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2. The Literary Exchange between the SPCK and Halle

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2. The Literary Exchange between the SPCK and Halle

Literature Published by Boehm in England

In addition to personal contacts, the chief means used by German Pietists in London to propagate the news of the Halle institutions and their own Pietist perspectives were translating and publishing key works in English or Latin. Without a doubt the main exponent of this method was Boehm. Reference has already been made to the two most influential works he brought before the English public, *Pietas Hallensis* and *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*.[41] This is not the place to reproduce an exhaustive register of Boehm's publications,[42] but his literary activity in England is worthy of far closer attention than it has so far received.

Before dealing with the individual works a few general comments are necessary. First, with only one exception,[43] every work which Boehm made public in England was published with Joseph Downing. Some were published at the direct request of the SPCK; however, there is no reason to doubt that the Society gave its tacit approval to every work Downing published, at least in the early years, as evidenced by the Madam Guyon affair. Secondly, one reason why the full extent of Boehm's publishing activity has not previously been appreciated is because he published many of the works anonymously. Only through careful inquiry into his correspondence and other literary clues are we able to establish the extent of his authorship. Restrictions of space preclude a detailed analysis of the texts of each publication, so that our main focus here will be on Boehm's Prefaces and Introductions and on the general type of literature which he brought before the English public.

Boehm translated or edited other writings by Francke in addition to *Pietas Hallensis*.[44] The first of these works appeared in 1706, *Manuductio Ad Lectionem Scripturae Sacrae*, which Francke first published in 1693 as a general practical guide to interpreting the Scripture for his students.[45] Boehm persuaded Peter

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41 See pp. 82–93, 103–04 above.

42 The most complete bibliography of Boehm's works is L. Curtze, "Nachrichten über Gelehrte, Schriftsteller und Künstler der Fürstenthümer Waldeck und Pyrmont von der Reformation an bis auf die Gegenwart", in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Fürstenthümer Waldeck und Pyrmont*, 4 vols., ed. L. Curtze and A. Hahn (Arolsen, 1866–72), ii.188–92. Cf. Rambach, *Memoirs of Boehm*, pp. 42–51.

43 The only exception is Boehm's sermon, *The Doctrine of Original Sin, Set forth in a Sermon Preach'd … On the Third Sunday after the Epiphany, 1711* (London, 1711), which was sold by "The German Bookseller", perhaps the bookshop established by J.C. Jacobi in 1709.

44 Besides those mentioned below there is no reason to doubt that Boehm translated or at least edited Francke's *Three Practical Discourses: I. Of the Love of God. II. Of Charity to the Poor. III. Of differing Degrees of Glory* (London, 1716).

45 E. Peschke, "August Hermann Francke und die Bibel", in: *Pietismus und Bibel*, ed. K. Aland, pp. 60–69.

Allix, a French Reformed pastor and Hebrew scholar who came to London in 1685 and established a French church for refugees on the Anglican model, to write a recommendation for the book.[46] Allix had for a number of years known of and held a high esteem for Spener, Francke, and the work at Halle.[47] The English appendix to *Manuductio*, a "Collection from several eminent English Authors, relating to the Study of the sacred Scriptures", which quoted from such figures as Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Sprat, More, Cudworth, Whiston, Boyle, and others, was written by a young Anglican preacher, Francis Fox.[48] Boehm later sent Francke one of Fox's printed sermons, noting that the young Anglican was "a diligent promoter of your institutions and has faithfully helped me in the publication of *Pietas Hallensis* and other Halle writings".[49] In return, Boehm presented Fox with some Latin books from Halle, because, as he explained to Francke, "such a man [Fox] can privately be used for several good things and especially for the benefit of your orphanage".[50] Francke continued to keep in touch with Fox and years later sent him books through Ziegenhagen.[51]

In 1708 Boehm published Francke's *Definitio Studii Theologici*, a short sixteen-page introduction to Christianity for students of theology. The title had been chosen by Tribbeko and it was printed "in order to make him [Francke] well-known among the Oxford students",[52] as part of Francke's attempt to establish a relationship with Oxford University.[53] With both the *Manuductio* and *Definitio Studii Theologici* Boehm hoped to contribute to theological study in England and that is why he left them in Latin, which would ensure them a scholarly and prestigious readership.

What impact they made is not recorded. Far more obviously influential was Francke's *Nicodemus: or, A Treatise against the Fear of Man*, which went to press in 1706, soon after *Manuductio*. The theme of *Nicodemus* was a description of

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46 Boehm to Francke, London, 22 May 1706 (ArFrSt C 229:72). The DNB (i.334) incorrectly says that Allix edited *Manuductio*; he only wrote the recommendation.

47 Wigers to Francke, London, 8 Apr. 1702 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.449f); Boehm to Francke, 7 Sept. 1702 (ArFrSt C 229:80); to S.U., London, 14 Jan. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 69f.

48 Boehm to Francke, 22 May 1706 (ArFrSt C 229:72); [Francis Fox,] Appendix to *Manuductio*, pp. 217–48. Fox (1675–1738) was an active member of the SPCK who was promoted by Bishop Burnet to the prebendary of Salisbury in 1713 and after 1728 held the wealthy vicarage of St. Mary's in Reading. A strong Whig, he was later accused of undervaluing the Sacraments and supporting Dissenters. (*DNB* [vii.557])

49 "Es ist selbiger ein fleissiger beforderer ihrer Anstalten und hat mir in publication der Fuesstapffen und anderen hallischen Schrifften treulich die Hand gebethen."

50 "... weil solcher Mann unter der Hand zu mehreren Guthes und insonderheit zum Nutz ihres Waysen-hausses kann gebraucht werden." (Boehm to Francke, London, 15 Oct. 1707 [ArFrSt C 826:11])

51 Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 18 Dec. 1724 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/18).

