

## ABSTRACT

Educating the Protestant International: The Influence of Halle Pietism in Eighteenth-Century Charity Education

Samantha L. Ortiz, M.A.

Mentor: Thomas S. Kidd, Ph.D.

Scholars have accepted the general influence of August Hermann Francke and Halle Pietism among English-speaking Protestant groups in the eighteenth century. One of the institutional byproducts of Francke's influence was the number of charity schools and orphanages that claimed to be imitating his famous orphan house in Halle. This study will assess the extent to which claimants succeeded or failed in following the Halle model. The examples studied here do not capture the entire geographical extent of the influence of Halle Pietism, as they are limited to the personal and institutional networks mediated through the British Empire that developed after the Glorious Revolution. Previous studies have confined analyses of these imitations of Halle to their own settings without global comparison. This study also seeks to continue the recent global turn within studies of international Protestantism by including the cooperative Protestant activity in India within its scope.

Educating the Protestant International: The Influence of Halle Pietism in Eighteenth-Century Charity Education

by

Samantha L. Ortiz, B.A.

A Thesis

Approved by the Department of History

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Barry G. Hankins, Ph.D., Chairperson

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Approved by the Thesis Committee

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Thomas S. Kidd, Ph.D., Chairperson

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Joseph Stubenrauch, Ph.D.

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Perry L. Glanzer, Ph.D.

Accepted by the Graduate School

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J. Larry Lyon, Ph.D., Dean

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## DEDICATION

To Patrick, my dearest friend

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

#### *“A Truly Remarkable Time” for Protestantism*

In a letter to Baroness Wilhelmine Sophie von Münchhausen, Lutheran minister Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg remarked that “it has not been sufficiently recognized that this century is truly a remarkable time. For when in a good many centuries, has one heard that so many different, blessed, merciful souls have come together and tirelessly sought, with prayer, advice, assistance, and indescribable effort and expense, the salvation of the Jews and the heathen, and the improvement of corrupted Christendom?”<sup>1</sup> Muhlenberg, writing in 1747, was reflecting on the fact that, for a time, it seemed “that even [from] the standpoint of a narrow confessional interest the whole Protestant world mattered.”<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the eighteenth century was a spectacular era for Protestantism that witnessed the cooperation of Anglicans, Lutherans, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians on both sides of the Atlantic to seek spiritual revival such that all would know Christ as his return grew ever-closer.

The momentum behind this Protestant era began to build in earnest in the last third of the seventeenth century. The 1670s witnessed the rise of an impulse to renew lethargic church bodies that failed to inspire devotional commitment among their

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<sup>1</sup> The Letter of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg to Baroness Wilhelmine Sophie von Münchhausen, February 20, 1747, quoted in John W Kleiner, “Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and Pietism: A Case Study,” *Consensus* 16, no. 2 (1990): 74.

<sup>2</sup> W. Reginald Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 2.



adherents. On the Continent, concerned confessional Protestants resisted the nominal Christianity that they believed to be draining the spiritual lifeblood that the Reformation had restored to the Church. Collectively known as the Pietist movement, these groups of Reformed and Lutheran Christians placed greater emphases on the “new birth, conventicle gatherings for Bible study and mutual encouragement, an emphasis on practical Christianity and social activism, and millennialism.”<sup>3</sup> For Reformed Pietists, such exhortations aimed at a reformation of the clergy, but Lutheran Pietists led by Philipp Jakob Spener included the laity in their project of renewal. This dramatic expansion of the notion of the priesthood of all believers was driven by “a powerful vision of the transformation of life,” that centered “on the person of Christ in relation to the believer,” who could live a sanctified life.<sup>4</sup> Studies of Pietism had long been the purview of German-speaking historians until F. Ernest Stoeffler produced his landmark volumes *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (1965) and *German Pietism in the Eighteenth Century* (1973). His works remain the standard references for English-speaking scholars, who have built on his foundation to explore issues within Pietism, its regional expressions, and its global impact.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Douglas H. Shantz, introduction to *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660-1800*, ed. Douglas H. Shantz (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2014), 1. ProQuest Ebook Central.

<sup>4</sup> Ted Campbell, *The Religion of the Heart: A Study of European Religious Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 78-91. HathiTrust.

<sup>5</sup> For a more recent general overview of German Pietism, see Douglas H. Shantz, ed. *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of the Modern Age* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013.) Other sources: Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield, and the Wesleys* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 54-59; Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 57-63.

A substantial portion of Pietism research has been devoted to Halle Pietism, which found its institutional expression in the work of August Hermann Francke. His despair at the spiritual and physical poverty of the children of the town inspired him to create an orphanage in 1695 on which he would expand to build a “universal facility...near the university [of Halle, founded in 1694] for the use of Christendom and the entire world.”<sup>6</sup> Eventually, the Francke Foundations as they came to be called contained a pharmacy, a printing press, an infirmary, a school for girls, a divinity school, a library, a public auditorium, and a school for the study of oriental languages.<sup>7</sup> These educational reforms were driven by the dictum:

that proper belief required biblical understanding, that proper biblical understanding required literacy, and hence, that universal literacy and practical education were duties incumbent, in a very fundamental sense, upon all true believers, in simple obedience. Every single human being should be enabled to read in his or her own mother tongue and each should also possess a useful manual skill.<sup>8</sup>

Halle Pietism’s simple but profound educational approach found international admirers eager to imitate Francke’s ambitious plans.

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<sup>6</sup> Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community: Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 3, ProQuest Ebook Central. Other studies on the Halle model can be found in Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, Chapter 5, “Halle Pietism and Universal Social Reform, 1695-1727;” Renate Wilson, “Philanthropy in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Central Europe: Evangelical Reform and Commerce,” *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 9, no. 1 (1998): 81-201

<sup>7</sup> August Hermann Francke, *Pietas Hallensis: Or, an Abstract of the Marvellous Foot-Steps of Divine Providence, Attending the Management and Improvement of the Orphan-House at Glaucha near Hall; and of Other Charitable Foundations Relating to It. Published by the Reverend Aug. Herm. Franck, Divinity-Professor at Hall, and Director of the Pious Foundations at Glaucha in the Suburbs. Part III. To Which Is Prefix’d, a Letter of the Author to a Reverend Divine in New-England* (London: Printed and Sold by J. Downing, 1716), 4–25, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW104004549.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Eric Frykenberg, “Christians in India: An Historical Overview of Their Complex Origins,” in *Christians and Missionaries in India: Cross-Cultural Communication since 1500*, ed. Robert Eric Frykenberg (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), 48.

Shortly before Francke arrived at Halle, developments in Britain primed figures in the Anglican Church to apply the educational principles of Halle Pietism. The spiritual trauma that remained from the English Civil Wars into the Restoration catalyzed corners of the Anglican Church to create a more active spiritual life for parishioners in the 1670s and 1680s.<sup>9</sup> The devotional rigor of the Church lent strength to a nation that would once again be embroiled in religious tension as King James II subverted the Church's influence in the late 1680s. In the wake of the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89 these same Anglican activists channeled their revivalist impulses into a flurry of charitable programs. Chief among them was the charity school movement that became the "darling employment" of London's benevolent classes.<sup>10</sup> The architects of the charity school movement in the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) drank heavily from the font of Halle Pietism, relying on Francke's writings and disciples to shape their movement.<sup>11</sup> Its early successes inspired similar movements in Ireland and Wales. Scotland also saw Christian educational initiatives, but they are not a focus of this

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<sup>9</sup> The most focused study on the renewal program of the post-Restoration Church is Brent Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680–1730* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014.)

<sup>10</sup> The standard book-length treatment of the charity school movement in England, Ireland, and Wales is M.G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1964). More recent scholarly articles include: Jeremy Schmidt, "Charity and the Government of the Poor in the English Charity-School Movement, circa 1700-1730," *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 4 (October 2010): 774-800; Christopher McCormack, "'Straw Bonnets' to superior schooling: the 'failure' of the charity school movement in the context of nineteenth-century Ireland- a reappraisal," *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 48, no. 5 (2012): 711-727; W.T.R. Price, "The Diffusion of the 'Welsh' Circulating Charity Schools in Eighteenth-Century Wales," *The Welsh History Review* 25, no. 4 (2011): 486-519.

<sup>11</sup> For more on the specifics of the Halle-England relationship, see Daniel Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993); Geoffrey F. Nuttall, "Continental Pietism and the Evangelical Movement in Britain," *Pietismus und Revue: Referate der internationalen Tagung, Der Pietismus in den Niederlanden und seine internationalen Beziehungen*, Zeist (June 18-22, 1974): 207-236; Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 302-10.

project because they fell outside the bounds of the Anglican Church and made little mention of Halle in their promotional materials.

The Glorious Revolution also created an environment in which a broadly Protestant identity could flourish throughout the nascent British Empire. The Act of Toleration of 1689 lent Protestantism a “utility as a unifying political concept” that grew in importance as the nation engaged in empire building in the next century.<sup>12</sup> Internally, this attempted to bring about a relative domestic peace after a half century of political conflict with religious undertones. Across the Atlantic in New England, this brought elite New Englanders into the fold of the “Protestant interest,” or the Protestant International as scholars often call it. This transformed New England’s conception of itself from a provincial haven of dogmatic Puritanism into a participant in the global Protestant struggle against Roman Catholics.<sup>13</sup> As New England Puritanism faded by the 1720s, the evangelical revivals that arose in the subsequent decades retained aspects of the Protestant International.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Katherine Carté Engel, “Connecting Protestants in Britain’s Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Empire,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (February 2018): 42-3. For a broader perspective on Protestantism and the British Empire see: Linda Colley, “Protestants,” in *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 11-54; Carla Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 61-99; Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 2004).

<sup>13</sup> For more on the Protestant interest, see Thomas S. Kidd, *The Protestant Interest: New England after Puritanism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004); Owen Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed: English America in the Age of the Glorious Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); Mark A. Peterson, “Theopolis Americana: The City-State of Boston, the Republic of Letters, and the Protestant International, 1689–1739,” in *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500–1830*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 329-70.

<sup>14</sup> For some historiographical treatments of early evangelicalism’s international scope, see D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Spirit of Early Evangelicalism: True Religion in a Modern World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 45-69; David Ceri Jones, *A Glorious Work in the World: Welsh Methodism and the International Evangelical Revival, 1735-1750* (Cardiff, Wales: University of Wales Press, 2004).

Recent scholarship has followed the “global turn” to expand the scope of the Protestant International outside the British Atlantic. One of the farthest points that scholars have found this evangelistic resolve falls on the southeastern coast of India in the modern city of Tharangambadi, which was known to eighteenth century Protestants as Tranquebar. The phenomenon of the Tranquebar mission has merited passing mention in works covering the larger scope of Protestant activity, and similarly, the scholarship relating to Tranquebar and Protestant missions more broadly has not been in close conversation with scholars of transatlantic Protestantism. Like Pietism, studies of Tranquebar are more prominent among European scholars, though Indian academics such as Daniel Jeyaraj, Peter Vethanayagamony, and Brijarj Singh, as well as American scholar Edward Andrews have worked to integrate Tranquebar more fully into the world of transatlantic Protestantism.<sup>15</sup>

The current understanding of the Protestant International is that it was a fragile, imagined community that could only withstand its “conscious negotiation of differences” for a generation.<sup>16</sup> The members of the Protestant International did form an “imagined

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<sup>15</sup> Brijarj Singh, “‘One Soul, tho’ not one Soyl’? International Protestantism and Ecumenism at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century,” *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 31 (2002): 61–84; Daniel Jeyaraj, *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, the Father of Modern Protestant Mission: An Indian Assessment* (New Delhi, India: The Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2006); Peter Vethanayagamony, *It Began in Madras: The Eighteenth-Century Lutheran-Anglican Ecumenical Ventures in Mission and Benjamin Schultze* (Chennai, India: ISPCK, 2010); Edward E. Andrews, “Tranquebar: Charting the Protestant International in the British Atlantic and Beyond,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 74, no. 1 (Jan. 2017): Daniel Jeyaraj’s original scholarship in addition to his translations of the works of the early Tranquebar missionaries have been invaluable to English-language research into the mission: A Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, *A German Exploration of Indian Society: Ziegenbalg’s “Malabarian Heathenism”* trans. and ed. Daniel Jeyaraj (Chennai; New Delhi, India: The Mylapore Institute for Indigenous Studies and The Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2006), 18–20; Daniel Jeyaraj and Richard Fox Young, *Hindu-Christian, Indo-German Self-Disclosures: ‘Malabarian Correspondence’ between German Pietist Missionaries and South Indian Hindus (1712-1714)*, (Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013), Daniel Jeyaraj, *Genealogy of the South Indian Deities: An English Translation of Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg’s Original German Manuscript with a Textual Analysis and Glossary* (London: Routledge, 2005).

<sup>16</sup> Andrews, “Charting the Protestant International,” 5–7; Engel, “Connecting Protestants,” 61–69.

community” in the Andersonian sense. Few of its members ever met in person, few spoke the same vernacular, but their self-consciously constructed community held sovereign boundaries that excluded its cosmic foe of Roman Catholicism and the less threatening, but still problematic groups like Quakers and Moravians.<sup>17</sup> The scholars who have contributed to this understanding have built this thesis on the rhetorical and intellectual activities of those participating in the networks that formed the Protestant International. This thesis seeks to contribute to the understanding of the Protestant International by grounding it in the institutions that arose from such rhetorical efforts — namely, the charity schools that claimed inspiration from Halle Pietism. The Halle model had unparalleled power to inspire educational and evangelistic initiatives — with enduring institutional presence — among Protestants in the eighteenth century. The comparative nature of this thesis places these seemingly disparate institutions next to one another to show that imitating the Halle model outside of its Continental context was easier to imagine than to execute. The key barriers to successful implementation of the Halle model, from New England to India, were the spiritual and political realities of confessional states, misunderstandings of societal needs and desires, the formidable realities of reaching non-Protestant proselytes, and the constant demand for money and manpower. Despite the difficulties posed by these barriers, Halle’s lasting influence among Protestants throughout the eighteenth-century points to an enduring Protestant International. This imagined community did not wither away as its energetic participants

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<sup>17</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (London: Verso, 2006): 6-19, ACLS Humanities E-book; Engel, “Connecting Protestants,” 51-52. While Quakers and Moravians were accepted as legitimate on a political level, Engel maintains that the reasons for their exclusion from the Protestant International were “distinctive and complex.” Despite these reasons, both groups sustained transatlantic, and eventually, global networks of their own.

passed away; rather its new participants evolved their ideas and practices to meet the challenges of spiritual and political change that occurred at the turn of a new century.

Chapter Two follows the initial spread of Halle Pietism into British religious activism by tracing the Halle model's influence in English, Irish, and Welsh charity schools. By the turn of the eighteenth century, England had been engaged in a period of renewal for nearly thirty years. The Glorious Revolution of 1688-89 added an urgency to that renewal as the Church sought to solidify its authority among a potentially rebellious populace. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) rose above the fray to adapt Franckean principles to the needs of the Anglican Church. The thousands of charity schools that resulted yielded stronger parish communities by midcentury. The Halle model emerged in Ireland initially to care for the Protestant poor, but Irish clergy soon realized its potential in converting the dominant Catholic population. Despite their disastrous results, the Irish imitations of the Halle model reveal the limitations and temptations of its implementation. Finally, this chapter will look at the use of Halle's principles in the Welsh circulating schools that were championed by the Anglican cleric Griffith Jones.

Chapter Three examines individual Anglo-American imitators of Francke in the colonies through the educational efforts of Cotton Mather, George Whitefield, and Eleazar Wheelock. Unlike the Halle model's broader societal applications in the British Isles, the ecclesiastical landscape of colonial North America prevented the systematic approach of the Anglican Church. Instead, energetic individuals who either personally corresponded with Halle Pietists or were captivated by Francke's writings attempted to apply the Halle model in a limited capacity. For Cotton Mather, the Halle schools were

the ideal to which New England ought to aspire for all levels of its education. George Whitefield was inspired to establish an orphanage in Georgia for which he developed collegiate aspirations near the end of his life. Eleazar Wheelock, a friend of Whitefield's, founded a boarding school that served Native tribes in New England which was marketed internationally as a derivative of Halle.

Chapter Four analyzes the tense, but enduring cooperation between the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Halle-trained missionaries in southeastern India through the establishment and operations of charity schools. After explaining the rise of Protestant cooperation surrounding the Tranquebar mission, I examine the long-suffering partnership between the SPCK and their Halle missionaries that shaped Indian education in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The first generation of Protestant missionaries in India were Halle-trained men commissioned by the Danish crown. Their evangelistic successes attracted the attentions of major figures within British Protestantism, such that their work in Tranquebar “had become [by 1725] one of the most widely lauded missions by Protestants in the British Atlantic.”<sup>18</sup> In the following years, the SPCK turned its attention away from Tranquebar toward the activities of its own missionaries in Madras and Cuddalore. Some scholars have seen this as further evidence of the decline of Protestant cooperation in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. This, however, denies the enduring influence of Halle in the SPCK's Indian affairs, for they continued to rely on Halle for its personnel until 1825.

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<sup>18</sup> Andrews, “Charting the Protestant International,” 3.



## CHAPTER TWO

### Charity Schools in England, Ireland, and Wales

#### *The Charity School Movement in England*

Education for the religious and moral improvement of the poor was a facet of life on the British Isles long before Britons read of Francke's educational reforms at Halle. The Elizabethan Poor Laws of the late sixteenth century empowered parishes to provide relief to the aged, ill, and impoverished. Parliament under the early Stuarts levied taxes to fund welfare programs in which the workhouses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries find their origins. Several decades later, the Long Parliament approved a series of acts for the education of the poor under the influence of another German, Samuel Hartlib.<sup>1</sup> M.G. Jones, the foremost scholar on the charity school movement in eighteenth-century Great Britain, observed that the Commonwealth was preoccupied with education, as it steadied its organizational and financial footing while popularizing instruction in the vernacular.<sup>2</sup> Upon the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, free schools and elementary schools continued to increase. Concurrently, the Church of England engaged

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Hartlib, *The Parliaments reformation, or a worke for presbyters, elders, and deacons, to engage themselves, for the education of all poore children, and imployment of all sorts of poore*, (London: Printed for Thomas Bates, at the Maidenhead on Snow-hill, neere Holborne Conduit, 1646), Early English Books Online, E1:2[168a]; Samuel Hartlib, *Londons charitie, stilling the poore orphans cry. Providing places and provision, by the care and indeavour of the corpoation appointed by the Parliament. To cloathe the naked, feed the hungry, instruct the ignorant, imploy the idle. Which pious and excellent designe, is encouraged by the Christian care, liberality, and appointment of the Honourable House of Parliament, and Councellof State. In giving two houses, and assigning a stock towards the promotion of the work*, (London: Printed by Robert Ibbitson, in Smithfield, near the Queenshead tavern, 1649), Early English Books Online, 88: E.572[16].

<sup>2</sup> M.G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1964), 16-18.

in a period of renewal, intending to navigate the threats from the remnants of Cromwellian Puritanism on one side and the subversive Stuart monarch from the other. In this period of renewal, the Church extended itself in its parishioners' everyday lives by reinforcing the significance of communion, enriching its program of pastoral care, and solidifying the liturgical rites within the Book of Common Prayer (BCP).<sup>3</sup>

A more contentious form of religious awakening took shape in the religious societies the which sprang up across London in the late 1670s and 1680s. These groups, or conventicles, violated the 1662 Act of Uniformity, as such meetings “were the purview of dissenters or of those who were semi-conforming,” prior to and during the Restoration. Yet the German-born Anglican cleric Anthony Horneck began encouraging these societies under the auspices of the Church in 1678 as the threat of nonconformity waned.<sup>4</sup> Scott Kisker contended that Horneck likely drew the idea from Philipp Jakob Spener's popular devotional work, *Pia Desideria* (1675), in which he recommended “the ancient and apostolic kind of church meetings” in which attendees “would experience personal growth and would also become capable of giving better religious instruction to their children and servants at home.”<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Horneck's societies aimed “to enliven each other's Affections towards Spiritual Things,”<sup>6</sup> combining “an introspective, quasi-Puritan

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<sup>3</sup> Brent Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 24-26, 50. JSTOR.

<sup>4</sup> Scott Thomas Kisker, “Anthony Horneck (1641-1697) and the Rise of Anglican Pietism” (PhD diss., Drew University, 2003), 113-17, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.

<sup>5</sup> Philipp Jakob Spener, *Pia Desideria*, trans. and ed. with an Introduction by Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), in *Pietists: Selected Writings*, ed. Peter C. Erb (Island Road, NJ: Paulist Press, 1983), 32-3.

<sup>6</sup> Josiah Woodward, *An account of the rise and progress of the religious societies in the city of London &c.*, (London: Printed by J.D. for the Author, and sold by Ra. Simpson at the Harp in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1698), 19, Early English Books Online, Wing / 1272:13.

concern for the personal safety of the individual soul...with the liturgical devotion of the Restoration Church.”<sup>7</sup> Such organizational rigor gave the established Church the strength to weather the storm of James II’s reign, which effectively abolished the Church’s hegemony. The 1687 and 1688 Declarations of Indulgence suspended penal laws that enforced conformity to the Anglican Church in a blatant attempt to gain approval for Roman Catholicism, though their benefits extended to Presbyterians and Dissenters of all stripes.

Amidst the turmoil of James II’s reign, the Church pressed on in its period of renewal with resolve. The ascendancy of William and Mary in the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89 elicited a variety of responses from Anglican churchmen, who felt torn between their hatred of Roman Catholicism and respect for the institution of monarchy. For clerics like Horneck who were committed to revival, allegiance to the monarchy “was pragmatic, not idealistic.”<sup>8</sup> Rather, it was “welcomed as an unprecedented opportunity for ecclesiastical and moral reformation.”<sup>9</sup> While the Revolution did not usher in an Anglican monopoly on England’s political regime or within civil society, the dynastic change propelled and perhaps enriched the Anglican renaissance that began under Charles II. By giving assent to the Toleration Act of 1688, William III encouraged a broadly Protestant ecumenism that harnessed the organizational structures of existing religious societies.

The most prominent religious organization to emerge in the post-revolutionary period was the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK). Founded in

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<sup>7</sup> Daniel Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 17.

<sup>8</sup> Kisker, “Anthony Horneck,” 164-65.

<sup>9</sup> Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, 67.

1698 by Thomas Bray, the SPCK stood at the nexus of England's reforming societies as it devoted itself to the maintenance of the Church's hegemony in England. The SPCK was a voluntary society that kept close contact with existing religious societies and societies for the reformation of manners. It became something of a reference point for interested persons who desired information regarding a given society.<sup>10</sup> Operating above the melee of voluntary organizations, the SPCK pursued "the designs that opportunity and imagination afforded, though they had formed no part of its original programming."<sup>11</sup> The SPCK's status as a voluntary society precluded it from any coercive power, as it lacked a royal charter. However, that lack of power did not hinder its ability to wield extraordinary influence through its printing of religious literature for the masses, establishment of religious lending libraries domestically and among the American plantations, and its promotion of charity schools.

Although charity schools existed prior to the SPCK, the SPCK made charity schools its "Darling Employment," as it provided financial assistance and publicized for them throughout Britain and abroad. The original founders expressed deep concern about "the growth of vice and immorality [which was] greatly owing to gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian religion," which posed a threat to national and ecclesiastical stability.<sup>12</sup> To cure this social ill, members harked back to the heyday of Horneck, as they commended "religious discipline on the German pattern," though rather than reaching

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<sup>10</sup> Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 23-24.

<sup>11</sup> Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, 110.

