Lending

ARIEL INFORMATION:

Ariel Address: 150.135.238.50

ODYSSEY INFORMATION:

Odyssey Address: 150.135.238.6

AZN
Northern Arizona University Cline Library
Document Delivery Services
Box 6022
Building 28, Knoles Drive
Flagstaff, AZ 86011
(928) 523-6808 / (928) 523-6860 (fax)
OCLC: AZN
NAU Ariel: 134.114.228.9
document.delivery@nau.edu

ILL #: 72743893

Lending String: *AZN, AZS, TXA, RCE, IQU
Patron: Landry, Stan M

Journal Title: Piety and politics; religion and the rise of absolutism in England, Wu¨rttemberg, and Prussia /

Article Author: Fulbrook, Mary, 1951-

Article Title: Mary Fulbrook; From Reform to State Religion; Pietism in Prussia

Volume: Issue:
Month/Year: 1983
Pages: 153-173

Photocopy (Exempt)

Shipping Address:
ILL UNIVERSITY OF ARIZ LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY ARIZONA LIBRARIES
1510 E UNIVERSITY
TUCSON AZ 85721-0055

Fax: (520) 621-4619
EMail: askddt@u.library.arizona.edu

Notice: This material may be protected by Copyright Law (Title 17 U.S.C.).

Paged by (Initials)

Reason Not Filed (check one):
☐ NOS ☐ NFAC (GIVE REASON)
☐ LACK VOLUME/ISSUE ☐ OVER 100 PAGES
☐ PAGES MISSING FROM VOLUME

Rec'd: 1/10/2011 11:47:37 AM
From reform to state religion: Pietism in Prussia

Those who followed the call of Spener to reform and renew the Christianity of their Protestant state churches represented initially a challenge to the established order of things. In Württemberg, as we have seen, this challenge was responded to with tolerance and incorporated into the life of the established church; one consequence of this toleration was that Württemberg Pietism lost its political dynamism and failed to develop into an effective, organised political force in national affairs. A different pattern of development took place in contemporaneous Prussia. Rather than being accepted by and incorporated into the church, Pietism was here opposed by orthodoxy. But the dynamics of the situation were such that the Pietist movement, rejected by orthodoxy, was not, as in England, rejected also by the state, but was rather, over time, absorbed by the state and transformed into a new form of orthodoxy, a new style of state religion.

Spener had left Frankfurt, the scene of the first Pietist gatherings and the place where he wrote his influential Pia Desideria, to take up a position in Dresden. But the Electorate of Saxony, where the orthodox church was closely allied with the state, soon became ill-disposed towards Pietism. The social disturbances occasioned by Pietist meetings in Leipzig, and the threats to the monopoly status of orthodoxy, aroused governmental disfavour; and the ruler found listening to Spener’s outspoken preaching against the immorality of court life quite unbearable. Spener himself tended to passivity, even fatalism, in his personal affairs; but when in 1691 a call came from Berlin offering him an influential position at the Nicolaikirche, the Saxon state was not unwilling to release Spener from its services and Spener was glad to accept the new position in Prussia.  

Spener made use of his new position in Berlin to aid the cause of Pietism in Brandenburg-Prussia. The location and the moment were both opportune. The Prussian state, for reasons described in Chapters 3 and 4

---

above, favoured policies of religious toleration and welcomed religious minorities which seemed to offer political or economic rewards. More specifically, the 1690s were a propitious moment for the introduction of Pietism in the religious and intellectual life of Prussia. The new University of Halle was founded as a Prussian counterbalance to the strongly orthodox Lutheran universities of Wittenberg and Leipzig. Partly through Spener’s influence, two notable young Pietists, rejected by Saxony for their activities in Leipzig, were able to take up professorships at Halle: J. J. Breithaupt and August Hermann Francke. Francke, as well as holding the chair of oriental languages, became the pastor of the parish of Glaucha, a suburb of Halle just on the outskirts of the town. It was here that the Prussian Pietist movement developed its first great centre of dynamism and influence. And it was here that the first troubles occurred which occasioned the mutual working out of positions and relationships among orthodoxy, Pietists, and the state. At the same time, however, the Pietist movement was gaining adherents in Berlin and in Königsberg, far over in East Prussia.

This chapter will look, first, at the early development of relationships between Pietists and the state in each area under Friedrich III (I); and then at the later partnership of Pietism and the state, or incorporation of Pietism in the service of Prussian absolutism, under Friedrich Wilhelm I. It will focus on the ways in which the different aims and interests of the various protagonists combined to produce the peculiar development of an oppositional, individualistic religious minority into a state religion under absolutism.

The initial establishment of Pietism in Prussia

The town of Halle, south-west of Berlin in the province of Magdeburg-Halberstadt, had suffered badly during the Thirty Years War; it had been further devastated by plague in 1681–2 and by fires in 1683 and 1684. The population had suffered great physical losses and people were psychologically demoralised. When Francke arrived, his parish of Glaucha had no less than thirty-seven taverns for two hundred houses. Drunkenness and immorality were the norm, and even Francke’s predecessor as pastor had been a notable drunkard. Standards of religious education and practice were minimal. Francke, with his zeal for conversion and for the establishment of the Kingdom of God upon Earth through the regeneration of the individual, immediately set about trying to remedy this disordered state of affairs.2

2 See particularly: Klaus Deppermann, Der Hallesche Pietismus und der Preussische Staat unter Friedrich III. (I.) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1961); Erich Beyreuther, August Hermann Francke 1663–1727: Zeuge des Lebendigen Gottes (Marburg an der Lahn: Verlag der Francke-Buchhandlung GmbH, 1956); Gustav Kramer, August Her-
Francke’s initial instrument for the enforcement of social and moral order was exclusion from communion until the individual had shown a genuine change in life-style, rather than merely expressed a verbal formula of repentance with no meaning during the rest of the week. Francke’s strict use of excommunication was applied without consideration of the social standing of the potential communicant: an early local controversy arose from Francke’s refusal to admit the cantor to communion because of his excessive smoking, gambling, and drinking. Francke also preached on such problems as the ‘sehr verwildete Jugend’, the ‘schlechte Kinder-zucht’ and the ‘grosse entheiligung des Sontages und sonst grosse Unordnung Tages und Nachts in der Gemeinde’. Francke’s strong church discipline and outspoken preaching against the general life-style of his congregation soon aroused antagonism from a number of quarters; not least was the complaint that ‘man die Wirthe umb ihre Nahrung bringen wolte’. Tavern-keepers may have been concerned for their material livelihood; their clientele, not entirely unconcerned for the spiritual state of their souls but unwilling to follow the straight and narrow path prescribed by Pietists, fled from Francke’s strict discipline to receive communion from more lenient pastors in the town parishes of Halle. This led Francke into making both implicit and explicit criticisms of orthodox pastors, who in his opinion were lulling people into a false sense of security while confirming them in their ungodly ways. Orthodoxy, particularly in the shape of Roth, archdeacon of the St Ulrich church, had for its part long been ready to criticise Pietists. Roth’s 1691 anti-Pietist pamphlet, Imago Pietismi, had been forbidden publication in Prussia, but had been published instead in Leipzig; it was soon responded to by Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff, and a flurry of theological polemics and pamphleteering complemented the social disturbances aroused by Pietist activities in Halle.

