An Enlightenment of Spirit

Pietism and Prussian Politics

Grace Vowels
Salem College

Abstract

This article covers the political effects of the Pietist movement in the Prussian territories. It details basic Pietist thought and how these doctrines were secularized, particularly in the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century, as Germany became a unified nation-state. In particular, it examines the question of how these religious beliefs were stripped of their original contexts and then secularized and politicized to encourage devotion first to the militaristic Prussian state and then to the unified nation of Germany in the late nineteenth century. This article utilizes various Pietist texts such as Philipp Jakob Spener's *Pia Desideria* and the works of August Hermann Francke as a basis for analysis, as well as various other primary and secondary sources to make the argument that Pietist virtues were secularized by heads of state throughout Prussian and unified German history, ultimately creating a brand of strict, unique citizenship.

Article

Religious revolution has a long tradition in Germany. As the birthplace of the Reformation, non-conformity spread and took root, despite the opposition of the established Catholic Church and the Holy Roman Emperor. Pioneers like Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli were influential in the foundation of modern Protestantism, and religious groups such as the Anabaptists persisted in their worship even under the greatest persecution, often resulting in death. The Pietist movement was another manifestation of this long tradition, breaking off from the mainstream Lutheran Church due to ideological disagreements over worldliness and the importance of formal theology. Pietism was initially a nonconformist movement that stressed personal faith and belief and was most influential in the Kingdom of Prussia, a Lutheran majority state with Calvinist leaders. However, throughout the eighteenth century, it began to be increasingly incorporated into formal church and state doctrine within Prussia. Pietism proved beneficial to both church and state despite its focus on the individual faith and resistance to organized orthodoxy, ideas which seem opposed to the burgeoning absolutist Prussian state. As time went on, Pietism became more and more incorporated into popular religion, eventually enforcing an orthodoxy originally antithetical to the movement. How is it possible for a movement to be manipulated this way, abandoning its original tenets and becoming a means of enforcing state homogeny? The answer may lie in the politicization of Pietist values, separated from their original devotional context and incorporated into the methods of governance and control. Although a religious movement within the Lutheran Church, Pietism worked alongside growing political absolutism in Prussia, where it was used especially by leaders throughout the

eighteenth in state-building, thus highlighting the historical theme of using widespread cultural movements to enforce political dominance.

Pietism as a movement emerged in the seventeenth century in the wake of widespread dissatisfaction with the established Lutheran Church. During the Reformation, one of the main complaints of Protestants was what they perceived as the worldliness and idolatry of the Catholic Church, coupled with the inaccessibility of religious knowledge and spiritual connection to the common people. After a century of being an established church, some within the Lutheran community began to feel that this was becoming an issue within their faith as well.

The "father" of Pietism was the German theologian Philipp Jakob Spener, who was born to a Lutheran family near France in 1635.[1] He had a thorough theological education at the University of Strasbourg and published his most well-known work, *Pia Desideria*, in 1675, where he lays out his hopes of reformation for the Lutheran Church.[2] Spener writes in *Pia Desideria* of the issues that he has with the spiritual state of Germany, admonishing both the clergy and society at large. Of the clergy, he writes: "Behold how they seek promotions, shift from parish to parish, and engage in all sorts of machinations," criticizing the worldliness of these ministers who prioritize their own earthly prosperity over the spiritual wealth of the Bible and Church.[3] He also writes that in the life of the common people "it is evident on every hand that none of the precepts of Christ is openly observed," while citing drunkenness and desire for possessions as critical issues that affect the general public.[4] Spener manages to tie all of this back to the papacy, which he believes is the cause of the deterioration of the "true doctrine."[5] He adheres steadfastly to Luther's beliefs, but believes that the people, while having broken away from the Catholic Church, have not yet embodied the spirit of the Luther and, as such, are not even worthy of calling themselves "Lutherans."[6] Because Spener's complaints lay with church practice rather than the doctrines of Luther himself, Pietism remained as an offshoot of the Lutheran Church.