52 "... umb selbigen unter denen Oxfurtischen Studenten bekand zu machen." (Boehm to Francke, 9 July 1708 [ArFrSt C 229:68])

53 Boehm to Francke, 7 Sept. 1702 (ArFrSt C 229:80); Wigers to Francke, London, 6 Nov. 1701 (*Nachlaß* 30.XI.447).

the power of faith in overcoming any fear within the human soul. Religion was presented as something more than obligation and law, but as the outworking of a living faith, of which, Boehm assured the English reader, Francke had given a "powerful demonstration".[54] Boehm reported to Francke that unfortunately he knew of no theologian who would assist him by recommending the book.[55] But its mean beginnings were not a portent of things to come. *Nicodemus* went through three editions before it was read by the young John Wesley en route to Georgia with his Moravian companions. The living faith in the face of fear and adversity, written about in *Nicodemus* and *Pietas Hallensis*, was powerfully demonstrated to Wesley by his travelling Moravian friends.[56] Wesley deemed the book significant enough to publish his own abridged edition in 1744, which went through three more editions in his lifetime. The second edition in 1709 was dedicated by Boehm to the Gentlemen of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners and he used the dedication to offer a sharp theological corrective to these societies. True reformation, he insisted, was impossible apart from conversion and he closed with a Lutheran Pietist critique of the incompleteness of the societies for the reformation of manners:

> And would to God that some might be inspired with an holy Zeal to add the Topstone to a Work so happily begun by many Societies ... .For Truly, it is the Dispensation of the GOSPEL, that roots out that intractable Temper, which the Law did restrain; It cures from within, what the Law bound down from without ... .It acts by Love, as the Law doth by Fear.[57]

In Boehm's view, it was ultimately impossible to achieve a national reformation by coercive methods alone. Legal deterrents had their undoubted place in curbing the sinful actions of people, and securing a degree of outward conformity to the law, but they could not affect the interior motivation of the human will, unless – as St. Paul had observed in Galatians iii – the law was made a "schoolmaster to bring us to Christ". The application of the law must be regarded as a preparation for the reception of the Gospel, in its inward renewing and regenerating power. The essence of Boehm's Preface and Francke's treatise was that faith was the root of the Christian life: just as faith overcame fear in Nicodemus, so the love proclaimed by the Gospel replaces the terror of the law.

Two years after *Nicodemus* appeared in print Boehm translated and published Francke's *A Short Introduction to the Practice of Christian Religion*. The book, Boehm explained, was also about faith; a living faith that "uniteth the Soul with Christ", "cannot but have a constant Intercourse with God in Christ", and "is to deal in nothing but Works of Love". The volume only gives

54 [Boehm,] Preface to *Nicodemus*, n.p.
55 Boehm to Francke, 22 May 1706 (ArFrSt C 229:72).
56 *Wes Journ*, 25 Jan. 1736 (i.142f).
57 [Boehm,] Dedication to *Nicodemus*, 2nd edn. (1709), p. xxi.

"a Hint of so useful an Exercise, whereby one may make a fuller Discovery of the Nature and divine Pedigree of so great a Work as Faith is".[58] Boehm defines faith in a way similar to Luther in his "Introduction to Romans", including both *unio mystica* and the impossibility of a faith which did not express itself in works of love. To reinforce the theme of faith found in *Pietas Hallensis*, *Nicodemus*, and *A Short Introduction* Boehm translated and published in 1709 Francke's sermon, *Faith in Christ*, which urged on Christians that the only ground of interior peace was the assurance which came from a living faith in Christ: "you will never be at rest, till you are fully assured in your Heart, that you are a Child of God, and that you have the true characters of a living Member of Jesus Christ."[59] To the Pietists, faith was not true faith unless it was manifest in deeds, but those deeds could never bring acceptance in the eyes of God or peace and joy unless they were grounded on faith in the atoning merits of Christ. Boehm strove hard to ally the Pietist stress on experience with the stress on obligation and duty which figured largely in Anglican ethical literature, such as *The Whole Duty of Man*.

During the years 1708-1709 Boehm published and translated three tracts of a similar genre, *Praise out of the Mouth of Babes, Early Piety Recommended in the Life and Death of Christlieb Leberecht von-Exeter, and Daily Conversations with God*. *Praise out of the Mouth of Babes* is the account of the extraordinary and spontaneous devotion of children in Silesia during a turbulent time of recatholicization, in which, as W.R. Ward has recently pointed out, the revivalistic tendencies which broke out within the Protestant community foreshadowed the evangelical revivals in the eighteenth century.[60] But Boehm did not publish the tract to propagate camp-meetings or to reinforce anti-Catholic feelings, but rather to emphasize that the Spirit was still visibly active in the world and especially among the simple, child-like, and youthful. Human reason, Boehm claims, could be taken with "a wonderful Start of Devotion", but it would inevitably pass quickly away "because it hath no inward Spring in the Soul. That Spirit is there wanting, which is a Well of Water springing up into Life everlasting".[61] The accounts of both Good Armelle in *Daily Conversation with God* and Christlieb Leberecht von-Exeter are in a similar vein. Boehm's main intent in translating the story of Armelle, the simple French country-maid whose life was "a Daily and uninterrupted Conversation with God", was to show that "neither Time nor Place can restrain within it self the free and boundless Operations of the Spirit of God".[62] The narrative of

58 [Boehm,] Preface to *A Short Introduction to the Practice of Christian Religion* (London, 1708), pp. iii-xi.

59 A.H. Francke, *Faith in Christ ... .A Sermon Preach'd on the XV Sunday after Trinity, 1708* (London, 1709), p. 22.

60 "Relations of Enlightenment and Religious Revival", pp. 286-88.

61 [Boehm,] Preface to *Praise out of the Mouth of Babes* (London, 1708), pp. iii-vi.

62 [Boehm,] Preface to *Daily Conversation with God: Exemplified in the Holy Life of Armelle Nicolas*, 2nd edn. enl. (London, 1710 [1709]), pp. iii-v.

Christian Leberecht, the German boy who from an early age was taken with reviving "True Christianity", shows that

> ... we are certainly now in an Age wherein God appears to be Doing very much for Children ... both by affording them outwardly better Accommodations for their Christian Education, and by inwardly shedding abroad into their Hearts the Grace of his Spirit more abundantly.[63]

Far from being mere anti-Catholic propaganda, these accounts were used to support the religious and spiritual education of children, best seen in the charity schools and Francke's orphanage. It may well be that Pietism here had an influence on John Wesley, who had an account of Armelle Nicolas reprinted in *The Arminian Magazine* in 1780.[64] Wesley found in it a strong reinforcement of his conviction that the Spirit was readily accessible to the poor, ignorant, and lowly, and that a revival of religion which started confidently from this assumption could swiftly reach the hearts of the poor. Boehm's declaration that "the *true* Service of God is *Spiritual*, universal, plain and easy, so that no Person can be excused from it by any Pretence whatsoever",[65] is perhaps echoed by Wesley in his celebrated affirmation to Dr. Conyers Middleton in 1749:

> How plain and simple is this! and how level to the lowest Capacity! Is not this the sum – 'One thing I know; I was blind, but now I see'? An argument so plain that a peasant, a woman, a child may feel all its force.[66]

It was probably Boehm who in 1708 published *Three Posthumous Tracts ... of Dr. Rob[ert] Leighton*.[67] The style and content of the Preface is Boehm's and in a published letter to a friend in Germany in 1717 he quotes favourably from one of Leighton's sermons.[68] Leighton (1611-1684) was the archbishop of Glasgow, a moderate and irenic Calvinist but devout Episcopalian, someone attracted to Jansenist piety and highly esteemed and admired by contemporaries.[69] In the Preface to the three tracts it was said of him, "We may indeed justly conclude him to have held as constant and familiar Communion with the Father of Spirits, as any Man the last Age has produced."[70] If Boehm indeed

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63 [Boehm,] Preface to *Early Piety Recommended in the Life and Death of Christlieb Leberecht von-Exeter*, by W.E. Arends (London, [1708]), n.p.

64 "The Life of Armelle Nicolas, Wrote by her intimate Friend", *The Arminian Magazine*, vol. 3 (London, 1780), pp. 19-24,81-91,137-40,194-99.

65 [Boehm,] Preface to *Daily Conversation with God*, p. iv.

66 Wesley to Middleton, 24 Jan. 1749, printed in: *Wes Lett*, ii.384.

67 Though this publication is not included in Boehm's bibliographies it is one of eight tracts bound together in one volume in the main library at the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle, the other seven of which stemmed from Boehm.

68 "Send-Schreiben", London, 14 Nov. 1717, in: *ErSchrift*, ii.469f.

69 *DNB* (xi.883-86).

70 [Boehm?,] Preface to *Three Posthumous Tracts ... by Dr. Rob. Leighton* (London, 1708), pp. iii-iv.

brought this pamphlet to light, it fits well with his stress on the validity and importance of spiritual experience; Leighton's almost "Rapturous and Extatick [sic]" prayer legitimizes Boehm's emphasis that the Spirit was yet at work in the world.

Despite the significance of both *Pietas Hallensis* and *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, Boehm put even greater hope for a true spiritual reformation onto his translations into both Latin and English of Johann Arndt's *True Christianity*, the book which more than any other reflected Boehm's own style of experiential Christianity. Boehm himself provided a report on his publishing of *True Christianity*.[71] In it, he explained that he had read the "most important and most edifying books" in England which "were honoured before others as a blessing in the conversion of souls",[72] but complained that many books sought only to raise up their own party and diminish others. *True Christianity* was not well enough known, so Boehm published his own Latin edition with Downing in 1708. Not only did he aim to supplement the short supply of Latin devotional books, but he also hoped that through the Latin edition the learned would recommend an English version.[73] In 1709 he translated an extract of *True Christianity* into English to test the waters;[74] in this he bore witness to the good effect Arndt's book had had on "Millions of People" within the Lutheran Church, though others scoffed at the book, because they had not taken hold of the "Inward Life of Christianity". If a work smacks of "inward Piety" it is disparaged by the name of "Enthusiasm". He saw Arndt's work as proposing a "Masculine Piety" which steers between "the Two Rocks so many are apt to split upon in these latter Days", a "False Enthusiasm" and "False Rationalism":

> As the first of these is too forward to undervalue the ordinary Means of Grace, and the Institutions of Christ, and to set itself up without the Light of the Written Word: So the latter is too apt to rest in the Letter only, and to frame thence abundance of Virtues, or rather Images of Virtues, but without a true inward Principle, which is CHRIST JESUS the Hope of Glory, and the very productive source of a manly and substantial Piety.[75]

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71 "Historischer Bericht", in: *ErSchrift*, iii.495-550.

72 "... wichtigsten und erbaulichsten Bücher ... [die] vor andern eines Segens in Bekehrung der Seelen gewürdiget worden."

73 Boehm, "Historischer Bericht", in: *ErSchrift*, iii.500f.

74 Johann Arndt, *A Short Instruction concerning the Principles of True Christianity* (London, 1709). Boehm said that part of Arndt's treatise had been translated into English in 1646, but it "shews rather the Good will of the Translator, for promoting real Piety, than his Ability in translating". (p. viii)

75 [A.W. Boehm,] Preface to *Short Instruction*, pp. iii-xii. This theme of the dangers of both a false rationalism and false enthusiasm, introduced in the Prefaces to Arndt's works, was expounded on again by Boehm in his Latin Preface to a sermon, "Animalis homo", preached at Oxford by Edward Reynolds, a post-Restoration Calvinist and later Bishop of Norwich. The sermon, first published in 1650, was republished by Boehm in 1719. I have been unable to locate a copy of this publication, though the Preface is reprinted in German translation in: *ErSchrift*, ii.836-54.

The success of this extract in attracting public notice led Boehm to work on the task of translating all four books which make up *True Christianity*. Getting money was difficult, so he collected subscriptions. In 1712 he brought out the first volume which was so successful that Downing himself bore the cost of the second volume, which appeared in 1714.[76] Boehm dedicated the first volume to Queen Anne, since he had dedicated the Latin edition to her late husband. In the Epistle Dedicatory he contrasted in strongly Pietist style "*True Christianity*" with "the Christianity now in vogue". True Christianity, which requires that the Gospel combine with faith in the hearer in order to work salvation, has been corrupted into formality:

> What we now commonly call Religion, Christianity, Church, Faith, Prayer, Duties are generally Things that do not answer at all the Nature and Constitution, the Power and Energy of the Religion introduced by Christ. The Hearing of Sermons, the Saying of Prayers, the Reading of Books, (by which too many do now a-days measure up their Religion) even then when they are duly performed on all Hands, are not properly the Divine Worship it self, as it is required by the Gospel; but a Means only to come at it.[77]

Boehm attacks that type of piety which sees devotion and the Christian life only in terms of externals, with no sense of the inner power of the gospel. Here he was not only aiming at those Anglicans who saw the "whole duty of man" in formal observances – that Boehm hoped both to connect with and correct this external Anglican piety is seen in the subtitle of his translation: "Wherein is contained the Whole Oeconomy or God towards Man; and the Whole Duty of Man towards God" – but in the Preface he aims a blow at Lutherans as well. When Luther rejected justification by works and brought in justification by faith,

> … many of his Followers readily fell in with that Doctrine; but instead of a living, active, operative, purifying Faith (as Luther required, and which is constantly attended with a Train of heavenly Operations) they set up a mere carnal Conscience, and humane Persuasion.