There were many strands to the controversies. At a theological level, Pietists accused orthodoxy of withholding the real means of salvation through internal understanding and genuinely experienced conversion leading to a new and fully Christian life. Orthodoxy accused Pietists of dissolving correct doctrine, which alone was the true means of salvation, of devaluing God’s word by arguing that its efficacy was dependent on the state of grace of the preacher proclaiming it. At the social level, the
collegia pietatis held by Breithaupt, and the evening prayer meeting held by Francke, occasioned suspicion; and splits developed among Pietists and non-Pietists in the congregation. The anti-Pietist polemics of orthodox pastors led to members of the laity ridiculing Pietists openly on the streets, and a variety of accusations were made against those who frequented Pietist gatherings. After only a few months of Pietist activity in Halle, theological polemics and social unrest had reached major proportions.

Francke chose a direct way to attempt to resolve this unrest. He asked von Schweinitz, a Pietistically inclined old noble member of the Berlin government, to set up a lay commission to investigate the troubles, which by now posed a problem for secular authorities. This appeal to the laity to resolve what was at least in origin a theological dispute did not meet with the approval of all Pietists; von Seeckendorff, for example, who had answered Roth’s *Imago Pietismi*, was against the involvement of the government in theological controversy. Nevertheless, a commission was duly set up, composed generally of individuals favourable to the Pietist cause. By the time it made its investigations, Roth had left Halle for Leipzig, and the evidence presented by orthodoxy was weak and unsubstantiated. The commission, which had started meeting on 17 November 1692, soon found in favour of the Pietists, and ordered that they should no longer be denounced as heretical:


This statement was to be read from all pulpits in December, much against the wishes of orthodoxy. But as part of the compromise solution for peace, Breithaupt was to exclude townspeople from his collegia when students were undertaking exegeses, and Francke was to hold his prayer meetings before, rather than after, the evening meal, thus avoiding suspicions of holding a ‘nocturnal conventicle’. (One consequence of this publicity was that participation in Francke’s gathering rose from twenty to 250 people, and it had to be moved from a room in his own house to

---

6 Deppermann, *Hallesche Pietismus*, p. 78.
8 ‘Whatever is preached or imparted in private discussions according to the Word of God and the symbolic Books, concerning rebirth, enlightenment, self-denial, the inner man, and such-like matters, is in no way to be considered fanaticism or innovation, but is rather to be accepted as godly truth, and with the power of God pains are to be taken that such godly teachings may be grasped with true understanding by everyone.’ Ibid., p. 76.
take place in the church.) During the course of 1693, Francke also became more wary of supporting a variety of enthusiasts, prophetesses, and Schwärmer, removing other causes for orthodox suspicion.9

Despite ostensible external resolution of the controversies, tensions between Pietists and orthodoxy continued during the 1690s. Theological differences were augmented by more practical grounds for opposition to Pietist activities and institutions. Francke relates the development of his world-renowned orphanage, schools, and associated enterprises, in his masterpiece of publicity and propaganda, the Segens-volle Fussstapfen des noch lebenden und waltenden liebreclichen und getreuen Gottes, zur Beschämung des Unglaubens und Stärkung des Glaubens, entdecket durch eine Wahrhafte und umständliche Nachricht von dem Wäysen-Hause und übrigen Anstalten zu Glaucha vor Halle...10 In 1694 Francke started catechising the beggars who came on Thursdays for alms; in 1695 he instituted a donations box for the poor, and at Easter started a small school for poor children. After a while, Francke also took on children of wealthier citizens and nobles, at their own expense. In the summer of 1695 there were one or two extremely generous donations, and Francke, seeing this as a sign of God’s providence, expanded his school, rented rooms in a neighbouring house, and divided the school into separate classes. He also started taking in orphans, paying foster parents to look after them, and then decided to run a full-scale orphanage. More money was coming in from donations, some of them very large, and in 1696 Francke bought the neighbouring house outright. He set up Studententischen, at which poor students from the university could receive free board in return for giving some lessons, and began to develop his pedagogical ideas about streaming according to ability rather than social background and training for different future careers. In 1697 Francke’s assistant, Georg Heinrich Neubauer, was sent to Holland to look at the latest orphanages there, to develop ideas and models for a new building in Halle. The following year the foundation stone was laid for the Halle orphanage, which in the course of a few years was built up into a majestic five-storey stone building with numerous additional houses and associated concerns.11

Francke makes much in his account of the providential way in which God provided for every need of the orphanage and schools as they developed, God’s providence acting through the worldly instruments of well-meaning individuals who made crucial donations of exactly the

9 Deppermann, Hallesche Pietismus, pp. 81–6; see also Beyreuther, Francke, and Grünberg, Spener.

10 August Hermann Francke, Segens-volle Fussstapfen... (Halle: In Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1709).