Another factor influencing the rise of Pietism was the complete destruction suffered by so many German places during the Thirty Years War and the following years. For instance, the German city of Halle, a region which was heavily influenced by the Pietist August Hermann Francke, was decimated by invading armies, suffered economic despair due to its annexation to Brandenburg-Prussia and had over half of its citizens perish from the plague.[7] The desolation felt following the Thirty Years War drove down morale, and many turned to what Pietists considered to be "sin," patronizing taverns and brothels of which

[1] K. James Stein, "Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705)," in *The Pietist Theologians*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Malden: Blackwell, 2005), 84.
[2] Stein, "Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705)," 84.
[3] Philipp Jakob Spener, *Pia Desideria*, trans. Theodore G. Tappert (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1964), 45.
[4] Spener, *Pia Desideria*, 57-62.
[5] Spener, *Pia Desideria*, 40.
[6] Spener, *Pia Desideria*, 57-58.
[7] Robert Gawthrop, *Pietism and the Making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 127.

there were a disproportionate number.[8] Francke, born in 1663, was from Lübeck and raised in Gotha, where his father worked for the duke, a deeply religious man called "Ernest the Pious," who like Pietists, worked to spiritually improve his subjects. Exposure to such religiosity likely had an effect upon the young Francke.[9] He himself relates to this struggle towards morality, as in his autobiography, he describes himself as "a man of the world" who "drew evil to myself" even though he had conducted years of theological study. This internal conflict regarding morality emphasizes an important uneasiness, shared by many people, common and notable, centered around a sense of hollowness and desolation in both the modern world and the orthodox faith.[10] A new way of worship, one which altered the negative aspects of the established church while remaining true to its fundamental creed, would be able to serve as a balm to the suffering soul, much like how Francke's soul was soothed through his devotion. As such, Pietism, particularly under Francke, expanded in these places because the enhancement of spiritual health was thought to aid societal health.[11] For these reasons, the Pietist movement was formed, serving as a fresh branch off of a still flourishing Lutheran tree.

Pietists ultimately sought to purify the Church from the previously noted corruptions found in the German Lutheran Church. This was to be done by the establishment of a true evangelical church on earth. The formal founder of the Pietism was the aforementioned Phillip Jacob Spener, whose work *Pia Desideria* (*Pious Desires*) provides the basis for Pietist theology, which rests upon several fundamental tenets, the exploration of which leads to a greater understanding of the subsequent applications of Pietism into the constitution of the Prussian state and people. One of the most crucial of these tenets was the priesthood of all believers, a concept that Spener ties back to the earliest days of the Christian Church, as described by Paul.[12] While Spener does not object to "pulpit preaching," he feels that the Lutheran Church has become much too reliant on it and prescribes, in addition to this traditional form of preaching, an assembly in which "others who had been blessed with gifts and knowledge would also speak and present their pious opinions … to the judgement of the rest."[13] With this, he also highlights the importance of personal interpretation of Christ's doctrine in conjunction with the official position of the Church and its ministers. In order to accomplish this, Spener recognized that an understanding of the entire Bible on an individual basis was necessary as well, a position which while not disavowed by Lutherans as it was by Catholics, yet was seldom practiced.[14] He calls for every head of the household to "keep a Bible, or at least a New Testament, handy and read from it every day."[15] Of course, due to the spiritual deprivation that Pietists felt afflicted much of the German lands, these programs for private Bible reading and faith formation would have to be led, at first,

[8] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 127-128.
[9] Markus Matthias, "August Hermann Francke (1663-1727)," in *The Pietist Theologians*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Malden: Blackwell, 2005), 100-101.
[10] August Hermann Francke, "Autobiography," in *Pietists: Selected Writings*, ed. Peter C. Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 99.
[11] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 128-129.
[12] Spener, *Pia Desideria*, 89-90, 92-94.
[13] Spener, *Pia Desideria*, 87-90.
[14] Spener, *Pia Desideria*, 88-89.
[15] Spener, *Pia Desideria*, 88.