Boehm even brings Luther himself into question by stating that his endeavours were weakened when he was drawn into hurtful controversy and lost the zeal he had in the early years. After his death Protestants "should have carried the Work begun by Luther and his Fellow-Labourers, to a higher Degree, and betimes repaired what was weak and tottering".[78] Instead, the fervour of the early Reformation had begotten a wearisome scholasticism.

The criticism which Boehm levels at Luther and the Reformation shows the lengths to which he went to promote a common, spiritual Christianity. Though Arndt was Lutheran, Boehm believed that *True Christianity* rose high

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76 Boehm, "Historischer Bericht", in: *ErSchrift*, iii.502f.
77 Boehm, Epistle Dedicatory to *True Christianity*, pp. v-x.
78 [Boehm,] Preface to *True Christianity*, pp. xix-xxxiii.

above party differences and that one could scarce find among Protestants a book from which there came as much blessing or so many converted souls.[79] He worked hard to propagate it, including it in every shipment of books to America, giving Latin copies to the SPCK's library project in Wales, helping to bring out a French edition, sending copies of the Dutch edition to East India, and supporting the publication of an English edition in Scotland.[80] In 1720 he published the second edition of both volumes. His was the first translation into English of the four books which made up *True Christianity*.[81] It is not easy to establish the impact of Arndt on the English reading public, but it later certainly reached a wide audience when Wesley included large sections of Boehm's translation in the first two volumes of his *Christian Library*.[82] Arndt's *The Garden of Paradise* was published in 1716,[83] which, when added to the two volumes of *True Christianity*, provided what Boehm called "a Sort of a Spiritual Library".[84]

It is not possible here to examine every work Boehm brought before the English public.[85] In addition to the works of other authors Boehm brought out his own sermons and writings. His major treatise was *Enchiridion Precum*, consisting of prayers and extracts put into over fifty categories, which he hoped would further a fundamental godliness.[86] This work made a particular impression on Isaac Watts, who said, "His [Boehm's] Opinion of Prayer in the Introduction is so entirely the same with what I have long embraced, that I take Pleasure in finding a Person of such uncommon Piety in one Sentiment with myself."[87] Boehm told Watts he was pleased that he had taken an interest

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79 "Historischer Bericht", in: *ErSchrift*, iii.506f; Boehm to Mr. J.D., London, 26 Feb. 1713, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 237.

80 Boehm to Francke, London, 5 Oct. 1708 (ArFrSt C 229:66); to Mr. O.H., London, 3 Aug. 1713; to Ziegenbalg and Grundler, London, 8 Jan. 1714; to Mr. F. at Edinburgh, London, 27 Jan. 1715, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 273f,305f,401f.

81 Boehm's edition was reissued in 1815 in London by William Jacques and revised by C.F. Schaeffer in the mid-nineteenth century. Cf. P. Erb, Introduction to *True Christianity*, by Johann Arndt, trans. P. Erb (New York, 1979), p. 17.

82 For an analysis of Wesley's version and a comparison of it with Boehm's edition, see O. Wiebe, "Johann Arndt: Precursor of Pietism" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Iowa, 1965), pp. 210-17.

83 Curtze, "Nachrichten", ii.191, says someone else translated this work though Boehm corrected it. Boehm clearly wrote the Preface.

84 [Boehm,] Advertisement to *The Garden of Paradise*, pp. iv-viii.

85 He also issued Comenius' *De Bono Unitatis* in 1710, Lange's *Medicina Mentis* in 1715, and Ludolf's *Reliquiae Ludolfianae* after his death in 1712, which he dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Hastings, "because I know You relish, by the Grace of God, experimental Discourses, and particularly such as favour of divine Love". (ErSchrift, ii.929-1030; Boehm to Lange, London, 28 May 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 346-48; Boehm, Dedication to *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, n.p.)

86 A.W. Boehm, *Enchiridion Precum, Ad Promovendum solidioris Pietatis Studium collectum* (London, 1707). According to Curtze, "Nachrichten", ii.189, a German translation by J.H. Grischow with an Introduction by J.J. Rambach was published at Altona in 1731.

87 Watts to [J.C. Jacobi], quoted in: J.C. Jacobi to Francke, London, 15 May 1722 (ArFrSt A 149:19c-d).

in *Enchiridion Precum*: "You grasp my sense very well when you say that I am concerned to walk a true middle way in the design of the prescribed forms of prayer."[88] In *Reliquiae Juveniles* (1734), Watts praised "a *German* Divine" named "*Bohemus*" who was able to observe with an "indifferent Eye" the "Disputes and Divisions in *England* about the Imposition and the Use of Forms of Prayer". In the conflict between Anglicans, who felt prayer should be "duly considered", and Dissenters, who regarded it "but the Expression of our Sense of divine things to GOD", Bohemus asserted that the Spirit of God "neither confines his sacred Influences to those who worship without Forms, nor withholds it from those who use them". Both "*Formistes* and *Libero*" (the Anglican and Nonconformist) could thank Bohemus for his *via media* between rejecting all forms of prayer and utter confinement to them.[89] Watts' health prevented him from translating Boehm's work. In 1731 Abraham Mackbeth, the English schoolmaster who had gone to Halle for training and who had helped Boehm with translation work,[90] translated Boehm's treatise and asked Henry Newman to get subscriptions towards its publication,[91] but neither Mackbeth's nor any other English translation of Boehm's main personal work was in fact published.

Boehm's strong biblicism is evident in two 1708 publications, *Plain Directions for Reading the Holy Bible*, which the SPCK bound in its duodecimal Bible,[92] and *The First Principles of Practical Christianity*. The arguments in *Plain Directions* are clearly Boehm's, distinguishing law and gospel, stressing Christ's death and resurrection and not mere morality as the centre of Scripture, and playing down the sufficiency of human reason.[93] *First Principles* was a short catechetical collection of Scriptures, which

> ... relate to the more practical Part of Christian Religion, and especially to the inward Operation of the Spirit of God, in order to raise up the Soul from her present deplorable Condition, and to revive in her a lively Sense of her former Happiness.