required amounts at times of particular need. But Francke was a shrewd
businessman, with a keen eye for secular ways of furthering God’s work
in any conceivable manner. During the course of establishing the orphan-
age and schools, Francke developed a number of associated economic
enterprises which helped to give financial independence, and explored a
variety of tax concessions and means of obtaining a steady income
additional to unpredictable private donations. The economic enterprises
included a book printing and publishing business, a chemist for the
production and selling of medicines, and a variety of long-distance trad-
ing ventures, which dealt not only in such Christian products as the Bible
in various foreign languages but also in items of luxury consumption of
which Pietists generally disapproved. Tax concessions included freedom
from excise duties on food intended for the consumption of poor children
and orphans, and later franking privileges for the postage and distribu-
tion of a newspaper. Francke also won from the ruler rights to a steady
income from a ‘Kirchentaler’ — an annual contribution from all solvent
churches in Magdeburg-Halberstadt — and one-tenth of all fine payments
under fifty talers (later increased to five hundred talers) in the province.
And, against guild regulations, Francke obtained the right to give chil-
dren of unknown parentage (hence illegitimate) a certificate of honour to
allow them to take up apprenticeships, learn a trade and gain honest
employment. Not surprisingly, these related aspects of Francke’s primar-
ily religious and educational institutions — their economic underpinnings
— aroused antagonism from a variety of affected quarters.12 The churches
of Magdeburg-Halberstadt were reluctant to pay their yearly contribu-
tion; and the secular authorities were markedly unwilling to hand over a
tithe of their income from fines. The early complaints of tavern-keepers
in Glauchau that Francke was robbing them of their livelihood were soon
augmented by the complaints of other craftsmen and traders against the
competition posed by Francke’s various economic endeavours. The pro-
vincial tax-officials were unwilling to make it easy for Francke to obtain
his agreed tax rebates. The local guilds developed strong opposition to
Francke’s providing certificates for illegitimate children. In all sorts of
ways, Francke’s activities provoked the hostility of established organisa-
tions and interests. This hostility was only heightened by the high-handed
and self-righteous manner in which Francke went about pursuing his
goods, as when he tried to misinterpret the law to appropriate church
funds to which he was not entitled, in the case of the Schulkirche, or
when he forcibly put through his own plans for buying and building on a
controversial piece of property.13 These practical controversies ran

12 See particularly Deppermann, Hallesche Pietismus, on which these paragraphs are
based.
13 See ibid., pp. 126–8, for the story of the Schulkirche affair, in which Francke exhibited a
singular lack of charity and honesty. Spener and Paul von Fuchs disapproved of
Francke’s dealings in this matter.
alongside the continuing theological polemics between Pietists and orthodox pastors.

In the course of these antagonisms the partnership between Pietism and the absolutist state was formed. Where the state could see potential economic and political benefits for itself, it supported Francke and his concerns, against provincial Estates’ and orthodox opposition. Where the local opposition proved too strong, and it appeared politically prudent to withdraw, the state dropped its support of parts of Pietist activities. This was the case, for example, with the opposition of the guilds to accepting illegitimate children as apprentices; Francke was forced to return to accepted social standards and conform to the guild codes of conduct. The payment of a tithe of all fines proved impracticable, and what income was dredged in from this source was in relative terms negligible, so that Francke was himself finally prepared to forgo it. But on other matters Francke had his way, eventually, and in the early years of the eighteenth century Halle Pietism appeared well-established. At least until about 1705, there seemed to be a certain parallelism between the aims of ruler and government in Berlin, and those of the Pietists in Halle. This parallelism, in which the religious and educational endeavours of Francke performed certain useful political and economic functions for the state — reducing local Estates’ and guild powers, stimulating manufactures and trade — led to ideological as well as practical legal and financial support by the state.

In 1698 Francke delivered his outspoken sermon about false prophets, in which he identified orthodoxy as prime examples of wolves in sheep’s clothing; on 2 February 1699 he made an even more specific attack on certain Halle pastors in particular.14 The ministry of Halle not surprisingly complained about this; and Francke responded unrepentantly to orthodoxy’s complaints. Even if it were true that he had attacked orthodoxy, the reverse was even more true: he had himself been under attack for over seven years, ‘continuirlich mit Schelten und Schmähen’. Francke continued his criticisms of the way in which orthodoxy confirmed and condoned worldly lusts and sins, failed to exercise adequate church discipline, and preached in a manner which served ‘offenbarlich mehr zum Gespötte und Aergerniss, als zur Erbauung’. Orthodox sermons could never offer the way to true repentance and conversion: ‘den Leuten nicht recht, noch zulänglich die Mittel angezeigt werden, wie sie aus ihrem innerlichen Elende und verderbten Zustande in einen rechten neuen und bessern Zustand versetzt werden können ... Wenn ich dann und wann ihre Predigten gehört, bin ich sehr niedergeschlagen und

14 The sermon on false prophets is reprinted in Erhard Peschke (ed.), August Hermann Francke: Werke in Auswahl (Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin: Luther-Verlag, 1969), pp. 305–35; see also Kramer, Neue Beiträge, pp. 66–118; an extract of the sermon of 2/2/1699 is reprinted on pp. 87–8.
betrübet wieder herausgegangen weil ich allemal überzeugt gewesen, dass daraus ohnmöglich eine wahre Erbauung gehofft werden könne ...”

Not only were orthodox pastors not offering the means of edification; they were also trying to hinder the work of others – the Pietists – who did make efforts to achieve true conversions. Pietists were even made fun of in the streets by children, as a result of anti-Pietist campaigns. And these same pastors, themselves unregenerate, allowed people to continue drinking, gambling, profaning the Sabbath and living in sin... Francke’s tone throughout was one of self-righteous indignation: it was not he who was ‘Zankhaft’, but rather his opponents, who refused to keep quiet when Francke himself was conciliatory, patient, tolerant, and concerned only for the greater glory of God.

Whatever the righteousness or otherwise of Francke’s case, the controversies were bad for the wider reputation of the young University of Halle in which both the ruler and the local Estates, who paid taxes for its support, had an interest. In 1700 accordingly another secular investigative commission was set up to consider the theological issues; subsequently, the running of the orphanage and associated enterprises in Glaucha was also investigated. As in 1692, the findings of the investigations were generally favourable towards the Pietists, who appeared to be doing much for the standards of morality, social control, and economic activity of the area. Theological polemics were quelled, and in 1702 Francke easily obtained from the newly crowned king a renewal of the electoral privileges for the Pietist institutions. The state confirmed its support for Pietist activities, insofar as these seemed to operate for the good of the state as perceived by the ruler.

In Berlin in the 1690s Pietism was gathering adherents under the influence of Spener and his followers outside court circles. And in Berlin, as in Halle, Pietist attitudes and activities occasioned social unrest and theological controversy. One particular episode, the so-called ‘Berliner Beichtstuhlstreit’, neatly illustrates the parallelism between the aims of the state and the aims of certain Pietists, however different, ultimately, these aims might be.16

Johann Caspar Schade, one of Spener’s three assistants at the Nicolaikirche, was a highly conscientious, sensitive, somewhat melancholic individual of delicate health. He began to develop extreme scruples about the

15 ‘Continually with abuses and insults’, ‘evidently more for mockery and vexation than for edification’, ‘people are neither correctly nor sufficiently shown the means by which they can be removed from their inner misery and depravity into a new and better condition... When I now and then heard their sermons, I left very downcast and distressed, because I was continually convinced that it was impossible that a true edification could be hoped for from this.’ Kramer, Neue Beiträge, pp. 81, 90, 93.

