponding member of the Georgia Trustees to help with the Salzburger. (*Minutes of Georgia Trustees*, 19 Mar. 1747, printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.499)

96 *Egmont*, 10-17 May 1733 (i.372-77); Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 29 Dec. 1732 and 18 May 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 35-37, 42-43.

97 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 10 Aug. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 305-07.

98 *Minutes of Georgia Trustees*, 26 Sept. 1733, printed in: *Col Rec Ga*, i.139f.

99 Urlsperger to Ziegenhagen, Augsburg, 16 Mar. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 297.

100 The Society received reports from Urlsperger and from G.A. Francke on the character of these ministers. Boltzius, who had been in Halle seven years, and Gronau, who had been there five, had convinced Francke "by several instances that among our whole Society none could be found more fit for the purpose than these whom the Divine Providence directed me to make choice of". (Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 9 Nov. 1733; G.A. Francke to Newman, Halle, 19 Nov. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 352-53, 398-99)

101 Ortmann had kept a German charity school in London. (H.W. Guerdes to Newman, London, 11 Sept. 1733; Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 16 Oct. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 59f, 61-62)

102 On Coram, see R.K. McClure, *Coram's Children* (New Haven/London, 1981).

I hope God will Direct Mr. Butjenter and You to concert matters so as may result in his Glory and the Comfort of these pious Confessors who tho' they are but few in number their good or ill report of the Treatment they meet with here will animate or discourage a considerable number to follow them next Spring.¹⁰³

To Butjenter Newman emphasized that special treatment should be given to the ministers because "it is from these Gentlemen that the good usage of the Saltzburger will be made known to their friends in Germany".¹⁰⁴

Butjenter was given particular responsibilities among the Saltzburger. When the exiles arrived at Dover, he assured them of the good will of the SPCK and the Trustees, took them ashore, and rented a house where they could stay while their ship was being prepared for its voyage. The next day they went to a specially prepared dinner, at which, Butjenter emotionally recorded,

Mr. [Philipp] De Reck led 'em they following in two Companies with their Children in their Arms and Singing Psalms while I with the other Ministers closed the Procession. I could scarce forbear Tears at this Sight.¹⁰⁵

Newman described the "abundance of the Neighbouring Gentry resorting to partake of the Pleasure of this new Sight".¹⁰⁶ Butjenter's important final task was to give pastoral instructions to the ministers.¹⁰⁷ His message was clear and firm:

Their publick Worship as near as may be will be conformable to the Church of England to which End I delivered to 'em German Books in which are the forms of prayer, Baptismal Rites, The Lord's Supper, Matrimony and Burial etc.¹⁰⁸

Exactly which books these were is unclear, but Boltzius was probably given those used in the Royal Chapel, since a few months later he wrote, "We arranged our preparation and confession largely after the agenda of the German Lutheran court chapel in London."¹⁰⁹ If these included the prayer book Boehm had edited in 1707, then they were not exactly conformable to the Anglican liturgy. Evidence that this was the case is provided by Thomas Wilson, who recorded in his diary that at a meeting of the SPG in 1735 he "moved for some German Prayer Books for the Saltzburghers at Georgia"; but this proposal was objected to by Bishop Gibson of London, a stickler for

103 Newman to Coram, Bartlet's Buildings, 11 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 79–80.

104 Newman to Butjenter, Bartlet's Buildings, 29 Nov. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 74–75.

105 Mr. Butjenter's Journal at Dover, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 455.

106 Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 18 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 84.

107 Earlier Ziegenhagen had offered "some instructions regarding our future church establishment." (Boltzius' diary, 22 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Reports*, i.33); cf. Boltzius' diary, 24 Dec. 1733, printed in: *Reports*, iii.292.

108 Butjenter's Journal, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 456.

109 Boltzius' diary, 19 Mar. 1734, printed in: *Reports*, i.64.

rubrical orthodoxy, since they were "not exactly the same with the English Prayer Book".¹¹⁰ Both the Trustees and the SPCK accepted the fact that Boltzius and Gronau were Lutherans; indeed, the Trustees officially gave Boltzius the authority and power

... to do and perform all Religious and Ecclesiastical offices in the German Tongue, that shall be necessary for the better Establishing and Promoting the Christian Religion in the said Colonie, ... agreeable to the Confession of Augsburg and the Tenor of our Charter.¹¹¹

With these preparations finished, they left Dover for Georgia.

With the Salzburgers dispatched, efforts were made to bring together a second company of Salzburgers. A group of 54 was assembled by Urlsperger, who told the Society, "I earnestly beg of You that good care may be taken of them, and that the promises made to them be fully made good; for I have engaged my word for the due performance thereof."¹¹² These promises came back to haunt him. He had been helped in his recruiting efforts by favourable letters and journals from the first travellers; he later published them to raise a "universal Joy among the Protestants here in this town", though taking care to edit all adverse information out of the printed reports, while also suppressing every complaint from the Salzburgers, lest the enterprise gain unfavourable publicity.¹¹³

Arrangements for the second Salzburger expedition were similar to the first, save that the Society agreed to pay all their expenses, including supporting them for one year in Georgia, after the Trustees had met most of the expenses for the first group.¹¹⁴ To achieve maximum visibility, the Salzburgers' ship bypassed Gravesend and went up river, to give the people of London the opportunity to meet the refugees.¹¹⁵ *The Weekly Miscellany*, a High Church periodical, provides an account of what happened after the Salzburgers arrived. Since the emigrants were "desirous to return Almighty God Thanks for their Deliverance from Popish Persecution to the free Exercise of the Gospel", the Lord Mayor of London ordered boats to bring them ashore and had them

110 C.L.S. Linnell, ed., *The Diaries of Thomas Wilson, D.D. 1731-37 and 1750* (London, 1964), 21 Nov. 1735 (pp. 141f). The SPG *Minutes* make no mention of this proposal.

111 "A Power to the Reverend Mr. John Martin Boltzius", 21 Nov. 1733 (copy) (MAFrSt 5 C 4:19).

112 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 20 Sept. 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 482.

113 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 8 Feb. and 15 July 1734; to J. Vat, Augsburg, 14 Oct. 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 420, 466-67, 494. The first of eight volumes of reports came out in 1735, dedicated to the Trustees and the SPCK. Urlsperger censored every volume, but copies of the originals were kept in the Halle archives; in the English edition, the parts suppressed have been added. See G.F. Jones *et al.*, trans. and ed., *Detailed Reports* (Athens, Georgia, 1968-85).

114 *An Account of the Money Receiv'd and Disburs'd by the Trustees for receiving Benefactions for the poor Salzburg Emigrants* (London, 1736).

115 Newman to Mr. Symonds and Vat, Bartlet's Buildings, 18 Oct. 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 132; Linnell, ed., *Diaries of Thomas Wilson*, 24 Sept. 1734 (p. 120).

conducted by the City Marshall and other officers in procession to the Lutheran Church in Trinity Lane where they received Communion and heard a sermon by a German pastor, "which drew Tears from their Eyes, and those of the whole Auditory". Afterwards they were entertained at dinner, being served by some of the Trustees for Georgia and members of the SPCK. Throughout the day the Salzburger "were attended by Numbers of People of different Ranks and Conditions, who seem'd to express a Tenderness for the Sufferings of these poor People".¹¹⁶ A few days later they left for Georgia.

With the second company of Salzburger safely away, the Society again turned to Urlsperger for yet a third. After many letters of negotiation and much uncertainty, a third group of 20 Salzburger and 16 other Austrians eventually left Augsburg.¹¹⁷ Newman and the Society had rushed the travellers along so that the *London Merchant*, on which they would sail to Georgia, could travel from Gravesend with Oglethorpe's vessel, the *Simmonds*, which carried a number of English travellers, including John and Charles Wesley, and a group of Moravian Brethren under their leader, A.G. Spangenberg.¹¹⁸ It was on this passage that Wesley, who was carrying some books from Newman for Boltzius and Gronau,¹¹⁹ had his momentous encounter with the Moravians. One wonders whether his experience would have been the same had he gone on the *London Merchant* instead of the *Simmonds*.

The third expedition was the last which the SPCK officially sponsored. Early in 1737 the Society sent £40 to Urlsperger to add to the £10 he already had "as a final discharge of the Society from any further expence [*sic*] for Emigrants from Germany".¹²⁰ Newman himself kept in close contact with Salzburger affairs and was personally instrumental in arranging the fourth and last group of Salzburger which arrived in Georgia in 1741.¹²¹

Suffering and Pietism at Ebenezer

On 5 March 1734 the original group of Salzburger made landfall at Charleston, South Carolina, where it was greeted by Oglethorpe, who postponed his journey home in order to help settle the new arrivals. Oglethorpe led them to a place on a small river northwest of Savannah, which the settlers named Ebenezer. Soon afterwards he returned to England with glowing reports of the

116 Extract of a letter dated London, 28 Oct. 1734, printed in: *The Weekly Miscellany*, by Richard Hooker, No. 99 (2 Nov. 1734); cf. Urlsperger, Introduction to *Reports*, i.14-16.

117 The Society paid the costs to Georgia only for the Salzburger. (Newman to J. Vat, Bartlet's Buildings, 2 Aug. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 167)

118 Newman to Philipp von Reck, Bartlet's Buildings, 12 Aug. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 169.

119 Newman to John Wesley, Bartlet's Buildings, 13 Oct. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 178-79.

120 Newman to Urlsperger, London, 1 Feb. 1737, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 198-99.

121 Newman to Oglethorpe, London, 14 July 1739, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 220-21.

whole enterprise, and particularly of the fertility of the land. These reports and the optimism of the ministers led to the sending of the second band of colonists. However, when this second group arrived in Ebenezer less than a year later they were swiftly disillusioned. The leader dispatched an alarming letter to London, contradicting the previous descriptions which had been given. The land was barren and swampy. The people were "exceedingly struck down and disheartened" by the fact that eleven from the first party and two from the second were already dead.¹²² A second letter three months later continued the tragic news: eight more people had died, a second crop had failed, and, worst of all, the people had not been given the land they had been promised:

And in this the Reputation of the Reverend Mr. Senior Urlsperger and some of the chief Magistrates at Augsburg is highly concerned, for it was upon their publicly appearing in the Affair, that these innocent people ventured their all.¹²³

Boltzius, their pastor, placed the blame for unfulfilled promises first on Urlsperger, but then on the Trustees and the English in general:

We still hope that the Salzburgers will enjoy the rights and liberties of Englishmen as free colonists. *It appears to me* and to others that the Salzburgers and the Germans in general are a thorn in the eyes of the Englishmen, who would like to assign them land that no one else wants and on which they will have to do slavish work.¹²⁴

Despite these reports, the full extent of these difficulties and problems was unknown in England – except probably by Ziegenhagen – and can only be reconstructed through secret diaries and the information which Urlsperger expunged from his reports. When writing to the Society, the letters of Boltzius and Gronau were filled with thanks to their benefactors, their devout hopes for a Christian mission to the Indians, and descriptions of the pious behaviour and worship of the Salzburgers. These were obviously intended for public consumption.¹²⁵ For its part, the SPCK responded with attempts to help meet the physical needs of the Salzburgers and their ministers. It regularly provided the salaries for the two ministers and the schoolmaster and often sent extra gifts.¹²⁶ In March, 1736, the SPCK reported that almost £8,000 had been received in benefactions for the Salzburgers, a part of which had been invested in New South Sea Annuities as a standing fund to pay the salaries of the ministers and

122 Vat to Newman, Ebenezer, 10 Feb. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 538–42.

123 Vat to Newman, Ebenezer, 30 May 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 578–83.

124 G.F. Jones, trans. and ed., "The Secret Diary of Pastor Johann Martin Boltzius", *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 53 (1969), 17 Feb. 1736 (p. 92).

125 Boltzius and Gronau to Newman, Ebenezer, 6 Feb. 1735 and 2 Apr. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 535–37, 583–85. The first letter was published in *The Weekly Miscellany*, No. 124 (26 Apr. 1735).

126 Boltzius' annual salary was £50, Gronau's £30, and Ortmann's £10. (Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 11 June 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 106–07)

the schoolmaster.¹²⁷ The Society served as a forwarding agent for other money raised by Ziegenhagen¹²⁸ and dispatched books, medicines, corn mills, tools, tubs, and any other items necessary for survival, including, as Newman explained, "twelve dozen of Vidonia Madeira" because of "the Fatigues you daily undergo".¹²⁹ The Society displayed a remarkable non-sectarian generosity towards the refugees.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the SPCK, the first years in Ebenezer are best expressed in an old German proverb: "Death for the first, hardship for the second, bread for the third."¹³⁰ The years of worst hardship for the Salzburger were 1734–1735, for by the end of 1736 Ebenezer was moved to a more fertile location. The year 1737 was the calm after the storm, a change reflected in Boltzius' journals, which are now filled with spiritual and religious matters having previously been concerned overwhelmingly with the brute struggle for survival.

Not all the threats to the Salzburger were material. For the Salzburger were not the only German-speaking refugee settlers in Georgia. In 1734, when the envoy of the first band of Salzburger returned to Germany, he began an exuberant recruiting campaign and informed the SPCK that Zinzendorf wished to send some of his people to Georgia.¹³¹ In 1736 a group of Moravian Brethren colonists arrived in Georgia under the leadership of Spangenberg,¹³² the very person who in 1732 had been the central figure in breaking open the division between Halle and Herrnhut.¹³³ Both Ziegenhagen and Urlsperger had tried to warn the SPCK about them before they left for Georgia and Ziegenhagen had used his influence to spread unfavourable reports about the Moravians, but the Trustees disregarded their warnings. To the British, the differences between Salzburger and Moravians seemed of marginal importance. Newman tried to reassure Urlsperger "that these People differ with the Lutherans only in point of Discipline".¹³⁴ This claim fell on deaf ears. For a Halle Pietist like Boltzius, the teachings of someone like Spangenberg were "very much disliked to every one that loves truth, peace and the conservation of our holy doctrine".¹³⁵ The Brethren might warmly recommend themselves to Britons like Oglethorpe and Wesley (particularly since

127 *An Account of the Money Receiv'd and Disburs'd*.

128 E.g. 17 Feb., 23 Mar., and 4 Sept. 1736, printed in: *Reports*, iii.46,91,206.

129 E.g. Invoice of Goods, London, 21 Oct. 1734; Newman to Boltzius and Gronau, Bartlet's Buildings, 13 May 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 136–39,161.

130 "Dem Ersten, Tod – dem Zweiten, Not – dem Dritten, Brot." (Quoted in: G.F. Jones, *Introduction to Reports*, i.xv)

131 Philipp von Reck to Newman, Augsburg, 4 Oct. 1734, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 488–89.

132 See A.L. Fries, *The Moravians in Georgia* (Raleigh, 1905).

133 See pp. 39f above.

134 Urlsperger to Newman, Augsburg, 30 Dec. 1734; Newman to Urlsperger, Bartlet's Buildings, 21 Jan. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 152–53, 525–28.