Boehm did not intend his catechism to resemble the host of catechisms produced by particular Churches "to favour their particular Notions and Forms". Instead, the purpose was to set down through Scriptural quotation the progressive stages of regeneration rather in the style of some Puritan "physicians of the soul". This was to be

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88 "Ihr begreift meinen Sinn sehr wol, wenn ihr saget: Ich bemühete mich, eine rechte Mittel-Strasse, in Absicht auf die vorgeschriebene Gebets-Formeln zu treffen." (Boehm to Isaac Watts, London, 9 Aug. 1721, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 536)

89 Isaac Watts, *Reliquiae Juveniles*, pp. 202-14.

90 Boehm to Francke, 9 July 1708 (ArFrSt C 229:68).

91 Mackbeth to Newman, Paul's Walden Hertfordshire, 20 May and 6 Sept. 1731 (ArSPCK, *ALB* [CR1/16:11237,11363]).

92 Curtze, "Nachrichten", ii.189.

93 [Boehm,] *Plain Directions for Reading the Holy Scriptures*, 8th edn. (London, 1771).

... an Experimental Draught of the several ways and degrees, by which the Lord commonly procedes, in working out the Spiritual Recovery of the fallen Soul. Such then as are under any experimental leading of the Spirit of God, of what Party soever they may be, will soon be convinced of the ORDER set down here.

The catechism would prove especially useful for children if their tutors had "an experimental Relish themselves of the Work of God".[94] From Arndt Boehm took the content of the catechism: its dual concern of first bringing to the reader a knowledge of his sinful state, and then assisting him to recover, through a living faith in Christ, the divine image which had been defaced by the Fall. The method, stressing the experiential faith of the teacher, is borrowed from Francke.

Boehm published a number of sermons in English,[95] most of which, together with a few other works, were collected in 1717 in *Several Discourses and Tracts for Promoting the Common Interest of True Christianity*. Its contents summarize the themes familiar throughout Boehm's writings. The two funeral sermons for Prince George and Ludolf are included.[96] In both he comments that death and calamity should be faced by looking into "the Sanctuary of Providence". Only the eye of faith – and not natural reason – is able to see into the deeper workings of the Wisdom and Providence of God.[97] A major reason for the inability of most Christians to face trials and tribulations is that they have "found out a Way to Heaven so easy and free from Temptations, that it seems altogether different from what it was in Times of Old, when it was called *Narrow*".[98] This idea is taken up further in a sermon on the "Spiritual Improvement of Temporal Afflictions",[99] in which Boehm states that earthly afflictions are meant as medicine to cure the soul and prepare the mind to hear the gospel.[100] It was this belief in the purifying effects of suffering which caused Boehm to criticize the massive Palatine emigration; the refugees, instead of allowing their souls to be cleansed, had fled from their God-appointed trial and thereby missed the opportunity for great spiritual benefit.[101]

In his collection Boehm included four doctrinal sermons. The first, dealing

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94 [Boehm,] Introduction to *The First Principles of Practical Christianity*, 2nd edn. (London, 1710 [1708]), n.p.

95 Many of Boehm's sermons were also published in German and a few of them were translated into Swedish and helped further Pietism there. Cf. H. Pleijel, *Der schwedische Pietismus in seinen Beziehungen zu Deutschland* (Lund, 1935), pp. 102,161. The British Library (4371.a.10.[4-6]) has three of Boehm's sermons in Swedish.

96 *The Life of a Christian* (1709); *The Faithful Steward: Set forth in a Sermon Preach'd ... the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany*, 1712 (London, 1712); repr. in: *Discourses*, pp. 1-38, 131-76.

97 *Discourses*, pp. 2f.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

99 *Spiritual Improvement of Temporal Afflictions* (1712); repr. in: *Discourses*, pp. 99-130.

100 *Discourses*, pp. 117f.

101 Boehm to J.U., London, 26 May 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 137.

with illumination,[102] reveals Boehm's strong christocentrism by which "an *experimental* and saving Knowledge of *CHRIST*" is made the ultimate object of all spiritual convictions.[103] He draws a sharp distinction between nature and grace; not only are natural reason and wisdom unable to bring people to Christ, they will actually prove to be obstacles to salvation. Only illumination from above and the grace of God lead finally to Christ. Here Boehm attacks by implication the shift in post-Restoration Anglicanism to a natural religion, brought about partly by the rise of science[104] and partly by a reaction to the very sharp antithesis of nature and grace within Puritanism.[105] His conviction that true Christianity could not arise from natural reason was based largely upon his belief in the pervasiveness of original sin. In his sermon on original sin,[106] he draws on a theme familiar in Johann Arndt, that only by comprehending the depth of one's sin can one understand the greatness of the restoration in Christ:

> Consider therefore, that *the Knowledge of our Fall in Adam, and of our Recovery in CHRIST*, are the *TWO* grand Hinges, whereon the whole Structure of the Christian Religion moves, and which go link'd together, as it were, Hand in Hand.[107]

In his consideration of the doctrine of justification[108] Boehm raises up the centrality of law and gospel: the preparatory work of the law must destroy before the promise of the gospel can build up. Using the model of forensic justification, he stresses the passivity of faith in justification in a way not uncommon to classic Lutheran Orthodox theologians, while forcefully emphasizing at the same time that this "Imputative Righteousness ... is one of the greatest *Quickeners* of the Practice of unfeigned Religion". For "the same Christ, who died *for* her, in order to justify her, now also liveth *in* her, in order to sanctify her."[109] With his stress on imputed righteousness, the passivity of faith, and justification as the source of sanctification, Boehm places himself solidly within the Lutheran tradition, while his sermon on regeneration[110] marks him clearly as a Pietist:

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102 *The Glorious Epiphany: A Sermon Preach'd ... On the 6th of January, 1710* (London, 1710); repr. in: *Discourses*, pp. 39-67.

103 *Discourses*, pp. 43f.

104 See R.S. Westfall, *Science and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, 1958), pp. 141-42.

105 McGee, *Godly Man in Stuart England*, pp. 107f; Sommerville, *Popular Religion*, pp. 89ff.

106 *Doctrine of Original* Sin (1711); repr. in: *Discourses*, pp. 68-98.

107 *Discourses*, p. 87.

108 *The Doctrine of Justification: Set forth in a Sermon ... On the Sixth Sunday after Easter, 1714* (London, 1714); repr. in: Discourses, pp. 219-44.

109 *Discourses*, pp. 235-36.