<sup>12</sup> "Preamble," printed in Edmund McClure, *A Chapter in English Church History: Being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the years 1698-1704, Together with Abstracts of Correspondents' Letters During Part of the Same Period* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1888), 1, HathiTrust.

adults through societal meetings, the SPCK devoted its energies to shaping the next generation of the Anglican Church. For educational reforms they turned to the Spenerian disciple, August Hermann Francke, whose work at Halle “exercised a remarkable influence upon the charity school movement in England, Wales, and Ireland.”<sup>13</sup> Though the society was thoroughly English, its “great foreign fascination” was undoubtedly the Franckean Foundations at Halle.<sup>14</sup>

The connection to Halle emerged as a byproduct of the Glorious Revolution, which placed Mary II’s sister Princess Anne in the role of heir presumptive, with her Lutheran husband, Prince George of Denmark serving as future royal consort. Prince George’s secretary, Heinrich W. Ludolf, a friend of Francke’s and amicable ecumenicist, rose in prominence and gained access to the highest levels of the Anglican renewal movement.<sup>15</sup> The combination of Ludolf’s influence and Archbishop Thomas Tenison’s eager support of the religious societies inspired him to call on Francke for “two zealous men, by whom every method of the *Pedagogium* had been properly examined,” who might be able to advise on the burgeoning charity movement.<sup>16</sup> Francke promptly dispatched Jacob B. Wigers and Johann C. Mehder in time to attend one of the SPCK’s first meetings. The SPCK warmly accepted the two, as SPCK member John Chamberlayne wrote to Francke “to acquaint [him] that [the Society] desire to maintain a

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<sup>13</sup> Jones, *Charity School Movement*, 37-8.

<sup>14</sup> W.R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 303-4.

<sup>15</sup> Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 42-6.

<sup>16</sup> Johann D. Herrnschmid to his father, Halle, 20 July 1699, quoted in Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 74. The *Pedagogium* was a boarding school which housed children from middling families and provided religious instruction and academic preparation.

Frequent intelligence with [him], both to be informed of the great things you have already done in Germany...and also to communicate to you what Measures they take in the carrying on of the same Designs.”<sup>17</sup> The SPCK’s figurative acceptance of Francke gave way to its literal acceptance of the German Pietist as a corresponding member. Ever the pragmatist, Francke saw great opportunity in this partnership where he could assist in the development of more schools while promoting his own institutions and ideas.<sup>18</sup>

If Ludolf was responsible for establishing the Halle-London connection, Anthony William Boehm can be credited with reinforcing that relationship. Boehm came to London as a teacher for German students after studying under Francke at the University of Halle in the 1690s. Upon arrival Boehm was already well connected to the world of Anglican renewal, and in particular the SPCK. Francke connected him to Wigers and Mehder, who were also teaching German students, in addition to their assistance to the SPCK. He also had come into contact with Ludolf in Rotterdam, from which both men set sail for London in late 1701.<sup>19</sup> Through Ludolf, Boehm acquired a post in the German Royal Chapel at St. James’ Palace, where he served from 1705 until his death in 1722. From this position, Boehm wielded immense influence over England’s relationship to

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<sup>17</sup> Chamberlayne to Francke, Westminster, 12 Dec 1699 (*Nachlaß* 30. XXVI. 841) quoted in Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 45.

<sup>18</sup> Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 74.

<sup>19</sup> John Jacob Rambach, *Memoirs of the Life and Death of the late Revered Mr. Anthony William Boehm, Formerly Chaplain to the Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, And Minister of the German Chapel At St. James's In London: Together With a Particular Account of His Exemplary Character, And of His Writings*, trans. John Christian Jacobi, (London: Printed for Richard Ford, 1735), 4-7, HathiTrust.

Halle, such that one scholar called the royal chapel “the headquarters of German Pietists in London.”<sup>20</sup>

Boehm’s most significant contribution to the Halle-London partnership was his translation and publication of the *Pietas Hallensis*. W.R. Ward claimed that the tract, published in three parts from 1705 to 1716, was “the key to the intensity and duration of the SPCK’s devotion to Francke...[and] it was the translator of the tract and the author of another that was bound up with it.”<sup>21</sup> *Pietas Hallensis* included a preface on the history of German Pietism and a translation of Francke’s *Waisenhaus*, in which he gave an account of the rise and progress of the orphanage, along with the other institutions at Halle. The text had been long desired in London, since the birth of the SPCK. Boehm finally completed the task after SPCK member Frederick Slare took him on a tour of the English countryside to visit charity schools and parish churches, which convinced him of the need to relate Francke’s model. The SPCK immediately embraced Boehm’s work, though they asked for an abridged version of the nearly 300-page text that would be cheaper to print and distribute to correspondents, potential donors, and charity schoolmasters.

While the SPCK never opened or operated any charity schools in a formal sense, as it lacked coercive powers, “it encouraged the trustees and managers of old and new schools to join it and to adapt [their schools] to the new scheme of instruction,” which was shaped in significant ways by the *Pietas Hallensis*.<sup>22</sup> As the fullest description of Halle available for SPCK members and English schoolmasters, *Pietas Hallensis* serves as

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<sup>20</sup> Brunner, *Halle Pietist in England*, 49.

<sup>21</sup> Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 304.

<sup>22</sup> Jones, *Charity-School Movement*, 24.

the best resource to understand how English charity schools adapted the Hallensian model to best suit their needs. Daniel Brunner has analyzed Halle's influence on the charity school movement, which prior to his *Halle Pietists in England*, was an understudied phenomenon merely stated but unquestioned.<sup>23</sup> In this section, I seek to expand on Brunner's work by unpacking his brief analysis in greater detail. From this analysis, I will argue that Francke's model of intensive religious education was adopted to promote societal and ecclesiastical cohesion.

First, I turn to the understandings of the role of the schoolmaster, which Boehm included in section eight of the appendix of *Pietas Hallensis*, as compared with James Talbott's 1707 publication for the SPCK, *The Christian School Master*. The training available to teachers at Halle took place in the University of Halle, as students of divinity often served in the lower schools in exchange for food and board. Some of the English schoolmasters traveled to Halle for the same purpose, though the average schoolmaster lacked formal training. Indeed, most were not even ordained. The sheer number of schools, particularly in the urban areas of London and Westminster, necessitated a broadening of the profession, giving way to what scholars have called the laicization of the teaching profession.<sup>24</sup> By 1706, 64 schools educated over 2,500 children in London and Westminster, and those figures nearly doubled over six years.<sup>25</sup> Each of these schools required full-time service that clerics were simply unable to give.

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<sup>23</sup> Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 93-9.

<sup>24</sup> Jones, *Charity School Movement*, 96-7; Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 95.

<sup>25</sup> *An account of charity-schools lately erected in England, Wales, and Ireland: with the benefactions thereto; and of the methods whereby they were set up, and are governed. Also, a proposal for enlarging their number, and Adding some work to the Childrens Learning, thereby to render their Education more Useful to the Publick*, (London: Printed and sold by Joseph Downing, in Bartholomew-Close, near West Smithfield, 1706), 10, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW106699375; *An*



Despite the lack of formal institutional training, charity school masters did have to meet certain qualifications that were enumerated in the annual accounts and in the *Christian School Master*. Only upstanding members of the Church of England and frequenters of communion could shape future Anglicans. The intensity of the requirement was underscored by the provision that masters who refused to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy faced up to three months in prison. For Roman Catholics keeping school, the punishment was “perpetual imprisonment within this Kingdom.”<sup>26</sup> Such provisions grew in importance after the Jacobite uprising of 1715 in Scotland, which brought about the proliferation of Jacobitism within SPCK charity schools, along with an increase in Nonconformist charity schools.<sup>27</sup> Jacobitism rejected the legitimacy of the Glorious Revolution, thus supporting the claims of James II and his son, James Francis Edward Stuart, to the throne. When Queen Anne died childless in 1714, George Ludwig the elector of Hanover ascended the throne, ending Stuart rule and ushering in the Georgian era. Amidst the political turbulence, the SPCK threw the weight of its influence behind the Protestant succession such that by 1716 “Archbishop William Wake

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*account of charity-schools in Great Britain and Ireland: with the benefactions thereto; and of the methods whereby they were set up, and are governed. Also a proposal for adding some work to the childrens learning. And An Appendix, containing certain Forms and Directions relating to these Schools*, (London: Printed and sold by Joseph Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West Smithfield, 1712), 14, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, CW105594785.

<sup>26</sup> James Talbott, *The christian school-master: or, the duty of those who are employ'd in the publick instruction of children: especially in charity-schools. To which is added, a collection of prayers upon several occasions, for the Use of the Master and Scholars. Together with Directions and Instructions concerning Confirmation; and suitable Devotions Before, At, and After it*. By James Talbott, D. D. Chaplain to His Grace the Duke of Somerset, and Rector of Spofforth in Yorkshire, (London: Printed and sold by Joseph Downing in Bartholomew-Close, near West-Smithfield, 1707), 12, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, CW105252929.

<sup>27</sup> Henry Foreman, “Baptists and the Charity School Movement,” *The Baptist Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (1977): 150-156; Craig Rose, “‘Seminaries of Faction and Rebellion’: Jacobites, Whigs, and the London Charity Schools,” *The Historical Journal* 34, no. 4 (December 1991): 831-855.

launched an effort to monitor ‘disaffection to King George and his government’ and purge Jacobitism from the charity schools.”<sup>28</sup> The SPCK annual accounts of its affiliated charity schools after 1717 narrowed its political qualifications for teachers by explicitly requiring “That he be a Person of known Affection to His present Majesty King *GEORGE*, and to the Protestant Succession as by Law Establish’d” by the 1701 Act of Settlement.<sup>29</sup>

Hallensian schoolmasters did not have to meet political qualifications, as the electorate of Brandenburg in which the Francke Foundations could be found did not experience the political upheaval that shook early eighteenth-century England. Francke put the greatest emphasis on the spiritual characteristics of a good schoolmaster, only hiring men with a “sure and firm Foundation of true Piety” who depended not “in the least on their own Parts and Abilities.”<sup>30</sup> Toward the children, they were expected to keep a “loving and *fatherly* Temper,” an “impartial and paternal love.”<sup>31</sup> Such love was balanced by a strict disciplinary program that suffered no frivolity. Multiple scholars have noted Francke’s obsessiveness with regard to time management in the classroom. John William Adamson observed that “Francke’s pupils had no ‘pause’ of ten to fifteen

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<sup>28</sup> Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, 142-46; for more on the political makeup of the SPCK, see William A. Bultmann and Phyllis W. Bultmann, “The Roots of Anglicanism: A Study of the Membership of the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G., 1699-1720,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 33, no. 1 (1964): 3-48.

<sup>29</sup> *Methods used for erecting charity-schools, with the rules and orders by which they are governed. A particular account of the London charity-schools: with a list of those erected elsewhere in Great Britain and Ireland: To which is added, A Particular Account of such Schools as are Reported to be set up since last Year. And an Appendix, containing Forms &c. relating to the Charity-Schools.* 16<sup>th</sup> ed., with additions (London: Printed and sold by Jospeh Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West-Smithfield, 1717), 7 Eighteenth Century Collections, Gale CW104573031.

<sup>30</sup> Francke, *Pietas Hallensis*, 192-5.

<sup>31</sup> Francke, *Pietas Hallensis*, 192-5.

minutes between the lessons,” no days off, no games, and no secular music.<sup>32</sup> Anthony La Vopa credited his feverish maximization of time and effort to his sanctifying view of vocation.<sup>33</sup> Pedagogically speaking, such disciplinary measures seem more connected to Francke’s view of conversion, which held that “the natural self-will of the child must be broken” in order for the soul to be ready to receive faith.<sup>34</sup>

The English model bore striking similarities, but it diverged in ways that point to the mission of Anglican acculturation driving the charity school movement. In terms of a schoolmaster’s piety, Talbott followed suit, recommending that a schoolmaster’s morals ought to follow from his religion, “as a good Tree is of good Fruit.” Children, who learn best by example, ought never to see anything unworthy of imitation in their teachers.<sup>35</sup> Pedagogically, this followed the recent Lockean idea that children’s minds were like blank slates, and that the masters were to focus on “Forming and Moulding their Minds at this Critical Season to such Dispositions and Habits of Piety and Virtue.”<sup>36</sup> In the classroom, this produced a more lax environment in which students had free time to pursue innocent recreations so long as they did not make trouble, but that did not dilute

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<sup>32</sup> John William Adamson, *Pioneers of Modern Education 1600-1700* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1921), 250. HathiTrust.

<sup>33</sup> Anthony J. La Vopa, *Grace, Talent, and Merit: Poor Students, Clerical Careers, and Professional Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 142.

<sup>34</sup> Werner Loch, “Pädagogik am Beispiel August Hermann Franckes,” *Glaubenswelt und Lebenswelten*, 264-308, 275, quoted in Martin Gierl, “Pietism, Enlightenment, and Modernity,” in Douglas Shantz, ed., *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660-1800* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015), 384.

<sup>35</sup> Talbott, *The christian school-master*, 15-20.

<sup>36</sup> Talbott, *The christian school-master*, 112.

the intensity of religious education that Francke and Talbott believed to be “the starting point of reform in society and of renewal in the Church.”<sup>37</sup>

To get a sense of the religious education available in both settings, I turn to the devotional portions of the curriculum in each. Both opened the school day with prayer, as one might expect, but at Halle, masters began and ended with a “hearty prayer,” that was to be “performed with due earnestness and application, not making it too long.”<sup>38</sup> An English schoolmaster followed the order set in the BCP, likely employing Matins and Evensong to bookend the day’s activities.<sup>39</sup> The rigidity of the BCP stood in contrast to the emotive, freeform prayers at Halle, but this testified to the differing ends to which these same means were directed. Where Francke desired that schoolmasters “model Youth into a true and Experiential knowledge of God and their Saviour Jesus Christ,” English schoolmasters were expected to “instruct the Children in the *Principles* of the Christian Religion, as profess’d in the Church of *England*.”<sup>40</sup> This should not be taken to mean that the English charity school organizers did not care whether their students attained salvation or maintained a deep devotional piety; rather, the implications of religious education stretched beyond one’s spiritual experiences in the English system. Jeremy Gregory contends that while the BCP allowed for a heartfelt faith, even in its rigidity, it also “functioned as a kind of Durkheimian social cement, helping to construct

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<sup>37</sup> Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 94.

<sup>38</sup> Francke, *Pietas Hallensis*, 201.

<sup>39</sup> *An account of charity-schools*, 1706, 6; W.M. Jacob, “‘The glory of the age we live in’: Christian Education and Philanthropy in Eighteenth-Century London Charity Schools,” *Studies in Church History* 55 (2019): 249, doi:10.1017/stc.2018.30.

<sup>40</sup> Francke, *Pietas Hallensis*, 191.

and reinforce communities and social networks.”<sup>41</sup> By inculcating the young in the BCP through its regular use in charity schools, the SPCK believed itself to be building a generation of pious, useful members of English society.

As soon as students reached a basic level of literacy, they would read and memorize portions of the Anglican catechism. Younger students relied on expositions and explanations of the catechism that broke longer answers into shorter lengths that were easier to remember, while older students progressed to *The Whole Duty of Man*, a 1658 devotional manual. This portion of the day prepared students to commune with the Church community. Charity school trustees reinforced this outcome by requiring schoolmasters to bring their students to church for Sunday services and on feast days, where children always faced the possibility of public examination. Francke required the same of his schoolmasters. A dimension of education that was reduced at the boarding schools of Halle but mostly present in England was the parental influence that either strengthened or destroyed the efforts of charity school masters outside of the classroom. To mitigate the potential harm of poor parental guidance, the SPCK regularly printed accounts and pamphlets such as *Orders Read and Given to the Parents on the Admittance of their Child into the Charity School* to remind parents not only of their duties but also of what they stood to lose should they disobey. Most schools provided clothes, books, and food in addition to the valuable education. If parents failed to keep an orderly house

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<sup>41</sup> Jeremy Gregory, “‘For All Sorts and Conditions of Men’: The Social Life of the Book of Common Prayer during the Long Eighteenth Century: Or, Bringing the History of Religion and Social History Together,” *Social History*. 34, no. 1 (February 2009): 44-49.

where catechesis and prayer were features of daily life, they could put their child at risk of cold, hunger, and the loss of vocational opportunities.<sup>42</sup>

The triangular relationship between parents, charity school masters, and charity school students has been the subject of scholarly scrutiny. Jeremy Schmidt points to the SPCK's efforts as "part of crucial historical significance in articulating and establishing a new series of social and governmental relationships through the operation of which the role of the poor as parents in particular was opened to an intensified scrutiny, suspicion, and stigma."<sup>43</sup> The explosion of poverty at the turn of the eighteenth century in conjunction with the tense political climate inspired benevolent classes to complete their just duties to those less fortunate than themselves. Scholars have found that a shift in the 1720s in attitudes from the benevolent toward the poor traded concerns for justice for the exercise of authority.<sup>44</sup> While this shift was apparent in the rhetoric used to collect donations, a consideration of the enduring purpose of the charity schools suggest that a perceived sense of authority existed in the program from the outset. The desire to correct the "gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian religion" by providing a robust catechetical education presumed a religious and intellectual superiority that was largely benevolent, but not purely so. Indeed, the charity schools of the SPCK were designed to

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<sup>42</sup> *Orders read and given to the parents on the admittance of their children into the charity-schools. To be set up in their houses* (London: Printed by J. Downing, 1708), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW0107973803.

<sup>43</sup> Jeremy Schmidt, "Charity and the Government of the Poor in the English Charity School Movement, circa 1700-1730," *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 4 (October 2010): 777

<sup>44</sup> Donna T. Andrew, "On Reading Charity Sermons: Eighteenth-Century Anglican Solicitation and Exhortation," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43, no. 4 (1992), 581-591; Joan Simon, "From Charity School to Workhouse in the 1720s: The SPCK and Mr. Marriot's Solution," *History of Education* 17, no. 2 (June 1988): 113-129.

improve the estates of all students, but in return, the trustees, the schoolmasters, and the donors hoped to see stronger parish communities filled with loyal, useful Christians.

To add to a student's usefulness, both Halle and England prepared students for manual trades that often culminated in apprenticeships. Students of both sexes could find employment opportunities in both settings. The girls at Halle were separated from the boys, though they had the same basic education that was supplemented with training in spinning, knitting, sewing for futures in domestic service or housewifery. The situation was largely the same in England, though it was not uncommon for schools to be coeducational with separate curricular tracks. At Halle, the Francke Foundations contained opportunities for vocational training in its apothecary, hospital, and printing presses. Promising students could advance to the university, under the idea that universal social reform entailed the "universal improvement of all estates," including those of the lowly.<sup>45</sup> The SPCK maintained the emphasis on preparation for manual trade, but it did not embrace the social mobility of Francke's program, lest "the Advantages they receive from a Pious Education should incline them to put too great a Value upon themselves."<sup>46</sup> While these charity schools did not seek to improve a child's estate above his station, the SPCK actively encouraged schools to place children with tradesmen who "had a Due Character for Sobriety and Diligence." It was not uncommon for trustees to look on former students to ensure they were not being mistreated, and students were required to check in annually at their school's anniversary sermons.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Francke, *Pietas Hallensis*, 232; La Vopa, *Grace, Talent, and Merit*, 140-45.

<sup>46</sup> *Circular Letter* (9 Sept 1712), quoted in Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 95.

<sup>47</sup> Jones, *Charity School Movement*, 51.

Not all were convinced by the SPCK's supposed social conservatism, however. The charity schools found a number of opponents, but few were as vocal as medical doctor and philosophical essayist Bernard Mandeville, who lambasted the philanthropic enterprise in the 1723 edition of *The Fable of the Bees*. His driving point against this great "Distraction of the Nation" was its complicity in educating children above their station.<sup>48</sup> Francke faced a similar charge from Berlin in 1708, as his superiors grew concerned at the number of peasants gaining admission to the university system. La Vopa dissected the complexity of academic mobility at the Halle orphan house, finding that Francke simultaneously encouraged academic learning as an aid to spiritual progress and discouraged haughtiness that rendered students reluctant to take on lower positions.<sup>49</sup> Likewise, Mandeville accused charity schools of acclimating boys to an easier sort of life, rendering them unfit and unwilling to engage in the unavoidable future of hard labor. Anticipating the retort of the apprentice system, Mandeville claimed it a "Folly to set up Trades that are not wanted," insinuating that charity school governors propped up failing industries to support their own enterprise.<sup>50</sup>

The SPCK and its charity schools weathered Mandeville's attack, though its support of charity schools waned in the late 1720s. M.G. Jones suggested that the SPCK's interest in charity schools declined in proportion to its increased interest abroad as it took on its first missionary to India in 1728. Brunner added nuance to Jones's

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<sup>48</sup> Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: Or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits. The Second Edition, Enlarged with many additions. As also an essay on charity and charity-schools. And a search into the nature of society*, (London: Printed for Edmund Parker at the Bible and Crown in Lombard Street, 1723), 303, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, CB0126400115.

<sup>49</sup> La Vopa, *Grace, Talent, and Merit*, 142-153.

<sup>50</sup> Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, 342.



contention, suggesting that the SPCK's venture to foreign missions provided a new, less controversial option than the charity schools that were expensive and exhausting to promote and maintain.<sup>51</sup> Whatever the reason for the SPCK's departure from the charity school movement, the movement's emphasis on religious education had staying power throughout the century in ways that built up Anglican society. By 1750 confirmations had become a more regular feature of diocesan life, and it was not uncommon for these services to be "attended by literally thousands of candidates."<sup>52</sup> The intensity of the Hallensian style education in the charity schools paid dividends, as Brits took the curricular model devoted to catechesis and renewed parish life for many Anglicans. As the SPCK withdrew its influence, the charity schools' institutional legacy lived on in its influence on the Sunday school movement of the late eighteenth century and the national schools of the nineteenth century.

### *Charity Schools in Ireland*

Zeal for charitable education in Ireland was never as high as it was in other parts of the British Isles, but this was not for a lack of effort. The Franckean-inspired charity schools of eighteenth-century Ireland forged a different path from the movement in England. This is largely due to Ireland's harsh arrival into the eighteenth century as its heavily Catholic population resisted the Protestant encroachment that escalated in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. Among the English, the regime change earned the title of the "bloodless revolution," but any serious consideration of its effects on the kingdom

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<sup>51</sup> Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 184-5.

<sup>52</sup> Gregory, "For All Sorts and Conditions," 52.

of Ireland disperses such notions. While the heavily Protestant England, Wales, and lowland Scotland accepted William without much resistance, Catholic Ireland attracted the deposed James II as his last bastion of support.<sup>53</sup> The Irish paid heavily for their support as their land became the battleground for two years of “hard-fought and destructive” conflict between William III and James II.<sup>54</sup> Upwards of 15,000 Protestants succumbed to starvation at Derry as a result of Jacobite blockade, and 7,000 Jacobites perished in the battle at Aughrim. Troops disbanded in 1692, leaving soldiers either loyal to William III or on the run, following James II to France.

As the conflict ceased, life slowly improved for Irish Protestants, while it steadily grew worse for Catholics. The remainder of the 1690s into the 1700s brought a slew of anti-Catholic legislation, collectively known as the penal laws. Catholics were stripped of their ability to hold public office, their right to bear arms, their property, and eventually, any right to political participation. Additionally, all Catholic clergy were exiled, and aspiring Catholic priests attending seminary on the Continent were barred reentry. A 1695 act prohibited Catholics from teaching in schools throughout Ireland, leaving Catholic children with few options for education. In time, the Protestant Church of Ireland took these developments as an opportunity for nationwide proselytization through education, but this did not happen without delay or debate.

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<sup>53</sup> Carla Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 141-2.

<sup>54</sup> S.J. Connolly, *Divided Kingdom: Ireland, 1630-1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 190. Oxford Scholarship Online.