135 Boltzius and Gronau to Newman, 2 Apr. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 584.

they claimed an episcopate which possessed the apostolic succession), but in Boltzcius, as his journals show, they aroused violent distrust and fear.¹³⁶

The religious standards of the English community did not impress the Salzburger – nor, for that matter, the Anglican clergy who tended them. Samuel Quincy, Anglican minister in Savannah under the SPG, had informed the Society that the “Publick Worship of God is very much neglected and Vice and Immorality are very open and flagrant amongst us”.¹³⁷ Like Quincy, Wesley struggled with the Georgian Anglicans. The motley band of debtors and speculators did not appreciate his attempts to force ecclesiastical discipline upon them: he was, they complained, trying to impose “a new kind of Tyranny”.¹³⁸ Though Wesley had frequent contacts with Boltzcius and Gronau during his sojourn in Georgia and was much impressed with the “industry” of the people and the “hospitality, openness, and piety” of their pastors,¹³⁹ he remained more open to the influence of the Moravians, a fact which needled Boltzcius.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Boltzcius kept up his friendship with Wesley even though in 1737 Wesley had refused him Holy Communion because at that time he considered him not baptized – “that is, not baptized by a minister who had been episcopally ordained”. Later Wesley commented on his own action, “Can any one carry High Church zeal higher than this? And how well have I been since beaten with mine own staff!”¹⁴¹ Boltzcius continued to correspond with Wesley for another decade.¹⁴²

Ebenezer was above all a religious community. Every evening, after the work was finished, all the people would gather for instruction and teaching.¹⁴³ There, in the Francke-Halle tradition, the Salzburger built an orphanage for children and homeless adults, the first in America and together with Francke’s *Waisenhaus*, the model for George Whitefield’s more famous orphanage at Bethesda.¹⁴⁴ Once a month, when Boltzcius or Gronau would offer Holy

136 Boltzcius’ journal, 2 Oct. 1738, printed in: *Reports*, v.224–26. Urlsperger deleted any references to the Moravians from Boltzcius’ reports. Boltzcius wrote in his secret diary, “The Count [Zinzendorf] and his church establishment are said to stand in very well with Mr. Oglethorpe because, as he says, their dogma comes closer to that of the English Episcopal Church than the Evangelical Lutheran Church, for they too have bishops.” (Jones, ed., “Secret Diary”, 25 Feb. 1736 [p. 95])

137 Quincy to Newman, Savannah, 15 Jan. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, p. 529.

138 P. Tailfer et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia* (Charleston, 1741), pp. 41–50.

139 *Wes Journ*, 1 Aug. 1737 (i.375).

140 Boltzcius’ journal, 28 & 29 June 1737, printed in: *Reports*, iv.117–19.

141 *Wes Journ*, 17 July 1737 (i.370) and 30 Sept. 1749 (iii.434); Wesley to James Hutton, Oxford, 26 Nov. 1738, printed in: *Wes Lett*, i.272f.

142 See Boltzcius to Wesley, Ebenezer, 25 July 1749, printed in: *Wes Journ*, 30 Sept. 1749 (iii.433f).

143 Boltzcius and Gronau to Newman, 6 Feb. 1735, printed in: *Letterbook*, pp. 536f.

144 See L.L. Tresp, “The Salzburger Orphanage at Ebenezer in the Colony of Georgia”, *Americana-Austriaca, Beiträge zur Amerikakunde* 3 (1974), pp. 190–234.

Communion in Savannah, they met Whitefield and took "sweet council together". In 1738 Whitefield visited Ebenezer and the orphanage; after meeting the orphans he wrote lyrically in his Journal, "the little lambs came and shook me by the hand, one by one, and so we parted, and I scarce was ever better pleased in my life". He too was impressed with the Ebenezer community and promised Francke that he would raise money for a church: he continued to send gifts through 1741.¹⁴⁵ Thereafter his relations with the Salzburger cooled. Boltzius confided in his Journal for January of that year that he was "very much distressed" to learn that Whitefield had adopted the doctrine of predestination from Presbyterians in New England, who had "drawn his mind to this clearly disgraceful theory against the very essence of love and the definite clear evidence of the Holy Scripture". Boltzius added, "I have no confidence in Mr. Whitefield any more."¹⁴⁶ Though the two men later met and discussed the doctrine, it was to no avail; Whitefield now fell from the favour of Halle Pietists,¹⁴⁷ though Boltzius still publicly praised Whitefield and curried his favour because of his benefactions for Ebenezer. It is doubtful whether Whitefield knew he was out of Halle's good graces.¹⁴⁸

The Salzburger seldom became involved in the secular affairs of Georgia. Early in the 1740s many land holders in Georgia grew frustrated with the restrictions imposed by the Trustees and petitioned the Trustees for changes, including the use of slaves.¹⁴⁹ Because the Salzburger remained aloof from these issues, they were not popular with the land holders, who complained that the Germans, who "never commix or associate with Strangers", have been "hitherto liberally supported both from *Germany* and *England*, and their Rights and Privileges have been much more extensive than any others in the Colony".¹⁵⁰ Matters were not helped when the Trustees held up Ebenezer as a shining example against the troublesome English freeholders, noting that the Salzburger "are in so thriving a Condition, that not one Person has abandoned his Settlement, or sent over the least Complaint about the Tenures or the Want

145 *Whit Jour.*, 11 July 1738, 9 Jan. 1739, 25 June 1740 (pp. 159f, 198, 437); Whitefield to [G.A. Francke], n.p., [1738], printed in: G.F. Jones, trans. and ed., "Two 'Salzburger' letters from George Whitefield and Theobald Kiefer II", *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 62 (1978), pp. 51-52; Boltzius' journal, 11 July and 28 & 29 Aug. 1738, 10 Mar. 1741, printed in: *Reports*, v. 152, 195-96, viii.93f.

146 Boltzius' journal, 9 Jan. 1741, printed in: *Reports*, viii.12.

147 *Ibid.*, 1 Mar. 1741, printed in: *Reports*, viii.82f. Urlsperger deleted any references to Whitefield from the printed reports in Germany.

148 *The Weekly History*, No. 37 (19 Dec. 1741), pp. 3-4, published a letter from Boltzius to Whitefield dated Ebenezer, 6 Apr. 1741 – i.e. after their discussions over the much disliked doctrine – filled with praises for Whitefield and requests for more money. On Whitefield's relationship to Halle, see pp. 188, 193f below.

149 See R.M. Miller, "The Failure of the Colony of Georgia Under the Trustees", *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 53 (1969), pp. 1-17.

150 Tailfer et al., *Historical Narrative*, p. 102.

of Negroes".¹⁵¹ Through diligent and humble industry, the leadership of Boltzius, and the support of the SPCK and friends in Germany, Ebenezer had become the most prosperous settlement in Georgia and alone fulfilled the hopes of the Trustees.

Why did the SPCK become involved with the difficult task of settling in Georgia only some 150 out of 20,000 Salzburger refugees? Many of its reasons coincided with those for the founding of Georgia: philanthropic, colonial, humanitarian, and especially religious, because of the desire within the Society to rescue humble Protestants from "Popish Persecution". It should not be overlooked, however, that the SPCK probably would not have taken an active interest in these homely farmers apart from the instigation of Ziegenhagen and Urlsperger. These Pietists turned to the SPCK and not to the SPG because of the history of the close connections between the Society and Halle.

Our purpose in this chapter has been to examine the major enterprises of the SPCK in the 1720s and 1730s. The publication of the Arabic Psalter and New Testament, built upon the foundation of English interest in Greek Orthodoxy and Ludolf's earlier efforts, when combined with the resettlement of Salzburger refugees in Georgia, provide the final pieces in SPCK-Halle relations. Pietists like Ludolf, Boehm, Ziegenhagen, and Urlsperger encouraged the extension of the sphere of the Society's correspondence and involvements beyond the borders of Britain to India, Palestine, Russia, Germany, and Georgia. One of A.H. Francke's dreams was to effect a world-wide betterment of Church and society; it is no coincidence that during the first four decades of the SPCK's existence, every major project which involved the Society in a work outside Britain – other than its early interest in planting libraries in the West Indies – was directly instigated by Halle Pietists. In the chapter that follows we look more closely at the reasons for the rise and the decline of Halle-SPCK cooperation.

151 [Trustees of Georgia, B. Martyn, secretary,] *An Account Shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America* (London, 1741), pp. 35f. The Trustees added a favourable letter from the inhabitants of Ebenezer dated 13 Mar. 1739, testifying to the fruitfulness of the land. (pp. 66–69)

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.

Thursday was Jacky's night, Saturday Charles'. While at Oxford years later John still besought his mother's prayers, writing,

If you can spare me only that little part of Thursday evening which you formerly bestowed upon me in another matter, I doubt not but it would be as useful now for correcting my heart as it was then for forming my judgement.³⁹

His mother's influence here, together with the reports of the Halle missionaries, which Wesley himself later read and appreciated in his Georgia phase,⁴⁰ played their part in the formation of Wesley's concern for "inward religion" and for the needs of the "world parish". A Methodist missionary to India in 1817 observed that to Susanna's reading of these accounts "was probably owing the early and continued piety and zeal of her sons".⁴¹ To this indirect influence were added others more direct. Two years before his famous voyage to Georgia and his epic encounter with the Moravians, we find Wesley reading Francke's *Nicodemus* three times, his *Manuductio* twice, *Pietas Hallensis*, *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, and Boehm's *Several Discourses*.⁴² These books, with their evangelical stress on faith over law, probably helped to prepare Wesley for his subsequent encounter with the Moravians. No doubt the Moravian Brethren had a greater catalytic influence on Wesley at a critical juncture than the Hallensians, but Halle Pietism nevertheless had an enduring influence on his life through its literary products.⁴³ His favourite among Francke's works was *Nicodemus*, to which he often turned in Georgia and of which he swiftly prepared an abridgement when he returned to England.⁴⁴ Though Wesley visited Halle twice, on his way to and from Herrnhut, and was impressed with the orphanage,⁴⁵ a more significant influence on the eclectic pattern of his theology and piety was probably wrought through the medium of the written word, exemplified by his own reading and by his inclusion in his *Christian Library*, that extraordinary "Readers Digest" of centuries of Christian spirituali-

39 John Wesley to his mother, Lincoln College, 28 Feb. 1732, printed in: *Wes Lett* i.119f.

40 Boltzius to [G.A. Francke?], [Ebenezer,] 29 July 1737, quoted in: K. Zehrer, "The Relationship between Halle and Early Methodism", trans. J.A. Dwyer, *Methodist History* 17 (1979), p. 214.

41 James Lynch, 1817, quoted in: Foster, "Ecumenical Significance of Boehm", p. 117 (source unknown).

42 V.H.H. Green, *The Young Mr. Wesley* (London, 1961), Appendix I, Wesley's Reading, 1725-34, pp. 316-19. In Georgia he also read Arndt's *True Christianity* and Rambach's *Memoirs of Boehm*. (*Wes Journ*, 4, 23, & 31 Mar. 1736 [i.175,186,190]) For Wesley's lasting remembrance of Boehm, see Wesley to Philothea Briggs, Bristol, 31 Aug. 1772, printed in: *Wes Lett*, v.337-38; cf. *Wes Journ*, 3-5 Mar. 1776 (vi.98); Wesley to Miss March, near London, 10 Dec. 1777, printed in: *Wes Lett*, vi.292-93. For his respect for A.H. Francke, see *Wes Journ*, 24 July 1738 (ii.16-17); Wesley to Mary Bishop, Bristol, 19 Sept. 1773, printed in: *Wes Lett*, vi.43-44.

43 For another example of this literary connection with Wesley, see p. 140 above.

44 E.g. *Wes Journ*, 18 Nov. 1735, 8 Dec. 1736, 12 Aug. 1737 (i.121,301,379) and 30 May 1739 (ii.206).

45 *Wes Journ*, 24 July 1738 (ii.17); cf. 19 Aug. 1738 (ii.58).

ty, of works by Arndt and Boehm.⁴⁶ It is noticeable that almost every English work chosen by Boehm to be translated into German was later included by Wesley in the *Christian Library*.

As Dr. Geoffrey Nuttall has recently reminded us, Halle left its mark on other leaders of the Evangelical Revival.⁴⁷ *Pietas Hallensis* became the model for George Whitefield's famous Bethesda orphanage in America: he resolved in all respects "to imitate Professor Frank", hoping that the orphanage "may rightly be stiled *Pietas Georgiensis*, and like the *Pietas Hallensis*, or Professor Franck's Orphanage at Glaucha near Hall, become the Joy of the whole Earth".⁴⁸ His *Continuation of the Account of the Orphan House* published a year later was only partly given to his own Bethesda work; most of it consisted of extracts from *Pietas Hallensis*.⁴⁹ To the end of his life Whitefield frankly acknowledged his debt to Pietism in this important enterprise.⁵⁰ He established friendships with numerous Halle Pietists, including the Ebenezer pastors, chaplains and assistants at the Royal Chapel, G.A. Francke in Halle, and Muhlenberg in Pennsylvania.⁵¹ His sharp breach with the Moravians, against whom he wrote sternly in 1753,⁵² owed something to Pietist influence as well as to pressure from New England Congregationalists. In England, Ziegenhagen reinforced Whitefield's anti-Moravian feelings and, according to a report by one of the chaplain's assistants, used his "good counsel" to help Whitefield repel the efforts of Count Zinzendorf to take away his tabernacle "by cunning",⁵³ a reference to the secession of John Cennick and many others to the Moravians in the mid-1740s.⁵⁴

Halle left a similar mark on Wales, particularly through Griffith Jones of Llandowror.⁵⁵ Best known for the extensive network of circulating schools which he established in Wales – an important landmark in the development of

46 He included *True Christianity*, including Boehm's Preface, and Nicodemus.

47 "Continental Pietism and the Evangelical Movement", pp. 207–36.

48 Whitefield, *An Account of Money Received and Disbursed for the Orphan-House in Georgia* (London, 1741), pp. 1, 9.

49 George Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Account of the Orphan House in Georgia ... To which are also subjoined some extracts from an Account of a work of a like Nature carried on by the late Professor Francke in Glaucha near Hall in Saxony* (Edinburgh, 1742).

50 See "Sermon LVII. Preached ... on January 28, 1770", in: Whitefield, *Works*, vi.381–86.

51 *Muhl Journ*, 24 Sept. 1763 (i.674f); Whitefield to Ziegenhagen, Philadelphia, 15 Oct. 1764 (copy) (MArFrSt 4 C 13:4); Zehrer, "Relationship between Pietism and Methodism", pp. 217ff.