by the heads of congregations, with the hope that the congregation would soon be proficient enough to carry this practice of Christian piety into their own lives.[16] Another critical aspect of Pietism is the living practice of the faith. Spener writes that knowledge of Christ and his words is not enough.[17] Instead, people must carry these values into their personal lives; the foremost of these values is love, which Spener defines as a sacrifice of self, even urging people, in certain cases, to give up one's rights "for fear that their hearts may betray them and feelings of hostility may become involved," if a confrontation occurs.[18] Such a "priesthood of all believers" might put Pietism at odds with the absolutist state that would develop in Prussia, but a possible explanation for their relationship can be found in the very same individualized worship which lies opposite the absolutist state. The leaders of the Prussia had converted to Calvinism in the early seventeenth century, a conversion which set them apart from the majority of their subjects who continued to aid state-supported Lutheranism.[19] This put the political leadership at odds with the religious and cultural leadership of Prussia. Although the Reformation brought about a change in the international hierarchical structure of Christianity, with the reduction of the pope from absolute authority, the hierarchical structure was still in place on a regional level. This meant a disconnect between the church, a critical aspect of the average person's life, and the government, another important facet of daily life. It is possible to read such a power struggle regarding hierarchy in the average Prussian's daily life as a factor in the Prussian monarchy's alliance with Pietism. With the Pietist focus on individual interpretation, unquestioning allegiance which may have once been directed to the church could now be directed at the state. This decentering of religious authority combined with the monarchy's advancement of Pietist doctrine and theologians in positions such as university lecturers and army field chaplains likely helped to lay the framework for Prussian absolutism. As such, with an understanding of the basic theological tenets of Pietism, particularly the political context surrounding their application, it becomes easier to understand just how they came to be politicized by the Prussian state.

As a movement, Pietism was predominantly influential in the Kingdom of Prussia. Long a Protestant territory, the majority of the people in the kingdom were Lutherans, which interestingly contrasted with the Calvinist faith of Prussia's rulers, who belonged to the Hohenzollern dynasty.[20] Initially, the relationship to Pietism was tenuous, as Pietist doctrine strayed from the orthodoxy as the established Lutheran state Church. Even so, the welcoming of Protestant refugees was a well-known aspect of the Prussian government, one which set it apart from many other German states.[21] For example, the Kingdom of Prussia accepted French Huguenot refugees who had been expelled when Louis XIV revokes the Edict of Nantes, revoking their status as a protected religious group.[22] In his 1685 response to Louis XIV, the Edict of Potsdam, the "Great Elector" Frederick William

[16] Spener, *Pia Desideria*, 89.
[17] Spener, *Pia Desideria*, 95.
[18] Spener, *Pia Desideria*, 96.
[19] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 42, 204.
[20] Benjamin Marschke, "Pietism and Politics in Prussia and Beyond," in *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660-1800*, ed. Douglas Shantz (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 488.
[21] Marschke, "Pietism and Politics," 484.
[22] Marshcke, "Pietism and Politics," 485.

and his co-signers promise to aid the French immigrants in their move to their respective territories, stating that they would aid in the cost of transport, the establishment of profession, and self-government in many disputes.[23] Although Pietists were not refugees and were instead part of a domestic movement, the existence of varied denominations within the state indicates a tradition of welcoming dissenters, as well as moderate religious toleration, as indicated by the coexistence of Calvinists and Lutherans within the same territory, a gap highlighted by the Hohenzollern dynasty and the majority of their population. As such, the principle of "cuius regio eius religio," or the Augsburgian edict that declared the ruler of a territory determined that territory's religion,[24] was not upheld in Prussia. This provided a modicum of religious freedom for subversive theologians, freedom which would be seized upon by Pietists to develop and spread their doctrine across the state.