Before turning to Catholic evangelization, Protestants turned their collective attention toward the education and moral improvement of the Protestant poor.<sup>55</sup> In a time of upending regime change and uncertain political loyalties, ensuring the security of one's own future took priority over converting the enemy. To secure the future of Protestant Ireland, Karen Sonnelitter notes that "pious, concerned individuals took the example of [the charity school] movement already begun in England and brought it to Ireland."<sup>56</sup> At first, the movement lacked the organization that characterized the English charity schools. Schools arose according to parish needs, and rules and regulations varied from parish to parish. Documentary evidence of Irish charity schools in the first decade of the 1700s was scarce, and what little there was could be found in the SPCK accounts of charity school erection and maintenance. From 1706 to 1712, updates to the SPCK from Ireland were minimal —only a few schools in Dublin and a school for girls in Channel-Row were mentioned, though the SPCK always assumed the existence of undocumented schools. Records improved slightly after 1710, as the SPCK included more schools, particularly outside of the Anglican stronghold in Dublin.

This process did not occur quickly enough for Edward Nicholson's taste, who was "Troubled to find *Ireland* so much short of *Wales*" in establishing schools.<sup>57</sup> As a corresponding member of the SPCK, Nicholson recognized the potential benefits to be

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<sup>55</sup> Connolly, *Divided Kingdom*, 97; Karen Sonnelitter, "Philanthropy and Improvement: Social Reform Movements in Ireland, 1691-1798" (PhD diss., Purdue University, 2011), 48, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

<sup>56</sup> Karen Sonnelitter, *Charity Movements in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: Philanthropy and Improvement* (Woodbridge, United Kingdom: Boydell & Brewer, Ltd, 2016), 49. JSTOR.

<sup>57</sup> Edward Nicholson, *A Method of Charity-Schools, Recommended for giving both a Religious Education and a way of Livelihood to the Poor Children in Ireland* (Dublin: Printed by Aaron Rhams, at the Back of Dick's Coffee-House, in Skinner-Row, 1712), 33. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale CW105401143.

enjoyed if Ireland invested in its schools. He made his priorities clear in a 1712 pamphlet in which he ranked the order in which children be brought into the schools: orphans, the children of destitute families, the children of moderately poor Protestant families, and, if any room remained, the children of poor Catholic families. Nicholson's focus rested almost entirely on the Protestant poor, as he argued "if we Educated none but *Protestants* Children only, it wou'd put a greater stop to the Growth of Popery, than all the Acts of Parliament hitherto have done."<sup>58</sup> In the same year, John Richardson published a pamphlet similarly decrying the penal laws, but Richardson called for more active engagement with the "popish Natives." He proposed similar tactics to those of the SPCK, such as the printing of Bibles and religious texts in the Irish language for Catholic adults and opening English language Protestant charity schools for Catholic children.<sup>59</sup> Richardson's "mild and gentle means" answered the call of a 1711 law which compelled Catholic parents to send their children to public schools, an oppressive requirement in light of the fact that Catholics were not permitted to teach in the kingdom.

In the twenty years since their drafting, the penal laws had not yielded their desired effect of strengthening the established Church in Ireland. It has been estimated that only ten to twenty percent of Ireland adhered to the Church of Ireland, with the majority of Irish souls belonging to Rome while dissenting sects fought for Protestant

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<sup>58</sup> Nicholson, *A Method of Charity Schools*, 1712, 41-2.

<sup>59</sup> John Richardson, *A short history of the attempts that have been made to convert the popish natives of Ireland, to the establish'd religion: with a proposal for their conversion. By John Richardson, Rector of Annah, alias Belturbet, in the Diocese of Kilmore in Ireland, and Chaplain to His Grace the Duke of Ormond, and the Lord Bishop of Clogher*, (London: Printed by Joseph Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West-Smithfield, 1712), 1-3, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW120444420.

defectors.<sup>60</sup> The Church of Ireland grew more resolute in its targeted conversion of Catholics after the 1715 Jacobite uprisings rocked England and Scotland. To prevent rebellion from taking root in Ireland, a group of concerned clergymen assembled in Dublin in 1717 to establish an Irish branch of the SPCK in the hope that Catholics might “be won by our affectionate Endeavours, so as the whole Nation may become *Protestant and English*,” for the prevention of “all such Rebellions as have heretofore arisen from the *peculiar State* of this Kingdom.”<sup>61</sup> As in England, so too in Ireland — charity schools based on the Halle model were seen as the most effective way to encourage a loyal, productive, cohesive Protestant community.

The Dublin Society included Reverends Edward Synge, Edward Nicholson, and John Richardson, as well as Rev. Henry Maule, whom M.G. Jones labeled “the recognized leader of the charity school movement in Ireland.”<sup>62</sup> Maule’s enthusiasm to educate the Irish poor was undoubtedly helped along by his interaction with Francke’s ideas through his attendance of SPCK meetings and publications. His enthusiasm for Halle was evident prior to the Dublin Society, as he established the Green Coat Hospital in 1715 at his parish post at St. Mary Shandon’s in Cork. Like the Francke Foundations, Maule’s institution boasted an infirmary for the aged and the sick and two free schools — one for boys, one for girls. Green Coat’s story was proudly told in *Pietas Corcagiensis*, in

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<sup>60</sup> Toby Bernard, “Ireland,” in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829*, ed. Jeremy Gregory (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 138. Oxford Scholarship Online.

<sup>61</sup> Edward Synge, *An Account of the Erection, Government and Number, of Charity-Schools in Ireland: To which is added an Appendix containing certain Forms &c. relating thereto* (Dublin: Printed for J. Pepyat, Bookseller in Skinner-Row, 1717), 4, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW0104792921.

<sup>62</sup> Jones, *Charity School Movement*, 227.

a clear homage to Francke's *Pietas Hallensis*. Indeed, its author, perhaps Maule, hoped that "the same ALMIGHTY and most GRACIOUS GOD...[would] preside over, [would] improve the good Estate of these Charitable Foundations," just as he had at "that Spacious College at Glaucha," which had grown impressively from humbler beginnings than those of St. Mary Shandon's.<sup>63</sup> While it failed to reach the level of global significance that Halle enjoyed, the Green Coat Hospital helped shape the future of the Irish charity schools. Its dual curriculum of learning and labor took in "real objects of Charity" and taught boys to read, write, and cast accounts, while the girls learned to read, knit, sow, and spin. Above all these children learned the true principles of the Protestant religion.<sup>64</sup>

In the years following the establishment of Green Coat and the Dublin Society, the number of schools increased to 130 in 1719 (from 100 in 1717), and to 163 in 1725. Yet, in 1725 the momentum generated in 1717 dwindled. The Dublin Society disbanded, and as a result, only nine new schools opened in the next five years. While the timing suggests that the Dublin Society acted in tandem with its London counterpart, the likelier explanation is a financial one. Ireland's internal polarization did not give it the space to develop the international concerns that took the SPCK's attention away from the English charity schools. The kingdom's economic relationship to England sapped Ireland's

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<sup>63</sup> Greencoat Hospital (Cork, Ireland), *Pietas Corcagiensis. Or, a view of the Green-Coat Hospital: and other charitable foundations, In the Parish of St. Mary Shandon, Corke: shewing The several steps that have been taken, In Erecting and Supporting those charities. Publish'd by Order of the Trustees, (and Sold for the Use) of that Hospital* (Cork, Ireland: Printed by Samuel Terry, 1721), 52, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, CW102250681. The spelling of "Greencoat Hospital" in the organization listed as the author differs in spelling from that used in the title (Green-Coat Hospital); this reflects the cataloging information in Eighteenth Century Collections Online.

<sup>64</sup> *Pietas Corcagiensis*, 21-2.

ecclesiastical funding, such that charitable enterprises were difficult to fund. A secondary, but enduring financial issue in Ireland affected the Church's clergymen who were often unable to reside permanently in their parishes as they took on multiple curates to cobble together a livable wage.<sup>65</sup> Clergymen like Maule and Synge came from wealthier parishes where they had the support and financial resources to make their institutions work. Synge recognized this problem and preemptively proposed in 1723 to rearrange the glebe system to ease the burdens of funding the residency of clergy in their respective cures, of which the blessing to "Church and Religion [was] too Obvious to need any enlargement upon it."<sup>66</sup> Once his burden of wages was relieved, the clergyman could tend to the duties of teaching an English school.<sup>67</sup>

When nothing came of Synge's proposal, the remnant of the Dublin Society adjusted course in 1730, when Henry Maule proposed to resurrect the failed society as the "Incorporated Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge among the Poor Natives of the Kingdom of Ireland." An incorporated society, with its coercive powers, could open a network of schools to deal with the "linked evils of ignorance idleness, and Catholicism" that threatened the stability of the Kingdom.<sup>68</sup> Having progressed from a mere vicar in

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<sup>65</sup> Jones, *Charity School Movement*, 228-9.

<sup>66</sup> Edward Synge, *A brief account of the laws now in force in the Kingdom of Ireland, for encouraging the residence of the parochial-clergy, and erecting of English schools, With the good Use that may be made of them. Together, with an appendix, shewing how the Fund of First-Fruits settled in the Hands of Trustees, by Her late Majesty Queen Anne, and His Present Majesty King George, has hitherto been managed, and applied to the Use for which it was given. By Edward Lord Archbishop of Tuam*, (Dublin: Printed for Jer. And Sil. Pepyat, Booksellers in Skinner-Row, 1723), 29, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, CW3307921572.

<sup>67</sup> Synge, *A brief account of the laws now in force in the Kingdom of Ireland*, 31.

<sup>68</sup> Toby Barnard, "Maule, Henry (1676-1758), Church of Ireland bishop of Meath and educational reformer" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep 2004: Accessed 4 May 2020. At the time of Maule's proposal, he was Bishop of Cloyne, but he finished his clerical career as the Bishop of Meath.

Cork to the Bishop of Cloyne, Maule was better positioned to pursue such initiatives. His “humble proposal” essentially formalized Synge’s 1723 call for residential clergy and the proliferation of English schools, as it requested a royal charter and an annual fund of one thousand pounds. By 1730, Maule had more clerical backing in the newly appointed archbishop of Armagh, Hugh Boulter.<sup>69</sup> Boulter previously served as Bishop of Bristol before assuming the primacy of the Church of England in Ireland. As such, he expressed dismay at the “reproach to the Protestants of this country, that so few converts have been made from Popery.”<sup>70</sup> Boulter’s enthusiasm was bolstered by a 1731 report on the state of Catholicism that found “That the Insolence of the *Papists*, throughout the Nation [was] very great.”<sup>71</sup> This combination proved successful, for King George II granted a charter to the Incorporated Society for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland. The charter marked an important shift in the story of the Irish charity schools. While concerned clergy had recognized the potential to proselytize Catholics through charity schools from early on, the Incorporated Society pursued it outright by turning Edward Nicholson’s priorities on their head. The children of Catholic parents were now the preferred audience, though the Incorporated Society continued attending to Protestants until 1775, when the society began requiring children to have at least one Catholic guardian to be considered for admission.

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<sup>69</sup> S.J. Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660-1760* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 303-4. ACLS Humanities E-Book.

<sup>70</sup> Mant, *Church of Ireland*, ii. 440-1, quoted in Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power*, 304.

<sup>71</sup> Irish House of Lords, *A report from the lords committees appointed to enquire into the present state of popery in this kingdom, In relation to the state of popery within the counties of Mayo and Galway, and the county of the town of Galway: and agreed to by the House of Lords* (Dublin: Printed by George Grierson, at the Two Bible in Essex-Street, 1731), 3-4, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CB0127737652.



Aside from the increased focus on Catholic children, the charter schools founded by the Incorporated Society made significant alterations so as to avoid the pitfalls that plagued the early charity schools. Eschewing the financial arguments for decline, Christopher McCormack attributed the previous collapse to the inadequacy of the earlier charity schools to fulfill their dual catechetical and vocational functions. The charity school's operation as a day school that children left at the end of the day, undercut both efforts, for parental influence could not be controlled, and work programs fell victim to the precious commodities of time and money.<sup>72</sup> The incorporated schools adopted the boarding aspect of the Halle model, maintaining students with clothes, food, and lodging to avoid the pernicious influence of their parents. This policy quickly became controversial. Starting as early as 1738, children entrusted to a given charter school were at risk of being sent to schools far away from their parents, in order to put "them out of the Reach of the bad Influence under which they were born."<sup>73</sup> A famine in 1740 intensified the situation as Catholic parents weighed the difficult options of barely maintaining their children at home or guaranteeing their survival while surrendering them

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<sup>72</sup> Christopher McCormack, "'Straw Bonnets' to superior schooling: The failure of the charity school movement in the context of nineteenth-century Ireland – a reappraisal," *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 5 (October 2012): 716.

<sup>73</sup> Incorporated Society in Dublin for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, *A continuation of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society in Dublin, for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, from the 24th of March, 1737, to the 25th of March, 1738. To which is annexed, an account of the benefactions received by the Society, from Great-Britain and this Kingdom, from the opening of his Majesty's Royal Charter, February, 1733, to this time*, (Dublin, Ireland: Printed by Geo. Grierson, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty, at the King's Arms and Two Bibles in Essex-Street, 1738), 7, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, CW117547907; Incorporated Society in Dublin for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, *A continuation of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society in Dublin, For Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, from the 25th of March, 1740, to the 25th of March, 1742. To which is annexed, an account of the benefactions received by the Society, from Great Britain and this Kingdom, from the 25th of March, 1740, to the 25th of March, 1742*, (Dublin, Ireland: Printed by George Grierson, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty at the King's Arms and Two Bibles in Essex-Street, 1742), 15, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW119260132.

to Protestants. Parents who relinquished their children often did so on a permanent basis. The Incorporated Society imposed a five-pound penalty on parents who tried to get their children back, and the penalty increased to the cost of maintaining the child when too many Catholics could afford the five pounds.<sup>74</sup> In the eyes of the Incorporated Society, the policy was working, for the charter schools became a scandal among Catholics. If the trauma of essentially losing a child was not enough for Catholic parents, they suffered amongst their own for priests refused absolution and the Eucharist to parents who sent their children to charter schools.<sup>75</sup>

A second deviation from the earlier charity schools was a shift in the focus of its pedagogy. Early on, the Incorporated Society decided on the motto “Religione et Labore,” which Robert Clayton unpacked in the 1740 sermon “The Religion of Labour.” Using the passage from 2 Thessalonians 3:10 in which Paul commanded the Thessalonians that those would not work should not eat, Clayton showed how the two pieces of the motto worked in tandem for the Incorporated Society, with the “Duty of *Labour*” acting as “a Branch of Religion.” Protestantism, as a working religion, was superior to Roman Catholicism with “its numberless Holy-days [that gave] dreadful Encouragements to Idleness.”<sup>76</sup> This fell well in line with the Halle model, where

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<sup>74</sup> Sonnelitter, “Philanthropy and Improvement,” 70-3.

<sup>75</sup> Incorporated Society in Dublin for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, *A brief review of the rise and progress of the Incorporated Society in Dublin, for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland. From the opening of His Majesty's Royal Charter, February 6th, 1733, to November 2d. 1748*, (Dublin, Ireland: Printed by George Grierson, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, at the King's Arms and Two Bibles in Essex-Street, 1748), 10, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW105921932

<sup>76</sup> Robert Clayton, *The religion of labour. A sermon preach'd in Christ-Church, Dublin, before the Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland. By Robert, Lord Bishop of Corke. Published at the Request of the Society*, (Dublin, Ireland: Printed by George Grierson, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty at the King's Arms and Two Bibles in Essex Street, 1740), 7, 21, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW117547602.

industriousness was tied to the spirit. Over time, however, the Incorporated Society fell into disrepute and allowed the value of labor to supersede the care of the body and spirit. The charter schools brought a decline in instruction altogether. Unlike at Halle and the earlier charity schools which balanced time between the classroom and the workhouse, the Irish charter schools devoted a mere two hours to learning before sending children to the looms for the rest of the day.

As the schools became entirely devoted to converting Catholic children in the 1780s, rumors spread that the Incorporated Society's charter schools were being poorly managed, and children were being overworked and underfed. Robert Steven confirmed these abuses in his 1818 *Inquiry into the Abuses of the Chartered Schools in Ireland*, which was a compilation of reports presented to the Irish House of Commons in 1787.<sup>77</sup> Karen Sonnelitter attributed these horrors to a lack of oversight from local committees who were supposed to report back to the Incorporated Society in Dublin.<sup>78</sup> The report damaged the Society's reputation to the point that it lost its parliamentary funding. Its legacy of failure was cast, only to be confirmed in the lack of demonstrable change among the kingdom's confessional demographics.<sup>79</sup> What had started as an introspective attempt to secure the future of the established Church of Ireland devolved into an avenue of abuse toward Irish Catholics in the name of proselytization.

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<sup>77</sup> Robert Steven, *An Inquiry into the Abuses of the Chartered Schools in Ireland. With Remarks upon the Education of the Lower Classes in that Country*, (London: Thomas and George Underwood, 1818), HathiTrust.

<sup>78</sup> Sonnelitter, *Charity Movements in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 72-3.

<sup>79</sup> Barnard, "Ireland," 145.

### *Charity Schools in Wales*

Of all of the charity school movements in the British Isles, that which took place among the Welsh “presents a curious contrast” to the political nature of the English and Irish charity schools as “it was concerned chiefly, almost exclusively, with the desire to save the souls of the Welsh people.”<sup>80</sup> Among the London poor and the Irish Catholics, ignorance, idleness, poverty, and irreligion, provided fertile ground for rebellion, particularly of the Jacobite variety. In these hotbeds of rebellion, charity schools with vocational training in the Franckean style sought to soothe these anxieties in raising a generation of loyal, industrious Protestant children. In Wales, the political and economic landscapes looked markedly different. Jacobitism and its web of social ills was curiously absent among the Welsh people, and Wales’s rural setting obviated any need to train children for non-agricultural trades. Charity schools, then, offered a parallel solution to a different problem.

While Jacobitism was absent in Wales, so too was an effective established church. John McLeish reported in *Evangelical Religion and Popular Education* that “of the sixty-two bishops who occupied Welsh sees between 1700-1800, three only were Welshmen; the great majority lived in England.”<sup>81</sup> David Ceri Jones contested this claim, showing that Welsh Anglicanism was alive and well at the turn of the eighteenth century as preaching increased regularly among its conscientiously dedicated, if poorly equipped clergy.<sup>82</sup> For all its faults, the Church cared deeply about the evangelization of the Welsh.

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<sup>80</sup> Jones, *Charity School Movement*, 266.

<sup>81</sup> John McLeish, *Evangelical Religion and Popular Education: A Modern Interpretation*, (Oxfordshire, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2016), 25, Google Books.

<sup>82</sup> David Ceri Jones, *A Glorious Work in the World: Welsh Methodism and the International Evangelical Revival, 1735-1750* (Cardiff, United Kingdom: University of Wales Press, 2004), 38-41.

In 1674, the London-based philanthropist Thomas Gouge founded the Welsh Trust, which served as the Welsh precursor to the SPCK insofar as it made its mission the publication of accessible religious literature and education for the poor. The Trust enjoyed modest success as it served upwards of 2,000 children annually, but its success was short lived as evidence of the schools tapered off after Gouge's death in 1681. Such lack of perseverance was likely due to the contradictory methods of the Trust's operations. While the Welsh Trust was numerically successful in both its publication efforts and its ability to establish schools, it hamstrung its influence by publishing materials in the Welsh language while instructing in English. Its failure notwithstanding, the Trust was successful in "consolidating the spiritual link between England and Wales still further and setting the agenda for what was by far the most successful Pietistic venture in Wales, the SPCK."<sup>83</sup>

The SPCK received a congenial welcome in Wales, but the society found no greater Welsh friend than Sir John Philipps, the baronet of Picton Castle in Pembrokeshire. Philipps's enthusiastically supported nearly every project beneath the SPCK's wide umbrella of reform, particularly in its educational endeavors. M.G. Jones credited his interest in education to "heredity and environment," as his father was an active member of the Welsh Trust.<sup>84</sup> While Jones's contention is valid, Philipps found an even greater source of inspiration in Halle. Philipps deeply appreciated Francke's work, which was demonstrated in his journey with his two sons to Halle in 1719 and

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<sup>83</sup> David Ceri Jones, *A Glorious Work in the World*, 41.

<sup>84</sup> Jones, *Charity School Movement*, 291.

correspondence with Francke and Boehm.<sup>85</sup> Such appreciation was not limited to observation and communication. Philipps acted on his admiration of Halle by proposing a teacher's training college in England that was based on the upper tiers of Halle's layered model. Though this college never came to be, Philipps did see success in the establishment of schools in Wales under the auspices of the SPCK, which reported ninety-five schools between 1699 and 1737. In Pembrokeshire alone, Philipps was responsible for twenty-two schools. Unfortunately for the Welsh people, the SPCK schools continued the mistake of the Welsh Trust in its use of English as the language of instruction.

Despite his laudable efforts, Philipps only set the stage for the hero of the Welsh charity school movement: Griffith Jones. Jones hailed from Kilredin in the county of Carmarthen in southern Wales. After excelling in grammar school under "an eminent Classical Scholar," Jones took Deacon's Orders in 1708 and received ordination in 1709.<sup>86</sup> His first post took him to the Llanddowror, where he developed a pivotal, lifelong friendship with Philipps. Through Philipps, Jones not only gained a wife in Sir John's sister, Maria, but he also gained significant connections in the world of Protestant activism. It was likely through Phillipps that Griffith Jones was introduced to Francke's work as well as to the SPCK, of which Jones became a member in 1713.<sup>87</sup> Not long after he joined, Jones was approached by Boehm to become the first formal Anglican

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<sup>85</sup> Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 185.

<sup>86</sup> David Jones, *Life and Times of Griffith Jones: Sometime Rector of Llanddowror* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1902), 46-47. Google Books.

<sup>87</sup> Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 317.

missionary to India. Jones politely declined, for “*Wales* was not to be deprived of so eminent a Minister, who proved so great a Blessing to it.”<sup>88</sup>

Throughout the 1710s and 1720s Jones carried out his clerical duties and Llanddowror, where he grew dismayed at how few of his parishioners could say the Lord’s Prayer, much less internalize its meaning. His later reflections echoed Francke’s laments in *Pietas Hallensis* of the ignorance of the poor, where their “want of Instruction [was] so great, that [he] scarce knew where to begin the Cultivation of so barren a Soil.”<sup>89</sup> The linguistic challenges and failures of previous educational ventures had not produced the desired renewal of Welsh Anglicanism that occupied the Church for nearly six decades. For a parish priest like Jones, the consequences of these failures meant that his parishioners could not be catechized, and if they could not be catechized, they could not commune, and if they could not commune, then the spiritual life of the Church was at risk. To remedy this urgent problem, Jones needed to innovate away from the foundering of past educators.

The main issue Jones needed to address was the language of instruction, but Jones also had to adapt the traditional day-school model to the needs of his parishioners’ agrarian lifestyles. The demanding schedules of planting and harvest took priority over opportunities for education, and oftentimes over church attendance. When Philipps died in 1737 Jones took up the mantle of Welsh education and started arranging Welsh-language circulating schools among the parishes. Griffith Jones did not invent the circulating school, as M.G. Jones has traced the model back to 1730 in Wales and similar

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<sup>88</sup> Jones, *Life and Times of Griffith Jones*, 5.

<sup>89</sup> Francke, *Pietas Hallensis*, 10.

ambulatory schools appearing a decade earlier among Scottish Presbyterians.<sup>90</sup> The circulating school system accommodated the busy schedules of ordinary people by holding classes in a particular parish for a few months at a time, usually in the interim between the harvesting and planting seasons before relocating. Jones was uniquely situated to usher in this change of program, for he had a keen understanding of Welsh life as one of the few Welsh-born Anglican clerics. He had also served as an itinerant preacher, to the occasional chagrin of his English clerical counterparts. Moving around the valleys, mountains, and plains of the Welsh countryside to preach the Gospel was nothing new to Griffith Jones.