110 "The Doctrine of Regeneration. Preached the First Sunday after Epiphany, 1716-17", in: *Discourses*, pp. 245-64. I have not found a separate publication of this sermon.

Our Fall from the divine Life is so profound, our Corruption so general, our Imperfections are so many and dangerous, that no less a Change can restore us, than an entire *Regeneration*, or new Birth, wrought by God himself.[111]

He steers a course between a mysticism, in which "Man himself *metamorphos'd* into the very Being of God", and a rationalism whereby "Morality, *Honesty*, *good Nature*, is nothing but a Sort of Froth, that floats upon the Outside of their Manners, but works no saving Change upon the Heart".[112] Rebirth becomes the foundation of Boehm's whole theology of piety: "Regeneration is the very Source whence the whole Practice of Piety doth depend, and from whence the succeeding Holiness of Life draws a constant Supply for its daily Increase."[113] His sharp distinction between the effects of nature and grace is again unavoidable: "the most illiterate Man, if *born again*, is better acquainted with the Truth of Religion, than the acutest Scholar and Reasoner, if he be destitute of the Grace."[114]

One final important feature of Boehm's theology is given prominence in *Several Tracts and Discourses*: the centrality of love for the pursuit of the Christian life and for uniting Christians. In his sermon on "The Character of Christian Love"[115] he makes love the *sole* important factor in the practice of the Christian religion and says "that great Works and Gifts are little, nay, nothing without Love; and that little Works and Gifts are great, if they be accompany'd with Love".[116] This idea is very similar to Luther's emphasis that it is faith which makes a work good in God's eyes and nothing intrinsic to the work itself. The dominant feature of Boehm's concept of love is best expressed in his republished tract on "Universal Love",[117] in which he bitterly attacks the misplaced "love" of parties within Christendom which results in the antagonism between different parties. The lack of love between people can only be overcome by the love of Christ, "the Union of our Soul with Christ, being the sole Foundation, whereon also a Union betwixt Man and Man is to be raised".[118] Love and conversion are the absolute and solitary prerequisites to the only union valid in Boehm's mind:[119] "a Union, not in the Sect, but in the *Spirit*; not so much in the *Form*, as in the *Power*; not in the *Shadow*, but in the *Truth* of Religion."[120]

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111 *Discourses*, p. 245.

112 *Ibid.*, p. 249.

113 *Ibid.*, p. 257.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 259.

115 *The Character of Love: Set Forth in a Sermon Preach'd ... on the Third Sunday after Easter, 1713* (London, 1713); repr. in: *Discourses*, pp. 177–208.

116 *Discourses*, p. 204.

117 *Universal Love the Surest Way to Advance the Interest of Religion, And Unite the several contending Parties about it* (London, 1709); repr. in: *Discourses*, pp. 293–319.

118 *Discourses*, p. 315.

119 On Boehm's thoughts on the union schemes based on the Anglican liturgy and episcopate, see pp. 216–20 below.

120 *Discourses*, p. 316.

We are now in a position to summarize the key themes in Boehm's Pietist theology as they can be drawn out of his published sermons, tracts, Introductions, and Prefaces: a strong biblicism, a living, experimental faith, a distinction between law and gospel, the necessity and validity of a spiritual experience other than mysticism, the lifting up of grace over nature, the insufficiency of Luther's Reformation in terms of practice, a quiet submission to Providence in the face of affliction, a strong christocentrism, a Lutheran doctrine of forensic justification, the inevitability of a living faith showing itself in works of love, the fundamental nature of conversion and rebirth, and an anti-sectarian, spiritual Christianity.[121]

Some indication of Boehm's energy as an indefatigable translator, publisher, and author is evident, when to the works above are added the various parts and editions of both *Pietas Hallensis* and *Propagation of the Gospel in the East* and other publications not mentioned here. Scarcely a year passed after the appearance of *Pietas Hallensis* in 1705 in which Boehm did not publish at least one work.

English Works Known in Halle

To complement Boehm's voluminous publishing activity in England we turn to inquire into the reciprocal influence of the English books which were known and read in Halle.[122] The Pietists took a keen interest in the voluntary society movement and the charity schools. When Jablonski finished translating Woodward's account of the religious societies into German he informed Francke;[123] it is quite possible that Francke had sent Jablonski Woodward's book to be translated.[124] As previously noted, Francke published a German translation of the SPCK's account of the charity schools in 1708.[125] His interest in these historical reports came from their witness to the world-wide spread of the work of reformation.

Boehm gathered intelligence on hospitals and other institutions in England, intending to publish this information in Germany under the title "Pietas Anglicana".[126] He also hoped to edit a "Systema Theologiae Anglicanae practicum", in which he organized some of the most skilled English writers under such categories as rebirth and self-denial.[127] Though neither of these

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121 For a comparison of Boehm's theology and piety with that of the Church of England, see Chapter VIII.

122 Our concern is only with those English books connected with Halle. For a survey of the British devotional literature translated into German during this period, which may or may not have been studied at Halle, see McKenzie, "British Devotional Literature", esp. Chap. IV.

123 See pp. 47f above.

124 D.E. Jablonski to Francke, Berlin, 8 Mar. 1700 (ArFrSt C 214:1).

125 See pp. 98f above.

126 Boehm to Francke, London, 6 Jan. 1708 (ArFrSt C 827:1).

127 Boehm to H.J. Elers, 3 Sept. 1706, printed in: Sames, pp. 184f.

works appeared, they show his concern to make known in Germany the best of what he saw in the Anglican Church. Other projects simply took priority.[128]

It is instructive to see which English theologians were deemed to be of most interest to Halle Pietists. Boehm was attracted to writings by some of the Cambridge Platonists. He sent Francke two English works by the "solid English theologian", Henry More (1614-1687), for use in the library of the orphanage.[129] He held a high esteem for John Worthington (1618-1671), master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and friend of the Cambridge Platonists,[130] whose book on Christian self-resignation [*Gelassenheit*] was well-received in Germany. Praising Worthington's English translation of the *Imitation* of *Christ*, Boehm noted with pleasure how highly he spoke of Arndt.[131] He also translated into German sermons of both John Smith (1618-1652)[132] and Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688).[133] In particular he picked out Smith's sermons on "The Shortness and Vanity of a Pharisaick Righteousness", in which Smith contrasts the externals of a false religion with a true religion centred in the renewed souls of believers, and on "A Christians Conflicts and Conquests", emphasizing that in the battle against the devil the Christian's life is not passive but consists of inward life and power.[134] Boehm also published a work entitled "The Doctrine of the Living Knowledge of God and its Characteristics" which was mostly drawn from a Cudworth sermon on I John ii.3, though Boehm admitted he had not printed the whole sermon. He liked Cudworth's distinction between an active, living knowledge of God and a dead, fruitless one and his raising up the life of Christ in the heart over speculative notions about religion.[135] But the Hallensian approach to Cambridge Platonism was understandably somewhat eclectic. While they would have had great difficulty with such Cambridge Platonist ideas as the exalting of reason and the deification of

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128 Boehm did pen a lengthy history of the Church of England, *Acht Bücher von der Reformation Der Kirche In England* (Altona, 1734), which was published posthumously. Cf. Burckhardt, *Kirchen-Geschichte*, pp. 75f.