16 See particularly Helmut Obst, Der Berliner Beichtstuhlstreit (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1972), on which this account is largely based.
carrying out of his duties, and in particular became concerned about the efficacy of the routine methods of confession and absolution before receiving Holy Communion. Fearful lest confession should become, or be considered, a purely mechanical act, and that absolution should be viewed as a purchasable commodity related to the amount a would-be communicant could pay, Schade drove himself to a mental and physical breakdown in the process of a more thorough carrying out of his confessional duties. This alone might have remained a purely personal crisis, assuaged somewhat by the willingness of Schade’s colleagues to relieve him for a while of part of his work-load; but Schade’s excessive concern with spiritual discipline provoked, through one particular incident, a more general controversy. Schade had a reputation for achieving notable effects on the religiosity of adolescent girls: it was proudly proclaimed by Pietists that Schade could teach teenage girls to extemporise the most beautiful, heart-rending spiritual prayers. But Schade’s frequent visits to the female members of the congregation aroused suspicions on the part of many less well-disposed towards Pietism. When Schade disciplined two pubescent girls by giving them a beating on bare flesh, a full-scale row broke out. In retrospect, it is impossible to determine the precise details of Schade’s particular case, which was at the very least highly embarrassing for the sober, aging leader of the Pietist movement, Spener. The incident provoked public debate about a wider set of controversies, which in relation to theological issues focussed on the question of whether communicants should be allowed freedom of choice between private or general confession and absolution before receiving communion. Sides were taken; the populace of Berlin was violently divided, with Schade amassing a personal following of enthusiasts (Schwärmer); growing dangers of separatism and the disturbance of public order through incidents leading to riots necessitated eventually the intervention of the Elector and the setting up of an investigative commission.

Friedrich’s decision, finally, was in favour of the Pietist position supporting personal freedom to choose between private or general confession. This meant that pastors could more effectively employ the instruments of confession and participation in Holy Communion in the interests of real church discipline, taking time over individual problematic cases and, with a change in the financing procedures, not needing to worry about the number of fees collected or the wealth or poverty of communicants. But at the same time the change loosened the compulsory nature of the ties of individuals to the institutional church. Pietists were in favour for the former reasons; the state for the latter, since it represented a move towards the potential union of the Lutheran and Reformed faiths and towards the religious toleration favoured by the state for political and economic reasons. Orthodox Lutherans, not surprisingly, viewed this as a considerable blow to the institutional monopoly of the
established church over the means of salvation. Yet even in this case, where the parallelism between the aims of the state and the aims of Pietists, against the interests of the established church, appeared quite clear, there were some ambiguities. Spener, while trying to protect and excuse his young friend and colleague Schade, had great misgivings about the issues, and disapproved of Francke’s vociferous support of Schade’s position. The younger generation of Pietists were readier to throw themselves into battle against orthodoxy with the aid of the state than was the elderly leader of a movement which was escaping his control.17

East Prussia in the 1680s and ’90s was a province far from the seat of government in Berlin, its religious life characterised by syncretism and sectarianism in Königsberg, superstition and ignorance in the country areas.18 There were fears of the recatholisation of Königsberg, as large numbers were converted in the 1680s. In 1689 a Holzkämmerer, Theodor Gehr, arrived in Königsberg, imbued with a piety akin to that of Spener. Gehr set up his own private house meetings for prayer and religious edification. In 1693, after a visit to Berlin in the course of which he met Spener, Gehr remodelled his devotional sessions along the lines of Spener’s collegia pietatis, finding a number of willing participants in Königsberg. Already by 1695 these modest beginnings had provoked anti-Pietist polemics in the city, as orthodox pastors denounced Pietism as a hidden papism; but the Elector issued a pro-Pietist edict. In 1697 Gehr made a trip to Halle, where he met Francke and gained ideas for educational activities. In August 1698 Gehr started a small school with four boys; in January 1699 he opened a school for the poor. Pietism in East Prussia thus evolved out of indigenous initiatives stimulated by contacts with Spener and Francke in Berlin and Halle.

These early developments met with great opposition on the part of orthodoxy. There were vitriolic polemics about ‘unberufenen Winckelprediger’ and ‘Winckelschulen’ depriving trained teachers and pastors of their rightful livelihood; there were complaints about syncretism, religious innovation, and heresy. Gehr adopted what had become the recourse of Pietists in Halle: in 1699 he appealed to the ruler, Elector Friedrich III, for a commission of inquiry. The opponents of Pietism

failed to prove that Gehr taught heretical doctrines, and the commission’s findings were favourable to the Pietists. Polemics did not abate, however, and on the instigation of anti-Pietist ministers the Estates’ Gravamina of 1699–70 complained about the ‘new sect’ of Pietism and the disturbance of the public peace. Nevertheless, the Elector remained well-disposed towards Pietist activities, as he continued in his attempts to reduce the local powers of Estates and orthodoxy.

In 1701 Elector Friedrich III crowned himself King Friedrich I in Prussia. As King, he took over the summepiscopy of the church in East Prussia, and made moves to increase his control over its activities. In future the consistoria, under the King, had to ratify the nomination of pastors even under private noble patronage; and there were edicts for the introduction of stronger church discipline and better religious education.19 Friedrich also founded an orphanage, on the Halle model, on his coronation day. These religious policies were of course very much in line with Pietist activities, which Friedrich was not loath to support. In March 1701 he took over Gehr’s school, renaming it eventually the Collegium Fridericianum, and giving it a privileged status. Gehr, while possessing great personal motivation and religious inspiration, had no formal qualifications for teaching; so a Pietist associate, Lysius, was appointed Director of the school alongside his other positions. Lysius transformed the school from a ‘Winckelschule’ into an important educational institution offering the study of classical languages and natural sciences, a curriculum soon to be copied by other Königsberg schools. The school was influential not only in educating future Pietist ministers, but also in training people for lay professions and impregnating them with Pietist attitudes and goals. Part of the school buildings (the kitchen and woodstall) were converted into a small church, where Pietist preaching drew huge audiences from the Königsberg population, attracted by the unintended publicity given by anti-Pietist preaching elsewhere. The Estates’ Gravamen of 1703 made strong complaints about the school, which it held responsible for widespread sectarianism and chiliasm, and demanded its closure. The complaints had to be toned down before being sent to the King, who did not give up his support for the Pietists’ work. By 1707 an anti-Pietist coalition had developed among the ministry, the Consistorium, the secular magistrates, and the academic senate of the University, as a result of Lysius’ and other Pietists’ criticisms of orthodox preaching and teaching. Public disorders and the loss of authority by ministers over members of their congregations led to yet another official governmental inquiry; and again Berlin reaffirmed the rectitude of Pietist ideas, choosing to disregard the provocative nature of Pietist attacks on orthodoxy. Internally, however, the disputes remained unresolved, and began to spread into the surrounding countryside. With the deaths from

19 Hubatsch, Evangelische Kirche Ostpreussens. Cf. Chapter 4, above.
plague in 1709 of two orthodox professors at the University, the King proposed Lysius for a better position. Despite strong opposition, Lysius finally was installed, thus obtaining increased influence over the developing minds of theology students. By the time of Friedrich’s death in 1713, Pietism had an established, if hotly contested, foothold in East Prussian religious and educational life. 

