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1. Anglicanism and Lutheran Pietism

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Chapter VIII

"An unwelcome Guest in every Party": Comparing Anglicanism and Lutheran Pietism

In his Preface to the 1709 English extract of *True Christianity* A.W. Boehm wrote of the poor reception which Johann Arndt had received in Germany, commenting sadly, "But as the World goes, real Piety has been all along, an unwelcome Guest in every Party."[1] What Boehm considered "real Piety" and piety as understood within the Church of England may have been two different things. Our objective in this final chapter is to compare some aspects of the theology, devotion, and practice of Lutheran Pietism and of the Church of England.

1. Anglicanism and Lutheran Pietism

Methods and Nature

Two of the methods employed by both the SPCK and Halle Pietism have already been compared: education and the printing and distribution of Christian literature.[2] Other aspects of Pietism and the English societies demand comparison. Let us look first at the role played by voluntary associations. What similarities and what differences can be found between Spener's *collegia pietatis* and the religious societies in Britain?[3] Both movements developed spontaneously; in each case the initiative came from the laity in response to the preaching of the clergy. Even as Justice Hooke described voluntary societies a reaction to the many "infamous Clubbs of Atheists, Deists, and Socinians",[4] so Spener saw the *collegia pietatis* as counterparts to the worldly societies in Frankfurt. The style and content of meetings was similar yet distinct; no controversial discussion was allowed and each member was encouraged to participate in the open conversation, though the *collegia pietatis*, unlike their

1 [A.W. Boehm,] Preface to *Short Introduction concerning True Christianity*, by Johann Arndt, p. v.

2 See Chapters III and V.

3 See Bullock, *Voluntary Religious Societies*, pp. 129-131; Wallmann, *Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus*, pp. 167-223.

4 [Justice Hooke,] *Short Account of Several Kinds of Societies*, p. 1.

English counterparts, had no fixed rules. Though both advocated self-examination, personal piety, and concern for the poor, the rules within the Anglican religious societies pointed towards a more ascetic, moralistic piety. Spener put a high value on using the Scriptures within the *collegia pietatis*; the written Word also played a part in many English religious societies, but here a more significant place was given to the Anglican liturgy and Book of Common Prayer. Horneck and Spener were strong Churchmen and envisaged the conventicles as a renewing leaven within the local church; to avoid separatism they themselves took leadership of the groups. An open invitation to the Frankfurt congregation to join the *collegia pietatis* was issued and they became larger and less personal than the quieter, more private English religious societies, in which the permission of the group was required as a condition of membership. Even though the fear of spiritual pride and of building a church within a church was expressed in both England and Germany, the religious societies were more countenanced by the Anglican authorities than the *collegia* were by the Lutheran Church leaders in Frankfurt. It was when Spener's group was charged with exclusivity and spiritual pride that he decided to open the *collegia pietatis* to everyone; this practice, however, caused the original members to begin a gathering on their own, which later publicly separated from Spener's ecclesiastical *collegia*. The official recognition given to voluntary associations within the Church of England may have helped to check separatism.

A further point of contact between the voluntary societies, especially as represented in the SPCK, and Pietism, is the role and place of the laity. In Spener, the spiritual status of the layperson rested firmly on the Lutheran dogma of the priesthood of all believers: one of his aims, as set out in *Pia Desideria*, was "*the establishment and diligent exercise of the spiritual priesthood*".[5] He stressed putting the Word of God into the hands of the people both privately and within the *collegia pietatis* to enable them to take up a larger role in the church. A firm commitment to the power of the Scriptures to change the individual lives of the laity, even though the religion of the land was Roman Catholic or the clergy was unconverted, led Francke and Canstein to establish their Bible Institute. Yet how lay-oriented in fact was Halle Pietism? Though Francke sent renewed laity throughout Germany and the world, the ecclesiastical reforms so important to Pietism depended predominantly upon a renewed clergy. If the clergy did not allow the laity to become actively involved in the renewal of church life, it was extremely difficult for them to be so. The same was true with the Church of England. Given the Anglican understanding of episcopacy and the ordained ministry, and the central importance of the Book of Common Prayer, there was very little opportunity for active lay involvement; the layperson was regarded as very largely a passive receiver save

5 Spener, *Pia Desideria*, pp. 92-95.

for his or her financial support of the Church. Into this void stepped the voluntary societies which not only gave the laity an opportunity for active participation, but, with the exception of the SPG, gave them a remarkable opportunity to exert leadership and control. The voluntary societies in the early eighteenth century were uniquely English and had no counterparts in Halle. Despite the work of Canstein and other lay nobility, Francke was the single power behind the orphanage. At the same time, he had no twin in England; though Thomas Bray founded both the SPCK and SPG, the elder Society quickly came under lay domination even though the younger was episcopally controlled. In providing opportunities for lay involvement the voluntary society movement paved the way for Methodism and it has been observed that many of the leaders – and followers – of the movement came to it by way of the Anglican societies.[6] Was it coincidental that after the onset of the evangelical revival, the SPCK lost the strong lay presence in its leadership? It is perhaps significant that the most influential Halle Pietist to work in England was never ordained; Boehm here fit quite naturally into the lay structure of the SPCK.