52 George Whitefield, *An Expostulatory Letter, Addressed to Nicholas Lewis, Count Zinzendorf* (London, 1753).

53 "Auch suchet der Herr Graf die Kirche die der Herr Wiedfield [*sic*] erbauet hate Tabernacel genanet, mit List an sich zu ziehen. Da es aber der Herr Wiedfield erfahren, und den Herren Hofpredig[er] um guten Raht in dieser Sache gebeten, so hat er ihm solchen Raht ertheilet daß dem Herren Graf sein Vorhehmen nicht gelingen wird." (J.D. Noht to [Fabricius], Kensington, 23 Jan. 1750 [*Nachlaß* 30.III.165])

54 L. Tyerman, *The Life of George Whitefield*, 2 vols. (London, 1876–77), ii.148.

55 Nuttall, "Continental Pietism", pp. 213–17.

Welsh culture – we have already encountered him in reference to the East India mission. Jones was in correspondence with Boehm, but it was probably through his brother-in-law, Sir John Philipps, that he gained his close knowledge of Francke's work. His indebtedness to *Pietas Hallensis* and the Halle orphanage as a model for his schools is clearly seen in the title chosen for his annual reports on the circulating schools: *Welsh Piety*. It is also reflected in Jones' first report, which echoes the theme of providential guidance – divine "footsteps" – characteristic of *Pietas Hallensis*:

It is not in the least distrusted, but that the Almighty, All-wise and Gracious Disposer of all Things, whose Providence alone, by Means of his own Servants, raised, and hitherto supported, *these schools*, will yet provide for them.⁵⁶

Years later Jones could report on the success of the enterprise despite having "begun with less than Forty Shillings", in a close and obvious comparison to the humble beginnings of Francke's work.⁵⁷ His theological principles are similar to Francke's in their belief in the sufficiency of Scripture as a rule of faith, and in the value of the Bible as a self-evidencing agency of conversion and evangelism. "Sound piety", he wrote, "must ever be founded in the sound Knowledge of God's holy Will, revealed in the holy Scriptures, which will lead us to all Truth we need to know for our Salvation."⁵⁸ Halle's influence extended even further, as evidenced by a scornful comment by John Evans:

Mr. Jones having, from first to last, employed some scores of these *Runaway Servants and Apprentices*, in keeping his *Schools*, or carrying his *Books* after the *Methodist Preachers* about the Country, had bethought himself of *rewarding* their *Services* with *Holy Orders* in the *Church of England*; to qualify them for which, He set up a kind of *Dutch Academy* in the Village of *Llandowror*.⁵⁹

"Dutch" [*Deutsch*] is certainly a reference to Francke's German work, though it remains unclear whether the academy was in fact a training school for teachers⁶⁰ or merely "an intermediate step – a school for adults".⁶¹ Since his brother-in-law Sir John Philipps had long evinced an interest in establishing a training college for lay school teachers in England on the Halle model,⁶² it is

56 [Griffith Jones] to?, Llandowror, 16 Aug. 1739, printed in: [Griffith Jones,] *Welsh Piety* (1740), p. 23.

57 *Welsh Piety*, 1951–52, p. 23. F.A. Cavenagh, *The Life and Work of Griffith Jones of Llandowror* (Cardiff, 1930), p. 37n, says that the following year the comparison to Francke is drawn explicitly.

58 *Welsh Piety*, 1951–52, pp. 18f.

59 John Evans, *Sketch of the Life of Griffith Jones*, p. 99, quoted in: Cavenagh, Griffith Jones, pp. 46f.

60 Cavenagh, *Griffith Jones*, p. 47.

61 R.T. Jenkins in: M.H. Jones, *The Trevecka Letters*, ed. R.T. Jenkins (Caernarvon, 1932), p. 218 n26.

62 See pp. 81f, 95f above.

quite certain that Griffith Jones' academy was at least a training institute, drawing its inspiration likewise from Halle.

Griffith Jones is of particular interest as one of the few Anglican clergy who provide continuity in the Reformed, Calvinistic tradition during the long "tunnel period" between the reign of Anne and the outbreak of the Evangelical Revival. Among Nonconformists, Isaac Watts has a not dissimilar role, since he lived long enough to greet – somewhat cautiously and critically – the advent of "Methodism".⁶³ Though Watts knew Boehm only through correspondence and his works, his impression was still strong enough for him to write the recommendation to the English edition of Boehm's *Memoirs* twelve years after his death.⁶⁴ In the same year Watts published his *Reliquiae Juveniles*, using Boehm as an example of a *via media* between the Church of England and Nonconformity with regard to forms of prayer.⁶⁵ In 1722, when J.C. Jacobi, the head of the German bookshop and "Chapel Keeper" at the Royal Chapel, wrote to inform Francke of Boehm's death, he included a copy of a letter from Watts, a part of which was published by Rambach in Boehm's *Memoirs* and in which he declared, in a remarkable encomium,

There are but few such Men in the Ministry, British or German, Episcopal or Presbyterian, etc. I am sorry the World and the Church has sustained so heavy a Stroke, and that I have lost such a Friend, whom I had just begun to know by epistolary [*sic*] Converse.⁶⁶

Not printed in the *Memoirs* but included in Jacobi's manuscript letter was a moving elegy composed by Watts in Boehm's memory:

Our dearest William Boehm now rests in Jesus Bosom,
Whose Sacred Love was here his living Element;
[His] blessed Root sprung up and shew'd its fairest Blossom
When at the Call of God his Thread of Life was rent.

His World-despising Mind gave Proof, this inward Temple
Far greater Store possest, than all the World cou'd give;
No Cross diverted him from following Christs Exampel,
With whom he every Morn resolv'd to die and live.

The Faith of Abraham, Young Isaac's Resignation,
Stout Jacobs Victory, good Joseph's Godly Fear,

63 Nuttall, "Continental Pietism", pp. 223–27.

64 Isaac Watts, Recommendation (20 Nov. 1734) to *Memoirs of Boehm*, pp. xiii–xvi. This recommendation is not listed in the bibliography given by A.P. Davis, *Isaac Watts, His Life and Works* (1943), pp. 279–81.

65 Isaac Watts, Recommendation to *Memoirs of Boehm*, p. xv; see pp. 43f above.

66 Watts to [J.C. Jacobi], London, in: Jacobi to Francke, London, 15 May 1722 (ArFrSt 149:19c–d); Rambach, *Memoirs of Boehm*, pp. 40–41.

Meek Moses's Patience read in Boehms sweet Conversation
And learn by his to end thy Christianlike Carreer.⁶⁷

Anglican Evangelicals too were attracted to Halle Pietism. When a friend was suffering from a "Fear of Man", James Hervey (1714–1758), the former Oxford Methodist,⁶⁸ suggested that he "every Day for the next Month, read some Part of Professor Franck's *Nicodemus*, or *The Fear of Man*".⁶⁹ Writing in about 1758 he recommended *Nicodemus* and *A Short Introduction to the Practice of the Christian Religion*, remarking of their author, "I think him one of the most eminent Christians, and most extraordinary Men I ever heard of, as his *Pietas Hallensis*, which I read with Admiration and deep Humility, sufficiently demonstrates."⁷⁰

Some years later, John Thornton (1720–90), Baltic merchant and the "Nuffield of the Evangelical Revival", friend and benefactor to the first generation of Evangelicals,⁷¹ established an interesting personal contact with the orphanage at Halle. In 1767 his cousin, John Crosse, later famous as the blind Evangelical vicar of Bradford,⁷² found himself at Halle during a three-year extended journey to the Continent, where he received from both John and Lucie Thornton edifying and admonishing letters, because, as Thornton later told G.A. Francke, Crosse had no "sence of eternal Things" when he left England.⁷³ The following year the Thorntons sent their eldest son Samuel (later director of the Bank of England for 53 years) to Halle for part of his education.⁷⁴ As John Thornton explained to G.A. Francke:

... it was in the conviction of your (too uncommon) Care in endeavouring through the blessing of God to ground the Christian Religion in the heart at the same time as you procured for your Students every advantage of learning and Conduct, that induced me to place him so far from under my Eye.⁷⁵

Behind the Thorntons' decision lay the continuing regard in England for A.H. Francke, "whose memory must be precious to all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity".⁷⁶ To the Evangelical mind, such a "burning and

67 Watts to [Jacobi], in: Jacobi to Francke, 22 May 1722 (ArFrSt A 149: 19c-d). To my knowledge this poem has not previously appeared in print.

68 See L. Tyerman, *The Oxford Methodists* (London, 1873), pp. 201–333.

69 James Hervey, *A Collection of the Letters Of the late Reverend James Hervey, A.M.*, 2 vols. (London, 1760), No. XCII (ii.325–27).

70 *Ibid.*, No. XCVI (ii.334–49).

71 See DNB entry under Henry Thornton (xix.781).

72 DNB (v.224f).

73 John Thornton to [Crosse], Clapham, 24 Jan. 1767 (copy); Lucie Thornton to [Crosse], Clapham, 14 Oct. 1767 (copy); John Thornton to [Fabricius], Clapham, 18 Mar. 1768 (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.342–43, 346–48, 353–56).

74 DNB (xix.786f).

75 John Thornton to G.A. Francke, Clapham, 13 May 1768 (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.360f).

76 John Thornton to G.A. Francke, Clapham, 22 Mar. 1768 (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.359).

shining light" served to highlight the poor state of the contemporary Church of England, in which

...among all our Christian Bishops I am afraid there is not one that knows our Immanuel, but yet blessed be God he raises up Witnesses in our National Church and confounds the Devices of those that would silence them.⁷⁷

But it would be misleading to leave the story at this point. If Hallensian example continued to inspire devout English men and women touched by the evangelical movement, the Revival itself drew ambivalent and even critical reactions from mid-eighteenth-century members of the SPCK-Halle axis, as it continued into a later generation. The SPCK, though some of its early members had been attracted to the conception of "inward piety" and renewal, was initially uncertain and soon openly hostile to "Methodism". By 1739 the older generation of leaders was dying off, and the piety of the new seems to have possessed more of that static, "stiff" quality (to use Owen Chadwick's words), which increasingly characterized much High Church spirituality in a great deal of the remainder of the century. Eamon Duffy has shown convincingly the conservative change within the Society, especially after the deaths of Sir John Philipps (d.1737) and Henry Newman (d.1743), the two most dominant figures in the SPCK during the 1720s and 1730s. To begin with, the Society responded favourably to the rise of the evangelical revival; Sir John Philipps supported the Holy Club in Oxford, provided a stipend for Whitefield, and participated in the Fetter Lane Society.⁷⁸ By 1746, however, the Society added to its books for correspondents an anti-evangelical tract and in 1762 a special category "Against Enthusiasm" was added to its list of books.⁷⁹ The emotional exuberance of the early Methodists, the disregard of their leaders for the rules of Church order, and the infiltration of Methodist "enthusiasm" into many religious societies, especially in London and Bristol, deeply alarmed many devout churchmen.⁸⁰ Though one or two Evangelical laymen like John Thornton became members of the SPCK, they were not able to wield the influence Philipps and Newman had; the Society was increasingly dominated by clergy rather than laity and became an appendage to the established Church of England. Newman's place as secretary was filled by a clergyman, Thomas Broughton (1712-1777), who, though an early Oxford Methodist and one-time friend of Whitefield, remained committed to the ascetic piety of the original "Holy Club"⁸¹ and fell in line with the SPCK's moralistic and practical bent, which steadily dampened down the zeal and

77 John Thornton to [Fabricius?], Clapham, 6 June 1769 (*Nachlaß* 30.IX.373).

78 J. Clayton to J. Wesley, Oxford, 4 Sept. 1732, and Sir John Thorold to Wesley, London, 24 May 1736, printed in: *Wes Journ*, viii.278-81,298-302; Shankland, "Sir John Philipps", pp. 93-100.

79 Duffy, "The SPCK and Europe", p. 40.

80 Walsh, "Religious Societies", pp. 284-86.

81 Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists*, pp. 334-60.

passion so evident in the early decades of the Society.⁸² Growing uneasiness regarding the non-episcopal ordination of the East India missionaries gives further evidence of the higher clerical influence in the SPCK in the last half of the eighteenth century.

Considering the emphasis within evangelicalism on conversion and inward regeneration and the affection with which the elder Francke was held by evangelical leaders, one might assume that the leading Halle Pietists would have established a cordial relationship with the evangelical movement. However, G.A. Francke and to a lesser degree Ziegenhagen displayed a remarkable caution towards the Methodists. In the 1730s and 1740s Wesley's early links with the Moravian Brethren meant that Halle looked at him suspiciously, particularly when in his *Journal* he published the Moravian Spangenberg's account of his break with Halle⁸³ – which the Hallensians felt to be grossly inaccurate.⁸⁴ Though Boltzius and Gronau developed a friendship with Wesley in Georgia, they felt certain that he would go over to the Brethren, which would render him useless in God's service.⁸⁵ Francke, therefore, would have little to do with Wesley, though he received him graciously in Halle,⁸⁶ perhaps (as James Hutton believed) because he hoped to use the opportunity to prejudice Wesley against Zinzendorf.⁸⁷ After Wesley publicly broke with the Moravians the situation improved somewhat, and Francke requested and received from Ziegenhagen some of his writings. Nonetheless, the response of Halle to Wesley remained measured.⁸⁸

Initially Whitefield seems to have been more in favour with Halle. He corresponded with Francke, raised money for the Ebenezer community, and was friendly with Ziegenhagen in London.⁸⁹ But there were major points of difference, too. The Pietists did not agree with his open air preaching.⁹⁰ They were saddened by his adoption of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination.⁹¹ In 1750 an associate of Ziegenhagen at the Royal Chapel, reporting to Halle on the Methodist awakening, could see little difference in doctrine between the Methodists and Pietism except Whitefield's belief in predestination, which, he

82 Duffy, "The SPCK and Europe", pp. 40f; Cowie, *Newman*, pp. 261f.

83 *Wes Jour*, 9 Feb. 1736 (i.152–55).

84 Ziegenhagen to G.A. Francke, [London,] 17 June 1736, quoted in: Zehrer, "Relationship between Pietism and Methodism", pp. 213f.

85 Boltzius and Gronau to?, [Ebenezer,] 20 Jan. 1738, quoted in: Zehrer, "Relationship between Pietism and Methodism", pp. 213–16.

86 *Wes Jour*, 19 Aug. 1738 (ii.58).

87 D. Benham, ed., *Memoirs of James Hutton* (London, 1856), p. 40.

88 Zehrer, "Relationship between Pietism and Methodism", p. 217.

89 On Ziegenhagen's links with Whitefield, see, for example, Ziegenhagen to [Selina, Countess of Huntingdon], Bath, 4 June 1752 (Hunt Lib, HA 13714); H.M. Muhlenberg to Ziegenhagen, [Philadelphia, 15 Nov. 1763,] printed in: *Muhl Korres*, iii.127.

90 Zehrer, "Relationship between Pietism and Methodism", pp. 217–23.

91 See pp. 174f above. Zehrer, "Relationship between Pietism and Methodism", does not mention this dislike for Whitefield's doctrinal stance.

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).

CHAPTER VIII

“An unwelcome Guest in every Party”: Comparing Anglicanism and Lutheran Pietism

In his Preface to the 1709 English extract of *True Christianity* A.W. Boehm wrote of the poor reception which Johann Arndt had received in Germany, commenting sadly, “But as the World goes, real Piety has been all along, an unwelcome Guest in every Party.”¹ What Boehm considered “real Piety” and piety as understood within the Church of England may have been two different things. Our objective in this final chapter is to compare some aspects of the theology, devotion, and practice of Lutheran Pietism and of the Church of England.