Some of the movement's popularity may be explained by the fact that Spener himself lived in Prussia for a period of his life, and other influential Pietist thinkers like Francke were based in Prussia. In fact, the town of Halle, newly annexed by Brandenburg-Prussia and which Francke helped to restore after years of devastation in the late seventeenth century, was the center of a powerful Pietist movement in Prussia. As previously mentioned, Halle had been particularly affected by the Thirty Years War, as well as a plague during the latter years of the seventeenth century. Due to these tragedies, the town had suffered a steep decline in religious devotion, and Francke's alcoholic predecessor was a chief unholy influence upon the town.[25] In response, Francke set upon a path of reform for Halle. He challenged orthodoxy by promoting Pietist theology of a personal relationship with God, one which would be expressed through shows of outward morality. He demanded a genuine change in lifestyle from his parishioners in order to receive communion, thus ensuring his parishioners were serious about their newly developed beliefs, in a manner which ensured devoted adherents, further contributing to the longevity of Pietist beliefs.[26]

Another critical aspect of Pietism was the establishment of institutions for the public good. Schools specialized in the education of youth in the Pietist tradition at both the elementary and university levels.[27] They also established orphanages and poorhouses that emphasized Pietist teachings.[28] Such institutions, as well as public ministry to the common people, worked to increase public opinion of the Pietists, particularly in devastated areas like Halle.[29] Additionally, various Pietist business ventures were economically powerful and were able to generate a substantial income for Francke and his continued evangelical

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[23] Frederick William, Elector, "The Edict of Potsdam," *German History in Documents and Images*, accessed May 15, 2019, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document_s.cfm?document_id=3636.
[24] Hans Knippenberg, "The Political Geography of Religion: Historical State-church Relations in Europe and Recent Challenges," *GeoJournal* 67, no. 4 (2006): 253-254.
[25] Mary Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics: Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in England, Wurttemberg and Prussia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 154.
[26] Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics*, 155.
[27] Spener, *Pia Desideria*, 103.
[28] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 130-131.
[29] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 129.

missions.[30] Pietists did business in publishing, medicine, and trade, which encompassed a great deal of secular, worldly goods, goods which were not congruent with Pietist ideology; he also managed to acquire tax breaks for his charitable institution, cementing an initial relationship between Pietists and the Prussian government, even if at this point, the government was a local one.[31] There were other factors at play concerning the emergence of pietism as a popular faith practice besides their establishment of schools, orphanages, and businesses. One of these, to be explored further later, is the encouragement that Pietism eventually received in the royal court and at a governmental level, despite initial hesitation. It is again important to note that Pietism in and of itself is less of a denomination and instead is a worship practice within the Lutheran tradition. This distinction is important, as it indicates that Pietism never broke off into a separate church, instead remaining at odds, yet still affiliated, with the widespread Lutheran Orthodoxy.

While the Prussian monarchy was initially hesitant about Pietism, in the early eighteenth century, attitudes towards Pietism at the uppermost levels of government turned in favor of the Pietist tradition. Initial skepticism was due to attempts to convert the Calvinist Prussian monarchy to Lutheranism through Pietism, seen largely in the case of Frederick I and his wife, although they had previously attempted to work together politically.[32] Despite initial clashes, Pietists and the state did come to work in tandem, as Prussian absolutists adopted Pietist rhetoric. This relationship was largely due to the influence of King Frederick William I, who became close with Francke.[33] Efforts had previously been made to convert Prussian leaders, but they had largely failed; even Frederick William I was opposed to the Pietists at first, largely because he felt that they had slighted his father.[34] This was balanced with his recognition of the fact that the Pietist movement was likely the best way to reconcile the majority Lutheran population of Prussia with the predominately Calvinist establishment.[35] Yet this was not a personal connection or endorsement of Pietism. This close connection would come about later in Frederick William's life after he had a religious awakening. Already a deeply religious man, he underwent a deep change in his Calvinist faith following the death of his young son; from this, he began to desire a more personal connection to God, through whose grace he believed that he and everyone else may be saved, a far cry from the Calvinist doctrine of predestination.[36] This emphasis on personal connection and grace led him to become more welcome to Pietist ideas. Despite this, he remained a Reformed Calvinist all his life, though he still incorporated Pietist beliefs into his personal faith.[37] His cultivation of a personal relationship with Francke began when he visited Halle, and evolved further when one of his officials came to advocate for Francke's doctrines to him.[38] The connection deepened, and Francke became personally involved

