

7. Sekundärliteratur

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

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CHAPTER II

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

Pastoralia: German Expatriates in England and America

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

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

Anthony William Boehm

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

21 See pp. 216–20 below.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

36 Kramer, *Francke*, ii.61.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

48 See p. 88 below.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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