129 "... eines grundlichen Engelländischen Theologi." (Boehm to Francke, London, 15 Oct. 1707 [ArFrSt C 826:11]); cf. Boehm, "Send-Schreiben", 14 Nov. 1717, in: ErSchrift, ii.378ff; DNB (xiii.868-70).

130 *DNB* (xxi.955-57).

131 Boehm to Mr. de Ners., London, 23 Oct. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 170; Boehm, "Send-Schreiben", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.409; John Worthington, *The Great Duty of Self-Resignation to the Divine Will* (London, 1675); *The Christians Pattern; Or A Divine Treatise Of the Imitation of Christ*, [trans. John Worthington] (London, 1663).

132 *DNB* (xviii.482f).

133 *DNB* (v.271f).

134 "Die Unvollkommenheit und Eitelkeit Pharisäischer Gerechtigkeit"; "Eines Christen Kampff und Uberwindung", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.301-40,747-86. English versions in: John Smith, *Select Discourses*, [ed. John Worthington] (London, 1660), pp. 347-72,453-80.

135 "Die Lehre von der Lebendigen Erkenntniß GOttes, Und Deren Kennzeichen", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.787-834; *The Life of Christ the Pith and Kernal of All Religion: A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, At Westminster, March 31. 1647* (Cambridge, 1647); cf. Boehm, "Universal Love", in: *Discourses*, pp. 310f.

the person, they could identify closely with those tenets which displayed an inward spirituality similar to *Theologia Germanica*, disapproved of institutionalized and external religion, and lifted up the importance of love and the imitation of Christ.[136]

In 1718 Boehm published a sermon by Isaac Barrow (1630–1677), master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and one of the leading Caroline divines, on "The Duty and Reward of Bounty to the Poor", perhaps Barrow's most famous sermon and the only one he saw in print.[137] Barrow's insistence that true charity to the poor should be universal and impartial, regardless of sect or opinion, echoed the belief in universal love which lay near the centre of Arndtian piety.[138]

It is not surprising that a Hallensian should prize the piety of those moderate representatives of the old Reformed tradition who survived as Anglicans after 1662, combining loyalty to the national Church with a devotion to the "doctrines of grace". Boehm was so taken with one of the most important survivors, Ezekiel Hopkins (1634–1690), the Bishop of Derry, that he translated three of his sermons into German, "The Doctrine of the Right Use of Holy Scripture", "The Doctrine of Brotherly Admonition", and "The Doctrine of Regeneration".[139] To a correspondent who had requested information about English devotional books Boehm replied that he found Bishop Hopkins particularly profound because he

> ... observes the difference between a legalistic and an evangelical mortification, which is very necessary to teach in someone a true taste of godliness and to show others what kind of a difference there is between true Christianity and the web of a heathen morality.[140]

Boehm saw two different types of asceticism: a legal one, which led to mere obedience to an external morality, and a gospel mortification, which implied a

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136 On the Cambridge Platonists, see C.A. Platides, "'The High and Aiery Hills of Platonism': An Introduction to the Cambridge Platonists", in: *The Cambridge Platonists*, ed. C.A. Platides (Cambridge, 1980 [1969]), pp. 1–41.

137 *The Duty and Reward of Bounty to the Poor: In a Sermon Preached ... in Easter Week, MDCLXXI* (London, 1671); *Die Pflicht gegen die Arme, und der Pflicht Lohn*, trans. A.W. B[oehm] (Wernigerode, 1718); cf. *DNB* (i.1219–25).

138 Boehm, "Universal Love", in: *Discourses*, pp. 307–09.

139 "Die Lehre Vom rechten Gebrauch Der Heiligen Schrifft", "Die Lehre von Brüderlicher Bestrafung", and "Die Lehre Von der Wiedergebuhrt", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.589–746. English versions of the last two sermons are in: Ezekiel Hopkins, *The First Volume of Discourses or Sermons on several Scriptures*, 2nd edn. (London, 1694 [1691]), pp. 120–78; *idem., A Third Volume of Discourses or Sermons* (London, 1694), ii.1–188. I have not found an English copy of the first sermon.

140 "Dieser Autor bemercket den Unterschied zwischen einer gesetzlichen und einer Evangelischen Ertödtung, welcher Unterschied sehr nöthig ist, iemand einen wahren Geschmack der Gottseligkeit beyzubringen, und andern zu zeigen, was vor ein Unterschied sey, zwischen dem wahren Christenthum, und dem Gewebe einer heidnischen Moralitaet." (Boehm to Mr. de Ners., 23 Oct. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 170)

continual putting off of the old nature as a result of the grace of God working in one's life.[141]

It was with the seventeenth-century Puritans and their modern Dissenting heirs that the Halle Pietists clearly found their closest theological kinship in England. The most popular English author in Halle was without question Thomas Goodwin (1600-1680), one-time President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and later a leading Independent minister.[142] Spener had been impressed with Goodwin's writing and had sent one of his tracts to Canstein to be translated. These sentiments were shared by Samuel Urlsperger, who hoped to translate some of his treatises himself.[143] Francke, too, derived profit from reading Goodwin and asked Boehm to purchase some of his works, even though they were reported to be rare and expensive.[144] In Francke's *Monita Pastoralia Theologica*, in which pastoral suggestions are laid down for former students, he mentions Goodwin's tracts as ones which present the grace of Christ particularly well because "the article of justification is put forward with emphasis upon the inward practice of faith".[145] To make Goodwin better known selected works had been translated and published at Halle.[146]