[30] Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics*, 157.
[31] Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics*. 158-159.
[32] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 203-204.
[33] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 200.
[34] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 203-204.
[35] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 204.
[36] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 205.
[37] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 206.
[38] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 208-209.

with Frederick William I as he ascended to the throne in 1713.[39] A more concrete reflection of similarities between the personal life of Frederick William I and conservative Pietist beliefs can be seen in the running of his court. Unlike other nations, Prussia had no elaborate Baroque court culture, which was characterized by decadence and glamour.[40] Instead, in line with both Pietist beliefs of hard work and discipline and his own personality, Frederick William created a military culture much different from the Baroque court of favors and privileges found in other regions, such as France and England.[41]

Much of Pietist literature and thought, while focusing on one's spiritual character, could be adapted to apply to the state and one's responsibilities as a citizen. For instance, Spener's work *The Spiritual Priesthood* contains a section answering seventy questions about "the Word of God." Spener writes, when asked if love of God should lead to neglect of secular affairs, that Christians "are also placed by God in certain positions for the general good, when they have bodily work and business, they do so diligently according to the ability God gives, avoid all idleness."[42] The assertion that love of God can be expressed by diligence and work is useful in state-building, as it urges citizens to remain servile, not neglecting their earthly duties in favor of spiritual pursuits. This philosophy was extended to obedience and service to the state, since Frederick William I would interpret the "general good" to mean "the good of the country."[43] With this, Frederick William was able to establish work as a "divinely—and royally—required duty."[44] Spener's Pietist beliefs, as expanded upon by Francke and implemented in Halle, were not very popular with local guilds and landed estates; this unpopularity led them to have a strong appeal to the political tastes of Prussian leadership, who sought to ensure the formation of a centralized absolutist state, a state which required the submission of Junkers and estates.[45] The enforcement and further implementation Pietist conventions, such as tax breaks and compulsory education, helped to further submission.[46] Such policies also worked to create an economy filled with hard workers whose loyalty to the state both bolstered the economy and allowed the military-obsessed Frederick William to build up his war chest of both liquid cash and physical resources. However, in order to ensure enthusiastic participation in this system, it was necessary to convince the Prussian people of its intrinsic ideological correctness. This was done through another Pietist idea: education.

One of the tenets of Pietism highlighted by Spener in *Pia Desideria* was the education of the people in the Pietist tradition, from the university level all the way down to primary schools. This can be seen further in Francke's 1698 "Outline of All the Institutes at Glauch near Halle," which lists extant institutions including schools for the education of noble

[39] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 209.
[40] Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics*, 166.
[41] Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics*, 166.
[42] Jakob Philipp Spener, "From *The Spiritual Priesthood*," in *Pietists: Selected Writings*, ed. Peter C. Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 59.
[43] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 210.
[44] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 252.
[45] Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics*, 159.
[46] Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics*, 159.

children, burgher children, and poor children, as well as an orphanage and a poorhouse.[47] These charitable schools founded by Pietists, schools which instilled Pietist religious values such as discipline and order served served as important precursors to later schools founded by the Pietist-influenced Prussian state. The state established public schools for the education of common children, which was truly revolutionary for the time; however, these schools were largely centers for drilling civic virtues, blended of course with religious virtues, into the youth of the nation.[48] This would hopefully ensure a diligent public whose values aligned with those of the Hohenzollerns. These institutions, particularly state-run orphanages and poorhouses, also worked for the economic benefit of the kingdom, as those inside were compelled to work for their keep, highlighting the aforementioned Pietist values of diligence and self-reliance.[49]