This ad hoc approach allowed for rapid diffusion, for schools only went where needed, never to “intrude or force themselves, but [only] given where desired.”<sup>91</sup> The precision with which schools were founded yielded a more economical format as willing recipients either lent a space *gratis* or on moderate terms. By the time of his death in 1761, Jones recorded 3,395 schools that brought literacy to 250,000 children and adults out of a total population of 450,000.<sup>92</sup> The streamlined nature of the schools’ physical attributes extended to its curricular practices that merely taught men, women, and children to read the SPCK-printed Welsh Bibles, the BCP, and other Welsh-language

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<sup>90</sup> M.G. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, 297-309.

<sup>91</sup> Griffith Jones, *Welsh Piety: or, the needful charity of promoting the salvation of the poor. Being an account of the rise, method, and progress of the circulating Welsh charity-schools: with the nature and antiquity of the British language, and Objections against continuing the Use of it considered. In three letters to a friend. By a clergyman of Wales* (London: Printed for J. Hutton, at the Bible and Sun without Temple-Bar, 1740), 21, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW0107645117.

<sup>92</sup> David Ceri Jones, *A Glorious Work in the World*, 45; W.T.R. Pryce, “The Diffusion of ‘Welsh’ Circulating Charity Schools in Eighteenth-century Wales,” *The Welsh History Review* 25, no. 4 (2011): 488-91.



religious literature. The vocational aspect of Halle then imitated in England and Ireland was noticeably absent, for Jones did not intend “to make them Gentlemen, but *Christians* and *Heirs* of eternal life.”<sup>93</sup> Even the basic skills of writing and arithmetic were absent. In their place schoolmasters modeled “decent and devout” behavior so that students would have a better sense of how to act during the divine service, how to pray — in short, how to be a proper Anglican parishioner.

To promote these schools, Jones published an annual account titled *Welsh Piety* that put the connection to Francke’s *Pietas Hallensis* on clear display. The project attracted criticism from English donors for teaching in Welsh, that the “harsh and rough, or unpleasant” tongue separated the Welsh people from their English brethren. Some questioned the loyalty of the Welsh people, leading Jones to declare that the Welsh may “have not the Happiness of being able to express *our Allegiance* in the Words of your *Language*, yet we hope that in *Deed* we shall not be found defective in it.”<sup>94</sup> Indeed they could not, for the rebellions of Scotland and Ireland left the Welsh people “curiously unmoved.”<sup>95</sup> If anything, the imposition of the English language fomented rebellion. This sentiment can be inferred in Jones’ adamant apologia for the Welsh tongue as “favourable to Religion, as being perhaps the *chastest* [language] in all *Europe*.” Unlike English, French, or German, the contents of Welsh literature were “free from the Infection and deadly Venom of *Atheism, Deism, Infidelity, Arianism, Popery, lewd Plays,*

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<sup>93</sup> Griffith Jones, *Welsh Piety*, 1749-50, 4, quoted in Roger L. Brown, “Spiritual Nurseries: Griffith Jones and the Circulating Schools,” *National Library of Wales Journal* 30, no. 1 (1997): 39.

<sup>94</sup> Griffith Jones, *Welsh Piety*, 1740, 49, 54.

<sup>95</sup> M.G. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, 267. For more on the curious absence of Welsh Jacobitism, see: Craig D. Wood, “The Welsh Response to the Glorious Revolution of 1688,” *Journal of Welsh Religious History*, 1, New Series (2001): 15-33.

*Immodest Romances*, and *Love Intrigues*.” The complexity of the language also acted as a protective barrier against “wily *Jesuites*” who failed to gain any Welsh souls on account of their ignorance of the language.<sup>96</sup>

More important than the external protections afforded by the complexity of Welsh was its internal benefit to the spirituality of the Church of England in Wales. Graduates of the English schools commonly learned little more than an ability to “imperfectly read some easy Parts of the *Bible*,” without any hope of understanding its meaning or application. After several years of the new manner of instruction, Jones found that students could learn in Welsh in three to four months’ time what would take them three to four years in English. Jones reminded his readers in Franckean fashion that “the Thing to be cleared up is, Whether the chief and greatest End of all, viz. the Glory of God, the Interest of Religion, and Salvation of the poor *Welsh People*, is most likely to be promoted by continuing or abolishing it.”<sup>97</sup> In this way, the Welsh charity school movement carried the spirit of Halle to Britain in a more profound way than the English or the Irish, though its mode of operation eschewed the Halle model in favor of a system that conformed to the peculiarities of Welsh life.

The fruits of Jones’s labors have earned him an overwhelmingly positive legacy as “one of the prime makers of modern Wales and one of Britain’s most notable pioneers.”<sup>98</sup> His simple combination of the circulating model and the Hallensian drive for

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<sup>96</sup> Griffith Jones, *Welsh Piety*, 1740, 38.

<sup>97</sup> Griffith Jones, *Welsh Piety*, 1740, 31, 36

<sup>98</sup> G. Williams, ‘Griffith Jones, Llanddowror (1683-1761)’, in C. Gittens (ed.), *Pioneers of Welsh Education: Four Lectures* (Swansea, ?1964), p. 29, in Pryce, “The Diffusion of ‘Welch’ Circulating Schools,” 486.

piety yielded a literate Welsh people ripe for renewal. Jones boldly hoped that “the life of Religion would soon revive, and exert itself; and the Glory of our *established Church*, reduced low as it is in too many Places, would again be *retrieved* and receive a new Lustre.”<sup>99</sup> As Jones pursued revival within the confines of the Church, his sowing was ultimately harvested in the Methodist revivals that swept the land at midcentury. Upon his death in 1761, Jones’s authority in the movement went to his patron, Madam Bridget Bevan, who continued the work and increased the geographic influence of the schools such that news of her efforts reached Catherine the Great in Russia. When she passed in 1779, she left £10,000 to continue educational efforts, though a contestation kept those funds from use until 1804. By that time, the school system had been subsumed under the Methodist Sunday school movement.<sup>100</sup>

These imitations of the Halle model in England, Ireland, and Wales illustrate that there were limits to how much pursuers of Anglican renewal could benefit from implementing Hallensian style reforms. The unique triad of “irreligion, idleness and rebellion” that threatened the Anglican Church in England and Ireland gave way to schools that attempted, at least for a time, to strike a balance between a rigorous Protestant education and vocational skills that prevented charity school graduates from relapsing into poverty. In England, the SPCK put tremendous effort into shaping and promoting charity schools that would yield a fresh generation of hard-working, pious communicants who were loyal to the British crown. Its success by midcentury contrasted

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<sup>99</sup> Griffith Jones, *Welsh Piety*, 1751-2, 22, in Brown, “Spiritual Nurseries,” 40.

<sup>100</sup> Eryn M. White, “Bevan [née Vaughan], Bridget [known as Madam Bevan] (bap. 1698, d. 1779), educational benefactor,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 13 May. 2020. <https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-62641>.

with the failure of the Incorporated Society which employed the Halle model to combat the influence of Roman Catholicism in the Kingdom of Ireland. In their upending of the Hallensian design of a religious education bolstered by vocational training, the Irish charter schools became rife with abuse and alienated the Catholic children they tried to win over at the outset. The Halle model went in a different direction under the leadership of Griffith Jones, whose intimate knowledge of the needs of the Welsh people and passion to save their souls created a literate Welsh peasantry primed for the Methodist revivals that swept the region later in the century.

## CHAPTER THREE

### The Halle Model in Colonial America

#### *Cotton Mather's "American Pietism"*

The seeds of Halle Pietism in America first scattered along the shores of Massachusetts Bay as letters from August Hermann Francke and Anthony William Boehm arrived in Boston for Cotton Mather. The New England Puritan gained access to the German Pietist movement through the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), of which fellow New Englander Henry Newman was member and secretary for over thirty years. Mather, like Francke, was a corresponding member — drawn into the ecumenical, practical theology of London's most influential religious society. That Mather would engage at all with Lutherans and Anglicans across the sea is striking, for Mather hardly tolerated non-Congregationalists in New England. Perhaps the great physical distance reduced the appearance of spiritual distance. Still, as Richard Lovelace asked, how could the theologically precise Puritan divine seek cooperation, and even unity with other Christian parties, “on the basis of a vital piety and a very minimal creed?”<sup>1</sup> The answer has political, personal, and religious dimensions.

Politically, New England had recently experienced a dramatic shift in its internal and external identities in the wake of the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89. Colonial Puritans greeted the downfall of James II, a Catholic, and the subsequent elevation of

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Lovelace, *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather: Origins of American Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian University Press, 1979), 40-41.

William and Mary as acts of God. Mather, in particular, rejoiced that “*the great God hath of late raised up such a Defence to the Protestant Religion and Interest abroad in the World.*”<sup>2</sup> William was welcomed as a Protestant emperor who would lead “his empire as a global force to defend true religion against popery.”<sup>3</sup> This paradigm shift in England brought New England out of its Puritan era into its “new cultural identity of the Protestant interest.”<sup>4</sup> The elites of Massachusetts Bay shed some of their provincialism in exchange for solidarity with Protestants everywhere against the global Catholic threat. Once Francke established his Foundations in the 1690s, the Halle Pietists would become a valuable ally in this global religious confrontation.

As the urgency of this conflict grew, Mather situated himself at the “intersection of regional concerns, colonial self-consciousness, and cosmopolitan aspiration.”<sup>5</sup> The “self-appointed spokesman for New England” sought to raise New England’s profile among the intelligentsia across the Atlantic, who tended to perceive colonial Americans “as backward, uncouth, and incapable of cultural or scholarly accomplishments.”<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Cotton Mather, *The wonderful works of God commemorated. Praises bespoke for the God in heaven in a thanksgiving sermon; delivered on Decemb. 19. 1689. Containing just reflections upon the excellent things done by the great God, more generally in creation and redemption, and in the government of the world; but more particularly in the remarkable revolutions of providence which are every where the matter of present observation. With a postscript giving an account of some very stupendous accidents, which have lately happened in France* (Boston: Printed by S. Green & sold by Joseph Browning at the corner of the Prison Lane, and Benj. Harris at the London Coffee-House, 1690), i, Evans Early American Imprints, 0F301578532E33B8.

<sup>3</sup> Owen Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed: English America in the Age of the Glorious Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 121.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas S. Kidd, *The Protestant Interest: New England after Puritanism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 16.

<sup>5</sup> Jan Stievermann, “Cotton Mather and ‘Biblia Americana’ – America’s First Bible Commentary: General Introduction,” in *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana: America’s First Bible Commentary, Essays in Reappraisal*, ed. Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2010), 25.

<sup>6</sup> Stievermann, “Cotton Mather and ‘Biblia Americana’,” 26.

Mather's most enduring defense of New Englanders took shape in the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, in which he detailed the ecclesiastical history of the region from its founding in 1620 through 1698. The text, widely considered his *magnum opus*, received a warm welcome in London, and also made its way to Halle, for the more immediate way to assert New England's intellectual sophistication was to engage "the most spiritual movement of his middle years, that of Halle Pietism."<sup>7</sup>

The exact beginnings and tenor of the correspondence between the Puritan and the Pietists has been the subject of intense academic debate, but its contours illuminate the level to which Mather desired to imitate the Halle model in comparison with his actual success.<sup>8</sup> The first extant letter from Mather to Francke was dated 1711, though scholars have believed Mather's first interaction with Halle was as early as 1702.<sup>9</sup> Regardless of the initiation of the correspondence, the relationship was kept alive by Anthony William Boehm in London, who worked tirelessly to promote Francke's activities to the Protestant world in which Mather represented New England Puritanism.<sup>10</sup> Boehm's most significant contribution was his translation and promotion of *Pietas Hallensis*, which detailed Francke's efforts toward universal social reform through education.

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<sup>7</sup> W.R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 273-4.

<sup>8</sup> For more on the shape and significance of the Boston-Halle connections, see: Kuno Francke, "The Beginnings of Cotton Mather's Correspondence with August Hermann Francke," *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. 5, (Jan. 1926), 193-195; Ernst Benz, "Ecumenical Relations between Boston Puritanism and German Pietism: Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke," *The Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 54, no. 3 (July 1961): 159-193; Wolfgang Splitter, "The Fact and Fiction of Cotton Mather's Correspondence with German Pietist August Hermann Francke," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 83, no. 1 (March 2010): 102-122.

<sup>9</sup> Lovelace, *American Pietism*, 32.

<sup>10</sup> Oliver Scheiding, "The World as Parish: Cotton Mather, August Hermann Francke, and Transatlantic Religious Networks," in *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana*, 134-35.

Boehm's promotional efforts exceeded his expectations, for Mather was predisposed toward Francke's active piety. Puritanism and Pietism were similarly motivated by millenarian impulses to usher in the last days by spreading the gospel of Jesus Christ. Some scholars such as F.E. Stoeffler characterized Mather's Puritanism and Francke's Pietism as branches of the same movement. Others, such as Richard Lovelace, view the two as closely related but fundamentally different ideologies.<sup>11</sup> Following from this, Lovelace asserted that Mather's charitable activities emanated from his Puritan background and would likely have remained the same without Pietist influence. Nevertheless, Mather understood that "American Puritanism had some catching up to do with German Pietism" in this area.<sup>12</sup> He pointed to Halle as the leading exemplar of Christian activity, with particular emphasis on "the social impact of Francke's work in the orphanage, the schools, and colleges where 'still Piety is the main Concern.'"<sup>13</sup>

Though he engaged with the entirety of Francke's massive enterprise, Mather's attempts at implementing the Halle model were restricted to imitations of the orphan house and the divinity training in the university. At the time that Mather began corresponding with Francke, the educational picture in New England was gloomy in the eyes of the Puritan divine who asserted in 1710 that the "Countrey [was] perishing for want of [Education]; they are sinking apace into Barbarism and all Wickedness."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> F.E. Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1971); Lovelace, *American Pietism*, 35-7.

<sup>12</sup> Briraj Singh, "'One Soul, tho' not one Soyl'? International Protestantism and Ecumenism at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 31 (2002): 70.

<sup>13</sup> Lovelace, *American Pietism*, 227-8.

<sup>14</sup> Cotton Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather: Volume 2, 1709-1724* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1957), 51, HathiTrust.



Educationally, New England was not experiencing a decline, per se; rather, it was a shift away from the classical, deeply religious education that dominated the region since the 1640s. The “Old Deluder Satan Law” of 1647 required that every town either needed to provide a school for its students or cooperate with a neighboring town to procure education for its children. On top of this basic requirement, towns with 50 families or more were required to provide a teacher for instruction in reading, writing, and Latin.<sup>15</sup> On average, students attended these “grammar schools” for seven years between the ages of seven and fourteen. In that time, boys trained in the classical languages that prepared them for the entrance examinations for Harvard, where they either pursued service to the state or to the church. To Mather, this pipeline was invaluable to the spiritual health of the region.

By the 1660s, some New Englanders started to question whether their children needed the flourishes of a classical education. Most children needed to learn skills, not languages. Some colonists resisted paying for the maintenance of grammar schools.<sup>16</sup> By 1666, grammar schoolmasters like Ezekiel Cheever were petitioning that his students’ parents repair the dilapidated schoolhouse and “take care that his yearly salary be paid.” Twenty years later, Cheever sought redress in an appeal to Sir Edmund Andros, the governor of the Dominion of New England, regarding the “satisfaction of [fifty-five

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<sup>15</sup> Patrick Michael O’Donnel, “Old Deluder Satan Law,” in *Encyclopedia of Educational Reform and Dissent*, edited by Thomas C. Hunt, James C. Carper, Thomas J. Lasley II & C. Daniel Raisch (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc., 2010), 676, SAGE Journals Online.

<sup>16</sup> Jon Teaford, “The Transformation of Massachusetts Education, 1670-1780,” *History of Education Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (1970): 287-90. JSTOR.

pounds,] the want of which would fall heavy upon me in my old age.”<sup>17</sup> The General Court vigilantly pursued justice for teachers like Cheever as it denied pleas for suspension of school laws while collecting five-pound fines from towns failing to comply.

Mather’s dismay at the treatment of teachers like Cheever emerged in stark relief in his funeral sermon for Cheever, his childhood tutor, who died in August 1708. The sermon, *Corderius Americanus*, not only asserted the presence of an American intelligentsia, but it also drew a direct comparison from Cheever to Corderius, John Calvin’s Latin tutor. Like Corderius, Cheever produced formidable clerics for New England’s churches. His extensive career gave him an opportunity to send forth many *Belazeels* and *Aholiabs* for the Service of the *Tabernacle*.<sup>18</sup> Without teachers like Cheever or the grammar schools in which he served, the Congregationalist churches of Massachusetts Bay faced a lack of leadership in the future. Near the end of *Corderius Americanus*, Mather wistfully looked eastward to the “wondrous *Rule of Education*, lately published and practiced, in the *Wonder of the World*, the School of *Glaucha* near Hall in the Lower Saxony.”<sup>19</sup> Francke’s network of institutions, but in particular the orphan house, was a powerful example of a school where poor children learned pious

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<sup>17</sup> Henry Barnard, *Biographical Sketch of Ezekiel Cheever: With Notes on the Free Schools and Early School-Books of New England* (Hartford, CT: For sale by F.C. Brownwell, 1856), 10, 20-1, HathiTrust.

<sup>18</sup> Cotton Mather, *Corderius Americanus: An Essay Upon the Good Education of Children and what may Hopefully be Attempted for the Hope of the Flock. In a Funeral Sermon upon Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, the ancient and honourable master of the Free-School in Boston...With an Elegy and an Epitaph upon him* (Boston, MA: Printed by John Allen for Nicholas Boone, 1708), 22, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CY0102231808.

<sup>19</sup> Mather, *Corderius Americanus*, 23.

disciplines along with practical skills, and talented boys could rise above their station to become pastors, theologians, and scholars.

In the years preceding and succeeding Cheever's death, Mather called for the erection and support of "CHARITY SCHOOLS, for the education of *poor Children*," that might be "a precious Opportunity of Good unto many Children."<sup>20</sup> He recorded visitations to charity schools as well as his own work housing orphans and educating free blacks. Unfortunately, any academic analysis of these institutions is difficult due to the lack of records outside of Mather's own publications. Assuming that the Halle model failed, one can surmise that it did so because Mather did not have the benefit of an international donor base, nor did he enjoy the affections of political power — two factors that kept Francke's institutions afloat in their early years. Based on his chastisement of Bostonians in Cheever's funeral sermon, financial infeasibility certainly played a role. The deeply religious education of the poor children of Massachusetts Bay had been subjected to public scrutiny for nearly five decades. As the public turned away from this kind of education, so too did Boston's city council which stopped enforcing laws surrounding educational funding.<sup>21</sup> In a more personal slight, when Bostonians appointed a committee to visit and inspect the local grammar schools, they failed to include any ministers. Mather's reaction could be counted as rather amicable; he merely remarked that he "would unite Counsils with a learned, pious, honourable Visitor of the School."<sup>22</sup> His father Increase took offense, claiming that the committee "has been a great disrespect

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<sup>20</sup> Cotton Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather, Volume 1, 1681-1709* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1957), 530, HathiTrust; Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather, Vol. 2*, 24.

<sup>21</sup> Teaford, "The Transformation of Massachusetts Education," 296.

<sup>22</sup> Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather, Vol. 2*, 49.

& Contempt put upon (not me but) all the Ministers in Boston.”<sup>23</sup> Whatever the reason, it is clear that Mather’s plan to put piety in the schools and raise up the next generation of ministers was unpopular among some of Boston’s influential leaders.

Concerns for the education available in Massachusetts Bay extended from the grammar schools all the way to Mather’s beloved Harvard. Here too, Francke’s model shined as a beacon of hope as liberalizing forces took hold within the college’s leadership. In the same year as Cheever’s death, Harvard elected its first non-clerical president, John Leverett. Mather took the news poorly as it not only deprived him of the post in favor of a sworn enemy, but it also marked a shift in Harvard’s priorities.<sup>24</sup> When it opened in 1636, Harvard’s founders believed that “unless New England had a school where Latin and the literary culture of the classics were the substance of instruction, they would be ministering illiterately to the churches.”<sup>25</sup> Upon Leverett’s nomination to the post, Mather furiously wrote to William Denison, a representative in the colony’s General Court “That, to make a Lawyer, & one who never affected the study of Divinity, a President for a Colledge of Divines, will be a very Preposterous thing.”<sup>26</sup> At the turn of

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<sup>23</sup> Increase Mather to Samuel Sewall, April 24 1710, in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1871-1873*, vol. 12 (Boston: The Society, 1891-1997), 370, HathiTrust.

<sup>24</sup> Mather and Leverett both attended Cheever’s grammar school, where Mather often fell victim to “scoffs and blows” from classmates. Mather biographer Rick Kennedy points to Leverett as a likely bully. Rick Kennedy, *The First American Evangelical: A Short Life of Cotton Mather* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2015), 14.

<sup>25</sup> David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 32.

<sup>26</sup> Cotton Mather to William Denison, October or November 1707, Papers of John Leverett, UA1 15.866, box 6, f. 6, Harvard University Archives; previously published, with some transcribal errors, in Morison, *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 552-3, in Kenneth P. Minkema, “Reforming Harvard: Cotton Mather on Education at Cambridge,” *The New England Quarterly* vol. 57, no. 2 (June 2014): 327.

the eighteenth century, the quality of Harvard's education came into question for theological conservatives like Mather.

Even before Leverett's election, Mather expressed concern at the college's trajectory. His 1707 "Important Points, relating to the Education at Harvard-Colledge; needful to be enquired into, præpared and humbly offered, by Some who have newly pass'd thro' the first four years of their being there," served as a "just Matter of Enquiry, among those, who would not see the greatest Interest of the Countrey sacrificed; and the Churches betray'd."<sup>27</sup> He offered twelve rhetorical questions to interrogate the theological rigor available to students, wondering "Whether the Speaking of Latin, ha's not been so discountenanced," or "Whether the Tutors, ever confer with their Pupils, about their Interiour State."<sup>28</sup> Latin was not just an intellectual exercise, but it served a specific spiritual purpose. Mather confided to his diary that he hoped young boys might "turn into Latin such things as may befriend the Interests of Christianity, in their Hearts and Lives."<sup>29</sup> More important than the speaking of Latin was the state of the souls of Harvard's students, which Mather believed to be suffering from neglect.

The worries of the "Important Points" were validated throughout John Leverett's tenure, as the university came under public scrutiny for the rowdy behavior of its students. Harvard became the target of attacks from the Franklins, who lambasted the college in the *New-England Courant* for its production of "great Block-heads as ever,

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<sup>27</sup> Cotton Mather, "Important Points, relating to the Education at Harvard College," box 5, folder, 8, Mather Family Papers, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., in Minkema, "Reforming Harvard," 322.

<sup>28</sup> Mather, "Important Points," in Minkema, "Reforming Harvard," 323-24.

<sup>29</sup> Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, Vol. 2, 50.

only more proud and self-conceited.”<sup>30</sup> Despite the school’s deteriorating reputation, Mather enrolled his son Samuel in 1719, but not before writing him a set of instructions. To avoid the rampant impiety, Mather exhorted his son to pray and read the Scriptures often, to “Look on *Idleness* as no better than *wickedness*,” to have constant self-examination, to find a companion to engage in “the *latin tongue*.”<sup>31</sup> Young Samuel emerged unscathed and entered the ministry, but Harvard remained unchanged until Leverett’s death in 1724 presented a new hope to Mather, who believed that “the sudden Death of that unhappy Man, who sustained the Place of President in our Colledge, will open a Door for my doing of singular Services to the Best of Interests.”<sup>32</sup> With an honorary doctorate, a fellowship in the Royal Society, and an impressive list of interdisciplinary publications, Mather confidently assumed himself to be a strong candidate.