1. Anglicanism and Lutheran Pietism

Methods and Nature

Two of the methods employed by both the SPCK and Halle Pietism have already been compared: education and the printing and distribution of Christian literature.² Other aspects of Pietism and the English societies demand comparison. Let us look first at the role played by voluntary associations. What similarities and what differences can be found between Spener’s *collegia pietatis* and the religious societies in Britain?³ Both movements developed spontaneously; in each case the initiative came from the laity in response to the preaching of the clergy. Even as Justice Hooke described voluntary societies a reaction to the many “infamous Clubbs of Atheists, Deists, and Socinians”,⁴ so Spener saw the *collegia pietatis* as counterparts to the worldly societies in Frankfurt. The style and content of meetings was similar yet distinct; no controversial discussion was allowed and each member was encouraged to participate in the open conversation, though the *collegia pietatis*, unlike their

1 [A.W. Boehm,] Preface to *Short Introduction concerning True Christianity*, by Johann Arndt, p. v.

2 See Chapters III and V.

3 See Bullock, *Voluntary Religious Societies*, pp. 129–131; Wallmann, *Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus*, pp. 167–223.

4 [Justice Hooke,] *Short Account of Several Kinds of Societies*, p. 1.

English counterparts, had no fixed rules. Though both advocated self-examination, personal piety, and concern for the poor, the rules within the Anglican religious societies pointed towards a more ascetic, moralistic piety. Spener put a high value on using the Scriptures within the *collegia pietatis*; the written Word also played a part in many English religious societies, but here a more significant place was given to the Anglican liturgy and Book of Common Prayer. Horneck and Spener were strong Churchmen and envisaged the conventicles as a renewing leaven within the local church; to avoid separatism they themselves took leadership of the groups. An open invitation to the Frankfurt congregation to join the *collegia pietatis* was issued and they became larger and less personal than the quieter, more private English religious societies, in which the permission of the group was required as a condition of membership. Even though the fear of spiritual pride and of building a church within a church was expressed in both England and Germany, the religious societies were more countenanced by the Anglican authorities than the *collegia* were by the Lutheran Church leaders in Frankfurt. It was when Spener's group was charged with exclusivity and spiritual pride that he decided to open the *collegia pietatis* to everyone; this practice, however, caused the original members to begin a gathering on their own, which later publicly separated from Spener's ecclesiastical *collegia*. The official recognition given to voluntary associations within the Church of England may have helped to check separatism.

A further point of contact between the voluntary societies, especially as represented in the SPCK, and Pietism, is the role and place of the laity. In Spener, the spiritual status of the layperson rested firmly on the Lutheran dogma of the priesthood of all believers: one of his aims, as set out in *Pia Desideria*, was "the establishment and diligent exercise of the spiritual priesthood".⁵ He stressed putting the Word of God into the hands of the people both privately and within the *collegia pietatis* to enable them to take up a larger role in the church. A firm commitment to the power of the Scriptures to change the individual lives of the laity, even though the religion of the land was Roman Catholic or the clergy was unconverted, led Francke and Canstein to establish their Bible Institute. Yet how lay-oriented in fact was Halle Pietism? Though Francke sent renewed laity throughout Germany and the world, the ecclesiastical reforms so important to Pietism depended predominantly upon a renewed clergy. If the clergy did not allow the laity to become actively involved in the renewal of church life, it was extremely difficult for them to be so. The same was true with the Church of England. Given the Anglican understanding of episcopacy and the ordained ministry, and the central importance of the Book of Common Prayer, there was very little opportunity for active lay involvement; the layperson was regarded as very largely a passive receiver save

5 Spener, *Pia Desideria*, pp. 92-95.

for his or her financial support of the Church. Into this void stepped the voluntary societies which not only gave the laity an opportunity for active participation, but, with the exception of the SPG, gave them a remarkable opportunity to exert leadership and control. The voluntary societies in the early eighteenth century were uniquely English and had no counterparts in Halle. Despite the work of Canstein and other lay nobility, Francke was the single power behind the orphanage. At the same time, he had no twin in England; though Thomas Bray founded both the SPCK and SPG, the elder Society quickly came under lay domination even though the younger was episcopally controlled. In providing opportunities for lay involvement the voluntary society movement paved the way for Methodism and it has been observed that many of the leaders – and followers – of the movement came to it by way of the Anglican societies.⁶ Was it coincidental that after the onset of the evangelical revival, the SPCK lost the strong lay presence in its leadership? It is perhaps significant that the most influential Halle Pietist to work in England was never ordained; Boehm here fit quite naturally into the lay structure of the SPCK.

A final point of comparison lies in the relationships of the SPCK and Halle Pietism to the authorities in Church and State. Francke was an outspoken critic of the Lutheran Church and its leaders, both before and after he came to Halle. One of the reasons for his ability to survive attacks by the Lutheran Orthodox lay in the support he received from the Prussian State. Since most of the recalcitrant aristocracy in Brandenburg-Prussia who opposed any efforts to centralize government in Berlin were Orthodox Lutheran, the Elector Frederick III (later, King Frederick I) and his successors aligned themselves with Halle Pietism and used it to fight the landed nobility. Francke depended on the State for survival and came to revel in the privileges he received; after his death Pietism became a tool in the spread of authoritarianism in Prussia. Unlike Francke, the SPCK did not criticize the established Church and gave deference to the episcopate; similar to Francke, though less dramatically, it openly supported Queen Anne and the Hanoverians. Perhaps because of its passive attitude to authority and its relatively insignificant size, the Society remained basically free of political and ecclesiastical interference. It received occasional benefactions from the government but was not dependent on them. Since the SPCK was willing to submit to episcopal influence, avoided political partisanship, and remained non-controversial in its activities, ecclesiastical dignitaries tended to leave the Society alone and chose to involve themselves, if at all, in the SPG, with its royal charter.

6 See Walsh, "Religious Societies", pp. 284f, 288ff.

Ideology offers a further area for comparison. What animated or motivated Francke and the SPCK to take the actions they did? Whether the late seventeenth century was an age of unusual moral declension is doubtful, but it appears to have been so perceived. What lay behind this perception, whether alarm at the decline of church attendance after the Toleration Act, the decay of the disciplinary powers of the church courts, the advance of Deism, the social dislocations of a long war, is not clear. But in their analysis of the social evils of the age, those who spoke for the Society laid paramount stress on the lack of religious education. The statement of purpose, to which every member of the SPCK subscribed, declared that "the growth of vice and immorality is greatly owing to gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian religion".⁷ Even more pointed was the first circular letter to correspondents written later in 1699 which referred to the "visible decay of Religion in this Kingdom, with the monstrous increase of Deism, Prophaness, and Vice", the cause of which arose in great measure "from the barbarous ignorance observable among the common people, especially those of the poorer sort, and this to proceed from want of due care in the education of the Youth".⁸ These sentiments can be placed beside those found in Francke's "Great Essay", written in 1704 in a different social context and called by its recent editor the "most significant literary product of Halle Pietism".⁹ It began:

That not only in the world in general but also in so-called Christendom and even in the Lutheran Church everything lies in a corrupt state and dreadful decay even those whose eyes God has opened only a little can easily perceive.¹⁰

According to Francke, corruption was visible in three main "stations" [*Stände*] of society: government, household, and teaching. The main source of this condition was "the bad education of the youth", which had come so far "that almost no one knows any longer what belongs to a truly Christian and generally useful education".¹¹ Not only in the instruction of children but also in the universities Francke pointed to the poor state of education.¹²

7 Preamble, printed in: McClure, p. 1.

8 "The First Circular Letter from the Honourable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to their Clergy Correspondents in the several Counties of England and Wales" (16 Nov. 1699), printed in: McClure, p. 36n3.

9 "das ... bedeutendste literarische Produkt des Halleschen Pietismus." (Podczek, Introduction to *Franckes ... Der Große Aufsatz*, p. 10)

10 "Daß nicht allein insgemein in der Welt, sondern auch in der so genannten Christenheit und in der Evangelischen Kirchen selbst alles in einem verderbten Zustande und schrecklichen Verfall liege, mögen auch die jenigen, denen Gott die Augen nur ein wenig geöffnet, gar leicht erkennen."

11 "Eine solche Quelle ist die böse Aufzucht der Jugend. Denn damit ist es soweit kommen, daß fast niemand mehr weiß, was zu einer recht Christlichen und gemeinem Wesen nützlichen Aufzucht gehöre."

12 Podczek, ed., *Franckes ... Der Große Aufsatz*, pp. 70-79.

The similarities between these statements are clear. Both direct attention to the moral plight of society and put the blame on ignorance and the want of moral instruction and religious education. Yet there are significant differences. The SPCK aims its sights on the common people, especially the poor, while Francke comprehends all classes, from ruling authorities to individual households. Even though the intent of the Society is religious, significantly it does not include the established Church within its scope of attack; there is no indication that the body of the clergy or its leaders are complicit in the moral corruption of the nation. Francke, on the other hand, did not exclude either Christendom or the state Lutheran Church from blame for the sorry state of the world. The SPCK focused exclusively on the education of children, but Francke sought to renew the educational system from the child to the university student. In general, the Halle Pietists were much more sweeping both in their description of the decayed state of religion, education, and society and in the nature of their remedies.

Despite the spiritual renewal evident within the religious societies in the early years, Halle Pietism put a higher value on inward, affective Christianity than did Anglicanism. The reaction against the "enthusiasm" of the Commonwealth had rendered many Anglicans suspicious of those who encouraged an experiential piety not controlled by liturgical forms, rational restraints, or clerical guidance. The author of *Censura Temporum*, a short-lived periodical which "impartially consider'd" a variety of contemporary writings, in reviewing some of the books published in 1708, examined Boehm's Latin edition of Arndt's *True Christianity*. Though acknowledging the "lively Vein of Piety and Devotion in it", the author felt that "those Religious Exercises and Meditations of the Mind, which are contrived to operate strongly upon the Fancy and Passions, ... are strangely liable to Abuse". Emotions and fancies are open to being made a tool of the devil:

Hence 'tis, that so many good Men, encouraging their Fancies too indulgently in their devout Contemplations, run aground upon Singularities of Opinion or Expression, and sometimes come at last, to Raving, instead of Praising and Praying.

In particular he labelled as "wild staring Enthusiasm" Arndt's use of Johann Tauler, the German mystic read and appreciated by the young Luther and the Pietists.¹³ Boehm, on the other hand, spoke favourably of Tauler¹⁴ and not only agreed with but helped spread Arndt's experiential style of Christianity. It was certainly the criticism in *Censura Temporum* which caused Boehm in the Preface to the English extract of *True Christianity* published one year later to focus somewhat defensively on the *via media* between a true and a false enthusiasm.¹⁵ Boehm joined with Anglicans such as Woodward in condemn-

13 *Censura Temporum*, vol. 1 (1709), pp. 348–50.

14 Boehm to Miss S[lare], London, 16 July 1705, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 19.

15 [Boehm], Preface to *Short Introduction concerning True Christianity*, by Johann Arndt, pp. viii–x; see p. 141 above.

ing the bizarre claims of the French Prophets to divine illumination,¹⁶ but was frustrated by the way in which every inner working of the Spirit which went beyond the formal pattern of religion was labelled as enthusiasm.¹⁷ For the Pietist, the increasingly perceptible internal operations of the Spirit were a normal result of the process of regeneration; evidence that Christ lived in the soul of the believer. They were clearly depicted in Scripture, and so utterly different from that fanatical enthusiasm which threw off the authority of the Word.¹⁸

Much Anglican piety of the early eighteenth century ran in a different stream from that propagated by Boehm. The author of *Censura Temporum* feared that Pietism diverted Christians away from the public and communal services of the Church into private ecstasies and raptures:

... he [Arndt] ascribes so much to internal Worship and Communion, that one would think he Slighted the External ... This is a natural Consequence of an Enthusiastick Fever. It erects such imaginary Altars, and lights such Visionary Flames upon them in the Brain, that all External Offices and Ordinances instituted in the Church, are either forgot or despised.¹⁹

The crux of Anglican piety and that which most distinguished it from Pietist spirituality was that the formal, prescriptive ordinances of the Church, sanctioned by law and tradition, that is, the Liturgy and Sacraments, were the primary and only necessary means of expressing devotion. In *Pietas Londinensis* James Paterson provided an account of 201 places of worship in London to show that "there is scarcely an Hour of the Day, but a *Devout Person*, may have the Opportunity of *serving God* in *Publick*, after the Manner of the *Primitive Church*".²⁰ With so many opportunities available, he encouraged "those lazy, luke-warm, and indifferent Professors, or nominal Christians" to attend the house of prayer as part of their "publick Duties".²¹ The stress was on public worship, not private devotion, "for though private Duties are most comfortable, yet publick are more powerful".²²

Unlike Boehm, who believed that the only source for leading a holy life was regeneration and conversion, many Anglican members of the SPCK in the early eighteenth century thus believed that the power to live morally derived chiefly from regular attendance at the "ordinances" of public worship. This

16 Woodward, *Remarks on the Modern Prophets* (London, 1708). Boehm sent frequent reports to Halle on the Prophets, some of whom had found their way from London to Halle, where they raised a considerable upheaval and incurred Francke's wrath because local authorities attributed their ecstatic outbreaks to Pietism. (Boehm to Francke, London, 26 Feb. 1714, and to Mr. S., London, 18 Aug. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 325-35, 53-64)

17 E.g. Boehm to Newman, London, 29 Jan. 1718, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 486.

18 [Boehm,] Preface to *Animalis homo*, by Edward Reynolds, in: *ErSchrift*, ii.846-49.

19 *Censura Temporum*, vol. 1 (1709), p. 350.

20 Paterson, Introduction to *Pietas Londinensis*, n.p.

21 Paterson, Postscript to *Pietas Londinensis*, p. 285.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 306.

extremely close link between morality and formal worship dates back in particular to the Restoration,²³ when churchmen, noting on the one hand the moral and religious laxity of the laity and on the other the rigoristic Puritan claim to particular zeal and sanctity, tried to unite piety and morality through worship and the Sacraments. The goal of churchmen was to extend a piety based on the Book of Common Prayer into the daily lives of the laity, a campaign which met with some success, although the Holy Communion was nonetheless still largely neglected by the laity. With this type of Anglican piety Boehm was uncomfortable, not because he deprecated the Sacraments or liturgy, but because he opposed any kind of formalized religion which did not require a changed heart in the individual. Being "strict and punctual in some formal Devotions, receiv'd by Custom", without an internal spiritual sense and principle was but dead formality and virtual "popery" in Boehm's eyes.²⁴

Along with the close integration of individual piety and morality into the public worship of the Church of England went a significant theological change regarding justification.²⁵ There developed among many leading figures in the Restoration Church of England a resistance to *sola fide* and a feeling that belief must lead to performance, well expressed in *The Whole Duty of Man*, the most popular religious book of the period. Fear that the Nonconformist doctrine of the imputed righteousness of Christ led to antinomianism and absolution from moral duties encouraged a doctrine of justification which soon overlaid more or less completely that of the old Anglican Calvinism. Caroline divines, like Jeremy Taylor, Henry Hammond, and, most influentially, George Bull adopted an "Arminian" theology of justification which stressed the necessity of works as a condition (though not a meritorious cause) of justification. Obedience, repentance, and works were held to be not so much fruits of faith as a necessary part of it and prerequisite to justification.