Discipline was another important aspect of Pietist state-building. Self-denial was emphasized, and moderation was encouraged in all earthly things. This is emphasized in a document written by Francke in 1722, well into Frederick William I's reign. His advice to German students traveling to the Lapland included such precepts as "Humility, modesty with decorous Parrhesie [openness] towards all men" and "true denial of self."[50] Perhaps the most severe of all of these guidelines was the importance of "shunning dangerous and idle conversation."[51] All of these implied a strict personal discipline and asceticism, which Frederick William I and other Prussian leaders would use to create a strong military, bureaucracy, and workforce. All said, it becomes very clear that the bulk of "Prussian Virtue," for which the kingdom was well known in the eighteenth century, is derived from Pietist values that have been subverted to influence political and national character in addition to religious character. While Pietists were largely in charge of educational and religious institutions, the monarchy largely controlled the military and bureaucracy.[52] The overlap between the two, emphasized by the effects of compulsory schooling and military conscription, shows a working relationship between Pietists and the monarchy, wherein each feeds into the other.

Parallels between Pietism and secular Prussian civic values can be seen in the worship literature of the period, particularly in hymns and exhortations. Pietist hymns, such as those from Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen's *Spiritual Songbook*, often contained lyrics seemingly applicable to both religious practice and state devotion. Hymn 732 states:

> If one wishes to break off roses
> One must suffer in stillness;
> The thorns prick us.

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[47] August Hermann Francke, "Outline of All the Institutes at Glauch near Halle Which Provide Special Blessings Partially for the Education of Youth and Partially for the Maintenance of the Poor, as the Institutes Exist in December, 1698," in *Pietists: Selected Writings*, ed. Peter C. Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 163-164.
[48] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 253-254.
[49] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 251.
[50] August Hermann Francke, "Admonitions to the Twelve Students Traveling to Lapland," in *Pietists: Selected Writings*, ed. Peter C. Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 165.
[51] Francke, "Admonitions," 165.
[52] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 215.

All happens as God wishes;
He has pointed out the goal for us
Which One reaches only in battle.
If one wishes to find the treasure here,
One must first be a conqueror[53]

These lines, on the surface, follow a common Christian theme of an "army for Christ," one which will restore Christendom and lead believers into a better world. In order to achieve this glory, one must first fight for the Lord and conquer those who do not believe, thus defending the faith. Yet it remains very easy to see just how these words could be applied to the practice of state-building, especially under Frederick William I, previously described as "the Soldier King," who sought to expand and protect Prussia militarily. His use of other Pietist beliefs like discipline and education helped him to "find the treasure" and make Prussia a nation of "conquerors."[54] The emphasis on suffering as purification and stoicism through pain, shown by the mention of "suffer[ing] in stillness," is a direct continuation of the ascetism advocated for both by Pietists and the Prussian state.[55] Other hymns make mention of sitting at God's feet and kissing his scepter, images evoking devotion to the king of heaven, but also highly reminiscent of devotion to one's earthly rulers.[56]