His diary entries for the days following Leverett’s death reflected Hallensian style reforms “for the Animation and Inflammation of PIETY among the young Men...and establish them in the *Faith and Order of the Gospel* in which the Churches of *New England*, have their Beauty and Safety.”<sup>33</sup> Yet, Mather’s confidence was no match against the Corporation of the College, who selected Benjamin Wadsworth in 1725. Like Harvard, Halle had recently dealt with secularizing parties that steered students toward

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<sup>30</sup> Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 61, quoted in Minkema, *Reforming Harvard*, 329.

<sup>31</sup> Cotton Mather, “Directions for a SON Going to the Colledge,” c. 1718-1719, Cotton Mather Diary and Personal Documents, 1716-c.1719, RBR M42.3 DI, Congregational Library & Archives, in Minkema, “Reforming Harvard,” 331-32.

<sup>32</sup> Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, Vol. 2, 723.

<sup>33</sup> Cotton Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, Vol. 2, 724.

rational philosophy which Francke perceived as a threat to his theology students. The divide at Halle grew so deep that students mockingly warned prospective Hallensians that they would return either as pietists or as atheists. While Halle was able to leverage the Duke of Saxony for the removal of troublesome faculty, Mather lacked such power at Harvard.<sup>34</sup> Recognizing his position, Mather turned to other methods of academic reform.

Through his bitterness, Mather resolved to aid fledgling ministers in his 1726 treatise, *Manuductio ad Ministerium: Directions for a Candidate of the Ministry*. The text was dedicated to university students in Glasgow, where he received an honorary doctorate, and New England, but the grandiose plan was “the Frederician Academy...which ought to outshine all the Academies in the World, as Pattern and Rule for the rest.”<sup>35</sup> Mather recognized his waning influence, admitting how all of New England deemed him “utterly incapable of addressing Persons of Academical Education,” but Kennerly Woody observed that Halle had gained another ally in New England by 1726. Benjamin Colman, though at one time an adversary of the Mathers, entered into correspondence with Halle by the time he was strongly considered as first choice for the presidency of Harvard.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> The removal of Christian Wolff from the theology faculty at Halle for promoting the use of human reason absent of traditional authority became a regional sensation in Prussia. For more on the Wolff affair, see Thomas Albert Howard, *Protestant Theology and the Making of the Modern German University* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 95-99. Oxford Scholarship Online.

<sup>35</sup> Cotton Mather, *Manuductio ad Ministerium, Directions for a Candidate of the Ministry. Wherein, first, a right foundation is laid for his future improvement; and then, rules are offered for such a management of his academical & preparatory studies; and thereupon, for such a conduct after his appearance in the world; as may render his a skill and useful minister of the Gospel* (Boston, MA: Printed for Thomas Hancock, and sold at his shop in Ann-Street, near the draw-bridge, 1726), 111, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW122599928.

<sup>36</sup> Kennerly M. Woody, “Cotton Mather’s ‘Manuductio ad Theologiam’: The ‘More Quiet and Hopeful Way’,” *Early American Literature*, 4, no. 2 (Fall 1969): 6.

The proposed changes attacked the curricular reforms, but Mather did not shy away from critiquing Harvard's methods as well. Woody suggested that Mather borrowed from Francke's 1723 *Methodus studii theoligici*, a series of lectures drawing on the works of Johan Gerhard and Joachim Lange. Mather did not receive printings of the lectures, though he was likely familiar with their themes and ideas. Nevertheless, Francke's *Methodus* and Mather's *Manuductio* were published with the intention of reshaping theological training, and they can serve as suitable points of comparison. Francke's work valued intellectual cultivation, but his definition of theological study centered on the nature of the heart.<sup>37</sup> Specific disciplines, like formal logic and metaphysics were downplayed insofar as their tendencies toward abstraction distracted from weightier matters. Mather took cues on the treatment of ethics from Francke, calling it "a *Vile Thing*" which "pretends to give you a Religion without Christ," though Francke made a more careful distinction between natural and supernatural ethics.<sup>38</sup>

Above all in the *Manuductio*, Mather's "Maxims of Piety," stood as the crown jewel of the proposed Halle-Harvard reform program. Woody's scholarship on the *Manuductio* helpfully traced references to such "maxims" back to 1709, in the thick of Mather's gusto for Hallensian reforms and traces their development through their finalized form in 1726. What started as a cure to religious indifference evolved into the manifesto for "ecumenical revolution" with prophetic overtones.<sup>39</sup> Reaching its zenith in 1715 and 1716, Mather's zeal for ecumenical union reached global proportions as he tried

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<sup>37</sup> Howard, *Protestant Theology and the Making of the Modern German University*, 94.

<sup>38</sup> Mather, *Manuductio*, 37; Woody, "Cotton Mather's 'Manuductio'," 10-12.

<sup>39</sup> Woody, "Cotton Mather's 'Manuductio'," 17-19.



to spread his plans for an ecumenical union to Halle, to India, to France, to Scotland, asking Boehm to have them translated in as many languages as possible. The final version in the *Manuductio* added the subordinate articles calling for the “liberties of mankind” and for all to embrace “a brotherly fellowship with all good men.”<sup>40</sup> Whether because of this amicable tone or the quality of the text, it made an impact at Harvard, as it was given to winners of the Hopkins Prize.<sup>41</sup>

Francke and Mather, who were born just weeks apart in 1663, died within months of one another in the late 1720s, marking the essential end of a generation of ecumenically-minded, practical theologians. Wolfgang Splitter, in his revisionist interpretation of this Puritan-Pietist relationship, sought to explain why the ecumenical partnership had dissolved going into the midcentury, a question that has plagued scholars since the 1960s.<sup>42</sup> The last letters between the children of these pious men crossed the ocean in the 1730s, including a Latin biography for the elder Francke from Mather’s son Samuel. Splitter explains this dissolution by undermining the intimacy of the correspondence altogether, citing the fundamental incompatibilities between the personalities and religious practices of the two men. While the outcome of dissolution is undeniable, Splitter’s analysis neglects factors external to the actual correspondence — namely, the internal shifts in Boston that rejected the Halle model, the changes in leadership at Halle, and the lack of a mediating presence in London.

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<sup>40</sup> Mather, *Manuductio*, 125, 119.

<sup>41</sup> Woody, “Cotton Mather’s ‘Manuductio’,” 6.

<sup>42</sup> Benz, “Ecumenical Relations,” 192-93; Splitter, “The Fact and Fiction,” 118; Scheiding, “The World as Parish,” 131-35.

Mather's brand of New England Puritanism with its zeal for piety and ecumenical peculiarities effectively died with Mather, if not beforehand. That Mather was unsuccessful in bringing about any reforms from Halle in Boston is more indicative of Mather's fellow Bostonians than of Mather's relationship to Francke. All of Mather's attempts at imitating the Halle model, even in modest reforms, failed either due to personal conflict or a lack of support due to public indifference. Colonial attitudes toward the education of young children shifted away from classical, religious education in favor of vocational schooling. In the second half of the century, New Englanders embraced "writing schools" that provided young boys with the penmanship and cyphering skills, effectively replacing the grammar schools that Mather sought to save. From the time of Mather's death to the 1760s, grammar school enrollment dropped by 16 percent, while writing school enrollment rose by 241 percent.<sup>43</sup> At the collegiate level, Mather's reforms for Harvard never surpassed their symbolic status. The incubator for New England Puritanism continued its shift away from the dogmatic theological education of its beginnings toward the liberal education of its future.

### *The Halle Model in Georgia*

As New England Puritanism gave way to evangelicalism, Harvard found another critic in George Whitefield who figured that the college at Cambridge was "not far superior to [English] Universities in Piety and true Godliness." Whitefield's journal entries during his visit to Cambridge in 1740 echoed Mather's complaints about tutors neglecting the souls of their pupils and the "Bad Books [becoming] fashionable amongst

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<sup>43</sup> Teaford, "The Transformation of Massachusetts Education," 299-303.

them.”<sup>44</sup> While Whitefield did not mount a campaign to save Harvard, he did share in Mather’s desire to reform education on the Franckean model. During his years at Oxford in the 1730s, Whitefield engaged Francke’s works and “hope[d] God [would] enable him in some measure to Follow that Good man’s steps. Me thinks God will one day raise a Charity School here.”<sup>45</sup> As he mused on the possibilities of starting a charity school in England, he received a request from fellow Holy-Club member John Wesley to minister on the southern frontier of the American colonies, where possibilities for evangelization seemed endless. Many of Whitefield’s friends pleaded with him not to go, but Georgia provided the perfect opportunity for the charitable endeavors that he hoped to pursue.

Unlike England’s previous colonial endeavors, the establishment of Georgia entailed more than the search for religious liberty and economic opportunity. The Trustees conceived of the colony that served as strategic border with Spanish Florida that also providing religious and economic asylum where “Liberty [was] to be establish’d there in its full Extent.”<sup>46</sup> As a moral experiment, it provided new avenues of industry for the overflow of London poor. To give colonists “the best Motive for Industry, a Possession of their own, and no Possibility of subsisting without it,” slavery was prohibited, and the Trustees instituted restrictive land possibilities that prevented the

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<sup>44</sup> George Whitefield, *A continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's journal from Savannah, June 25. 1740. to his arrival at Rhode-Island, his travels in the other governments of New-England, to his departure from Stanford for New-York* (Boston, MA: Printed by D. Fowle, for S. Kneeland and T. Green over-against the prison in Queen-Street, 1741), 55, Early American Imprints Series 1, Evans 4848.

<sup>45</sup> Whitefield’s MS Diary (1736), 8 Mar. 1736, quoted in Hindmarsh, *The Spirit of Early Evangelicalism*, 25.

<sup>46</sup> Benjamin Martin, *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, With Regard to the Trade of Great Britain, the Increase of Our People, and the Employment and Support It Will Afford to Great Numbers of Our Own Poor, as Well as Foreign Persecuted Protestants. With Some Account of the Country, and the Designs of the Trustees* (London: Printed for W. Meadows, at the Angel in Cornhill, 1733), 30, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW105133555.

development of a plantation economy.<sup>47</sup> Alongside these economic objectives the Trustees also came to the aid of continental Protestants fleeing religious persecution. On October 31, 1731, the celebrated birthday of the Protestant Reformation, the newly appointed Archbishop of Salzburg, Leopold Anton Eleutherius Freiherr von Firmian signed the Edict of Expulsion that ordered the gradual expulsion of the region's Protestants.<sup>48</sup> By the beginning of 1732, upwards of 20,000 Protestants were relocating across Europe, causing a major humanitarian crisis on the continent. The Prussian government bore the brunt of the crisis, as it spent 500,000 thalers to resettle about ninety-eight percent of the refugees. The Dutch resettled 788, while the British assumed responsibility for several hundred.<sup>49</sup>

These several hundred "Salzburgers," as they came to be called, became the cause célèbre of the Protestant world. From Germany to America, newspapers, sermons, and pamphlets detailed the sufferings of these persecuted Protestants. The financial results of the SPCK's publicity campaign allowed it to pay for the transport of refugees from Augsburg to Rotterdam as well as two accompanying ministers. The task of choosing ministers fell to Boehm's replacement as royal chaplain, Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen. He chose Johann Martin Boltzius and Israel Christian Gronau, who left their posts at the Halle orphan house to join the refugees at Rotterdam in 1733. After making a brief stop in London, the Salzburger company sailed across the Atlantic to their new lives on the

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<sup>47</sup> Martin, *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia*, 19.

<sup>48</sup> George Fenwick Jones, *The Georgia Dutch: From the Rhine and Danube to the Savannah, 1733-1783*, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 14. In a stroke of historical irony, the etymology of the Archbishop's surname, Eleutherius, is related to the Latin *liber*, meaning "free."

<sup>49</sup> Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 103-5.

southern frontier of the British empire. They settled along the Savannah River in Ebenezer, where they futilely attempted to establish a Hallensian style orphanage of their own. Records indicate that it served as little more than a boarding house with little educational activity. It quickly failed due to societal, environmental, and economic factors, but it made a lasting impact on an influential neighbor.<sup>50</sup>

Despite his extensive transatlantic travels, Whitefield never visited the Francke Foundations at Halle. His colonial mission put him in proximity to Boltzius and Gronau as the site of his future orphanage was a mere twenty-five miles from Ebenezer. Not long after his arrival in 1738, Whitefield visited the fledgling orphanage at Ebenezer and reveled in the tangible example of the Halle model, recounting that “scarce was [he] ever better pleased in [his] life.”<sup>51</sup> Over the next three years, if Whitefield was in Savannah, they would hold “sweet council together.” The itinerant’s presence in Georgia was limited as he sailed back and forth to England to receive ordination and embark on the first on many preaching tours to raise funds for his proposed orphanage. Having secured £1,200 for the land, Whitefield returned in 1740 to break ground on Bethesda, his house of mercy. Under Whitefield’s direction, schoolmaster James Habersham settled the school outside of the city to remove children from its temptations. With temporary housing in place until lasting structures could be built, Whitefield began scouring the surrounding area for orphans. By 1741, there were 58 children in the orphanage, with

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<sup>50</sup> For more on the failures of the Ebenezer orphanage, see Renate Wilson, *Halle and Ebenezer: Pietism, Agriculture and Commerce in Colonial Georgia* (College Park, MD: University of Maryland, College Park, 1988); James Van Horn Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 142-219.

<sup>51</sup> Whitefield Journal, 11 July 1738, 9 Jan 1739, 25 June 1740 (pp. 159f, 198, 437) quoted in Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 174-75.

most being "Orphans and objects of Charity, except a few who are maintained at their Friends and Parents Charge."<sup>52</sup> Over Whitefield's lifetime, it is estimated that Bethesda served over 400 children.<sup>53</sup>

Daily life at Bethesda closely followed the rigorous schedule of the Halle orphanage. Children rose at five o'clock in the mornings for their first round of prayers and singing, followed by times for work and school that were divided by mealtimes. All of the children picked cotton on the property, but Whitefield employed "a Taylor, a Joiner, a Weaver, and a Shoemaker" to provide additional vocational education for boys. While the boys learned the manual trades, the girls learned "Housewifery" from the schoolmistresses, which included such tasks as spinning, knitting, washing, and whatever might "make them serviceable whenever they go abroad." In the classroom, the children learned the basic literacy skills, as well as arithmetic and Latin. It is unclear whether the literary curriculum broke along the same gendered lines as the vocational training, though Whitefield did keep the boys in mind "with a Design of fitting them for the Ministry, if they are inclined to it."<sup>54</sup> The desire to raise orphans above their station into the ministry also came from Francke's *selectum ingeniorum*, which devoted time and resources to those with natural gifts.

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<sup>52</sup> George Whitefield, *A continuation of the account of the orphan-house in Georgia, From January 1740/1 to June 1742. To which are also subjoin'd, Some extracts from an Account of a Work of a like Nature, carried on by the late Professor Franck in Glaucha near Hall in Saxony. By George Whitefield, A. B. Late of Pembroke-College in Oxford* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Printed by T. Lumisden and J. Robertson; and sold by J. Traill Book-Seller in the Parliament-close, 1741, 13, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW106149918.

<sup>53</sup> James O'Neill Spady, "'Like the spider from the rose': Colonial Knowledge Competition and the Origins of Non-Elite Education in Georgia and South Carolina, 1700s–1820s" (PhD diss., The College of William and Mary, 2006): 107-8, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

<sup>54</sup> Whitefield, *A continuation of the account*, 15-6.

Whitefield's laudable intentions earned the scorn of some trustees, who described Bethesda as a monastery for children in which "not a moment of innocent recreation...[was] allowed in the whole day."<sup>55</sup> Samuel Fayrweather's 1748 description of the schedule testified to these claims, as children were occupied from sunrise to sunset in spiritual, vocational, and literary tasks. Lord Egmont, the president of the trustees also suspected Whitefield of turning the place into a training ground for Methodist ministers. That he desired to train boys for ministry seems innocent enough, but the devotional aspect of life at Bethesda worried staunch Anglicans. In addition to the Book of Common Prayer (BCP) Whitefield used the catechism of nonconformist Isaac Watts.<sup>56</sup> Outside of the classroom, the orphanage's spiritual director, the Presbyterian Reverend Jonathan Barber adopted a fire-and-brimstone approach in his spiritual care of the children, which Barber cataloged in his correspondence with the peripatetic Whitefield. Students rejoiced that God had not destroyed them, as they cried out with fear and trembling, "*What must we do to be saved?*"<sup>57</sup> For those that were not yet crying out to God, Rev. Barber delivered sharp reminders of their own prideful, devilish natures — for the path to true conversion was paved with reminders of one's sins. While this reflects the Hallensian path of breaking down the will, it rejects the Lockean approach that was popular among Anglican schoolmasters in England earlier in the century.

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<sup>55</sup> Lord Egmont, *Journal*, in Edward J. Cashin, *Beloved Bethesda: A History of George Whitefield's Home for Boys, 1740-2000*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2001), 43.

<sup>56</sup> Lilla Mills Hawes, "A Description of Whitefield's Bethesda: Samuel Fayrweather to Thomas Prince and Thomas Foxcroft," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 45, no. 4 (December 1961): 365-66.

<sup>57</sup> Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Account*, 5, 6, 11, and 17.

The harshness at Bethesda was not for its own sake, as Whitefield sought to bring his orphans to Christ. His promotional publications portrayed the orphanage as a “family,” with Whitefield serving as the doting, if often absent father. The poor, precious lambs of Bethesda sat at the center of Whitefield’s ministry, but not all could see things this way. His relationship with the trustees deteriorated as a power struggle ensued over the orphanage. Whitefield assumed he could run Bethesda on his terms, given that he had raised thousands of pounds for it. What Whitefield failed to realize was that the same grandiose venture that gave him the opportunity to build Bethesda gave the trustees authority over Bethesda, over its property holdings, over its economic dealings, and its ability to take in children. Lord Egmont felt that Whitefield was too much of a firebrand to run Bethesda, though the trustees did see its value to the colony despite its foolish director. The frustration with the trustees nearly led Whitefield to move his operation to Philadelphia, but tensions simmered down as the trustees’ attentions turned to war with Spanish Florida.<sup>58</sup>

As war brought financial calamity to Georgia in the later 1740s, Whitefield clashed once more with the trustees; in this case, over the issue of slavery. From its inception, the colony of Georgia banned slavery in an effort to encourage honest work among its impoverished white settlers. This fact did not stop Whitefield from hoping for its legalization, as he dealt with consistent debt on behalf of the orphanage. Donations rolled in steadily from Whitefield’s preaching tours, and as one would find in Francke’s *Pietas Hallensis*, Whitefield’s accounts listed donors and various gifts received for

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<sup>58</sup> Thomas S. Kidd, *George Whitefield: America’s Spiritual Founding Father* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 101-2. JSTOR.



Bethesda. Nevertheless, Whitefield's financial practices elicited the ire of his critics, just as his managerial practices did. To protect his reputation, he opened his 1742 account with the following defense: "There has not been one Part of my outward Conduct, as I know of, passed unobserved and uncensured by wicked and unreasonable Men: But what seems to have given them the greatest Offence, and caused the loudest Outcry, has been my making publick collections for an Orphan-House in *Georgia*."<sup>59</sup> The thousands of pounds collected at his speaking engagements raised eyebrows. Some questioned the practices of the institution, suggesting that Bethesda suffered poor conditions as Whitefield enjoyed his wealth. Others denied the orphanage's existence altogether.

The orphanage remained afloat through the 1740s, despite the levels of debt its operations generated. During this season of financial trouble, Whitefield remarked that while "the boys and some hired servants tended the land, the whole enterprise was "impracticable without a few Negroes."<sup>60</sup> The following year, he claimed that "if the Colony is allowed Negroes, as 'tis thought it must and will be, they can, with about twenty Negroes to manure the Plantation...raise much more Provision than a larger Family than this can expend."<sup>61</sup> He learned how much slaves could produce when he received a gift of slaves and a plantation called Providence, in South Carolina in 1747.<sup>62</sup> Through these interactions, Whitefield also came to believe that slavery was the God-

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<sup>59</sup> Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Account*, 3.

<sup>60</sup> George Whitefield and James Wright, *An Account of Monies Received and Disbursed for the Orphan-House in Georgia*, (London, Printed by W. Strahan for T. Cooper at the Globe in Pater-noster-row, and sold by R. Hett at the Bible and Crown in the Poultry, 1741) 5, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CY0106184416.

<sup>61</sup> Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Account*, 16.

<sup>62</sup> Kidd, *George Whitefield*, 199-200.

given means for the salvation of souls in Georgia as it would increase the opportunity for the evangelization of slaves. The Hallensians at Ebenezer challenged Whitefield on this point for years, citing the barbarous treatment slaves typically received from their Christian masters. The Salzburgers continually protested attempts to legalize slavery, as they held fast to the moral underpinnings of the Georgian trusteeship. Nevertheless, appeals for slavery's legalization finally wore on the trustees, and the ban was lifted in 1750.<sup>63</sup>

The trusteeship formally ended in 1752, and Georgia became a royal colony. Whitefield was mostly absent from Bethesda throughout most of the 1750s, but this did not mean he had lost affection for the family in Georgia. In his later years Whitefield attempted to reverse the Hallensian order of building an orphan house adjacent to a university as he vigorously pursued plans for Bethesda College. This expansion of the orphan-house became the driving project of Whitefield's final years, though it had long been a feature of his plans. The financial instability of both the orphanage and the colony, years of travel, and nearly constant conflict immobilized any serious progress. When he returned to an economically stable, peaceful Georgia in the 1760s, he revived these dormant plans. Whitefield submitted an official design in 1764 to the colonial magistrates, where friend and former Bethesda schoolmaster James Habersham now served as the president of the upper house. The proposal's economic, cultural, and political appeals were met with open arms. Not only would transforming Bethesda into a college "render the institution...more extensively useful" and keep funds from leaving

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<sup>63</sup> Philippa Koch, "Slavery, Mission, and the Perils of Providence in Eighteenth-Century Christianity: The Writings of Whitefield and the Halle Pietists" *Church History* 84, no. 2 (June 2015): 382-5.

the colony, it would also make “further provision for the education of persons of superior rank, who thereby may be qualified to serve their king, their country, and their God, either in church or state.”<sup>64</sup> The ability of the southern colonies to produce political leaders and more importantly, clergymen, was hampered by the lack of proximal educational institutions. Mark Noll amplified this problem in *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, noting that “the physical scope of ministerial responsibilities was beyond British imagining — many southern clergy were responsible for more territory than many British bishops.” While potential clergy still faced the dangerous voyage to London for ordination, the presence of a college would not be an insignificant boost to the established church in the south.<sup>65</sup>

It appeared that nothing could hamper the progress of Bethesda College, but Whitefield’s momentum came to a halt over the issue of a royal charter. Whitefield did not need a charter to open a public academy but having one would lend public credibility. A charter would also secure the two thousand acres of land that Whitefield requested from King George III. He was prepared to contribute his own funds along with "lands, negroes, goods and chattels" that he possessed in Georgia, but it would not be enough.<sup>66</sup> After gaining colonial approval, Whitefield traveled to England to rally support. Lord Dartmouth, a friend of Whitefield's, could have been a powerful ally had he not

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<sup>64</sup> George Whitefield, *A letter to his Excellency Governour Wright, Giving an Account Of the Steps taken relative to the Converting The Georgia Orphan-House into a College. Together with the Literary Correspondence that Passed upon that Subject, Between his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Reverend Mr. Whitefield* (London: Printed, Charlestown, Re-printed and Sold by Robert Wells, at the Old Printing House, Great Stationary and Book Shop, 1768), 6. Evans Early American Imprints, Series I Evans, (1639-1800) Evans 10803.

<sup>65</sup> Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield, and the Wesleys* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 43, Google Books.