These views of justification became dominant in the early eighteenth century. Robert Nelson provides an excellent example of the Augustan churchman. In his *An Address to Persons of Quality and Estate*, he tells those "of good-breeding" that their salvation ought to be their chief concern: "Your Sins render you incapable of the Happiness of Heaven; for Vertue and Piety are not only Conditions of Your Salvation, but are necessary *Qualifications and Dispositions* for it."²⁶ The divines who introduced this new understanding of justification were seeking to avoid antinomianism by stressing the need to observe both Tables of the Decalogue, i.e. worship of God and living a moral life.²⁷ Yet instead of works and obedience being a part of faith, they came almost to replace it: Anglicanism had become largely a "Second Table"

23 See Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", esp. pp. 165-242.

24 Boehm, "The Doctrine of Original Sin", in: *Discourses*, p. 91.

25 On what follows, see Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", pp. 182-209; Allison, *Rise of Moralism*, *passim*.

26 Nelson, *Address to Persons*, pp. 24f.

27 Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", pp. 206f.

religion.²⁸ This, perhaps, is why many religious societies were caught up into societies for the reformation of manners; the spiritual devotion in the early years frequently gave rise to a legalistic moralism in which faith was comparatively insignificant.

Boehm was of a different breeding. He espoused a Lutheran doctrine of justification little different from that of the English Reformation and Puritanism, stressing the imputed righteousness of Christ.²⁹ To it he added an understanding of the *ordo salutis* not too unlike Francke's, in which he spoke of the "way of repentance" [*Buß-Weg*] through which one must go to prepare for receiving the gospel and the experience of conversion.³⁰ The whole Christian life for Boehm was one of process, flowing from the experience of conversion.³¹ As evident from his sermons, he uses common terms like conversion, regeneration, illumination, and justification, though seldom with much theological precision. Conversion [*Bekehrung*] appears to be his favourite description of salvation; he was convinced that this transformation must precede and empower good works:

I have often wished that those who have recognized corruption begin the work of reformation with the spirit and inward principles and let the form alone until it has with those its correctness; then would be born the external out of the internal and the form out of the spirit, as the fruit and leaves are born out of the roots.³²

It is on this basis that he so strongly criticized (by implication) the theological rationale behind the societies for the reformation of manners in the Preface to the second edition of *Nicodemus*.³³ In his sermon on regeneration Boehm declared:

All such Endèavours as tend to the Suppression of Vice, and are carried on by the Laws of Men, ought to be made subservient to the Principle of *Regeneration*, and are to be resolved at last into a true *Gospel-Spirit* ... When the Law reforms the *Manners*, then *Regeneration* reforms the *Temper*.³⁴

A morality not enlightened by a truly regenerate spirit was in Boehm's thinking ultimately no better than a heathen morality based solely on the law.

28 See McGee, *Godly Man in Stuart England*.

29 Boehm, "The Doctrine of Justification", in: *Discourses*, pp. 219–44.

30 Boehm to Miss S[lare], London, 12 May 1713, and to Mr. Williams, London, 13 Oct. and 1 Nov. 1720, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 240f, 524–29; Boehm, "Doctrine of Justification", in: *Discourses*, pp. 241f. On Francke's doctrine of conversion, see Peschke, "Speners Wiedergeburtstheorie und Franckes Lehre von der Bekehrung", pp. 206–24.

31 See Sames, pp. 126–30.

32 "Ich habe daher oft gewünschet, daß diejenigen, die das Verderben einsehen, mit dem Geiste und inwendigen Grunde das Reformations-Werck anfangen, und die Form so lange stehen liessen, bis es mit jenem seine Richtigkeit hätte; so würden das Aeusere aus dem Innern, und die Form aus dem Geiste, wie die Frucht und Blätter aus der Wurtzel, erboren werden." (Boehm to Mr. G.H. at F. in Hollstein, London, 6 Mar. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 93)

33 See p. 138 above.

34 Boehm, "The Doctrine of Regeneration", in: *Discourses*, p. 259.

Recommending a book which the SPCK had given him to peruse, Boehm makes plain to Newman that an unregenerate moralism was not in keeping with the professed character of the Society:

As our Society has the name not of the promotion of some heathen moralities but the knowledge of Christ himself, wherein consists eternal life, so we should also in the choice of our books always keep an eye on this glorious title which we have adopted and by all means not abandon the goal of promoting the knowledge of Christ to which we have pledged ourselves.³⁵

How much Boehm's voice found an echo within the SPCK during his years of involvement makes for interesting conjecture. Conversion was not a common word in the vocabulary of the early eighteenth-century Anglican churchman, partly because it smacked of Nonconformity and partly because it did not fit in with the popular conception of salvation as a continual improvement. Among lay leaders like Sir John Philipps, Henry Hoare, and especially Frederick Slare, one finds quite strong traces of Puritan ways of thought, inherited from forebears brought up in a Calvinistic world. With his talk of the imputed righteousness of Christ and of the need for conversion, Boehm sounded themes familiar to contemporary Nonconformists, but which by Anne's reign were very seldom heard in Anglican circles. A few embattled Calvinists like John Edwards at Cambridge, author of *The Preacher* (1705–09) and *Veritas Redux* (1707–08),³⁶ still expounded the old Reformation "doctrines of grace", but they were a mere handful, given to frequent ragings at the apostasy of their clerical colleagues from the "good old way". Boehm is of special interest as someone who still expounded, in courtly and establishment circles, what, despite its Pietist gloss, was recognizably the "old divinity". How influential he was in keeping alive those doctrines in the "tunnel period" between Anne's reign and the Evangelical Revival, it is impossible to establish. That he was able to retain the friendship of colleagues whose piety was moving in a different direction was an achievement. No doubt Boehm commanded respect through his position as a Court preacher. Perhaps allowances were made for him as a foreigner. But his influence was also a tribute to his own attractiveness, both as a person and as a man of deep personal piety.

One must not exaggerate Boehm's closeness to Dissent or divergence from the norms of early eighteenth-century Anglicanism. He shared with his Anglican friends an intense concern for the *practice* of piety: the conviction that

35 "Wie unsere Societaet den Namen hat, nicht von der Beförderung einiger Heidnischer Moralitaeten, sondern der Erkenntnis Christi selbst, worinnen das ewige Leben bestehet, so solten wir auch in der Wahl unserer Bücher allezeit ein Auge haben, auf diesen herrlichen Titel, so wir angenommen haben, und durchaus nicht weichen von dem Zweck, die Erkenntnis Christi zu befördern, wozu wir uns haben anheischig gemacht." (Boehm to Newman, 29 Jan. 1718, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 486f)

36 DNB (vi.539–41).

works are a necessary result of faith and a visible sign of grace. As Sears McGee has shown, Puritans and Dissenters were unwilling to accept the idea that *Imitatio Christi* was a goal which could or should be aimed at: their view of human depravity precluded so exalted a quest. By contrast, the "Imitation of Christ" was a potent theme in Anglican High Church devotion of the late seventeenth century and later.³⁷ Boehm here sided firmly with the Anglicans. He praised à Kempis's classic and John Worthington's English translation of it.³⁸ If there was a clear difference between works conceived as a necessary fruit of justification (Pietism) and works as a necessary condition of justification (post-Restoration Anglicanism), representatives of both schools could meet in the *praxis pietatis*. The Pietist concern for living the Christian life and for philanthropy struck a chord in Anglicanism, even if the notion of conversion was not shared by both. Aside from his "new birth" theology, Boehm was a moral crusader; he did not find fault with the ultimate goal of the societies for the reformation of manners, only in how they set about their task. Although the underlying theology of Halle Pietism bore a close resemblance to Puritanism, its outward manifestations had more similarities to the Anglicanism of the voluntary societies.

The interaction between Pietism and Anglicanism centred on praxis and mission rather than theology or doctrine. Dr. John Spurr has shown that out of reaction to Puritanism and atheism the Restoration Church retreated from the close study of theology and replaced doctrinal polemics with a moralistic message and a developing ecclesiology.³⁹ Here it differed from the Lutheran Churches of the Continent. If the legacy of the Restoration Church was the elevated importance of the Book of Common Prayer, morality, and episcopacy, the Lutheran Church in Germany still gave pride of place to theology and doctrine. Even in Halle, where practical and pastoral issues were close to the heart, theology was still of vital importance. A.H. Francke himself was a theologian and professor at the university. Furthermore, whether it liked it or not, German Pietism was constantly on the defensive against the theological onslaught of its Orthodox opponents and compelled to formulate its position. Hence, the questions Boehm most frequently received from Germany about Anglicanism were theological. In the discussion of church union to which we now turn it should not be surprising that from the Anglican perspective the central issues were usually liturgical and ecclesiological, while on the Lutheran side the main questions were doctrinal.

37 McGee, *The Godly Man in Stuart England*, pp. 107f.

38 See p. 144 above.

39 Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", pp. 243-304; cf. Allison, *Rise of Moralism*, p. 192.

2. Boehm's Perception of the Church of England

Predestination, Holy Communion, and Episcopacy

One of the keenest anxieties of Boehm's Lutheran compatriots in Germany was the question of Church union, in particular the celebrated proposal of Jablonski to base a union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches on the liturgy and episcopate of the Anglican Church. Meanwhile, the question of the relationship of the Church of England to the Lutheran Church was forced upon Anglican churchmen not so much by Jablonski's proposals (which soon faded from memory) but by the succession of a German Lutheran to the throne of England as head of the established Church.

As a prominent German Lutheran on the edge of Court circles and with access to Anglican leaders lay and clerical, Boehm was naturally seen as a valuable source of information on matters connected with the Church of England. Enquiries addressed to him from Germany tended to be heavily influenced by the preoccupations of Continental Lutherans, rather than by those intrinsic to Anglicanism. In particular, queries focused on those issues currently dividing the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Germany, above all predestination and the nature of Christ's presence in the Sacrament. On the first issue, Boehm admitted that on the evidence of the thirty-nine Articles Anglican dogma favoured the Reformed Churches in Holland and Germany, though he added that English theologians were very free in their explanations of these articles and in interpretation often concurred more with the Lutheran than the Reformed confessions.⁴⁰ In an "Open Letter to a Friend in Germany", written in 1717, Boehm deals at length with the Anglican understandings of predestination and the Holy Communion.⁴¹ With regard to predestination he reaffirmed that Anglican doctrine was Reformed, but provided a brief historical account of how the Church shifted from its Calvinist view to an Arminian one (though that name is not used). To examine predestination theologically Boehm quoted extensively from numerous divines, many, but not all of them Anglican,⁴² and ended by citing Gilbert Burnet's view that the question of predestination need no longer divide and alienate members of the Church of England, to which Boehm added rather cryptically: "It could be desired that one could say something similar of other things, especially those

40 Boehm to Neubauer, London, 23 Nov. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 380.

41 "Send-Schreiben an einen Freund in Deutschland: Worinn gezeiget wird, Was die Lehre der Kirche von England, in denen zwischen den Lutheranern und Reformirten schwebenden Religions-Streitigkeiten sey: Sonderlich im Punct der Praedestination, and Der Gegenwart Christi im heiligen Abendmahl", 14 Nov. 1717, in: *ErSchrift*, ii.341-476.

42 Among those cited were John Goodwin, Henry More, Richard Baxter, John Smith, Ralph Cudworth, John Worthington, Edward Fowler, William Nichols, and Gilbert Burnet.

which are of a far lesser importance."⁴³ Despite the fact that most English theologians were by now in broad agreement with the Lutheran Church, Boehm felt that on the whole this issue, so important to Lutheran-Reformed debates, was no longer a vital one in the Church of England.

The doctrine of the Lord's Supper was, Boehm realized, a much more difficult question.⁴⁴ Devoting surprisingly little space to the Anglican understanding of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, the divisive issue in Germany, he concentrated instead on Anglican perceptions of Lutheran thinking. The common indictment against the Lutheran Church was that it held a doctrine of consubstantiation and ubiquity, by which, though transubstantiation was vehemently denied, the conception of the bodily presence of Christ within the Sacrament was upheld. Not only had Boehm frequently heard English lay people, who knew little of the Lutheran Church, criticize Lutherans for this dangerous dogma, but he knew that even the broad-minded Gilbert Burnet had fallen victim to prejudice in accepting that this was the Lutheran view (which it was not), though he did not consider the Lutheran doctrine hazardous to practice and had declared that Anglicans could well join with Lutherans in receiving the Sacrament.

Since Lutherans in Germany regarded both Anglicans and Presbyterians in England as Reformed in doctrine, Boehm felt the need to point out their differences.⁴⁵ The Presbyterians in England, he explained, had gone farther in rejecting the ceremonial than the Reformed Church in Germany, largely as a result of more than a century of conflict with Anglicans over vestments, ritual, and forms of Church government. In the eyes of Presbyterians and Dissenters, the Anglican clergy were still tainted with "Popery" in their liturgical and ritual practices, while Anglicans charged their opponents with groundless separatism from the national Church. In Boehm's opinion, both sides were not without blame. The differences between the parties, though largely minor, were enhanced by the fact that each side had its extremists, exaggerating secondary divergencies, rather as the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Germany had done. In recent times it had been Anglican extremists who had brought to the fore the issue which would prove most troublesome for both the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Germany and elsewhere: episcopacy.

Boehm had no sympathy for an understanding of episcopacy which did not recognize the orders of those not ordained by a bishop in the Apostolic succession and thereby dismissed as fundamentally invalid the ministry of all other Protestants, English and foreign. The case of Benjamin Reed, a young man designed for a Dissenting ministry who, after converting to the established

43 "Es wäre zu wünschen, daß man von andern Dingen, sonderlich denen, die von weit geringerer Importantz sind, ein gleiches sagen könnte." (Boehm, "Send-Schreiben", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.429)

44 Boehm, "Send-Schreiben", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.430-63.

45 *Ibid.*, ii.453-63.

Church, was re-baptized by an episcopally ordained priest,⁴⁶ was frequently mentioned by Boehm to point out the extremes of High Churchmanship.⁴⁷ The issue of episcopal ordination was faced by Boehm in 1710 with his efforts to secure a minister for the Palatines⁴⁸ and in 1720 when he stridently opposed Grundler becoming an English missionary because he feared that High Church clergy would insist that he conform to the Church of England.⁴⁹ He was even drawn into the controversy over the Lutheranism of George I which revolved around the High Church (later, Nonjuring) controversialist Thomas Brett,⁵⁰ a lively controversy whose main issues can only be discussed briefly here.