However, the connections between Pietist literature and Prussian state values do not end in similarities expressed in hymns but also in the exhortations put forth for believers to follow in Pietist theologian Johann Friedrich Starck's 1728 *Daily Handbook for Days of Joys and Sorrow*.[57] Exhortations are reflections and suggestions of ways in which the reader can live a more godly and Christian life. Since they are based upon Pietist ideals, they often stress a personal relationship with God, and the handbook itself is a way for one to cultivate his relationship with the Church outside of orthodox methods. Yet in their urgings, the exhortations also double as civic lessons, including particularly unique ones for women, who have largely been overlooked by Pietist literature. One of Starck's exhortations focuses upon the pregnant woman, whom he urges to "commit the fruit of their bodies to the Holy Providence of God," a suggestion which seems similar to the sentiment expressed in Prussian policy, wherein the State is substituted for God, and this devotion is done through participation in government programs such as standardized schooling and military conscription.[58] Other exhortations, such as for "The True Believer Gives Thanks unto the Lord, after Having Heard His Holy Word," reinforce the importance of Prussian severity and asceticism, urging believers, even on their day of rest, not to "seek the comforts of the flesh" or worldly comforts.[59] By living a life of sacrifice, believers secure themselves a place in

[53] Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen, from "Spiritual Songbook," in *Pietists: Selected Writings*, ed. Peter C. Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 179.
[54] Freylinghausen, "Spiritual Songbook," 179.
[55] Freylinghausen, "Spiritual Songbook," 179.
[56] Freylinghausen, "Spiritual Songbook," 171.
[57] Starck operated out of Halle throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, publishing some of the most popular German-language prayer books. Peter C. Erb, "Introduction," in *Pietists: Selected Writings*, ed. Peter C. Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 10.
[58] Johann Friedrich Starck, from "Daily Handbook for Days of Joy and Sorrow," in *Pietists: Selected Writings*, ed. Peter C. Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 210.
[59] Starck, "Daily Handbook," 189.

heaven. The stately counterpart to this, a life of modesty and self-denial, ensures sufficiency and prosperity for the state, as no one becomes indolent and lazy, invigorating Prussia with the "Protestant work ethic," which so shaped Prussian virtue and statehood. From these examples, the role of religious literature as political creed becomes clear and the methods for spreading such values among the Prussian people, through indoctrination in both the streets and the pulpit, are greatly enlightened.

With this, the basis of the eighteenth-century Prussian state can be seen as resting heavily upon Pietism, as well as just how influential Pietism was in Prussian policymaking. Such influence is shown most explicitly through the similarities between devotion of a church congregation and that of patriotic subjects. In addition to its use in developing a citizen army, Pietism also served to unify the varied and diverse regions of Prussia, thus cementing absolutism. Eastern Prussia was made up largely of people who were not ethnic Germans, such as Poles and Lithuanians. Pietism spread to these largely undeveloped and alienated regions where it formed some sense of a unified Prussian culture, especially as Pietist education in native tongues was implemented and ministerial appointments throughout the kingdom were made and approved by Pietists.[60]

The political usefulness of Pietism is certainly an explanation for why it remained a hallmark of Prussian culture even under a largely non-religious leader, such as Frederick II. After the death of Frederick William I, his son Frederick II (the Great) took the throne. Frederick II was much less religious than his father and was himself steeped in Enlightenment ideology. While some men under the name of Pietists did become involved in the Enlightenment and used it to advocate for political and social reform, the movement was largely secular or, at the very least, Deist.[61] Frederick II seems to have had a largely negative view of religion, writing to the Deist philosopher Voltaire in 1766 that Bohemia and other Catholic nations were "steeped in fanaticism," and that while Protestant countries were less superstitious/more rational, there was still work to do, writing that "perhaps in a century we shall entirely extinguish the animosities born from the parties *sub utroque et sub una*."[62] *Sub utroque et sub una* here represent rival factions of Christianity with different beliefs regarding the sacrament of the Eucharist.[63] This passage highlights that Frederick views religious disputes and differences as unnecessary and something to be entirely eliminated. When tied in with his observations about religious fanaticism, it can be inferred that he is criticizing all devout Christian practices, claiming that they are something to be overcome. This is a far cry from the beliefs of his father, who held religion very closely.