<sup>66</sup> Whitefield, *A letter to his Excellency*, 7.

resigned his post as head of the Board of Trade in 1766. Such a loss was compounded by the difficulty in appealing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Secker. Whitefield had long criticized the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) of which Secker was once head.

If the personal hurdles were not enough, Whitefield made matters worse in his choice of model charter. He pointed to the precedent of the 1746 charter of the College of New Jersey, which stated that “every religious profession [would] have equal privilege and advantage of education in the said college.”<sup>67</sup> Though the college was primarily a Presbyterian endeavor, the school existed to provide education in the liberal arts and sciences to students of any religious background so long as they behaved. Whitefield desired to have the college founded upon a “*Broad Bottom, and no other.*”<sup>68</sup> Giving the school a broadly Protestant character harked back to the days of ecumenical cooperation hosted by the SPCK, which served as “an institutional venue to unite diverse Protestants within and beyond Britain in the cause of promoting their shared faith, despite the theological, ecclesiastical, or political boundaries that divided them.”<sup>69</sup> By the 1760s, this golden age was now merely a shadow. The spirit of renewal in the Anglican church that gave wide berth to nonconformity in the earlier part of the century had departed. Secker’s rejection of two Nonconformist collegiate charters in the same period had not gotten through to Whitefield, who proposed to dispense with the requirements that the head of

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<sup>67</sup> Princeton University, *The charter and by-laws of the trustees of the College of New Jersey: together with a statement concerning the original charter, and the rules of order of the board* (Philadelphia: s.n., 1892), 7.

<sup>68</sup> Whitefield, *A letter to his Excellency*, 16. Emphasis in original.

<sup>69</sup> Katherine Carté Engel, “The SPCK and the American Revolution: The Limits of International Protestantism,” *Church History*, 81, no. 1 (March 2012): 84.

the college be a member of the church of England and the use of the Book of Common Prayer. His appeals to the “mild and uncoercive genius of the English government” and “moderation toward Protestant dissenters” ultimately fell flat as Secker consolidated the Church’s control.<sup>70</sup>

After a flurry of disappointing correspondence with the Archbishop, Whitefield informed Governor Wright in 1768 of his intentions to open a public academy at Bethesda, obviating the need for the elusive charter. Yet, that too was not to be. Whitefield’s death two years later put the plan into a trust containing the proviso “that no opportunity shall be omitted of making fresh application for a College charter, upon a *broad bottom*, wherever those in power shall think it for the glory of God and the interest of their King and country to grant the same.”<sup>71</sup> Whitefield’s patron, the Countess of Huntingdon inherited the trust, though there was not much worth inheriting aside from Whitefield’s lofty ideas. James Habersham served as executor, and as he sifted through Whitefield’s papers, he found that the orphanage was in severe financial distress. As a philanthropist and religious figure in her own right, the Countess steered the sinking ship from London. Though never having visited the colony, she believed it would serve as an excellent base for missionaries to the region’s indigenous peoples. She supplied workers and funds to keep the school afloat, but her plans were thwarted by a fire at the orphanage, the American Revolution, and traitorous staff. Through these disasters, she maintained the orphanage but plans for the college lost all hope. Inconsistent leadership

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<sup>70</sup> Whitefield, *A letter to His Excellency*, 16.

<sup>71</sup> Whitefield, *A letter to His Excellency*, 20.

plagued Bethesda orphanage until her death in 1791, which released the property to a Board of Trustees in 1792 before its dissolution in 1809.<sup>72</sup>

### *The Halle Model among Native American Tribes*

As George Whitefield toured the American colonies touting his beloved Bethesda, another itinerant preacher in Connecticut was preparing to adopt the same Hallensian strategy to reach neighboring Native tribes. Eleazar Wheelock was born in 1711 to a Congregational minister in Windham, Connecticut. Having excelled in his studies at Yale, he assumed a pastorate at Second Congregational Church in Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1735 before rising as an itinerant star of the Great Awakening in the early 1740s. The strains of constant absence wore on his relationship with his congregation, such that he was eventually released from his pastoral obligations. To support his financial needs, Wheelock turned to tutoring local students, specifically to prepare them for college.<sup>73</sup> Wheelock's strategy fell in line with the other American attempts at the Halle model, but Wheelock's story differed insofar as he likely did not claim Hallensian influence. The likelier explanation for historians' connection of Wheelock to Halle is that the connection was only later made and popularized by the Society in Scotland for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) in an effort to raise funds for their broader project of evangelizing North American Indians.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Molly C. Davis, "The Countess of Huntingdon and Whitefield's Bethesda," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (Spring 1972): 72-82.

<sup>73</sup> John B. Frantz, "Wheelock, Eleazar (1711-1779) Congregationalist minister and educator in America," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004; accessed 8 May 2020.

<sup>74</sup> That Wheelock did not concede or claim his transatlantic influences has been suggested in Edward E. Andrews, "Prodigal Sons: Indigenous Missions in the British Atlantic World, 1640-1780" (PhD diss., University of New Hampshire, 2009), 313, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

The course of Wheelock's life changed when a young Mohegan named Samson Occom approached Wheelock in 1743 for assistance with classical learning. Occom converted after hearing revivalist James Davenport preach, and his piety and intellectual aptitude warmed Wheelock to the idea of educating and evangelizing of New England's regional tribes.<sup>75</sup> Wheelock was not the first colonist to establish schools among the Native tribes. However, Wheelock's approach was part of a shift in thinking about the ends and means of those schools. Before the Great Awakening New Englanders had enjoyed varying degrees of success in evangelization. Linford Fisher asserts that there were three waves of Indian educational evangelization, with Wheelock falling in the third.<sup>76</sup> The first wave, brought about by John Eliot in the 1660s, presented hopes that Indian youths might be able to integrate with Englishmen at all levels of education. King Philip's War in the following decade quickly dashed such hopes. Prominent pastors, such as Cotton Mather and Solomon Stoddard, lamented that they had taken such "little care of the Heathen" in their own region, as missionaries from Roman Catholic nations scattered across the globe in search of souls to convert.<sup>77</sup> As Father Rale's War loomed on the horizon in the 1720s, a second wave of Indian evangelistic educational attempts swept across New England from the 1710s through the 1730s, when the Society in Scotland for

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<sup>75</sup> Thomas S. Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 206-7. JSTOR.

<sup>76</sup> Linford D. Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 138, Oxford Scholarship Online.

<sup>77</sup> Kidd, *The Protestant Interest*, 104-5.

the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) began to pour its financial energies toward Protestant missions among Indians in the North American colonies.<sup>78</sup>

The revivals of the Great Awakening brought discouraging results to evangelists who had hoped to see substantial behavioral transformation among their converts. These failures created a new resolve among eager evangelists who hoped to win the souls of those born in the midst of revival “while simultaneously reforming their elders.”<sup>79</sup> Two educators pursued a boarding school approach that “sought to [provide] nothing less than a totalizing, civilizing transformation.”<sup>80</sup> The first was John Sergeant, whose previous work among the Housatonics of Stockbridge, Massachusetts had resulted in discouragement at their perceived inability to change. John Sergeant’s attempt at an Indian boarding school, while popular among English missionary societies, was relatively short-lived in light of Sergeant’s early death in 1749. Despite the attempts of prominent men such as Jonathan Edwards and Elisha Williams to maintain the operation, the school ceased to exist after a fire destroyed its facilities in 1753. In the same year, Wheelock announced his “Grand Design” to instruct Indians in “Read<sup>g</sup> Writing & all Liberal Arts & Sciences & Especially in y<sup>e</sup> Knowledg and Practise of Christianity and be fitted for y<sup>e</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Laura M. Stevens, “The Souls of Highlanders, the Salvation of Indians: Scottish Mission and Eighteenth-Century British Empire,” in *Native Americans, Christianity, and the Reshaping of the American Religious Landscape*, ed. by Joel W. Martin and Mark A. Nichols (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 184-5. Also see: Frederick V. Mills Sr. “The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge in British North America, 1730-1775,” *Church History* 63, no. 1 (Mar. 1994): 15-30.

<sup>79</sup> Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening*, 139.

<sup>80</sup> Wheelock, *Continuation of the Narrative* (1773), 12-13, quoted in James Axtell, “Dr. Wheelock’s Little Red School,” in *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*, ed. James Axtell (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 99. ACLS Humanities Ebook.



Gospel Ministry in Such of them whose parts and Dispositions sho<sup>d</sup> Invite us to it.”<sup>81</sup> By the time he proposed this design, he had seen its potential fruits in Occom, who took up a teaching position in Long Island, where he was well regarded, if poorly compensated.<sup>82</sup> Occom’s success in conjunction with the previous failures of English missionaries lent promise to the idea that “Native missionaries could most effectively and inexpensively reach fellow Indians with the gospel.”<sup>83</sup>

Wheelock opened Moor’s Indian Charity School in 1754 after Joshua More of Mansfield, Connecticut, donated £500 and “a part of his large Estate to such a Purpose.”<sup>84</sup> The first two students hailed from New Jersey and New York, where SSPCK missionary John Brainerd went recruiting. Over its fifteen operating years, Moor’s educated sixty-five boys and girls, mostly between the ages of eleven and fourteen. Most students were either Algonquin or Iroquois, though other tribes were represented. Once in the doors, children began learning basic literacy skills through the English alphabet and grammar, the Westminster Short Catechism, and arithmetic. Those who were able progressed to “the pastoral classics of ancient Greece and Rome.”<sup>85</sup> On top of their book learning, students learned English oratory, customs, and dress, but through all this, they were encouraged to keep their tribes languages so they could return to their tribes and

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<sup>81</sup> Eleazar Wheelock to Andrew Oliver, 1756, The Occom Circle, 75900.1, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, <https://collections.dartmouth.edu/occom/html/diplomatic/756900-1-diplomatic.html>.

<sup>82</sup> Eleazar Wheelock to Samson Occom, September 6, 1749, The Occom Circle, 749506, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, <https://collections.dartmouth.edu/occom/html/diplomatic/749506-diplomatic.html>.

<sup>83</sup> Kidd, *The Great Awakening*, 207.

<sup>84</sup> Wheelock to Oliver, 1756.

<sup>85</sup> Axtell, “Dr. Wheelock’s Little Red School,” 99.

start their own churches and schools. This aspect of the school's mission was reinforced in its education for Native girls, who were sent to apprentice with English women to learn "the Female Part as House-wives, School mistresses, [and] Tayloresses" so as to be the proper helpmates to their teaching and preaching husbands.<sup>86</sup>

For all that Wheelock had hoped to accomplish with Moor's, the only goal to meet any true success was the creation of Native ministers. By 1766, Wheelock could boast of at least five Indian men ministering among the tribes whom he had taught for a season at Moor's. David Fowler enjoyed a position at a large school among the Oneidas, while Joseph Wolley and Hezekiah Calvin taught among the Delawares and Mohawks, respectively. Joseph Brant, a Mohawk, desired to teach and served as an interpreter to the English missionary Jacob Fowler served with the English in "some remote Nation." In addition to these five men, another younger group of five "had under them One hundred twenty seven *Indian Children*" at their posts under the English missionaries. Had they been of age, they would have established their own schools.<sup>87</sup> Subscribers delighted reading these narratives. Wheelock published nine successive editions of *Narratives of the Indian Charity School* that typically included "lists of donors, letters of endorsement, and accounts of students' missionary ventures."<sup>88</sup> These *Narratives*, published in the colonies as well as in Britain, thanked readers for their donations while assuring them

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<sup>86</sup> Eleazar Wheelock, *A plain and faithful Narrative of the Original Design, Rise, Progress and present State of the Indian Charity-School at Lebanon, in Connecticut* (Boston: Printed by Richard and Samuel Draper, in Newbury-Street, 1763), 15, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CY0100552433.

<sup>87</sup> Wheelock, *A Brief Narrative*, 30-3.

<sup>88</sup> Laura M. Stevens, "'Of snatching captive souls from satan's paws': A Fundraising Poem for Wheelock's Charity School," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 107, no. 3 (September 2013): 379.

that their donations were effective. In addition to the subscribing donors, such as Thomas Gage and William Franklin, about whom one could read in the *Narratives*, Moor's also drew support from the Scottish sister to the SPCK, the SSPCK. The SSPCK popularized its support for Moor's in *The Scots Magazine*, in which its representatives remarked that the school "was begun and carried on with the same spirit with which the late Rev. and eminent Professor Franck founded the present famous orphan-house at Halle in Germany."<sup>89</sup> One year after this advertisement, the SSPCK received a letter from the late professor's son, G.A. Francke, who received "double Satisfaction that even from *Germany* some Benefaction is made for promoting the Kingdom of Christ among the North American Indians."<sup>90</sup> While the letter made no recognition of the institution's familiarity to Halle, Francke was delighted to pass along a donation from a woman familiar with the accounts.

The SSPCK also offered logistical support, in addition to its financial and literary endeavors. When Wheelock's students, John and Tobias Shattock and Samson Occom visited in the late 1760s the organization gave them a warm welcome. With the support of Wheelock, George Whitefield, and Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, the Shattock brothers journeyed to London and Edinburgh on behalf of the Narragansett Tribe to plead before the Privy Council in defense of their tribal lands. While Tobias died of smallpox in Edinburgh, John survived to petition King George III,

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<sup>89</sup> The Society in Scotland for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, "Recommendation in favour of the Academy established by Mr. Eleazar Wheelock, of Lebanon, in Connecticut, in New England, for the education of Indian missionaries," *The Scots Magazine*, 1739-1802 29 (June 1767): 283. ProQuest.

<sup>90</sup> "Extract of a Letter from the Reverend Dr G.A. Francke of Halle in Saxony, to J. Thornton, Esq.," July 8, 1768, in *A Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity-School, in Lebanon in Connecticut, New England, Founded and Carried on by The Revd Dr Eleazar Wheelock* (London: Printed by J. and W. Oliver in Bartholomew-Close, Near West-Smithfield, 1769), 72. Google Books.

if unsuccessfully. Around the same time, Samson Occom crossed the Atlantic with Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker on a two-and-a-half-year fundraising tour of Great Britain. During the tour, the pair raised over £12,000, mainly through Occom's efforts. Occom's presence was powerful among British audiences, for his eloquently delivered sermons demonstrated the promising potential of Wheelock's project. As ordained Presbyterian ministers, Occom and Whitaker met greater success in Scotland, where they raised £2,529 in just two months, compared to the £9,497 raised over twenty-eight months in England and Wales where most donors would either have been Anglican or Methodist.<sup>91</sup>

By the time of their return in 1768, Moor's was beginning to break after years of tension between Wheelock and his students. Parents started removing their children from the school as they felt that Wheelock was treating them more harshly than the white students and that he was taking advantage of their labor. In a 1767 letter from John Daniel to Wheelock regarding Daniel's son Charles, Daniel mixed gratitude with consternation as he was "very thankful" for his son's education, but he had grown frustrated over his son's laboring. As noted earlier, the boys learned husbandry and farming in their spare time, but John Daniel "always tho't Your School was free to y<sup>e</sup> Natives; not to learn how to Farm it, but to advance in Christian Knowledge."<sup>92</sup> Others

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<sup>91</sup> Margaret Connell Szasz, "Rendezvous in Edinburgh: Highland Gael and Mohegan Indian in Auld Reekie in 1767," *Northern Scotland* 1 (2010): 66.

<sup>92</sup> John Daniel to Eleazar Wheelock, November 30, 1767, in *The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians*, ed. by James Dow McCallum (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), 231. HathiTrust.

held Wheelock to his promise to treat them as his own children, as they expressed their expectation that students out to be “treated as *children* at your house & not *servants*!”<sup>93</sup>

As tensions increased, Wheelock gradually shifted his focus as well as his funding. In 1769, he began preparations to move the institution from Lebanon, Connecticut, to Hanover, New Hampshire, and educate white English missionaries. James Axtell noted that such a plan had long lurked in the back of Wheelock's mind as he wrote in 1760 that “he was planning to take 'poor & promising [English] Youth' into the school 'in case of a failure of Indians.’”<sup>94</sup> While he initially boasted of the superiority of the Indians, whom he lamented that the English treated with such disdain, his racial prejudices ruined his relationships with his Indian students. Even the respected, astute Occom fell victim to this, as Wheelock referred to Occom as his “black son.” Bound up in Wheelock’s racial categorization of the Indians was the belief that they were incurably proud, that they “may not have the lead in the Affair ‘till they are made new Creatures.” Thus, when parents began removing their children en masse from Moor’s, Wheelock was quick to take the opportunity to begin his institutional shift.<sup>95</sup>

His *Narrative* of 1771 announced that he would be primarily educating whites from then on, rather than Indians, and that the school would be moving from to Hanover, New Hampshire where it would be incorporated with the newly founded Dartmouth College. While many Indians were glad to be rid of Wheelock, Samson Occom took this

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<sup>93</sup> David Avery’s Address to the Indians, and their Answers (Spring, 1772), in *The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock’s Indians*, 287. This exchange occurred after Wheelock’s break with the Six Nations, as he sent David Avery out to visit various tribes to survey their attitudes toward Wheelock.

<sup>94</sup> Axtell, “Dr. Wheelock’s Little Red School,” 105.

<sup>95</sup> Axtell, “Dr. Wheelock’s Little Red School,” 102-5.

development in a profoundly personal, painful manner. The £12,000 that he had spent two years away from his family raising to educate his fellow Indians would now be reserved for white students. Occom wrote to Wheelock to convey his pain amid such a betrayal, as well as his jealousy “that instead of your Seminary Becoming alma Mater, she will be too much alba mater to Suckle the Tawnees...I think your College has too much Worked by Grandeur for the Poor Indians, they'll never have much benefit of it.”<sup>96</sup> Occom’s charge fell on deaf ears. As the two men became estranged over the 1770s, Occom carried on Wheelock’s alleged grand design by teaching and preaching to New England’s Christian Indians. Whether Wheelock had tried to follow the Halle model or not, it was clear that he failed.

Those attempting to bring the Halle model to the British North American colonies faced challenges of public opinion, governmental support, and the reality of their own prejudices. Cotton Mather’s enthusiastic embrace of Halle Pietism inspired him to protect the religious education of New England’s youth, but societal trends opted for vocational training that promised wider income opportunities. On the other end of the educational spectrum, Mather hoped to turn back the tides of liberalism at Harvard by restoring it to its original purpose as a divinity school for Congregational pastors. Like the proverbial frog in the pot, Mather failed to realize that Congregational Puritanism had been in decline for decades and was beyond the point of revival. Stirrings of Mather’s pious desires remained, however, in the evangelicalism that rose from its ashes. George Whitefield’s engagement with Francke’s works while at Oxford set him on the path to build the Bethesda orphanage. The enduring success of the orphanage, despite the

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<sup>96</sup> Blodgett, *Samson Occom*, 122-23, in Axtell, “Dr. Wheelock’s Little Red School,” 109.

occasional hiccup, drove Whitefield to embrace the whole of the Halle model through the proposal of Bethesda College. Yet his appeals to Protestant unity that might have been successful earlier in the century failed to convince an archbishop bent on Anglican conformity. Finally, the case of Eleazar Wheelock and his failure to imitate the Halle model can be credited to his inability and unwillingness to treat his Native students fairly. Wheelock's continued suspicions of their pride and savagery doomed the project from the start, and as a result, every single student who embarked on the mission field broke with him.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Laura Murray, "'Pray Sir, Consider a Little': Rituals of Subordination and Strategies of Resistance in the Letters of Hezekiah Calvin and David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, 1764-1768," *Studies in American Indian Literature*, Series 2, Vol. 4, No. 2/3 (Summer/Fall 1992): 52.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### The Halle Model in India

#### *The First Protestant Mission to India*

The influence of the Franckean enterprise was not limited to the Anglo-American world, for it found a stronghold in India as Protestants embraced global missions projects in the eighteenth century. This chapter will trace and analyze the educational activities of the Danish-Halle missionaries and their collaborative efforts with the British Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. While the British did not start sending missionaries until later in the century, the SPCK relied almost exclusively on Halle to establish its presence on the subcontinent. In its nearly 100-year presence in India, all of the SPCK's missionaries, save for one, were German Lutherans. Dozens of missionaries sailed from Halle through London to India, so to keep this chapter reasonably focused, it will only cover missionaries that either innovated upon the Halle model or made significant strides in its diffusion throughout India's European-held territories.

By the time Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plutschau reached the Coromandel Coast of India in 1706, neither Christian teachings nor their European adherents were unfamiliar to the South Indian people. Setting the early church presence of Syrian Christians aside, the early modern period brought European traders and missionaries to the subcontinent in earnest. The Portuguese established a commercial operation in 1505, and Roman Catholic missionaries were quick to follow — including the famous Jesuit, Francis Xavier, who arrived in 1542. The English, Dutch, and Danish



East India Companies arrived in the next century, and their chaplains engaged in evangelization, but no commissioned proselytization by Protestants occurred until the eighteenth century. The lack of a commission did not prevent chaplains from engaging the Indian population, however. Robert Junius, a Dutch missionary to Formosa, claimed to have taught 600 souls the basics of Christianity by 1643. In India, the Dutch boasted of 300,000 Indian converts by 1700.<sup>1</sup> Often, Indian conversions retained a political component, as illustrated in the power struggle over Jaffna. In 1658, the Dutch East India Company took Jaffna from the Portuguese and solidified the territorial gain by outlawing Catholicism and devoting its chaplains to the conversion of Indian Catholics to Protestantism. The formalized nature by which most Indians converted gave the Indian churches a nominal nature, for the lack of funding inhibited the development of a vibrant spiritual life. The Dutch chaplain Phillipus Baldaeus noted that there simply were not enough pastors to serve the established churches, and the small number of pastors that were available could not learn the local dialects to proceed with catechetical instruction. Protestant missions thus existed before the eighteenth century, but the extent to which they were successful was open to question.<sup>2</sup>

European churches seemed to be experiencing a similar lack of devotion, at least in the eyes of the German Pietists who called for spiritual renewal. Foremost among them was Philipp Jakob Spener, whose proposals for global missions influenced Frederick IV, the king of Denmark through the king's royal chaplain, Franz Julius Lütkens, who was a

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<sup>1</sup> Edward E. Andrews, "Tranquebar: Charting the Protestant International in the British Atlantic and Beyond," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 74, no. 1 (2017): 10.

<sup>2</sup> D. Dennis Hudson, *Protestant Origins in India: Tamil Evangelical Christians, 1706-1835* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000), 5-7.

close personal friend of Spener. The king decided to send missionaries to the settlement of Tranquebar, which Denmark acquired in 1620. Per the treaty with the king of Tanjore, “they were allowed to build a fort, establish a trading station, have an army, administer justice, and follow their own religious customs without any hindrance,” in exchange for a fee to the king. The initial lack of Danish interest in the pepper trade that dominated Tranquebar tanked the Danish efforts. The Danes abandoned Tranquebar by 1643, but they refortified their presence thirty years later.<sup>3</sup>

When Lütkens went looking for volunteers in 1704, no Dane was willing to minister to the Indian people, so Lütkens reached out to friends in Berlin who recommended two of Francke’s former students: Ziegenbalg and Plutschau. After some initial hesitation, the two traveled to Copenhagen to receive ordination in the Danish Lutheran Church before setting sail on November 29, 1705.<sup>4</sup> From the start the two men had little support beyond what they received from the king, which made little difference once outside of Europe. The Danish East India Company (DEIC) openly suppressed the missionaries because the merchants grew offended that the king would overstep his political authority. The captain of the ship that brought the missionaries to India treated the men poorly, and the governor of Tranquebar, Johann Sigismund Hassius offered a cool welcome. Hassius had a particular scorn for these new missionaries, whose

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<sup>3</sup> Peter Vethanayagamony, “‘I Appeal to the Whole Christendom’: The Place of Benjamin Schultze in the History of [the Lutheran-Anglican] Ecumenical Cooperation during the Second Quarter of the Eighteenth Century (1719-1743),” (PhD diss., Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 2006), 74, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel Jeyaraj, *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg: The Father of Modern Protestant Mission – An Indian Assessment* (New Delhi, India: The Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2006), 58-60, Google Books.

evangelism threatened the fragile socio-religious ecosystem of the outpost.<sup>5</sup> Tranquebar hosted adherents to several different strands of Hinduism, as well as Muslims, Roman Catholics, in addition to the Danish Lutheran church of the governing company. The missionaries' interactions with Muslims and Hindus were not a problem, but the governor had spent years cultivating a relationship with the Roman Catholics who were numerically powerful through their conversion of slaves. When Ziegenbalg appealed to the governor on behalf of an Indian woman who had been wronged by a Roman Catholic, the governor sentenced Ziegenbalg to four months in prison.<sup>6</sup> While this was a setback for the ministry in the short-term, Ziegenbalg's defense of the Indian people against the trading company earned him favor among the local Tamil-speakers whom he came to convert.