George I was welcomed as head of the Church of England by Archbishop Tenison of Canterbury and publicly greeted in a tract by Archbishop Dawes of York, one of Queen Anne's last Tory appointments.⁵¹ Prudently avoiding their doctrinal disparities, Dawes emphasized the similarity between the Lutheran and Anglican liturgies, commenting that "we vary little from them in the Exercise of our Publick Devotion". Lutherans, in Dawes' opinion, differed far more from Presbyterians and Dissenters than they did from the Church of England. He rejoiced that the new King had shown himself, "as Defender of the Faith, to be the Support and Nursing Father of the Church Establish'd".⁵²

In the same year Theophilus Dorrington, rector of Wittresham in Kent, republished his translation of a book by Baron Samuel Pufendorf, which, though written to bring about a union in Germany between the Lutheran and Reformed Church, Dorrington felt might be useful to enable Anglicans better to understand Lutherans.⁵³ The irenic intention of this book was severely compromised when the Nonjuror Brett decided to reply to it, penning *A Review of the Lutheran Principles* (1714). Brett had been provoked into print by a correspondent who suggested to him that since the Church of England was close to Lutheranism with respect to the liturgy and since Lutherans hated the Reformed Church as much as Anglicans did Scottish Presbyterians, perhaps

46 See [John Withers?], *A Caveat against the New Sect of Anabaptists, Lately sprung up at Exon* (London, 1714); Benjamin Reed, *A Reply to a Pamphlet entitled, A Caveat against the New Sect of Anabaptists* (Exon, 1714); Hubert Stogdon, *A Defence of the Caveat against the New Sect of Anabaptists, &c. In Answer to Mr. Reed's Reply* (Exon, 1714).

47 Boehm, "Send-Schreiben", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.461ff; Boehm to Urlsperger, London, 29 Jan. 1714, and to Mr. S. in Pennsylvania, London, 18 Aug. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 318f, 365ff.

48 Boehm to Canstein, London, 29 Aug. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 160f; see pp. 64f above.

49 Boehm to Neubauer, London, 16 Aug. 1720 (ArFrSt C 229:12); see pp. 115–16 above.

50 Brett (1667–1744) was rector of Betshanger and Ruckinge in Kent until on the accession of George I he refused to take the oaths; he was welcomed as a Nonjuror and in 1716 consecrated a Nonjuring bishop. (DNB [ii.1193–94])

51 Archbishop of York [Sir William Dawes], *An Exact Account of King George's Religion* (London, 1714).

52 *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7. This same tact of comparing liturgies was taken up by a Gentleman-Commoner at Magdalen College in *The Lutheran Liturgy* (London, 1715).

53 *A View of the Lutheran Principles* (London, 1714); originally published as *The Divine Feudal Law* (London, 1703).

the King's subjects in Brunswick and England could unite under one monarch and one religion along the lines of some proposal like Pufendorf's. Brett retorted that reconciliation between the Church of England and foreign Protestants was "altogether impracticable", because they would not acquiesce in the restoration of episcopacy, the "great controverted Point ... betwixt them and us". Since Lutherans have "meer Presbyters" or superintendents, "if we do allow their Ordinations, then *we obliquely overthrow the whole Episcopal Church to allow any for lawful Pastors, who are not Episcopally ordain'd*". Furthermore, Brett insisted that the doctrine of the ubiquity of the body of Christ, by which Luther claimed that Christ remained bodily omnipresent after his Ascension, and the related doctrine of consubstantiation, were incompatible with Anglican doctrine, which did not confuse substance in affirming two inseparable natures. Though he admitted that Lutherans agreed with Anglicans in rejecting predestination and had similarities in their ritual, Brett maintained that Lutherans "are nevertheless strict and rigid Presbyterians, and have as little agreement with the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, as the most zealous Calvinist".⁵⁴

This tract was given to Boehm by Peter Allix, the French Reformed theologian, who suggested that a Lutheran minister should pen a response to Brett's accusations. Brett's attack confirmed Boehm's fear (generally concealed) of High Church polemicists:

The Tory or High Church party, of whom one believed (and perhaps not quite without reason) that they favoured Popery and sought underhandedly to build a bridge for it in England, has now (or at least many in it) suddenly turned around and wants to be regarded as the pillar of Protestantism; however, the poor Lutherans are accused in the ugliest terms and presented to the people in public writings as half-Papists.⁵⁵

Boehm was distressed by Brett's attempt to link Lutherans and Roman Catholics in order to denigrate the doctrine of consubstantiation, and to disbar Lutherans from church union for failure to maintain historic episcopacy. But Boehm declined to engage himself in such a dispute, for, as he explained, by entering the lists "I could easily be diverted from edifying things and involved in all kinds of superficialities". He noted that an English moderate priest, who had already written one tract against Brett, had asked him for some material to use in another.⁵⁶

54 Thomas Brett, *A Review of the Lutheran Principles*, pp. 8, 15, 17, 43.

55 "Die Torische oder Hoch-Kirchliche Partei, von welcher man vor dem (und vielleicht nicht ohn allen Grund) glaubte, daß sie dem Pabstthum favorisirten und selbigen [sic] unter der Hand eine Brücke in Engeland zu bauen suchten, hat sich nun (oder doch viele derselben) auf einmal umgewandt, und wollen als Seulen des Protestantismi angesehen seyn. Hingegen werden die armen Lutheraner aufs heftlichste beschuldigt, und als halbe Papisten in öffentlichen Schriften [sic] dem Volcke vorgestellet."

56 "... als wodurch ich leicht von erbaulichen Dingen abgezogen und in allerley Weitläufigkeit

The "moderate" to whom Boehm referred was undoubtedly Robert Watts of St. John's College, Oxford, someone distrusted by Nonjurors as a friend of Dissenters and "a Son of a Profess'd Presbyterian".⁵⁷ In his first tract, *Two Letters to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Townshend* (1714), Watts had included a letter from two former Lutheran chaplains of the Electress Sophia of Brunswick, the mother of George I. They had observed "the strange conduct" of some of the English in Germany since the enactment of the Occasional Conformity Bill, which had been designed to prevent the practice of many Nonconformists in receiving the Sacrament in the established Church to qualify themselves for office under the Test Acts. The effect of the Occasional Conformity controversy on the English community in Hanover had been considerable: it had encouraged them to "think they should commit an unpardonable Sin, should they receive the holy Sacrament from a Minister on this Side of the Water". The chaplains were grieved that the law was held by some to extend to persons "that profess the Protestant Religion in foreign Countries", for thereby the solidarity of Protestantism was weakened and the cause of Popery strengthened. It was hoped that the law would only be applied to England. The two chaplains assured their readers that they themselves recognized the Church of England as a true Church:

Whenever we beseech God in our Congregations to advance the Protestant Religion, we do not exclude the Church of England, but on the contrary we have always, and do still, look upon it as the surest and firmest Bulwark against Popery.⁵⁸

By use of this letter Robert Watts stressed that the Church of England was being dangerously isolated from the Continental Protestants (who looked to it for support) through a law intended to reinforce the established Church.

Watts was almost certainly the author of a second tract opposing Brett, for some of the material in it echoes the sentiments of Boehm, who was several times quoted.⁵⁹ Like Boehm, so too Watts emphasized the importance of moderation and argued that both Lutherans and Anglicans need "forbearance". While acknowledging that the Lutheran doctrine of the Sacrament was in conflict with the Anglican, even though "our Church has not nicely defin'd or declar'd for any particular Modus of the Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament", he held this issue not to be fundamental to the Christian faith.

verwickelt werden könnte." (Boehm to Urlsperger, London, 26 Nov. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 383–85)

57 See C.E. Doble, ed., *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Heame*, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1885–1921), 21 Apr. 1708 (ii.103). According to Hearne (21 Oct. 1709 [ii.291]), Watts authored a small tract titled: *A Discourse concerning the Lawfulness and Right manner of keeping Christmass, and other Christian Holy-days, by way of Question and Answer. Intended for the Use of a Charity-School* (London, 1708). I have not found a copy of this piece.

58 La Bergerie and M. Noltenius to?, Hanover, 6 Aug. 1714, printed in: Watts, *Two Letters*, pp. 7–11.

59 [Robert Watts?] *A Second Review of the Lutheran Principles* (London, 1714), pp. 17ff.33, makes reference to the Prefaces to both *Pietas Hallensis* and *True Christianity*.

"The Principles of Catholick Unity" should not be breached by denying Communion with Lutherans. Had not the King himself provided an example of "preserving a Unity of Communion, notwithstanding a Variety of Opinion"?⁶⁰

Brett and Watts were not the only principals in this war of words; John Lewis, later master of Eastbridge Hospital in Canterbury,⁶¹ also took up the assault against Brett. He attributed Brett's censure of Lutheran orders and his illegitimizing of their churches "to the Rashness of some Modern Innovators in the Doctrines of the Church of England". Following Gilbert Burnet, Lewis held that the framers of the 39 Articles were not of the opinion that "*Episcopal Ordination is necessary for a legitimate Priest; and that there cannot be a Church without Bishops, who have their Ordination and Succession from the Apostles*". Anglican theologians had shown, in Lewis' opinion, that

... the Things which of all other, are most proper to Bishops, are *Singularity in Succeeding, and Superiority in Ordaining*; and that therefore in the Foreign Reformed Churches, they have the *Substance* of the Episcopal Office.⁶²

In turn Brett charged Lewis with endeavouring "to overthrow the *Divine Right of Episcopacy, and the Necessity of an Episcopal Commission to the Valid Administration of the Sacraments*",⁶³ to which Lewis replied that he did not believe government by bishops to be *jure divino*, if that meant "a clear, express, and peremptory Command of God in his Word". He granted that "*ordinarily and regularly*" ordination by a bishop is necessary for valid administration of the Sacraments, but a defect in the commission or authority did not nullify performance of the office, as in the Lutheran Reformation, when presbyters exercised the powers of episcopacy by necessity when the bishops fell into heresy. Foreign Protestants, Lewis argued, have "all the Essentials of Episcopacy", even if they do not have the name.⁶⁴ Lewis' sentiments sound similar to what Norman Sykes has called the *via media* with regard to episcopacy in the Church of England at the end of the seventeenth century, which states that episcopacy was necessary, where it could be had, for the perfection of the Church but not for its essence, and that the restoration of the historic episcopate was desired for foreign reformed Churches, though their ordinations were not considered invalid. Although Sykes claims that this view was "generally upheld by the majority of representative theologians",⁶⁵ the pre-

60 *Ibid.*, pp. 28,30,34,37.

61 DNB (xi.1065-67).

62 [John Lewis,] *The Agreement of the Lutheran Churches with the Church of England* (London, 1715), pp. 19,22,23.

63 Thomas Brett, *Dr. Brett's Vindication of Himself* (London, 1715), p. 70.

64 John Lewis, *An Answer to some Exceptions in Dr. Brett's late Vindication* (London, 1715), pp. 10-13.

65 Sykes, *Old Priest, New Presbyter*, pp. 81-83; cf. A.L. Peck, *Anglicanism and Episcopacy* (London, 1958), pp. 47f.

sence of High Churchmen like Brett and the uncertainty and hesitancy in the SPCK relating to the East India mission show that perhaps the alleged consensus on episcopacy was not universally accepted and that some confusion still existed.

What then are we to make of this controversy over the religion of George I? The debate itself had revolved around three things: liturgy, theology, and ecclesiology. Liturgically, there seemed considerable agreement that the Church of England stood closer to Lutherans than to Presbyterians; theologically, notwithstanding the protests of Brett that "our Reformation was ... founded on the Scriptures and the Doctrine and Practice of the truly Primitive Church",⁶⁶ Anglican *doctrine*, as set out in the Articles, more closely resembled the Reformed/Presbyterian tradition, especially with regard to the issue of Christ's presence in the Sacrament; ecclesiologically, the Church of England stood clearly apart from both Lutherans and Presbyterians who lacked the historic episcopate. The controversy seems to have alarmed irenic persons of divergent doctrinal views: it was not simply a question of High Church versus Low Church, but, as Boehm described it, of extremists versus moderates. Those whom Boehm deemed extreme High Churchmen, advanced Nonjurors like Brett and his comrades, would not compromise on any issue. With regard to the liturgy, for example, they held that "the point in Dispute is not whether they [the Lutherans] have a Liturgy, but whether the Prayers contained in that Liturgy are express'd in such Terms as are agreeable to the Doctrine of our Church". They saw the errors of consubstantiation and ubiquity not as divergent expressions of the same profound mystery, but as implying that "we cannot receive the Sacrament in their Churches without eating and drinking our own Damnation". The lack of the historic Episcopate in Germany was not seen as a sad historical accident but as an unacceptable deviation from Catholic tradition and truth: as one High Churchman put it, "we are to avoid all Forms of Episcopacy and Episcopal Ordinations differing from ours, as deviating from Truth".⁶⁷ On the other hand, individuals like Robert Watts and John Lewis interpreted differently the points of conflict between Lutherans and Anglicans: moderates, whether High Church Hanoverians or Low Churchmen, preferred to look on the external similarities between the respective liturgies; they acknowledged the disagreement over ubiquity and consubstantiation but did not consider it fundamental to the Christian faith; though affirming the necessity of episcopal ordination in England they refused to invalidate the ordinations of foreign Protestants, seeing the historic episcopate as of the *bene esse* but not the *esse* of a Christian Church.

⁶⁶ *Review of Lutheran Principles*, pp. 13f.

⁶⁷ *An Answer to Two Letters to the Right Honourable the Ld Viscount Townshend* (London, 1715), pp. 7-8, 29.

Moderates tended to recognize, unlike many High Churchmen, the anomalous nature of established religion in Britain, in which episcopacy was the state religion south of the border (where Presbyterians were Dissenters), but the situation was reversed in Scotland, where the kirk was established and the Episcopalians not. In this situation, the Lutheranism of the new King did not seem extraordinary, but perhaps a portent of a more irenical future. Since the King was a Lutheran in Hanover, a Presbyterian in Scotland, and an Anglican in England, he was well placed to lead all three systems into closer concert: as a 1715 tract put it, it was the King's desire

... that all his Subjects may live in Unity and godly Love; and, pray, why mayn't this be, without an Union (strictly speaking) of National Religions? Fact already, in South and North Britain shews it may; and why not in that and Brunswick too?⁶⁸

To many High Churchmen this latitudinarian hope seemed impious; an incitement to ecclesiological indifferentism. It was impossible to subscribe to two contradictory faiths at the same time. The King was now no longer a Lutheran; to imply that he was, was to suggest "invidiously ... that he halteth between two Opinions".⁶⁹ As Prince George, Elector of Brunswick and Prince of Hanover, he had once been a Lutheran, but now as King George of England he

... is a Defender of the Faith of the Church of England as by Law Established; this is the Religion he is bound by the Act of Settlement to profess, joyn in Communion with, and maintain against all Religions whatsoever that are opposite to it; this, and this only, is the Religion he is bound by his Coronation Oath to preserve ... His present Majesty is not a Lutheran, but a Member of the Church of England.⁷⁰

What was Boehm's perception of this debate? Though he provided Watts with the requested material he still felt convinced that

... it would do little to get rid of the strife, which has as its basis not the love of truth but the hatred of certain persons. Meanwhile, one can see from such things into what kind of a chaos the Church and religion in this land has fallen.⁷¹

As a foreign Protestant living in England Boehm expressed clear sympathies for the moderate stance. He could not accept the "either-or" mentality of the extremists who declared flatly:

Either the Lutheran Church is agreeable with ours, or it is not: If it is agreeable with

68 Ezekiel Standfast [pseud.], *A Letter of Advice to Thomas Brett* (London, 1715), p. 61.

69 *Answer to Two Letters*, p. 17.

