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English Works Known in Halle

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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.