A more significant barrier to the mission was the language problem, for neither Ziegenbalg nor Plutschau knew the Tamil dialects spoken in the region. Though German speakers, they picked up some Danish and Portuguese on the voyage to India. Besides the obvious need for Danish, the men needed Portuguese as well, for Portuguese colonists and their Catholic missionaries had been in the region since the sixteenth century. Upon arrival, the men divided the burden of learning languages with Plutschau taking up Portuguese and Ziegenbalg embracing Tamil.<sup>7</sup> Understanding the local language was

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<sup>5</sup> Vethanayagamony, "I Appeal to the Whole Christendom," 68.

<sup>6</sup> Vethanayagamony, "I Appeal to the Whole Christendom," 68.

<sup>7</sup> Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, *Propagation of the Gospel in the East: being an account of the success of two Danish missionaries, lately sent to the East-Indies, for the conversion of the heathens in Malabar. In several Letters to their Correspondents in Europe; Containing A Narrative of their Voyage to the Coast of Coromandel, their Settlement at Tranquebar, the Divinity and Philosophy of the Malabarians, their Language and Manners, the Impediments obstructing their Conversion, the several Methods taken by these Missionaries, the wonderful Providences attending them, and the Progress they have already made.*

imperative to providing proper pastoral care and religious instruction, for it was the desire of every Pietist that Christians engage their faith in their own language. At Halle, this impulse drove the creation of the *Collegium Orientale Theologicum* in 1702 that was dedicated to the “words of scripture...in the vernacular languages, at first in the originals, and later in the versions.”<sup>8</sup> Later missionaries, such as Christian Schwartz, trained in the *Collegium*, as missionaries returned to teach Tamil and produce Tamil Bibles.

Learning Tamil was not merely a pastoral exercise for Ziegenbalg. He devoted himself wholeheartedly to the task, as he spent multiple hours every day with his 70-year-old tutor, Mugaliyappa, who taught vocabulary and syntax, and a scholar named Aleppa, who introduced him to classical Tamil texts.<sup>9</sup> By engaging with the language and its literary offerings, Ziegenbalg went further than previous Protestants in understanding Tamil culture. During the voyage to India, Ziegenbalg likely consulted several accounts of European encounters with Indian culture, like the Dutch chaplain Philippus Baldaeus’ 1672 *Wahrhaftige Ausführliche Beschreibung Der Berühmten Ost-Indischen Kusten Malabar und Coromandel*.<sup>10</sup> Per Ziegenbalg’s analysis, these narratives were “greatly

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*Rendred into English from the High-Dutch: And delineated to the most Honourable Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, (London, Printed and sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West-Smithfield, 1709), 27-28, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW120247891.

<sup>8</sup> Otto Podczek, “Die Arbeit am Alten Testament in Halle zur Zeit des Pietismus: Das Collegium Orientale theologicum A.H. Franckes,” in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 7 (August 1958): 1060, quoted in Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 60, Google Books.

<sup>9</sup> Hudson, *Protestant Origins in India*, 15.

<sup>10</sup> Will Sweetman, “Retracing Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg’s Path,” in *Beyond Tranquebar: Grappling Across Cultural Borders in South India*, ed. Esther Fihl and A.R. Venkatachalapathy (New Delhi, India: Orient BlackSwan, 2014), 313-4. In addition to Baldaeus, he likely also accessed Boëmus’ *Omnium gentium mores, leges et ritus* (1562), Abraham Rogers’ *Offne Thüer zu dem verborgenem Heydenthum* (1663), and Christoph Langhans’ *Neue Ost-Indische Reise* (1705).

inaccurate” and led him to suppose “that other [European] authors have also written similar erroneous things.”<sup>11</sup> Ziegenbalg claimed that the critical problem with these texts lay in the authors' inability to read, speak, or understand the Tamil language. He singled out Baldaeus for relying on a local dialect of Portuguese, which was insufficient in conveying the complexity of South Indian life.

Unlike these previous Protestant authors or later orientalist who believed the Indian “heathens” to be irrational, inferior sorts of people, Ziegenbalg believed that south Indians were a “witty and sagacious” people who led “a very quiet, honest and virtuous Life.”<sup>12</sup> He esteemed them so much that he lamented that “they invariably put us to shame because, though we have the teachings of faith in Christ Jesus, we remain unproductive.”<sup>13</sup> Here, Ziegenbalg had at the forefront of his mind the European merchants in Tranquebar, who offended the Indians with their “haughty and *proud Temper*, so obvious in [their] conduct.”<sup>14</sup> Indeed, the only genuine ignorance he counted toward the Indians was a religious ignorance. His use of the term “heathen” in his reports to Europe did not carry connotations of barbarousness or ignorance. Ziegenbalg expert Daniel Jeyaraj asserted that Ziegenbalg’s use of “the word *heathen* [did] not contain any

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<sup>11</sup> Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, *A German Exploration of Indian Society: Ziegenbalg's "Malabarian Heathenism": An Annotated English Translation with an Introduction and a Glossary*, ed. and trans. Daniel Jeyaraj (Chennai: New Delhi, India: Mylapore Institute for Indigenous Studies; Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2006), 68.

<sup>12</sup> Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, *Propagation of the Gospel in the east: being an account of the success of two Danish missionaries, lately sent to the East-Indies, for the conversion of the heathens in Malabar. In several letters to their correspondents in Europe... Rendered into English from the High Dutch, Part I*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Printed and Sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West-Smithfield, 1711), 30, 56, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, CW120993230.

<sup>13</sup> Ziegenbalg, *A German Exploration of Indian Society*, 130.

<sup>14</sup> Ziegenbalg, *Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part I*, 1711, 16.

attitude of racial superiority or inferiority.”<sup>15</sup> When he lamented the state of the “deluded heathens,” he was referring to their status outside of Christ.

Conversions came slowly, but Ziegenbalg reported the first five baptisms by Jerusalem Church in Tranquebar in a 1707 letter. These baptisms should not be understood as the only conversions to have transpired in the first year, for baptisms only took place after six months of catechesis and examination. Soon after that, the congregation could boast 75 attendees, half of whom were baptized.<sup>16</sup> Ziegenbalg credited the growth of the church to their educational efforts, for there they found “the Beginning of a real Reformation,” seeing as the older Tamils were too set in their “idolatrous” way of worship.<sup>17</sup> The future of evangelization rested primarily on the education of Indian children, who were not yet so prejudiced to Christianity as their parents.<sup>18</sup> Thus, despite not having yet mastered the region’s languages, the missionaries began erecting a school within months of arrival, trusting in the integrity of hired interpreters. Aside from the spiritual urgency attached to the school’s foundation, immediate physical needs also energized the missionaries. New converts suffered banishment “*from [their] whole Estate and Kindred, not daring as much as come near ‘em again.*”<sup>19</sup> To ease these burdens, the school “purchased” children from impoverished families in order to board, feed, and educate them *gratis*.

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<sup>15</sup> Jeyaraj, introduction to *A German Exploration of Indian Society*, 8.

<sup>16</sup> Hudson, *Protestant Origins in India*, 22.

<sup>17</sup> Ziegenbalg, *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, 1709, 18.

<sup>18</sup> Ziegenbalg, *Propagation of the Gospel, Part I*, 1711, 28-9.

<sup>19</sup> Ziegenbalg, *Propagation of the Gospel, Part I*, 1711, 35.

By 1709, the school split in two to serve both Tamil speaking and Portuguese speaking students. Seven years after the founding of the first charity school in Tranquebar, the missionaries boasted of five different schools. Three Malabarian schools, one Portuguese school, and one Danish school served, in their combined efforts, seventy-eight students, fifty-six of whom were lodged, fed, and managed *gratis*.<sup>20</sup> The Malabarian schools were divided into an older boys' school, a younger boys' school, and a girls' school, whereas the other two schools were co-educational. Nearly all of the students came from lower caste Hindu families, as higher caste families, Muslims, and Europeans looked on the enterprise with derision. As Ziegenbalg oriented himself to Tranquebar's existing educational options, he found that schools existed to teach boys to read and write, but the curriculum hardly focused on religion. The main goal of Indian schools was the preparation of boys to work in trades, though a letter to Halle revealed that the missionaries found the Indian schools wanting; "one hardly [found] one among a thousand who [could] read and write."<sup>21</sup> Girls' education, which the mission also provided, was practically unheard of unless it led to work in a temple. The inclusivity of the mission schools' demographics testified to its desire that every Tamil convert to Christianity, and that the best way to convert was to teach the Bible.

Unsurprisingly, the missionaries centered the curriculum of each school in religion. Multiple hours were dedicated to catechesis, Scripture readings, biblical

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<sup>20</sup> The term "Malabar" and its derivative "Malabarian" emerged from the Portuguese term for the western coast of the subcontinent, despite Tranquebar's placement on the eastern coast. The term had been in use since the sixteenth century. Hudson, *Protestant Origins*, 4.

<sup>21</sup> *Hallesche Berichte* 3. Cont., 111-48, here 127f., (translated from German), quoted in Heike Liebau, *Cultural Encounters in India: The Local Co-workers of the Tranquebar Mission, 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, trans. Rehka V. Rajan (New York: Routledge, 2018), 349.

meditation, and biblical history. This fact was not lost on a Tamil correspondent who observed

the children in your schools learn primarily and most importantly those things and teachings that pertain to the future world. You then teach certain subjects and sciences that relate to this world and in that way you take care of their physical needs as well.<sup>22</sup>

This statement encapsulated the Halle ideal that the soul was “to be manag’d with much greater care than the Body; so the design of the Undertaking was never to lay up Provision for the Body; but this was only used as the means to make a nearer step towards the Reformation of the Soul.”<sup>23</sup> The missionaries exerted enormous efforts and spent many *pagodas* in an effort to care for the children, but Ziegenbalg never strayed from his top priority of “laying a Foundation of true Christianity in tender Souls.”<sup>24</sup> The rigor of the religious instruction was emphasized in the extremely long schooldays, “which resembled the working day of an adult rather than the school day of a child, [and was]...surpassed in the Francke Foundations during this same period.”<sup>25</sup> Orphans at Halle

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<sup>22</sup> Daniel Jeyaraj and Richard Fox Young, *Hindu-Christian, Indo-German Self-Disclosures: 'Malabarian Correspondence' between German Pietist Missionaries and South Indian Hindus (1712-1714)* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013), 162, JSTOR.

<sup>23</sup> August Hermann Francke, *Pietas Hallensis: or a publick demonstration of the foot-steps of a divine being yet in the world: in an historical narration of the orphan-house, And other charitable Institutions, at Glaucha near Hall in Saxony. By Augustus Hermannus Franck, Professor of Divinity in the Frederician University of Hall, Pastor of Glaucha, and Director of the Pious Foundations there. Continued to the beginning of the Year MDCCII, In a Letter to a Friend. And now done out of High-Dutch into English. With a preface bringing it down to the present Time; together with a short History of pietism, And an appendix containing several Instruments and publick Papers relating to this Work* (London: Printed and sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West-Smithfield, 1705), 96, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW104269759.

<sup>24</sup> Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, *A letter to the Reverend Mr. Geo. Lewis, chaplain to the Honourable the East-India-Company, at Fort St. George: giving an account of the method of instruction used in the charity-schools of the church, call'd Jerusalem, in Tranquebar; ... translated from the Portuguese-copy printed at Tranquebar* (London: Printed and Sold by J. Downing, 1715), 2, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW119771342.

<sup>25</sup> Liebau, *Cultural Encounters in India*, 383.



began their morning prayers before five o'clock in the morning and closed in the same manner at ten o'clock at night. Students in Tranquebar endured thirteen-hour days, with breaks, spending the first several hours of the day in purely religious instruction. Older students were catechized along with the church's adult converts, while younger students received a plainer version of the catechism.

Promising students were allowed to extend their education after 1716, when a seminary was founded to train writers, teachers, assistants, and catechists. The institution followed in form and function the *seminarium praeceptorum*, one of the many schools of the Foundations in which poor but able students received scholarships to pursue careers in teaching. As Francke expanded his institutions, he quickly ran into a shortage of pious, capable men to teach the growing number of orphans. Opening in 1695 the *seminarium* was reportedly the first institution of its kind, and its attraction was quickly apparent.<sup>26</sup> In adapting the institution to the Indian context, Ziegenbalg's hoped to propagate "Disciples for future Service of Christ's Church," as the Christian church was never going to survive without indigenous leaders.<sup>27</sup> As the influence of the Danish-Halle mission expanded, there were hardly ever more than eight to ten missionaries on the ground.<sup>28</sup> Even then, their activities were limited to the schools centered to the mission. Schools in remote

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<sup>26</sup> Ricardo Carbal, *The Development of Teacher Education in Portuguese Goa (1841-1961)* (New Delhi, India: Concept Publishing Company, 2009), 37, Google Books; William Clark, *Academic Charisma and the Origins of the Research University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 159, Google Books.

<sup>27</sup> Ziegenbalg, *A letter to the Reverend*, 2.

<sup>28</sup> Keld Grinder-Hansen, "The schools of Tranquebar: An educational field of cultural encounters and conflicts," in "Indo-Danish Cultural Encounters in Tranquebar: Past and Present," ed. Esther Fihl and A.R. Venkatachalapathy, special issue, *Review of Development & Change* 14, no. 1 (2009): 64.

villages were entirely staffed by native Tamils, who formed the majority of the teaching staff during the Danish presence in India.

Ziegenbalg's desire to build up a Hallensian-style complex in India did not end with the seminary. As the mission expanded, he foresaw the need for pharmacists, stewards, printers, and other tradesmen – particularly in those “*Manufactures* as may prove profitable, even to our Nations in *Europe*.” Europe stood to benefit, if only they could provide the capital, as Ziegenbalg wistfully opined that “there is a Variety of Trades, Arts, and Manufactures, which Young Men might be inur'd to; but which cannot be brought to bear, till such Time as we shall be supplied with Help from *Europe*.”<sup>29</sup> Logistical difficulties notwithstanding, they did teach some manual skills like knitting, weaving, and painting which were considered profitable trades. To employ graduates of the school and impoverished congregants, they opened a paper-mill to supply their printing needs as they feverishly worked to print religious texts. Mathematics was considered the most advantageous skill of all in Tranquebar. In the schools run by non-Christian Tamils, students learned mathematics before learning to write, for the ability to keep accounts was considered an “indispensable skill.”<sup>30</sup> Once they knew enough to find employment or were old enough to marry, they left the schools. The Halle-inspired schools approached mathematics differently. While the missionaries wanted students to

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<sup>29</sup> Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and John Ernest Grundler to Henry Hoare, December 11, 1713, in *Propagation of the Gospel. In the EAST: Being a Collection of Letters from the Protestant Missionaries, And other worthy Persons in the East-Indies, &c., relating to the mission; the means of promoting it; and the Success it hath pleased God to give to the Endeavours used hitherto, for Propagating True Christianity among the Heathen in those Parts, but chiefly on the coast of Coromandel. With a map of the East-Indies Part III. Published by the Direction of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Part III*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: Printed and sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West Smithfield, 1718), 75, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW122705351.

<sup>30</sup> Jeyaraj and Young, *Hindu-Christian, Indo-German Self-Disclosures*, 144.

be prepared to find work, they desired even more that the students understand the Christian religion through catechesis and be able to read its holy Scripture. Thus, once students had laid these literary foundations, older students in all three language groups progressed to mathematics.

The mission schools existed to provide spiritual and practical education for the children of converts, but the children from local, non-Christian families did not go unnoticed. As early as 1707, Ziegenbalg considered opening a school for these children, proposing to Frederick IV a free school where admissions operated on the condition “that everyone would have the freedom to decide whether they wanted to become Christians or not.”<sup>31</sup> Though this was a major departure from the Halle model in which conversion, while not forced, was intensely encouraged, a charity school open to all reflected the economic and religious realities of the mission field. The first charity school, different in kind from the mission school, opened in 1715 under Johann Ernest Grundler. Grundler joined the mission in 1709 and took over Plutschau’s responsibilities when Plutschau returned to Europe. At Grundler’s charity school, children received the principles of Christianity with the hope that they might one day be baptized, but the missionaries believed that such teachings created useful, moral citizens. The school gained widespread popularity among the locals, with its low-stakes approach to religion and higher quality of education.<sup>32</sup> As the century wore on and European power increased, charity schools outpaced religious schools as the preferred form of education among southeast Indians.

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<sup>31</sup> AB 57, letter from Ziegenbalg to Frederick IV of Denmark, Tranquebar, 19 September 1707, (translated from German) quoted in Liebau, *Cultural Encounters in India*, 364.

<sup>32</sup> Liebau, *Cultural Encounters in India*, 364-6.

The progress of the mission captivated readers of the missionaries' reports, which were published at Halle. Anthony William Boehm thought it worth promoting among the religious societies in London. At first, he pursued support from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), but its charter limited its activity to the English plantations in America. The unincorporated status of the SPCK provided a more attractive option. In his application to the SPCK, Boehm was sure to highlight the missionaries' employment of charity schools which was still the Society's primary vehicle of philanthropy.<sup>33</sup> SPCK secretary Henry Newman embraced the cause and quickly promoted it throughout his wide web of correspondents, such that Tranquebar was on the minds of Protestant leaders in Germany, England, Denmark, and New England.<sup>34</sup>

Newman's construction of inter-confessional support for a mission thousands of miles away from the British Atlantic illuminated the contours of a shared Protestant identity with global aspirations. Those who shared in this identity joined together with evangelistic resolve, but only so many doctrinal cracks could be smoothed over by the veneer of this partnership. As the SPCK increased its support of the Tranquebar mission, its members questioned the extent to which an Anglican-Lutheran partnership could proceed. This embryonic partnership had started off well, as the SPCK admitted the missionaries as corresponding members in 1710, arranged for the donation of funds and a printing press, and publicized the mission through Boehm's translations of the

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<sup>33</sup> Daniel Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 103-4.

<sup>34</sup> Andrews, "Charting the Protestant International," 14.

missionaries' reports. Society members with connections to the East India Company (EIC), such as chaplain Josiah Woodward, pressed the Company for free freight, which was gladly given. As SPCK trustees rallied support in London, the missionaries actively pursued partnerships with Englishmen in India. Shortly after his admission to the SPCK, Ziegenbalg visited the English Fort St. George at Madras where he hoped to see "the *English*, who command here, would but second our Endeavours, or join with us in *propagating the Gospel in the East*."<sup>35</sup> The English in India reciprocated Ziegenbalg's feelings, as EIC chaplain George Lewis believed the English "ought and must be encouraged [in the]...first attempt the Protestants have ever made of the kind."<sup>36</sup> Sensing the immense value that official English support might offer the mission, Ziegenbalg went so far as to claim that "the Finger of God itself raised King George to the throne...and thereby opened to Him a large Field both in the Eastern and Western World, for the Spreading of the Christian Faith under his Royal Favour and Protection."<sup>37</sup> As King George's subjects converted Indian souls in his lands to the West, so too should they have mercy on the Indians in the East.

Henry Newman counted the zeal of the Germans against the seeming indifference of the English a "reproach to the English nation," and the ill-mood was only exacerbated by complaints from London, Halle, and Copenhagen about the ramifications of Anglican

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<sup>35</sup> Ziegenbalg, *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, 1709, 25.

<sup>36</sup> George Lewis to Newman, Fort St. George, Oct. 1712, printed in: *PGE III* (1718), pp. 41 ff, and Clement, pp. 57-58, quoted in Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 101.

<sup>37</sup> Nicols, *Orationes duae*, 18, quoted in Andrews, "Charting the Protestant International." 25.

support for a Lutheran mission.<sup>38</sup> Neither Boehm nor Francke desired to see their fellow Lutherans become Anglican for the sake of the mission. Similarly, the English desired to send their own missionaries to serve in their territories, but like the Danish, they struggled to find volunteers. The Society's committee for the mission approached Griffith Jones, but he declined in order to serve his native Wales. The missionaries attempted to give some reassurance, writing to the Society in 1714 that “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.”<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile, criticisms grew more pointed. EIC chaplain William Stevenson complained that Danish Lutherans would convert souls to their “particular *Sect.*”<sup>40</sup> There was a glimmer of hope for an English-directed mission in 1717 when Grundler opened a Portuguese school at Fort St. George, but it closed within a year. None of this infighting kept Grundler from writing to Boehm in 1720 to recommend himself to the SPCK for work among the heathen as an English missionary in Madras. Boehm refused to present the letter to the Society, citing its lack of authority and funds, and more importantly that the Anglican clergy would force Grundler to take Anglican orders.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Henry Newman Letter to the Reverend Mr. Lewis & Mr. William Jennings Esq., The Reverend M. Stevenson and Revd. M Long at Fort St. George dated December 22, 1714. SPCK Archives Reel 35 Volume 1, quoted in Vethanayagamony, “‘I Appeal to the Whole Christendom,’” 199.

<sup>39</sup> Ziegenbalg and Grundler to SPCK, Tranquebar, 27 Sept. 1714, printed in *PGE III* (1718), pp. 115f, quoted in Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 110.

<sup>40</sup> Stevenson to Newman, Fort St. George, 27 Dec, 1716, (ChCh, *Wake MSS* 28:31), quoted in Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 123.

<sup>41</sup> Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 114-16.

The mettle of the Tranquebar mission was tested in the following years as Ziegenbalg, Grundler, and Boehm died in the span of three years. By 1728, Mather and Francke had also died – meaning that of the major figures of interdenominational support, only Newman remained. Even the Royal Danish Mission College was wavering in its support, as its miserly director hesitated to continue funding the project at its current level. Edward Andrews contends that in the deaths of these men, the Protestant cooperation that characterized the support for the Tranquebar mission withered away, revealing that “the Protestant International was therefore much more fragile and tenuous than Protestants would have liked to admit.”<sup>42</sup> While there is truth in Andrews’ contention, it merits reconsideration in light of the continuation of the SPCK’s support of Halle missionaries in India. The rest of this chapter will show through the continued presence of and content within Indian charity schools, the Protestant International endured longer than previously supposed.