The incorporation of Pietism under Friedrich Wilhelm I (1713–40)

The developing partnership between Pietism and the state under Friedrich III (I) was not entirely smooth. From 1705 onwards, Halle Pietism fell into some disfavour at court. This partly resulted from the deaths of some of the main supporters of Pietism in Berlin. (Paul von Fuchs, minister for school and church affairs, died in 1704; Spener died in 1705, leaving Pietists without a moderating influence and respected theological spokesman; Samuel von Chwalkowski died in 1705, and Georg Rudolf von Schweinitz committed suicide in a fit of religious depression in 1707.) It took some time for Francke to strengthen and develop other links to the King, most importantly through Canstein and General von Natzmer. It was partly because of conflicts over specific religious policies – Pietists never became purely puppets of Prussian absolutism – particularly concerning the proposed introduction of a Professor of the Reformed Faith at the University of Halle. And it was partly because of the religious fanaticism of Friedrich’s young, third, wife, Sophie Luise, who under the influence of her mystic pastor Porst fled into religious fantasies and eventual madness. A high point of Sophie Luise’s mental illness coincided with a visit of Francke to Berlin in 1709. Despite Francke’s opposition to Porst’s mysticism, and his attempts to instil more practical elements into the young Queen’s religiosity, Francke was generally held responsible for Sophie Luise’s orientations and was expelled from Berlin, forbidden to return. These developments were hardly conducive to the fostering of a sympathetic attitude towards Pietism on the part of the Crown Prince, Friedrich Wilhelm.

Nevertheless, Francke was a shrewd operator in public relations; the Pietist institutions at Halle were well-established and widely renowned; and Friedrich Wilhelm was developing strong ideas and interests of his own concerning the state he was to inherit. After viewing the outside of the Halle buildings in the course of journey in 1711, Friedrich Wilhelm received conflicting reports on Pietist activities which aroused his interest. Later in the same year, Francke composed a detailed memorandum

20 See particularly Borrmann, Eindringen des Pietismus, ch. 3.
21 Deppermann, Hallesche Pietismus, ch. 13; Carl Hinrichs, Friedrich Wilhelm I. König in Preussen (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1941), Book 4, ch. 2.
for the heir to the throne, pointing out the economic and political advantages of his various enterprises for the state. Not only were there mercantilistic justifications for the manufacturing and trading activities; there were basic political justifications for Pietist educational activities. As Francke pointed out to the Crown Prince, a Pietist education laid ‘einen guten Grund in der Gottesfurcht; so hat davon die hohe Obrigkeit redliche Unterthanen und treue Bediente in allen Ständen zu gewarten: gleichwie man sich im gegenteil zu einem Menschen keiner Treue versehen kann, wenn keine Furcht Gottes bei ihm ist’.\(^\text{22}\) Shortly after his accession to the throne, Friedrich Wilhelm I came to see the Halle institutions for himself.

On the occasion of his visit on 12 April 1713, Friedrich Wilhelm I was twenty-five years old, and had been King for two months; August Hermann Francke was fifty, had established his institutions against strong opposition, and was experienced in gaining support for his cause. An eye-witness report reveals how adeptly Francke was able to display his institutions to the young King, taking him around the various buildings and explaining the different areas of activity. The most difficult part of the encounter was the final discussion about Pietist attitudes towards war and military activities. Francke’s replies were highly diplomatic: ‘Ew. Königl. Majestät muss das Land schützen, ich aber bin berufen zu predigen: Selig sind die Friedfertigen.’\(^\text{23}\) The visit was rapidly followed up, three days later, by a letter from Francke to the king; and within a month Friedrich Wilhelm had reconfirmed in full the 1702 privileges of the Halle Pietist institutions.\(^\text{24}\)

There has been some debate as to whether Friedrich Wilhelm I was himself personally inclined towards Pietist religiosity. He was in fact a committed Calvinist, but had little time for theological controversies: in his Instruktion … für seinen Nachfolger of 1722, Friedrich Wilhelm I asserted that he was ‘versichert das ein Lutterischer der dar Gottsätzlich wandelt eben so guht seylich werde als die Reformirte und der unter[sch]-eitd nur herrühre von die Prediger Zenckereien’.\(^\text{25}\) It seems clear that

\(^\text{22}\) ‘A good foundation in the fear of God; so the ruler can expect to have honest subjects and faithful servants in all ranks of society: just as in contrast one cannot trust a person who has no fear of God.’ Quoted in Deppermann, Hallesche Pietismus, p. 166.

\(^\text{23}\) ‘His Royal Highness must defend the country, but I have been called to preach: blessed are the peacemakers.’ The eye-witness account is reprinted in Kramer, Neue Beiträge, and in J. Klepper (ed.), Der Soldatenkönig und die Stillen im Lande (Berlin – Steglitz: Eckart-Verlag, 1938), pp. 21–38; the quoted sentence is on p. 37.

\(^\text{24}\) Parts of the letter are reprinted in Deppermann, Hallesche Pietismus, pp. 169–70.

what he was most interested in were the practical consequences for the Prussian state of the active Christianity of the Pietists.26 The incorporation of Pietism into the Prussian state under Friedrich Wilhelm I demanded more compromises on the part of the former than the latter. The King, an astute ruler, realised the potential usefulness of aspects of Pietist activities for the development of centralised rule; it was these aspects that he fostered, at the expense of other ideals of the early Pietists, transforming the nature of Prussian Pietism in the process.