Nevertheless, as many of the policies instituted under the Pietist influence of Francke remained in practice under Frederick II, emphasizing the extent to which Pietism became

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[60] Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics*, 168-169.
[61] Hartmut Lehman, "Pietism and Nationalism: The Relationship between Protestant Revivalism and National Renewal in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Church History* 51, no. 1 (1982): 39.
[62] Voltaire and Frederick II, King of Prussia, *Letters of Voltaire and Frederick the Great*, trans. Richard Aldington (New York: Brentano's, 1927), 273-274.
[63] Joseph Hughes, "Utraquism," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 15 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15244b.htm.

secularized and incorporated into Prussian culture. These include the national importance of discipline and service, as Frederick II, although a so-called "enlightened" leader, was not shy about using military might to retake land that he desired. Frederick the Great sought the expansion of the state, gaining territory through regional wars.[64] Yet he also hoped to ensure domestic hegemony. The institutions doubly manned by the Pietists in religious positions and efficient and loyal bureaucrats helped to ensure this compliance, and the individual was convinced on both sides to act in the best interest of others. Additionally, the Enlightenment under Frederick the Great, was more deeply entrenched in Pietism than it seems at first glance. "Enlightenment" philosophy oftentimes coincided with Pietist goals, as Frederick the Great's deeply religious father had laid the framework for much of his son's Deist reign. Richard Gawthrop argues that like the religiously influenced state his father created, Frederick the Great used Pietist ideals of education and a strong (Protestant) work ethic to mold a model state.[65] Both rulers sought to prepare civic-minded subjects with great devotion to the state, a task which was different in ideology but identical in task, a "concord of action rather than concord of belief,"[66] indicating a secularization that owed much to its Pietist roots. An example of the continuing use of Pietism as a tool of cultural unification across expanding Prussian territory, can be found in one government official stating that in Lithuania, the average person, once unassimilated and coarse, is now, in 1756 "quite a different person in civil society" and "fulfills his duties towards authority,"[67] emphasizing a single-minded devotion to the state possible under both Frederick William I and Frederick the Great. As the nature of Pietist principles evolved from being intertwined with secular interests to serving as an Enlightenment blueprint, it becomes apparent that Pietist practices still continued to shape Prussian policy even after its ruler no longer held a marked interest in organized religion.

One could convincingly argue that Pietism's true home is in Prussia. Here, the religious movement, originally focused upon personal faith, a priesthood of all believers, and self-denial, was transformed into a political tool, creating in Prussian citizens as sense of "Prussian Virtue" defined by obedience to the state and diligence in all matters. This political tool was subsequently used in the state-building of the eighteenth century under Hohenzollern rulers, showing just how influential the implementation of Pietist-influenced policy can be. Even throughout the nineteenth century, Pietist values continued to remain important to Prussians, perhaps most importantly to Otto von Bismarck who engineered the unification of Germany and personally held Pietist beliefs. In the twentieth century, the Weimar Republic was established. For the first time in German history, a true republican government was being implemented, and its marked liberalism was a far cry from the conservatism of previous regimes. Yet this period was marred by economic devastation and national humiliation on the global stage, leaving many people disillusioned with the powers of both democracy and liberalism to improve the lives of the common people and looking to an absolute leader in the vein of past Prussians, who realized their citizens' suffering by encouraging single-minded stately devotion. From this, the most infamous

[64] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 274.
[65] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 276-277.
[66] Gawthrop, *Pietism*, 277.
[67] Oberkonsistorialrat Sussmilch, Report, 1756, in Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics*, 173.

government of the twentieth century arose: the Nazis. The Nazis idolized the Kingdom of Prussia and the Prussia virtues of obedience and self-denial. In doing so, they did emulate the worst aspects of the Pietist-influenced state of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet, at the same time, they removed the heavy religious connotations that the movement had even when secularized in practice, embodied by its devout leaders, instead replacing it with a cult of personality surrounding Adolf Hitler. Thus, scholars can recognize the mixed legacy of the applications of Pietism to politics. Nevertheless, it becomes clear just how much influence that Pietism has had on the creation of Germany as a nation throughout the centuries, for better or for worse.