*Benjamin Schultze, The First SPCK Missionary*

Before this first generation completely passed away, another Halle Pietist named Benjamin Schultze arrived in Tranquebar as a reinforcement. Trained at Halle, Schultze was a talented linguist with a passion for evangelism. Reflecting on Schultze’s qualifications, Newman remarked that “there is a great Zeal to Acquire the Oriental Tongues that several are already become Proficient in the Malabrick, and one man particularly Mr. Schooll [Schultze] is so intent upon going in the service of the mission

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<sup>42</sup> Andrews, “Charting the Protestant International,” 29.

that he is even willing to go to the Indies on foot if he can go no other way.”<sup>43</sup> Schultze’s zeal was tested in the rapid succession of Ziegenbalg’s and Grundler’s deaths that left him as the new leader of the mission. To make matters worse, the missionary secretary in Copenhagen reduced the mission’s funding, believing that if “Jesus brought divine knowledge into the world without building churches and schools,” so too could the missionaries in India. Fortunately for Schultze, King Frederick IV got a new secretary and the levels of funding returned to normal.<sup>44</sup>

Though he had not worked in the Halle Orphanage, Schultze recognized the value of education in the process of conversion. Following Ziegenbalg's methodology, the bulk of the school day under Schultze in Tranquebar treated religious issues. Whether in biblical teachings, catechetical conferences, or prayer, the tenor of the day in the mission school closely followed the Halle model. He also maintained Grundler’s charity school, which was officially named the Royal Danish Lutheran Malabarian Charity-School in 1722 and continued restricting its service to non-Christian children. The operation of the Tranquebar mission expanded significantly in 1725 when the government passed a law requiring all non-Christian children to attend the charity schools, for which the governor supplied a quarterly allowance, notebooks, palm leaves, and styluses. Reporting to King George I, who financially supported the mission as well, Schultze remarked that the “indirect (not undersigned) effect of this Edict was that seventeen schools came under the

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<sup>43</sup> Henry Newman, Letter to the Reverend Mr. Lewis & Mr. William Jennings Esq., The Reverend M. Stevenson and Revd M Long at Fort St. George dated December 22, 1713, SPCK Reel 35 Volume 1, quoted in Vethanayagamony, “I Appeal to the Whole Christendom,” 135.

<sup>44</sup> Vethanayagamony, “I Appeal to the Whole Christendom,” 126-128.



Danish mission!”<sup>45</sup> By 1726, the Tranquebar mission schools gained access to 575 students in 21 schools, thereby substantially extending the effect of the charity schools without requiring additional expenditures. The benefits, however, were hardly realized as little changed for students in the local schools other than a regular examination from the missionaries. The practice was abandoned in the next year.<sup>46</sup>

In the midst of these policy changes, three new missionaries, Martin Bosse, Christian Friedrich Pressier, and Christopher Theodosius Walther, arrived to assist in the vital tasks of preaching, pastoral care, and teaching. While education was the most effective way to reach souls in the Pietist mind, other tasks remained and required precious time and energy. As Schultze initiated new missionaries into the inner workings of Tranquebar, he began to set his sights elsewhere. On February 25, 1726, Schultze set out on a preaching tour that would take him through English territory, for he, like Ziegenbalg, desired to bring them into a fuller partnership with the mission. The newcomers were understandably upset at his departure but not entirely so. Historians have cast Schultze as an impulsive, independent man who struggled to collaborate with others. Walther, the new leader at Tranquebar, reported to Francke that “Mr. Schultze can not live collegially and for this reason he has left here.”<sup>47</sup> Schultze’s inability to work well with other Europeans plagued the rest of his days as missionary, but this did not inhibit his ability to reach Indian souls.

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<sup>45</sup> Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, *Notices of Madras and Cuddalore in the Last Century: From the Journals and Letters of the Earlier Missionaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London: Longman and Co., Paternoster Row, 1858), 37, HathiTrust.

<sup>46</sup> Grinder-Hansen, “The schools of Tranquebar,” 66.

<sup>47</sup> Walther to G.A. Francke, Tranquebar, 15 Oct. 1726, quoted in Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 114.

The first stop on his journey was at the English Fort St. David in Cuddalore, where he encountered English schools and native schools. Upon arriving in Madras, Schultze wasted no time applying to the governor for a school for converts' children, picking up where Grundler failed nine years prior. Governor James Macrae quickly assented, and on September 14, 1726, the Malabar school opened with twelve children. In addition to the Portuguese and Tamil dialects spoken which were taught to the congregation's children, Schultze hired a brahmin to teach the regional dialect of Telugu, which he himself later learned in order to catechize more children. He also added English to the curriculum, using the people's desire to learn the political language of the town as a vehicle for the gospel.<sup>48</sup>

Most of the Englishmen in Madras supported Schulzte's work. EIC chaplain William Stevenson was supportive of the mission work among Indians generally, but he doubted Schultze's ability and fitness for the work. He also renewed the concerns from the days of Ziegenbalg, as to whether Anglicans and Lutherans could enter into such a partnership — commissioning a Lutheran missionary to convert non-Christians on English territory. Schultze repeated Grundler's appeal to the SPCK, writing to remind "the English Gentlemen" that while they were waiting to find missionaries of their own, "the Missionaries at Tranquebar [were] themselves obliged to offer their Assistance, if they receive any Orders for it."<sup>49</sup> Whether out of desperation to participate in global missions, or the lack of more precautionary figures like Boehm, the SPCK accepted

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<sup>48</sup> Vethanayagamony, "I Appeal to the Whole Christendom," 248.

<sup>49</sup> Schultze to Mr. Rupertini and Ziegenhagen, July 19, 1726, SPCK Archives Microfilm Reel 35, Volume III, quoted in Vethanayagamony, "I Appeal to the Whole Christendom," 225.

Schultze as its first formal missionary in 1728. The Royal Danish Mission College released Schultze from its service, and from that point forward, “every new missionary undertaking outside Tranquebar was thus taken on and supported by the SPCK” and was staffed by men from Halle.<sup>50</sup>

J.A. Sartorius and J.E. Geister, arrived in 1730 and 1732, respectively, establishing the SPCK's choice of Halle-trained personnel. Sartorius's frequent letters and journal entries provide a lens into the triumphs and challenges faced in the Madras schools. The Madras mission never enjoyed the same successes as Tranquebar. One of its significant issues was a lack of space. Schoolmasters were not able to follow the Halle method of sorting children in different classes based on ability. Instead, they seated children together which dissuaded parents from high castes from sending their children to a school where they might have to sit with pariahs' children. Meanwhile, the Tranquebar mission had enjoyed a schoolhouse since the 1710s, and the late 1730s brought an impressive new school building modeled after the Halle Orphanage.<sup>51</sup> A second major challenge posed to the Madras mission was a pernicious rumor started by Catholics that implied the missionaries intended to send local children as slaves to Europe.<sup>52</sup> Amidst these logistical difficulties Schultze's roguishness wore on his partners, as he often failed to include their opinions in the major decisions of the mission. Sartorius and Geister wrote letters of grievance to Ziegenhagen and Newman back in London. The SPCK

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<sup>50</sup> Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 118.

<sup>51</sup> Grinder-Hansen, “The schools of Tranquebar,” 68.

<sup>52</sup> SPCK, *Notices of Madras and Cuddalore*, 88.

attempted to mediate and convince Schultze to go to Cuddalore, but he refused, and his partners left instead.

*Christian Friedrich Schwartz*

Schultze returned to Halle in 1743 to serve as the director of the orphan house under G.A. Francke. As an expert linguist, Schultze also supervised university students undergoing divinity training. One such student was Christian Friedrich Schwartz, who entered the university in 1746. He impressed Schultze enough that Schultze drafted him to assist in the printing of his newly revised Tamil Bible. Schwartz proved his skill, and as a result, Schultze advised Francke to suggest Schwartz be appointed to the Tranquebar mission.<sup>53</sup> As the mission was still under Danish rule, Schwartz and his companions received ordination in Copenhagen. However, he did stop in London to see Ziegenhagen to establish the first of several significant English connections.<sup>54</sup> Upon arrival in Tranquebar in 1750, the new batch of missionaries found the mission in a catatonic state as its workers, both Indian and European, became complacent in the seeking of souls. Some stayed home; others fell into drunkenness. On top of the spiritual battles, physical battles embroiled the surrounding region.<sup>55</sup> In the relative peacefulness of Tranquebar, Schwartz spent his mornings with the school children, while in the afternoons, he

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<sup>53</sup> Robert E. Frykenberg, "Schwartz, Christian Friedrich (1726 – 1798), missionary," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004, Accessed 16 Apr. 2020. <https://www-oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24837>.

<sup>54</sup> Lamin Sanneh, "Translations of the Bible and the Cultural Impulse," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 1750 to the Present*, vol. 4, ed. John Riches (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 87.

<sup>55</sup> The Carnatic Wars were a series of conflicts lasting from the 1740s into the 1760s between the British, French, and indigenous rulers of southeast India for control of coastal trading regions.

traveled to the neighboring, war-torn villages to engage Indians in religious dialogues.<sup>56</sup>

The first decade of Schwartz's service did not deviate from his predecessors, but his work outside of Tranquebar yielded unprecedented opportunities for a Halle missionary.

One of Schwartz's frequent destinations was Tiruchirapalli, which housed a fort of British soldiers. Schwartz's visits endeared him to the men, and when a series of explosions killed a majority of the men in 1762, he became the director of a school for orphaned children in the town. The appearance of a Lutheran holding authority in an Anglican context struck British authorities as unusual, as it had since the early days of the Danish-Halle mission. To account for this irregularity, the SPCK stepped in to hire Schwartz in the same way they had done with Schultze — once again illustrating the enduring nature of the Protestant International. He also received orders from the EIC to serve as a chaplain in Trichinopoly, where he served until 1778 when he relocated to Tanjore. In his service to the EIC, he surpassed the regular duties of a missionary as he set up a system of native catechists, distributed famine relief among local populations, and mediated numerous conflicts between the British and local rulers, including the rapid dethronement and reinstallation of Tuljaji, rajah of Tanjore.<sup>57</sup> Beloved by all, Schwartz gained effective political influence which he channeled into his missionary work, by building churches and schools.

With Schwartz, Francke's Halle model endured significant changes in its Indian manifestation that illuminate the growing influence of the SPCK over its Hallensian

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<sup>56</sup> Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India, 1707-1858* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 45-51. Internet Archive.

<sup>57</sup> Hudson, *Protestant Origins in India*, 99-102.

missionary. While Schwartz was known for the expansion of scientific subjects in the curriculum of Indian charity schools, his proposals for a system of English-language charity schools has received less notice.<sup>58</sup> Though Schwartz was opposed to the expansionist policies of the British empire, which he saw as exploitative of the most impoverished and helpless peoples, he did much to encourage positive relations between the Indians and the British. Schwartz had already demonstrated this in his diplomatic skills, but the primary and enduring avenue for improving relations was education. The most lucid expression of this sentiment appeared in a 1787 letter to John Sullivan, an EIC merchant. Schwartz was vehemently against using the schools as a source of forced conversion; instead, he believed they should be “calculated to establish mutual good faith, to enlighten the minds of the natives and to impress them with sentiments of esteem and respect for the British nation.”<sup>59</sup> Sullivan agreed, hoping that “a freer intercourse [would] be opened between natives and Europeans.”<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> For more on Schwartz’s impact on Indian scientific education, see Robert E. Frykenberg, “Evangelical Christians as Missionary Dubashis: Conduits of Cross-Cultural Communication,” in *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to Present*, ed. Robert Eric Frykenberg (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 143-45; Liebau, *Cultural Encounters*, 400; Indira Viswanathan Peterson, “Tanjore, Tranquebar, and Halle,” in *Christians and Missionaries in India: Cross Cultural Communication since 1500, with Special Reference to Caste, Conversion, and Colonialism*, ed. Robert Eric Frykenberg (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), 97-100; Savithri Preetha Nair, “‘...Of real use to the people’: The Tanjore printing press and the spread of useful knowledge,” *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 48, no. 4 (2011): 497-529.

<sup>59</sup> Letter from the Rev. Mr. Swartz to John Sullivan, Tanjore, September 13. 1787, in John Sullivan, *Tracts upon India; written in the years, 1779, 1780, and 1788. By Mr. John Sullivan. With subsequent observations by him* (London: Printed by W. Bulmer and Co. for T. Becket, Pall-Mall, Bookseller to their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales, Dukes of York, and Clarence, and the Junior Princes, 1795), 49, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale CW402951662.

<sup>60</sup> H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed, vol 1, (New York-London, 1835), 379 quoted in Neill, *A History of Christianity in India, 1707-1858*, 52.

*Christopher Samuel John, and the End of the Danish-Halle Mission*

The Tranquebar-based missionary Christopher Samuel John picked up where Schwartz left off, proposing a massive expansion of Schwartz's idea with funding coming from the EIC, rather than the local government. John laid out his grandiose proposal for the future of Indian education in his 1813 pamphlet, *On Indian Civilization*, written months before his death. The pamphlet appealed to the EIC for a system of free schools for poor children of all religious backgrounds. Though he never entered the British service, the funding from Copenhagen and Halle had all but dried up by the dawn of the nineteenth century. The only European power with a stake in India able to fund any additional projects was England, so to England he appealed. John's plan required significant funding, for it proposed extended free education to all children in British lands.<sup>61</sup>

Unlike the earlier Danish missionaries, who merely augmented the Hallensian system to work in the culture and context of south India, John sought an explicit break with the system altogether. Rather than following "the same method of religious instruction which [constituted]...the main ground of Education in the national schools of this Realm...by which Christianity has been made to flourish," he wanted to pursue the methods featured in the recent publications of Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster.<sup>62</sup> The notable innovation of their "mutual instructor method" was its

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<sup>61</sup> Christopher Samuel John, *On Indian Civilization, Or, Report of a Successful Experiment, Made During Two Years, on that Subject, in Fifteen Tamul, and Five English Native Free-Schools, With Proposals for Establishing a Separate Liberal Native School Society, Humbly Submitted to the Judgment and Patronage of the Governments of the Honourable East-India Company; of the Respectable Religious Societies; and the Generous and Charitable Public* (London: Printed for F.C. and J. Rivington, No. 62, St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1813), 4. Google Books.

<sup>62</sup> John, *On Indian Civilization*, iv, 1. The publications to which he referred were Andrew Bell, *The Madras School, Or, Elements of Tuition: Comprising the Analysis of an Experiment in Education*,

employment of abler pupils in the work of educating their less talented peers.<sup>63</sup> John referred to the method's ease and success as its attractive qualities, but given the scope of his proposal, one must also wonder if its economic austerity did not also play a role. The Halle system required too much time, money, and labor to serve as many students as John hoped.

Remnants of the Halle method remained, for only the missionaries were allowed to teach religion. However, John's plan contained some significant detours from Francke's initial curriculum in the name of promoting "Indian Civilization." One scholar writes that John was "dissatisfied with the straightforward application of a Francke model of education to Tamil society."<sup>64</sup> Indeed, John claimed that "Indian civilization [was] the first and great object of these native free-schools," with the instruction of English as a close second.<sup>65</sup> As a result, the emphasis on religion significantly decreased, even when compared to Ziegenbalg's charity schools. Citing his previous experience, John allowed each student to "continue in his own religious persuasion, ceremonies, and local customs." This policy emanated from the belief that Indians rebelled not because of "any dread of being compelled to embrace Christianity," which he opposed, but from fear that

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*Made at the Male Asylum, Madras, with Its Facts, Proofs, and Illustrations; to Which Are Added, Extracts of Sermons Preached at Lambets, a Sketch of a National Institution for Training up the Children of the Poor, a Specimen of the Mode of Religious Instruction at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea.: by The Rev. Andrew Bell* (London: Printed by T. Bensley, Holt Court, 1808), Nineteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, COQDBC171507429; Joseph Lancaster, *Improvements in Education, as It Respects the Industrious Classes of the Community: Containing, among Other Important Particulars, an Account of the Institution for the Education of One Thousand Poor Children, Borough Road, Southwark, and of the New System of Education on Which It Is Conducted: by Joseph Lancaster* (New York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Perkins, 1807), Nineteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, COSIZC530486262.

<sup>63</sup> Grinder-Hansen, "The Schools of Tranquebar," 73.

<sup>64</sup> Nair, "Of real use to the people," 508.

<sup>65</sup> John, *On Indian Civilization*, 33.



they might have to embrace European customs that cut against their caste.<sup>66</sup> Students, throughout their tenure, were able to maintain their religious and cultural identities. Should they embrace Christianity, they awaited a three-year probationary period before being accepted to the church.

Though John did not live to see it, the EIC approved his proposal in spirit, if not in exact detail. The company's charter of 1813 contained a clause granting at least 100,000 rupees each year to educate the inhabitants of the British territories in India. British and American missionaries arrived in India and inherited the existing Pietist practices, at a time that historians have traditionally recognized as "a watershed moment, one in which the perseverance and intelligence" of these enterprising evangelists overcame the harsh landscape of the orient "to build lasting educational institutions."<sup>67</sup> As the British established their dominance in the region in 1813, the Mission Board in Copenhagen went bankrupt, leaving the Tranquebar mission to the state, which also found itself in financial ruin. In 1825, the Danish mission ceased its efforts at conversion as well as the boarding components of its schools, and the Tranquebar mission was sold twenty years later. As the Danish mission ended its activities in Tranquebar, the SPCK turned over its operations in Madras and Cuddalore to the incorporated SPG, which could not abide by the irregularities of employing Lutheran missionaries.

The Halle model enjoyed a century of success in India, and the Danish-Halle mission with its Anglican offshoot have been lauded in the historiography of missions.

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<sup>66</sup> John, *On Indian Civilization*, 14-21.

<sup>67</sup> Mark Balmforth, "A Tamil Pietist in Ceylon: The Educational Experiments of Christian David," *International Journal of Asian Christianity* 3 (2020): 61.

The schools started by the pioneering missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Grundler, carefully melded the Hallensian style into the existing Tamil landscape. The success of these schools attracted international support from Germany to New England, with assistance from the mediating figures in the SPCK in London. As the first generation passed away, Benjamin Schultze usurped Ziegenbalg's leading role with similar vigor. His stubbornness led to his break with the Danish-Halle mission, but it allowed for his irregular partnership with the SPCK that began the century of a close Anglican-Lutheran cooperation in Indian missions. After his return to Europe, his pupil Christian Friedrich Schwartz journeyed to Tranquebar to find a languishing mission beset by wars and laziness. His peripatetic spirit brought him into contact with English soldiers in neighboring villages, where he began a three-decade's long diplomatic relationship with the EIC and the kingdom of Tanjore. Schwartz wove the Halle model into his desire to see improved relations between the Indian and English by promoting English language free schools that continued to teach Christianity. After Schwartz's death, Christopher Samuel John formally proposed a modified version of Schwartz's English schools that exchanged the Hallensian catechetical model for the newer systems of Lancaster and Bell. Though John served in the Danish-Halle mission, he recognized the power in British money and missions. His prescience was proved as the Tranquebar mission ended in 1825, and the British consolidated their missionary efforts in the same year, ending the century of Anglican-Lutheran cooperation.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Conclusion

#### *Reconsidering the Protestant International*

This study has highlighted the ways in which the Halle model manifested itself within the scope of the Protestant International. Throughout the eighteenth century the members of this imagined community of confessional Protestants acted on their shared hopes to bring an intensive, affordable religious education to the poor children of their communities. In the years that followed, these inspired, hopeful Protestants found that executing a Halle model was neither easy nor wholly possible. Despite these failures to live up to Francke's elevated ideal, the majority of the cases studied here were not completely devoid of success.

The arc of the English charity schools under the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) went from an initial excitement at the offerings from Halle to a steady embrace of the charity schools shaped in its image, until the SPCK's support waned in the 1730s. The charity schools continued on their own, however, and the SPCK could reasonably demonstrate that it had created a more dedicated ecclesiastical community. The Irish charity schools that emerged in the early eighteenth century followed the SPCK's lead in using the Halle model as a way to strengthen the Church of England in Ireland. At first, this program targeted the children of poor Protestant parents that the Church did not want to lose to rebellion, idleness, and irreligion. Eventually, the plight of poor Catholic children, which was only exacerbated under the penal laws, could

no longer go on unnoticed. Henry Maule, the Halle enthusiast of Ireland, refitted the model to encourage the conversion of Catholic children. The pursuit of religion supported by labor that drove the Hallensian enterprise quickly became disordered in the Irish charter schools of the Incorporated Society, such that the society lost its funding amidst its scandals of abuse. Griffith Jones's passion for piety stood above the partisan politics that devoured the Irish charter schools. His truer and more hopeful version of the Halle model transformed the Welsh peasantry from a people detached from the Anglican Church into a literate, devotional populace primed for revival. From its introduction to England in the late 1690s to the waning days of the Welsh charity schools, the influence of Halle held sway among British educational institutions for the better part of the eighteenth century.

The Halle model's imitations in America most clearly illustrated the limits of Halle Pietism's transferability. While Cotton Mather enthusiastically promoted the cause of Halle Pietism throughout New England, the region was not willing to pursue his Hallensian-style reforms. Mather's educational failures represent, in part, a failure to convince his fellow Bostonians that the religious education offered in the grammar schools and at Harvard was worth preserving. His personal struggles with New England's rising intelligentsia preventing him from taking charge at Harvard to institute a more devotionally directed curriculum for the future generations of New England's clergy. The decades following Mather's death in 1728 paved the way for the next Anglo-American Franckean imitator, George Whitefield. His beloved Bethesda provided an intense religious education for Georgian orphans for nearly fifty years. During Bethesda's tenure, Whitefield's positions on slavery alienated the Halle Pietists while saving the orphanage

from financial ruin. In his later years, Whitefield appealed to the spirit of the Protestant International in his proposals for Bethesda College. By the late 1760s Archbishop Secker's enforcement of the Church's authority over Bethesda College evinced that that spirit had fractured. Farther north at Wheelock's school for New England's indigenous tribes, the Halle model quickly descended into an abusive environment that its students rejected. That the SSPCK attached Francke's name to Wheelock's "grand design" was a disservice to Francke, and proof that long distances can distort appearances. While Wheelock moved toward the education of whites at Dartmouth, the legacy of his betrayal of Moor's Indians ought not be forgotten.

Unlike the cases of the Halle model in the British Atlantic, the arc of the SPCK-Halle partnership in India presents a Protestant International that was more enduring than scholars have supposed. At first, Anglicans, Congregationalists, and Lutherans supported the mission, and they were able to put their confessional differences aside – to a point. The rhetorical and intellectual energies did shift away from Tranquebar, and in that sense, Andrews is correct to highlight this fact as an important decline in the Protestant International's rhetorical energies. Yet, the shift toward Cuddalore and Madras away from Tranquebar was not a sign of decline within the Protestant International. By the time Anglicans and the Lutherans had diverted their attention away from Tranquebar, they had been considering expanding into English territories for eighteen years. Benjamin Schultze's formal reception into the SPCK as its first Indian missionary could be conceived as a remnant of the Protestant International's impulse to unite diverse Protestants in pursuit of a larger goal. That the SPCK continued to commission Halle graduates for the next century further underscores the staying power of the Protestant

International. Men like Christian Schwartz and Christian Samuel John immersed themselves in the business of the English mission without giving up their Lutheran identity. The schools they ran as irregular missionaries continued to promote the Hallensian-style religious education, even as they evolved to accommodate British interests.

Scholars continuing to investigate the contours of the Protestant International would do well to consider its institutional legacies in addition to its literary features. This shared identity was built on ideas, but those ideas were conceived in the pursuit of societal change – change brought about through educational institutions. This shared identity remained in a modified form in the coming years, as European and American missionaries exponentially increased their missionary endeavors, such that missionary historian Kenneth Scott Latourette referred to the period as the “Great Century.” The Halle model that promoted heart religion and education, though less prevalent than in the eighteenth century, was hardly absent in the great century. German pastor Johann Jänicke founded a missionary training school in Berlin at the turn of the century, inspired by his Pietist and Moravian forebears. Jänicke’s students, like Francke’s of the previous century, worked with English and Dutch missionary societies which took them to India, Sierra Leone, China, and South Africa, where Neu Halle was founded in the late nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> As these missions became more closely entwined with imperial projects, the levels of interconfessional cooperation could never reach that of the heyday of the

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<sup>1</sup> Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity: The Great Century in Europe and the United States of America, A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914, Volume 4*. (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1941), 90-1, HathiTrust.

Protestant International, but the staying power of Halle's influence on Protestant evangelical activity cannot be denied.

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