The Halle Pietists were themselves ready to enter into a closer relationship with the Prussian state, not only because they needed governmental support against orthodox opposition, but also because, in a specific way, particularly after 1713 Prussia differed from other absolutist states. The usual method employed by absolutisms to reward ‘domesticated’ nobles for loss of political autonomy through service to the centralised state was to develop the cultural apparatus of court society, with associated status privileges. It was this flowering of baroque court culture and conspicuous consumption which precisionists in England and Württemberg generally found distasteful. The Pietists in Prussia, too, disliked the frivolity and hedonism of aristocratic court life. But with the reign of the soldier king, Prussian absolutism became distinctively different. The major proportion of state revenues was henceforward devoted exclusively to military expenditure; at the end of the reign, in 1740–1, it was as much as eighty per cent. All other expenditure was pared to a minimum: baroque court culture as a technique for attracting the nobility through a created social/cultural need was discarded in favour of an emphasis on military service, commitment to the army, the virtues of discipline and obedience.27

Pietists appeared to be initially unaware of the power-political motives behind the change in style; instead, they welcomed the new ‘puritanism’ and asceticism of the Prussian court. In this way, a major attitudinal obstacle to the development of a close relationship between precisionism and absolutism was removed.

Friedrich Wilhelm I made use of Pietism in a number of ways. The most difficult, and least in harmony with the Pietists’ own goals, was in relation to military activities. The King was much impressed by the conscientiousness implanted by a Pietist education; and when Francke

---


refused to accept two soldiers’ sons in his orphanage at Halle, the King employed Pietists to establish and run a military orphanage at Potsdam. Halle-trained Pietists were also employed to staff the new Berlin Kadettenhaus. Many Pietists were chosen as Feldprediger, or army preachers, who were an elite of pastors directly appointed by the King and destined for considerable advancement in their later careers. Pietist Feldprediger took very seriously their religious and educational duties among soldiers, whose levels of morality, literacy, and religious knowledge were in Pietist eyes abysmally low. As the officers of the army were being converted into a service nobility owing primary allegiance to the centralised state, so the common soldiers were transformed from illiterate, ill-educated and unwilling forced recruits into Bible-reading, God-fearing, conscientious and obedient troops, easily disciplined and organised for motivated combat. Pietists may have helped to make some soldiers into better Christians; they certainly contributed to making them better servants of the King.  

Pietist education had comparable consequences in non-military life. A number of historians have pointed out the ‘defeudalisation’ of nobles affected by Pietism, and the nobility was sending more and more of its sons to receive a Pietist education at Halle. In place of the old aristocratic virtues relating to notions of rank and honour, with licentious attitudes towards money, women, gambling, drinking, pretentiousness and pomposity, worldliness and so on, there were new ‘bourgeois’ virtues of frugality and self-control. Hinrichs, for example, comments thus on the implications of General von Natzmer’s advice to his son: ‘Es ist das Bild eines rechnenden, ökonomischen, auf gewissenhafte Berufserfüllung gerichteten, unauffälligen, diskreten, selbstbeherrschten, von Überheblichkeit und Dünkel freien, stoisch auf die Genüsse und Reize der Welt verzichtenden adligen Menschen, das hier aufgerichtet wird, ein “entfeudalisierter” Bild, in das bürgerliche Züge einzudringen beginnen.’ In 1717, the King introduced compulsory schooling for all his subjects and, in theory at least, founded two thousand schools on the model of Halle. The lower orders, too, were to be imbued with Pietism.


29 It is the picture of a noble person who stoically renounces the pleasures and enticements of the world, oriented to conscientious fulfilment of his vocation, calculating, economic, inconspicuous, discreet, self-controlled, free of arrogance and presumption, that is painted here, a “defeudalised” picture, in which bourgeois traits are beginning to enter.’ Hinrichs, Preussentum und Pietismus, p. 215; for figures on the rising proportions of aristocratic pupils at Halle, see ibid., p. 216; for similar comments on ‘defeudalisation’, cf. Beyreuther, Francke, p. 188; Deppermann, Hallesche Pietismus, p. 176.

30 Beyreuther, Francke, p. 187.
The cultural colonisation of the eastern provinces of Brandenburg-Prussia was particularly important in this respect. Here the religious and educational aspirations of Pietists, who were willing to convert the heathen at home if they lacked the support to travel to the heathen abroad, harmonised well with the political aims of the centralising state. The King supported the activities of the Pietists Lysius, Abraham Wolf, Rogall, and later Schultz, against the combined opposition of orthodoxy, the Consistorium, the Königsberg magistracy and the provincial Estates, as well as individual nobles. In 1715 Lysius was appointed court preacher; in 1721 he became the Löbenitsche town pastor, and a full Professor at the university. In 1724, on Francke’s suggestion, the King appointed two young Pietists, Rogall and Wolf, to positions at the university; in 1727 Wolf gained the pastorate of the Altstadt, and in 1732 Rogall took over the Domgemeinde. Pietists thus held key positions in the main churches of Königsberg and in the training of future theologians at the university. They were to use these positions to influence political as well as religious and moral attitudes in Königsberg and surrounding provinces.

The visitations of 1714 and 1715 had revealed miserable conditions in East Prussia. Following his appointment as Inspector of Schools and Churches in 1717, Lysius produced plans for practical reforms, including the introduction of Pfarrkonferenzen for the further education of pastors already in livings. Pastors were to be trained specially for work among non-German-speaking peoples: after some controversy, a Lithuanian seminar was introduced at the university, to which later a Polish seminar was added. These activities were not purely Pietist endeavours: the leader of orthodoxy, Quandt, vied with the Pietists for the support of the King, and in 1721 he took over the Inspectorate of Schools and Churches. The King was prepared to support whichever party seemed most energetic in implementing his policies of cultural colonisation, and in the course of the 1720s and early 1730s there was considerable oscillation in the balance of power between Quandt and the Pietists. But the latter proved the more hard-working both at the university and in the churches. In 1727 the Lithuanian seminar was transferred from the care of the somewhat lazy Quandt to the committed leadership of Wolf. Pietist credentials now became essential for entering state service: the King decreed that all theologians must have studied at least one year in Halle, and in 1729 this was extended to a minimum of two years. The East Prussian Pietists were given monopoly powers over the selection of candidates for

---

31 See generally the references cited in n. 18, above.
the ministry, which included detailed investigations of personal morality, life-style, and state of regeneracy or salvation. No-one could take up a position without a Pietist testimonial. The following year this Zeugnis-
pflicht was extended to cover even pastors under private noble patronage, representing a considerable assault on the local powers of nobles. In 1732 Friedrich Wilhelm set up the ‘Perpetuierliche Kirchen- und Schulkommis-
mission’, extended in 1734 under the ‘Erneuerte und erweiterte Verordnung über das Kirchen- und Schulwesen in Preussen’. This has been described by one commentator as ‘die grösste innere Kolonisationsstat der Neuzzeit in Deutschland’. Pietists and state together used educational reform for sociocultural transformation, though with very different aims in mind: ‘Den letzten Untertanen nicht nur zum Staat, sondern auch zur christlichen Gemeinschaft heranzuziehen, war das mühevoll angestrebte Ziel.’