70 *A Letter to the Author of the History of the Lutheran Church* (London, 1714), pp. 22f.

71 "Es wird aber wol zu Hebung des Streits wenig thun; als welcher nicht die Liebe zur Wahrheit, sondern den Haß gewisser Personen zum Grunde hat. Unterdes kan man aus solchen Dingen sehen, in was für ein Chaos die Kirche und Religion in diesem Lande verfallen sey." (Boehm to Urlsperger, 26 Nov. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 385)

ours, we may go promiscuously to the Churches of either side; for then we are no more two but one Church, and there is an end of the Controversy.⁷²

By some who had been convinced of the "myth" [Sage] that there was no difference between the English and Lutheran Church constitutions, Boehm himself had been frequently asked, "Why do you not come over to our Church?"⁷³ But in his mind no good would be served by conforming to another party. Freely acknowledging the important but not fundamental differences between the Churches he was interested in promoting a common Christianity while himself remaining a Lutheran.

Church Union and Common Christianity

Boehm saw the root of the ecclesiastical conflicts of the day as lying not so much in the formularies of the Church as in the political extremism of its members. A common theme in his correspondence, especially during the polemical latter years of Queen Anne's reign and the early years of George I's, was the "bitter sectarian spirit" [*der bittere Secten-Geist*] in the Anglican Church.⁷⁴ Any foreigner, he complained, who wished to avoid being labelled as a partisan, had to be careful to maintain friendships with people in all parties.⁷⁵ As a result, Boehm found that he could not dedicate a book to a person or a Society because he would be seen as declaring for the party with which the person or Society was associated and so the opposing side would have nothing to do with his work.⁷⁶ So acrimonious had divisions in the Church of England become that husband and wife often took opposite sides, while servants and even children (a possible reference to charity schools?) had to choose a party.⁷⁷

Boehm called these divisions "un-Christian", because they hindered the mission of the Church. In their struggle for power the participants did not take delight "that some more room will be won for the kingdom of God, but rather that their Party has found more protection and assistance".⁷⁸ He found this particularly frustrating since so many good projects, such as the East India mission, were stifled by the diversion of religious zeal into sterile partisanship.⁷⁹ When William Wake was promoted to the Archbishopric of Canterbury Boehm commented, "He will not lack work if he tries to do nothing other

72 *Answer to Two Letters*, p. 12.

73 "Warum kommt er nicht zu unser[er] Kirche, indem ja gar kein Unterscheid ist." (Boehm to Neubauer, 23 Nov. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 378f)

74 Boehm to Mr. S. in Pennsylvania, London, 18 Aug. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 364.

75 Boehm to Mr. N.N., London, 30 Sept. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 374; Boehm, "Historischer Bericht", in: *ErSchrift*, iii.496.

76 Boehm to Prof. Lange in Halle, London, 28 May 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 347f.

77 Boehm to Mr. N.N., 30 Sept. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 373.

78 "... ich sehe aber nicht, daß sie sich in der Hofnung freuen, daß etwa das Reich GOTTES mehr Raum gewinnen werde, sondern nur daß ihre Partei mehr Schutz und Beystand gefunden hat." (*Ibid.*, pp. 373,375f)

79 Boehm to Mr. C.V. in W[aldeck], London, 26 Nov. 1715, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 467.

than bring today's clergy into a God-pleasing order and build them up with his teaching and life."⁸⁰ Since Wake was well versed in the Apostolic Fathers Boehm was hopeful "that he would also have absorbed something of the spirit of those first witnesses".⁸¹ Anglican interest in primitive Christianity was shared by Boehm, but not for the same reasons; many in the Church of England turned to the early Church to support its ecclesiology and liturgy, while Boehm was attracted to primitive spirituality. He was critical of the extraordinary interest in Patristic studies at Oxford, in which the thought was often conducted out of a polemical intent.⁸²

In its present fractured condition, Boehm felt that there was no way in which the Church of England could mediate between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Germany; the proposers of such a project – including Jablonski – had no idea "how much in ruins our shattered ecclesiastical ship has lain for several years now".⁸³ He saw the only hope for the future in the conciliatory – and generally Low Church – attitudes of people like Burnet, who did not abandon the truths of their Church, but expounded them within the limits of love and moderation. Boehm had little expectation that a reunion of parties could be engineered by the command of human authorities:

How would it profit the kingdom of God if one would push people into a so-called union with human or official chains and inducements, while the evil root of self-love, pride, selfishness, fear of one another, and flattery kept ruling in the soul?⁸⁴

It should not be assumed that Boehm saw the Church of England as particularly guilty of fractiousness; he cared little for any party or "sect". The very title of most religious bodies, he observed, reflected their partiality and particularity; Anglican, Lutheran, Reformed, or Roman Catholic: "All sectarian Churches are impregnated with this dreadful leaven."⁸⁵

In England some active churchmen associated with the SPCK and SPG took an interest in Protestant union along the lines proposed by Jablonski.

80 "An Arbeit wird es ihn [sic] nicht fehlen, wenn er anders die heutige Clerisey in eine GOTT gefällige Ordnung zubringen, und mit Lehr und Leben an ihnen zu bauen gedencket."

81 "... daher man einige Hofnung schöpfen möchte, daß er auch von dem Geist solcher ersten Zeugen etwas eingesogen habe." (Boehm to von Canstein, London, 26 Dec. 1715, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 476)

82 [Boehm,] Preface to *Short Introduction to Christian Religion*, by A.H. Francke, p. iii; Boehm to von Canstein, London, 29 Aug. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 157.

83 "... in wie viele Trümmern unser Kirchen-Schiff nun mehrere Jahre her zerbrochen gelegen." (Boehm, "Send-Schreiben", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.463f)

84 "Was würde auch dem Reich GOTTes damit gerathen seyn, wenn man mit menschlichen oder Obrigkeitlichen Vinculis und Beredungen, die Menschen in eine sogenannte Union treiben wolte; und die böse Wurtzel der Eigenliebe, des Hoffarts, Eigen-Nutzen, Menschen-Furcht und Menschen-Gefälligkeit behielten die Herrschaft in der Sele?" (Boehm to Urlsperger, 26 Nov. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 387)

85 "Alle sectirische Kirchen sind mit diesem schrecklichen Sauertheige durchdrungen ... " (Boehm, "Historischer Bericht", in: *ErSchrift*, iii.518–21)

Chamberlayne informed Francke of the interest taken by the Swiss in Protestant union based on the Anglican liturgy, certain that the English prayer book would soon prove attractive to Protestant brethren in Germany.⁸⁶ In recommending *Pietas Hallensis* Woodward had hoped that in addition to encouraging the work of the voluntary societies in England the tract would further the endeavour for "Protestant union".⁸⁷ In 1713 Henry Newman told a correspondent that he hoped Jablonski's scheme at Berlin would one day "be reviv'd and find better encouragement here than it did".⁸⁸

In spite of the respect Boehm held for these his fellow workers in the SPCK, he would have nothing to do with any official projects for structural union. He offered instead a common, transconfessional Christianity based on spiritual rebirth and void of denominational labels.⁸⁹ Boehm envisaged Protestant Churches which would unite by teaching common people – not theologians – the fundamental truths of Christianity: repentance and faith, rebirth and daily renewal to the image of God, love of God and neighbour.⁹⁰ As early as 1707 he was convinced

... that the best method for union is true conversion from darkness to light, whereby souls are united with Christ and consequently with all those living members from whatever sect or party they might be.⁹¹

He believed that time would prove him right:

... a couple hundred years should convince us that these union projects, through which a horde of unconverted people is brought into one and the same confession and church form, will have little blessing. Usually they soon crumble away and the breach becomes more severe. In a word: people should first become pious in heart, thus would follow unity in spirit.⁹²

During his 1709 visit to Germany Boehm had seen members of both Lutheran and Reformed Churches coming together out of love and forgetting controversies and distinctions based on names.⁹³ Boehm was not trying to

86 Chamberlayne to Francke, Westminster, 29 July 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.XXVI.847–49).

87 Woodward, Preface to *Abstract of the Marvellous Footsteps*, by A.H. Francke, n.p.

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

89 Boehm, "Historischer Bericht", in: *ErSchrift*, iii.548.

90 Boehm, "Send-Schreiben", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.464–68.

91 "... daß die beste Methode zur Vereinigung sey die wahre Bekehrung von der Finsternis zum Licht, wodurch die Seelen mit Christo und folglich mit allen dessen lebendigen Gliedern, von welcher Secte oder Parthey sie auch seyn mögen, [sich] vereinigen." (Boehm to Miss S[lare], W[estminster?], 11 July 1707, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 26)

92 "Ich meyne ja, daß ein paar hundert Jahre uns endlich überzeugen solten, daß dergleichen Vereinigungs-Projecte, durch welche man einen Hauffen unbekehrter Menschen zu einer und derselben Confession und Kirchen-Form bringen will, wenig Segen haben. Insgemein zerfallen sie bald, und der Riß wird ärger. Mit einem Worte: Die Menschen solten erstlich von Hertenzen fromm werden, so würde die Einigkeit im Geiste bald folgen." (Boehm, "Send-Schreiben", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.468f)

93 Boehm to Mr. J.T. in New York, London, 16 Jan. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 74.

promote a "Universal Church" – this was Ludolf's language⁹⁴ – but rather a common, non-sectarian Christianity centred in the love of God and neighbour: very close to the ideal later set out in Wesley's famous sermon on "Catholic Spirit". In Boehm's mind, Christians should remain in their own churches "in order to play their part in doing something good in them by the grace of God".⁹⁵ Separatism, even if it was provoked by a corrupt clergy, was not justified;⁹⁶ he remained a committed Lutheran. When Boehm learned that some Lutheran ministers in Germany had announced that people could conform to the Church of England because there was little difference between it and Lutheranism, he exclaimed, "What kind of Lutherans are these!"⁹⁷ Yet, on another occasion he testified:

And since I have hitherto held all kinds of spiritual exercises on the Scriptures among the English, so I am certain that not a single one could say that I have led them to Luther or sought to spread Lutheranism among them.⁹⁸

Though he propagated a transconfessional Christianity, it is not accurate to portray Boehm as confessionally indifferent; he dispersed his own brand of Lutheran Pietism but did not call it such.

Instead of promoting official church unions, Boehm looked hard for signs of the free winds of the spirit, as they blew into the hearts of individuals. It is therefore significant that he attached himself to the SPCK. But was this for spiritual reasons or for administrative and philanthropic support for Hallensian enterprises? Both factors were probably present and both could promote a common Christianity. If he had not felt spiritual kinship with some members of the Society it is unlikely that he would have invested so much time and care upon it. He believed that such associations, by bringing people together in common works of love, would lead to unity and true Christianity. Noting that both the Presbyterian and the Anglican churches had contributed to the relief of the suffering Palatines, Boehm wrote:

Would to God, that these two important parties, which until now have not been willing to come to a unanimous religious constitution, by such a precious basis of love, of which they have here layed down a sample, might be united more truly.⁹⁹

94 See Ludolf, *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, pp. 125–42.

95 "... um in derselben, nach ihrem Theil, durch die Gnade Gottes etwas Gutes zuthun." (Boehm to Mr. J.U., London, 26 May 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 142)

96 Boehm to Urlsperger, London, 6 Nov. 1713, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 282–84.

97 "Was sind mir dieses für Lutheraner!" (Boehm to Neubauer, 23 Nov. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 378f)

98 "Und da ich bishero unter den Engländern allerley geistliche Uebungen über die Schrifft gehalten habe, so bin ich gewiß, daß kein einziger sagen könne, ich habe sie auf Lutherum geführt, oder das Lutherthum unter ihnen auszubreiten gesucht." (Boehm, "Historischer Bericht", printed in: *ErSchrift*, iii.548)

99 "Wolte Gott, daß diese zwo wichtige Parteien, die bis dato noch zu keiner einstimmigen Religions-Verfassung kommen wollen, in solchem theuren Liebes-Grunde, davon sie hier eine

He could therefore encourage the promotion of Christian unity by two strategies: first, from the inside out, through the conversion of hearts, and second, from the outside in, through an association in works of love.

It was primarily Boehm's – and not Francke's – transconfessional attitude which made involvement with the SPCK possible and fruitful. His own brand of "ecumenism" helped to lower confessional barriers. He spread Halle Pietism not primarily as its accredited ambassador, or propagandist, but because its spirit best expressed his own convictions and piety. By bringing Halle and the SPCK together in acts of love and charity he hoped to further the common Christian cause.

Probe abgelegt, sich genauer vereinigen möchten." (Boehm to Canstein, London, 18 Nov. 1709, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 44)

Conclusion

It may come as a surprise to some that the closest and most enduring Anglo-German religious connections during the early eighteenth century were not between clergy of the established Church of England and either Hanover, where after 1702 the potential future English Sovereign lived, or Berlin, where the untiring Daniel E. Jablonski sought to further his proposals for Protestant union, but instead between Halle, where A.H. Francke was engaged in a programme aiming at the "universal betterment" of Church and society, and lay voluntary Anglicanism, as represented in the SPCK. These links were not really ecclesiastical but personal, resulting from the efforts of energetic, reform-minded, and irenic individuals.

The first contacts were brought about by H.W. Ludolf, through whose mediation two teachers from Halle were sent to erect charity schools in England and to offer guidance to the infant charity school movement. Though these Germans visited the Society on 11 May 1699, marking the first "official" contact between Halle and the SPCK, the red-letter day for these relations and the one with the most lasting impact on the Society was 7 September 1710, when, following the proposals of A.W. Boehm, it decided to offer its support to the East India mission. For the next three decades the Society was to become increasingly entwined in international operations which would in fact overshadow national and domestic concerns and demand a commitment considerably out of proportion to their relative significance. Through the first half of the 1720s the Society was entangled in the intricacies and debates surrounding the publication of the Arabic Psalter, New Testament, and catechism. Earlier involvement in lending aid to the Tranquebar mission eventually gave rise in 1728 to the establishment of its own mission station at Madras. Resettling Protestant refugees from Salzburg in the new colony of Georgia engaged the Society through a large part of the 1730s. All of these global pursuits, as has been frequently stressed, were inspired and laid before the Society by Halle Pietists.