This admiration for Puritan and Nonconformist authors was shared by Boehm. Besides affirming the Pietist opinion of Goodwin,[147] he sent J.H. Michaelis at Halle a volume of works by John Bunyan (1628-1688),[148] noting that his influence had reached from England to Holland, Germany, and even France. He was grateful that few people knew that Bunyan was a Baptist since this might have hindered the good work his writings had accomplished.[149] Bunyan's *Pilgrims Progress*, he wrote, "was one of the first books through which God worked on my heart and convinced me of the nature of living Christianity".[150] Boehm was similarly impressed with Richard Baxter (1615-1691), particularly since during his 1704 tour with Slare around the English countryside he had visited Kidderminster, where he found evidence of Baxter's

141 Cf. Boehm, "Doctrine of Original Sin", in: *Discourses*, pp. 81-86; *Des hocherleuchteten engelländischen Lehrers Thomae Bromley geistreiches Tractätlein von denen Reisen der Kinder Israel*, trans. A.W. B[oehm], 2nd edn. (Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1722 [1710?]); Thomas Bromley, "The Journeys of the Children of Israel", appended to: *idem.*, *The Way to the Sabbath of Rest* (London, 1710 [1655]), pp. 47-147.

142 *DNB* (viii.148-50).

143 Canstein to Francke, Berlin, 22 Oct. 1698, and Dalwitz, 25 Oct. 1712, printed in: Schicketanz, pp. 44,544.

144 Boehm to Francke, London, 18 July 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 154f.

145 "... daß der Articul de Justificatio mit Nachdruck auf die internam praxim fidei geführet wird." (A.H. Francke, *Monita Pastoralia Theologica* [Halle, 1718], p. 43)

146 Thom. Goodwin, *Geistreiche Schriften* (Halle, 1715).

147 Boehm, "Send-Schreiben", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.378ff.

148 *DNB* (iii.275-84).

149 Boehm to J.H. Michaelis, London, 18 Feb. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 89f.

150 "Es war eins der ersten Bücher, wodurch GOtt an meinem Herzen arbeitete und mich von der Art des lebendigen Christenthums überzeugete." (Boehm to N.N. in New York, n.p., n.d., printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 547 [544-48])

legacy and heard much praise of his life-style, teaching, and pastoral care.[151] In Boehm's mind, Baxter had a glorious gift of putting forward the simplicity of true Christianity in a powerful way, even though this gift was spoiled to some extent by later controversies with the Anglican Church over the issue of conformity. Nonetheless, Baxter was someone who put into practice what he preached and who left observable footprints of his pastoral ministry in Kidderminster.[152]

Pietist interest in English authors was concentrated on but not limited to those outside the Anglican communion. Though receiving only a minor place, a number of English historical and apologetical works are briefly mentioned in *Monita Pastoralia Theologica*, including *Origines Sacrae* by Edward Stillingfleet (1635-1699),[153] Horneck's work on the Primitive Church,[154] and Worthington's piece on self-resignation.[155] Towards the end of his treatise Francke lists some tracts to read when one has spare time and includes Stillingfleet's *Epistola contra Deistas*[156] and *Dissertationes de stilo Scripturae Sae- und de veneratione, humani intellectus erga Deum* by Robert Boyle (1627-1691).[157] Because of the excellence of Boyle's works they had been translated into German and published at the *Waisenhaus*.[158] Though Francke appreciated all these books, none but Goodwin received a significant place in *Monita Pastoralia Theologica*. Only two of these English works – the selected works of Goodwin and Boyle – were actually translated and published at the orphanage. The only other publication of an English book at Halle, at least during the elder Francke's lifetime, was the SPCK's account of the charity schools.

Ziegenhagen was of a different breed than Boehm. He was not, like his predecessor, a translator or a publisher. The driving concern of Boehm was to spread "true Christianity", as it was expressed devotionally in Arndt and outwardly in Francke's work and the East India mission, while Ziegenhagen was more of a theologian and was not impelled by the same spiritual imperative. When asked in 1725 to recommend some useful English books, Ziegenhagen included two works by Samuel Clark, Matthew Henry's *Exposition*, Tillotson's *Works*, *The Whole Duty of Man*, Gilbert Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Prideaux's *Connexion of the Old and New Testament*, Echard's

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151 Boehm, "Send-Schreiben", in: *ErSchrift*, ii.410f; cf. *DNB* (i.1349-57).

152 Boehm to S.S., London, 11 Apr. 1712, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 220-23.

153 *Origines sacrae, or, A Rational Account of the Grounds of Christian Faith, as to the Truth and Divine Authority of the Scriptures* (London, 1662); cf. *DNB* (xviii.1262-65).

154 "A Letter to a Person of Quality, concerning the Heavenly Lives of the Primitive Christians", appended to: *The Happy Ascetick* (London, 1681), pp. 475-542.

155 Francke, *Monita*, pp. 94f,97ff.

156 *A Letter to a Deist, in answer to several objections against the truth and authority of the Scriptures* (London, 1677).

157 *Some Considerations Touching the Style of the H. Scriptures* (London, 1661); *Of the High Veneration Man's Intellect Owes to God* (London, 1685); cf. *DNB* (ii.1026-31).

158 Francke, *Monita*, pp. 112f; Robert Boyle, *Auserlesene Theologische Schriften* (Halle, 1709).

Roman History, and Addison's *The Freeholders*.[159] It almost need not be stated that a comparable list from Boehm would look considerably different. Ziegenhagen was more closely attuned to the cooler, more rational piety of the early eighteenth century: in him the concern for the "inwardness" of piety has diminished – a shift in religious sensibility which was visible at Halle itself, where the devotional fires of A.H. Francke's Pietism had begun to sink.

In spite of the fact that both Francke and Boehm took an interest in certain English authors, the literary exchange between Halle and Britain was significantly imbalanced. There was no one from England in Halle to complement the efforts of Boehm in England, who was more inclined to bring German works into England than English ones into Germany. With regard to the SPCK's and Halle's similar work to further reformation by dispersing literature, one final point deserves mention: in both Britain and Protestant Germany no one could match either the SPCK or Halle in the extensiveness of their activity. Norman Sykes observed that the SPCK "controlled almost to monopoly" the publishing of educational literature in Britain during the early eighteenth century.[160] Halle's distribution empire was greater still, reaching literally from Russia to America. It set an example which the Society sought to emulate.

159 Ziegenhagen to Francke, London, 4 May 1725 (*Nachlaß* 30.FMZ.ii/28).
160 *Edmund Gibson* (London, 1926), pp. 197f.