Wolf had died in 1731, and Rogall in 1733; but Schultz, who had arrived in Königsberg on 1731, took over the leadership of the Pietist movement. In 1737 the decree requiring a period of study at Halle was amended to except those who had studied at Königsberg: the latter had come to equal Halle as a centre of Pietism.

By the 1730s, Pietism had become firmly established as the new orthodoxy of Brandenburg-Prussia. In a number of controversies old orthodoxy had been losing ground against Pietists, supported as they generally were by the central government of the state. Valentin Ernst Löscher, an orthodox theologian who struggled for reconciliation with Pietists in the interests of church unity against atheism and rationalism, was finally defeated in a debate at Merseburg in 1719. The self-righteousness of the second genera-
tion of Pietists in Prussia would admit of no compromise, only victory. In 1725, after Königsberg Pietists had complained to Francke about the rationalist Fischer, the latter was expelled by order of the King. Königsberg Pietists were somewhat shocked by the speed and severity of this action, and resolved not to make such complaints in future; but the secular demolition of opposition to Pietists certainly aided their ascendance to a position of ideological and institutional supremacy. In 1725, orthodoxy were charac-
terising themselves as ‘das arme Häuslein der Rechtgläubigen’.

33 ‘The greatest act of internal colonisation of modern times in Germany’; ‘the arduously pursued goal was to draw every last subject not only into the state but also into the Christian community.’ Hubatsch, Evangelische Kirche Ostpreussens, vol. 1, p. 188, p. 210. In ibid., vol. 3, Documents, are reprinted the 1729 ‘Verordnung über die Theolo-
gische Kandidatenprüfung...’ (pp. 208–10) and the 1734 ‘Erneuerte und erweiterte Verordnung über das Kirchen- und Schulwesen in Preussen’ (pp. 211–23).

34 See the references cited in n. 18, above. Letters of Königsberg Pietists are reprinted in: Theodor Wotschke, Georg Friedrich Rogalls Lebensarbeit nach seinen Briefen (Königs-

35 ‘The poor little group of the orthodox.’ Martin Greschat, Zwischen Tradition und
This supremacy led in a number of ways to the transformation of Prussian Pietism. For the genuinely committed leadership, it implied a change from being religious visionaries with world-wide aims and missionary ambitions into being loyal servants of the Prussian state. Hinrichs describes this process both for the early work of Francke in Halle and for the activities of Pietists in East Prussia. As he comments, Rogall and Schultz 'wirkten in ihrer Eigenschaft als Professoren, Pfarrer und Kirchenbeamter schon wie preussische Staatsdienner, die ganz in der Arbeit für das ihnen anvertraute Gebiet aufgehen und sich für internationale Verbindungen und Tätigkeiten nicht mehr interessieren'.36 For others, the ascendency of Pietism meant a less committed, less genuine profession of Pietist attitudes to gain political and personal advancement. Nietzsche suggests that 'Es hatte sich auch, je offenkundiger der Einfluss der Pietisten in der Staatsverwaltung wurde, eine Anzahl von Leuten in die Reihen der Pietisten gedrängt, denen es nur auf den äusseren Schein ankam und deren heuchelisches Gebaren nur schlecht die eigennützigsten Bestrebungen verhüllte.'37 An anti-Pietist sermon of 1736 commented on the outward asceticism of Pietism, making Pietists easily recognisable to others, in the process looking 'ganz scheußlich'.38 The need for Pietist testimonials to obtain positions in church and state led to superficial professions of conversion and regeneration according to the routinised general stages of Pietist experience. Pietism, conceived as a spontaneous religion of the heart, had become rationalised and mechanical as the orthodoxy of the state.

At the same time, however, the picture is slightly more complex. Even for those who could neither genuinely accept nor outwardly profess Pietist religiosity, there were sociocultural consequences. It is worth looking in some detail at the autobiography of an eighteenth-century rationalist, Johann Salomo Semler, for what it reveals of the implications of later Pietism in north-eastern Germany.39 Born in 1725, son of a non-Pietist pastor, Semler makes many critical comments about Pietists as he

36 'Already work, in their capacities of Professor, pastor, and church official, as servants of the Prussian state, completely involved in the work for their allotted area and no longer interested in international connections and activities.' Hinrichs, *Preussentum und Pietismus*, p. 289.
37 'As the influence of Pietism in the government became more apparent, a number of people had pushed themselves into the ranks of the Pietists, who were concerned only about outward appearances and whose hypocritical behaviour only thinly disguised the most self-serving aspirations.' Nietzsche, *Quandt*, p. 78.
38 'Quite ghastly.' Sermon reprinted in ibid., pp. 75–7; the quotation is from p. 75.
39 Johann Salomo Semler, *Lebensbeschreibung von ihm selbst abgefasst* (Part 1: Halle: 1781; Part 2: Halle: 1782). Semler in fact grew up in Salfeld, outside the Prussian state, but at this time close to and much under the influence of later Prussian Pietism. Many small courts, and particularly the tiny independent imperial knights, took up Pietism once it became fashionable in Prussia.
experienced them in his childhood. Professions of piety replaced hard work and intellectual achievement as a means to advancement. Once Pietism had become the fashion, people were pressured to join in as a matter of social survival: even Semler’s father had to soften towards Pietism and later, for career reasons, to join in with Pietists and persuade his son also to participate. Semler speaks of the various reasons why the townspeople flocked to Pietist gatherings:

man hatte schon am Früh- Vor- und Nachmittags-predigten, wozu jetzt auch gar noch von 1 bis 2 eine Betstunde kam, viele Jahre lang genug gehabt. Aber nun sollten die Leute auf einmal alle durchaus from, oder Wiedergeborne werden; diese vorgegebene Absicht ist unmöglich, wenn nicht alle Schwärmerey und Heuchelei eingerechnet wird. Die wahre Absicht war, sich gros Ansehen zu geben, ohne Arbeit und Gelehrsamkeit, und sich des Herzogs und Hofes zu bemächtigen.