One goal of this study has been to set forth a more complete picture of the SPCK during its first four decades. Scholars are beginning to recognize the important role played by the voluntary societies in post-1688 Anglicanism. Although the SPCK had clear links to the religious societies and the societies for the reformation of manners, and shared their concern for personal and national, moral and religious reformation, it chose education as its chief *modus operandi*. Adopting a coordinating and organizational role within the charity school and related workhouse movements and dispersing Christian literature

through its network of correspondents, the Society's major aim was "promoting Christian knowledge". Although during the 1710s it began to accept new opportunities for outreach beyond the borders of Britain – a change wrought in part by the influence of Hallensians, but also by the discomfort felt within the Society over Jacobite tendencies in the religious societies and charity schools – the Society nevertheless did not abandon its watchful eye over the charity schools or its interest in the dissemination of inexpensive Christian literature. Though temporarily eclipsed by these foreign ventures, the original occupations of the SPCK remained fundamental to its purpose. Through both its national and international work, the SPCK became the most important expression of Anglican charity, philanthropy, and moral reform in the early eighteenth century.

In its nature and its activities the SPCK was quite different from the SPG during the first four decades of the eighteenth century. Much of the SPCK's uniqueness resulted from the fact that it was *not* an officially-chartered Society. While the SPG drew the attention and involvement of the episcopate, the SPCK proceeded quietly and unassumingly, controlled for the most part by dedicated, pious, and reform-minded laymen. It allowed foreign Protestants to become subscribing members and to exercise a considerable influence in setting a course for the Society. Through its secretary, Henry Newman, the Society engaged in a correspondence with such New England Puritans – and opponents of the SPG – as Cotton Mather and Benjamin Colman. The SPCK was much more pragmatic and less theological than its sister Society, accepting for over one hundred years the validity of the ordinations of German Lutheran missionaries in India, something which the SPG repeatedly refused to do in America. The early Swiss correspondence regarding Church union and other ecclesiological matters was beyond the scope of the SPCK's practical purposes, so it handed these matters over to the SPG; yet it showed a keen interest in the educational reforms of Francke in Halle and pursued a correspondence with him which continued for many years. Its unrestricted nature as a (non-incorporated) voluntary Society and its openness to new opportunities made the SPCK the most enduring monument to lay Anglican voluntarism from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Among the Halle Pietists themselves, by far the most influential and significant in England was A.W. Boehm, although Ludolf was the initial mediator between Halle and London and recommended Boehm to Prince George for his vacant chaplaincy. In the year 1705 Boehm established himself in England through the publication of *Pietas Hallensis* and by means of his appointment at the German Lutheran Royal Chapel. The pastoral role which Boehm exercised led to an important ministry among Germans and English, but his most lasting effect was accomplished through his involvement in the SPCK and through his publications. More than any other single individual he dictated the change within the Society to a more international outlook. By means of his literary output he influenced the charity school movement, the

SPCK, and many Anglicans, Nonconformists, and evangelicals; he was one of the few "respectable" writers proclaiming neglected Reformation ideals in the "tunnel period" between Puritanism and the evangelical revival. Not to be forgotten in the midst of Boehm's English activity was the pastoral care which he and the other chaplains showed towards Germans in America. The unofficial mothering role adopted by both Halle and the German Lutheran Royal Chapel towards their "daughter congregations" in the new world was a decisive factor in the rise of the American Lutheran Church.

Thus, the legacy of those Halle Pietists who lived in England in the first decades of the eighteenth century can be best seen in the early years of the charity school movement, in Boehm's literary efforts, and in the development of an international perspective within the SPCK. The only sense of permanence resulting from SPCK-Halle cooperation was the continued support rendered by the Society for the Ebenezer pastors and for the East India mission. The interaction reached its peak during the lifetimes of the first-generational leaders: those who succeeded individuals like A.H. Francke, A.W. Boehm, Henry Newman, Sir John Philipps, and Frederick Slare, though competent and committed, did not have all the spirit, passion, influence, or creative genius of their predecessors. One is left wondering what might have happened if Boehm had lived to see the onset of the evangelical revival or if A.H. Francke had actually visited England, especially in the early years of the voluntary societies.

Is it accurate to see in the connection between the SPCK and Halle an early example of ecumenical cooperation? That there was an openness and desire to cooperate on the part of both Halle Pietists and the SPCK is unquestionable. If, however, toleration and a willingness to compromise are major aspects of ecumenism, then only within the SPCK and with people like Boehm and Ludolf – and not with A.H. Francke and in particular with second-generational Pietists – does one perceive traces of what could be called a genuine ecumenical spirit. The cooperation between Halle and the SPCK did not take place on a theological, doctrinal, ecclesiological, or liturgical plane, but rather on the level of mission: theirs was a pragmatic ecumenism.

Appendix

Following are two previously unpublished manuscript letters by Anthony W. Boehm, currently held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The first to John Chamberlayne is concerned with efforts to reform prisons (see pp. 52f); the second to Henry Newman recommends George Lewis as a residing member of the SPCK (see p.122). Note: the text is printed here with no expansions or alterations.

No.1: Anth. Will. Boehm to John Chamberlaine Esq. in Petty France, St. Martins-Street, 3 March 1709 (Bodl., *Rawlinson MSS* 743:13-14)

[fo.13]

Sir.

Since you were pleased lately to intrust me with these papers, I make bold, after having perused them, to remit 'em to you, finding, I shall not be able to attend the Society this Evening. I wish y^t after some prayers, mentioned by others, two things might be added: First, a particular chaptr. How these that have been but lately clapt up in prison ought to fortify themselves, against the infectious sins of such corrupted places. For truly, 'tis plain enough, that abundance of people otherwise not ill-disposed, have been pestered & led away into sinfull courses by the inundation of all manner of vice visible in such places; or got the first Tincture at least of ill habits by being confined to so polluted company. But these Vices must onely be set out in general colours & not drawn [fo.14] too exactly to life; there being some sins which ought not be named, Eph. 5,3. The other thing which I wish might be observed in publishing a Tract of this nature, is to lay down a pathetick Demonstration of the Necessity of Reforming prisons. This might be done by way of a preface; but by one who is thoroughly acquainted with the disorders & the ill management of the prisons at London, (how it is in the Country I can't tell) & of the Necessity of Reforming them, both upon Theological and Political Accounts; There being so many filthy & profane practises in such places, that it is enough to draw down in time the judgments of God upon the whole Nation. I know well enough that declarations of this nature will never in themselves be able to bring about such a Reformation; However, every one has liberty, nay, is in duty bound, humbly to complain of such things, as anyways tend to the ruin of a Country; and God now and then is pleased, to bestow a Blessing upon a small project, & gradually carry it higher to its

accomplishment. These are my Thoughts upon this Treatise, in order to render it the more usefull to the publick; Remaining Sir

Your humbl. Servant
Ant. Will Boehm.

No.2: Anthony Will. Boehm to Mr. Henry Newman, Strand, 7 July 1715
(Bodl., *Rawlinson MSS* 743:34-35)

[fo.34]

Sir.

The Society having appointed me, to make some Enquiry into the Revernd Mr Lewis his Life proposed for a Residing Member, I thought, I could do no better than consult y^e Letters of the Danish Missionaries which make frequent Mention of the said Mr. Lewis, & of the particular Marks of Kindness bestow'd by him both upon the Missionaries themselves & upon the Work they are engaged in. This I think, is a sufficient Proof he is not of so narrow a Spirit, as to confine himself to one Nation onely or to one Party in Acts of Love and Charity; but to do Good in a manner most ample & universal, without regarding such petty Ends as use to contract a Man's Kindness into that narrow Compass, which in these Days so visibly appears among y^e several Denominations of Christians. And this I thought worthy to take particular Notice of here, since I believe that a Spirit of universal Love & Benignity is one of the chief and constitutive Characters of a Member of a Society concerned about the Propagation of Christian Knowledge: Nay I can hardly believe a Man to be fit for so large a Design as the Propagation of the Knowledge of CHRIST is, except he be endued with a Mind proportioned to the Thing he enters upon. For how can a nar-[fo.35]row Soul but tolerably answer so vast and extensive a Design as the Knowledge of Christ is, which in Time shall cover the Earth as Waters do the Sea, and which will break through all these scanty Bounds narrow-spirited Men have set it. But as in this Age we too often take a Scheme of Religion for Religion itself, so we often deceive ourselves by supposing we have propagated y^e Religion of Christ, whilst we propagate a certain Scheme to which we adhere; And this being accompanied again, (as too often it is) with a Disdain & Contempt of those that do not come up to it, must needs produce many Consequences destructive to mutual Love & Charity that essential Character of a Disciple of CHRIST.

May the Lord give us that Wisdom, which is without Partiality, and that Love which is without Envy, that on one Hand we may know Religion in it's pure & undefiled Lustre, & on the other convey it in the same Purity to those again, with whom we are concerned; which is the hearty Wish of

Sir
Yr. Humble Servt
Anthony Will. Boehm.

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Key to Location of Contemporary Sources:

ArUSPG	Archive of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Oxford (Rhodes House)
BL	British Library, London
Bod	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Cam	Cambridge University Library
Halle	Hauptbibliothek der Franckeschen Stiftungen, Halle/Saale, Germany
HL	Huntington Library, San Marino, California
St. Georg	Private library of St. Georgskirche, Alie Street, London
Tüb	Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen, Germany
Tüb-Stift	Evangelischer Stift, Tübingen, Germany

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Fasc. VIII: Correspondence of Frederick Slare

Fasc. IX: Correspondence of Stappenbeck, Samuel Stott, John and Lucie Thornton, David Titschkau, and John Treuese

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GESCHICHTE DES PIETISMUS

Herausgegeben von Martin Brecht, Klaus Deppermann,
Ulrich Gäbler und Hartmut Lehmann

Der Pietismus ist die bedeutendste Erneuerungsbewegung des Protestantismus seit der Reformation. Er setzt im 17. Jahrhundert ein und ist bis in die Gegenwart lebendig geblieben. Diese Bewegung ist nicht auf Deutschland beschränkt, sondern hat sich von Anfang an auf das ganze protestantische Europa und dann auch weit darüber hinaus erstreckt. Kirche, Theologie und Frömmigkeit, aber auch weite Bereiche der Gesellschaft, Politik und Kultur sind von ihr erfaßt und geprägt worden.

Nach mehr als hundert Jahren erfährt hier der Pietismus wieder eine umfassende Bearbeitung. Initiiert wurde sie durch die Historische Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus. Die Herausgeber und Verfasser sind ausgewiesene Sachkenner auf diesem Gebiet. Geboten wird eine lesbare Darstellung auf dem neuesten Stand der Forschung.

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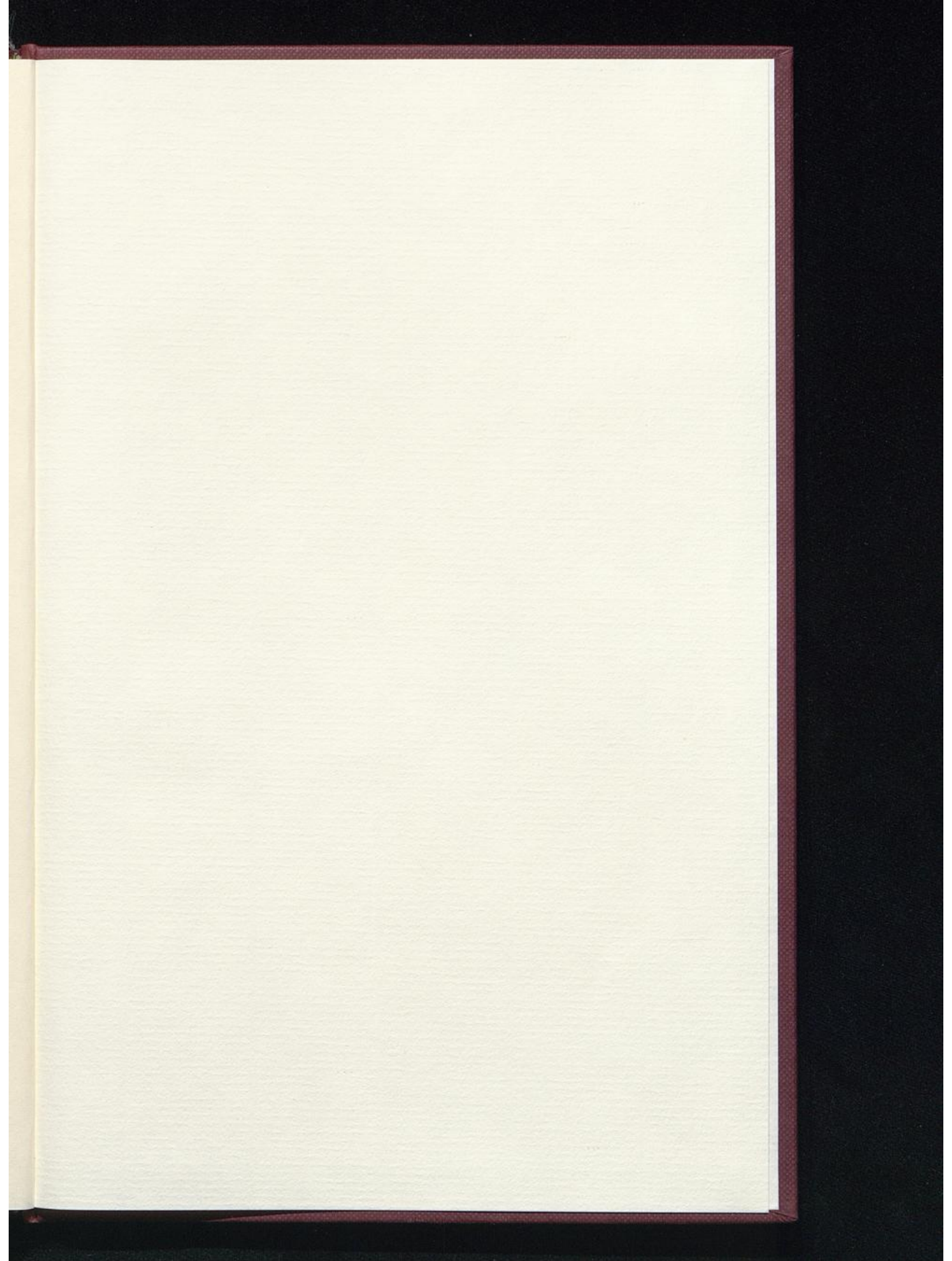
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Die Philosophie ist die Wissenschaft, die sich mit den grundlegenden Fragen des menschlichen Daseins beschäftigt. Sie fragt nach dem Sinn und Zweck des Lebens, nach der Natur der Wirklichkeit und nach den Grenzen des menschlichen Erkenntnis. In der Geschichte der Philosophie haben sich verschiedene Schulen und Strömungen entwickelt, die jeweils unterschiedliche Antworten auf diese Fragen gegeben haben. Die Philosophie ist eine Disziplin, die sich über die Jahrhunderte hinweg entwickelt hat und die immer noch eine wichtige Rolle in der menschlichen Kultur spielt.

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