A further advantage was that one could get on intimate terms with members of the opposite sex, in the course of the emotional, soul-searching Pietist sessions; and a marriage with a Pietist could be fairly certain of bright prospects:

Aus der angeblich geistlichen Vereinigung in solchen Erbauungsstunden, entstanden sehr viel menschliche sinliche Verbindungen; und sehr leichte Heiraten, weil solche Personen ganz unfelbar, vor allen andern ihres Standes und Berufes, den Vorzug bekamen.

Semler’s brother became involved in a Pietist circle at university, where Pietist conversions had become a matter of routine:

Eine Historie der eigenen Erfahrung und Erbauung wurde die Regel füre andere, es ja eben so zu machen; gerade wie zur Zeit der Mönchsorden. Ueber den Seelenzustand fünten manche Prediger ein grosses Stadtrecht; die Vorsteher der einzelnen Erbauungsstunden hatten ebenfalls dergleichen Calender eingefüret, woraus jeder seinen Seelenzustand in der vorigen ganzen Woche, wieder hersagte. Dieses war für sehr viele ein recht sicherer Weg, sich nun bei allen hohen und vornemn Personen so zu empfehlen, dass sie ihre häuslichen und bürgerlichen Endzwecke aufs aller unselbarste hiermit erreichten.40

40 ‘... for many years it had been quite enough to have early sermons, morning sermons, and sermons in the afternoon, to which was now added, on top of this, an hour of prayer from 1 to 2. But now suddenly people were all supposed to become pious, or re-born; this alleged aim is impossible, if one doesn’t count in all the hypocrisy and fanaticism. The true purpose was, to give oneself great airs, without work or scholarship, and to get in with the Duke and the court.’

‘Out of the ostensibly spiritual union in such conventicles arose very many human sensual connections; and very easy marriages, because without fail such persons, above all others of their station and calling, were given preference and privileges.’

‘The story of one’s own experience and edification became the rule for others to follow exactly; just as at the time of the monastic orders. Many preachers kept a great town register on the state of people’s souls; those in charge of particular conventicles had similarly introduced such diaries, from which each recounted the state of his soul in the whole previous week. Now this was for many a sure means by which to recommend themselves to all high and eminent people, so that they could in this way attain their
Semler’s brother was unfortunately too honest to be able to reproduce or find appropriate symptoms of conversion in himself, and fell into a severe depression, weeping and praying all night. Semler’s family made great efforts to help and comfort him, although taking care not to offend local Pietists; but his spiritual struggles were cut short by a premature death.

The interesting development in Semler’s autobiography is the way in which he was himself unintentionally affected by Pietist attitudes. He eventually gave in to social pressures to participate in a Pietist group; and while he failed to experience any form of conversion or regeneration, he nevertheless developed a markedly Pietist form of conscience about minor sins and transgressions. Later, as a student at Halle, where he rented a room in the orphanage buildings, Semler again combined disapproval of the falsity and pretentiousness of much of Pietism with a number of strongly impregnated Pietist attitudes. He was, for example, overcome with feelings of remorse and guilt about his initial overwhelming delight at having obtained a copy of a book he had long been looking for. He felt a conflict between his intellectual curiosity and his religious purity. Semler’s generally critical opinions about the ‘Idiotismus der Erbauung’ which had spread over Germany in the previous decades are strangely counterbalanced by certain internalised aspects of the new Pietist culture. Other secular rationalists of the later eighteenth century were similarly affected by experience of Pietism in their youth.

Initially a persecuted minority movement attracting the genuinely committed alone, by the time of the accession of Friedrich II (Frederick the Great) in 1740, Pietism was a religious and cultural movement officially supported by the Prussian state and attracting the socially aspiring and politically ambitious. At the same time, it had effected major changes in the nature of Prussian social and political processes. Francke’s work in Halle, continued by his son and followers after his death in 1727, and the work of Pietists in East Prussia, had transformed the educational experience of all classes in Brandenburg-Prussia. The takeover of the orthodox Lutheran church by the Prussian state through the sponsorship of the heterodox Pietist movement had broken the powers of patronage of the old nobility and transformed the foci of political identification and obedience. The support given to Pietism in its battles with the Estates had aided in reducing the powers of the Estates to the benefit of centralised rule. The spread of Pietism across all the scattered provinces of Brandenburg-Prussia had developed a unity of cultural orientations and concerns, a uniformity of educational background and experience, a shared language helping to break down provincial isolation and political decentralisation. Whatever the numbers of those who pretended Pietism only, domestic and civic goals in the most unspiritual fashion.’ Semler, Lebensbeschreibung, pp. 32, 33, 48.
Pietism had wide implications for motives and attitudes. Even those who remained the creatures, rather than the creators, of political life, had their focus of identity transformed. As Oberkonsistorialrat Süssmilch reported in 1756 on the effects of Pietist education in the province of Lithuania:

Der alte eigensinniger Litauer ist durch den Unterricht fast ein ganz anderer Mensch in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft geworden und übt jetzt auch die Pflichten gegen die Obrigkeit ... Welch schöne Belohnung der darauf gewandten Kosten und Mühen.\(^4^1\)

Once the energies of Pietists were harnessed to those of the centralising state, in the common fight against local Estates and local power structures on which orthodox Lutheranism was dependent, there was much that could be achieved, socially, politically, and culturally. That this achievement did not represent the Kingdom of God upon Earth, but merely the construction of Prussian absolutism, was something the early Pietists had not foreseen. Yet it resulted from the logic of the situation in which they had sought the impossible.

What, very simply, are the structural similarities and differences with the cases of England and Württemberg which account for the different pattern of Pietist political activities in Prussia? The dependent, ambiguous status of the established church in Prussia meant that, as in England, a movement for religious reform would inevitably have political implications. This was in contrast to the independence of the church in Württemberg, which ultimately made possible the marginal political status of Württemberg Pietism. But the sociopolitical links of the church were rather different in Prussia from those in England, as were relations between ruler and key sociopolitical groups. These different state/society relationships, combining with the different social location of the church meant that, while Prussian Pietism would become as politically important as English Puritanism, the force of its efforts would develop in a very different direction. The following chapter seeks to bring together systematically the similarities and differences across the three cases which in combination account for the different patterns of development; it summarises and reflects on the argument unfolded above.

\(^4^1\) "The old obstinate Litauer has, through education, virtually become a quite different person in civil society, and now also fulfils his duties towards authority... What a nice reward for the cost and trouble expended." Quoted in Nietzki, *Quandt*, p. 60.