A final point of comparison lies in the relationships of the SPCK and Halle Pietism to the authorities in Church and State. Francke was an outspoken critic of the Lutheran Church and its leaders, both before and after he came to Halle. One of the reasons for his ability to survive attacks by the Lutheran Orthodox lay in the support he received from the Prussian State. Since most of the recalcitrant aristocracy in Brandenburg-Prussia who opposed any efforts to centralize government in Berlin were Orthodox Lutheran, the Elector Frederick III (later, King Frederick I) and his successors aligned themselves with Halle Pietism and used it to fight the landed nobility. Francke depended on the State for survival and came to revel in the privileges he received; after his death Pietism became a tool in the spread of authoritarianism in Prussia. Unlike Francke, the SPCK did not criticize the established Church and gave deference to the episcopate; similar to Francke, though less dramatically, it openly supported Queen Anne and the Hanoverians. Perhaps because of its passive attitude to authority and its relatively insignificant size, the Society remained basically free of political and ecclesiastical interference. It received occasional benefactions from the government but was not dependent on them. Since the SPCK was willing to submit to episcopal influence, avoided political partisanship, and remained non-controversial in its activities, ecclesiastical dignitaries tended to leave the Society alone and chose to involve themselves, if at all, in the SPG, with its royal charter.

6 See Walsh, "Religious Societies", pp. 284f, 288ff.

Ideology offers a further area for comparison. What animated or motivated Francke and the SPCK to take the actions they did? Whether the late seventeenth century was an age of unusual moral declension is doubtful, but it appears to have been so perceived. What lay behind this perception, whether alarm at the decline of church attendance after the Toleration Act, the decay of the disciplinary powers of the church courts, the advance of Deism, the social dislocations of a long war, is not clear. But in their analysis of the social evils of the age, those who spoke for the Society laid paramount stress on the lack of religious education. The statement of purpose, to which every member of the SPCK subscribed, declared that "the growth of vice and immorality is greatly owing to gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian religion".[7] Even more pointed was the first circular letter to correspondents written later in 1699 which referred to the "visible decay of Religion in this Kingdom, with the monstrous increase of Deism, Prophaness, and Vice", the cause of which arose in great measure "from the barbarous ignorance observable among the common people, especially those of the poorer sort, and this to proceed from want of due care in the education of the Youth".[8] These sentiments can be placed beside those found in Francke's "Great Essay", written in 1704 in a different social context and called by its recent editor the "most significant literary product of Halle Pietism".[9] It began:

> That not only in the world in general but also in so-called Christendom and even in the Lutheran Church everything lies in a corrupt state and dreadful decay even those whose eyes God has opened only a little can easily perceive.[10]

According to Francke, corruption was visible in three main "stations" *[Stände]* of society: government, household, and teaching. The main source of this condition was "the bad education of the youth", which had come so far "that almost no one knows any longer what belongs to a truly Christian and generally useful education".[11] Not only in the instruction of children but also in the universities Francke pointed to the poor state of education.[12]

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7 Preamble, printed in: McClure, p. 1.

8 "The First Circular Letter from the Honourable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to their Clergy Correspondents in the several Counties of England and Wales" (16 Nov. 1699), printed in: McClure, p. 36n3.

9 "das ... bedeutendste literarische Produkt des Halleschen Pietismus." (Podczeck, Introduction to *Franckes ... Der Große Aufsatz*, p. 10)

10 "Daß nicht allein insgemein in der Welt, sondern auch in der so genannten Christenheit und in der Evangelischen Kirchen selbst alles in einem verderbten Zustande und schrecklichen Verfall liege, mögen auch die jenigen, denen Gott die Augen nur ein wenig geöffnet, gar leicht erkennen."

11 "Eine solche Quelle ist die böse Aufferziehung der Jugend. Denn damit ist es soweit kommen, daß fast niemand mehr weiß, was zu einer recht Christlichen und gemeinem Wesen nützlichen Aufferziehung gehöre."

12 Podczeck, ed., *Franckes ... Der Große Aufsatz*, pp. 70-79.

The similarities between these statements are clear. Both direct attention to the moral plight of society and put the blame on ignorance and the want of moral instruction and religious education. Yet there are significant differences. The SPCK aims its sights on the common people, especially the poor, while Francke comprehends all classes, from ruling authorities to individual households. Even though the intent of the Society is religious, significantly it does not include the established Church within its scope of attack; there is no indication that the body of the clergy or its leaders are complicit in the moral corruption of the nation. Francke, on the other hand, did not exclude either Christendom or the state Lutheran Church from blame for the sorry state of the world. The SPCK focused exclusively on the education of children, but Francke sought to renew the educational system from the child to the university student. In general, the Halle Pietists were much more sweeping both in their description of the decayed state of religion, education, and society and in the nature of their remedies.

Despite the spiritual renewal evident within the religious societies in the early years, Halle Pietism put a higher value on inward, affective Christianity than did Anglicanism. The reaction against the "enthusiasm" of the Commonwealth had rendered many Anglicans suspicious of those who encouraged an experiential piety not controlled by liturgical forms, rational restraints, or clerical guidance. The author of *Censura Temporum*, a short-lived periodical which "impartially consider'd" a variety of contemporary writings, in reviewing some of the books published in 1708, examined Boehm's Latin edition of Arndt's *True Christianity*. Though acknowledging the "lively Vein of Piety and Devotion in it", the author felt that "those Religious Exercises and Meditations of the Mind, which are contrived to operate strongly upon the Fancy and Passions, ... are strangely liable to Abuse". Emotions and fancies are open to being made a tool of the devil:

> Hence 'tis, that so many good Men, encouraging their Fancies too indulgently in their devout Contemplations, run aground upon Singularities of Opinion or Expression, and sometimes come at last, to Raving, instead of Praising and Praying.

In particular he labelled as "wild staring Enthusiasm" Arndt's use of Johann Tauler, the German mystic read and appreciated by the young Luther and the Pietists.[13] Boehm, on the other hand, spoke favourably of Tauler[14] and not only agreed with but helped spread Arndt's experiential style of Christianity. It was certainly the criticism in *Censura Temporum* which caused Boehm in the Preface to the English extract of *True Christianity* published one year later to focus somewhat defensively on the *via media* between a true and a false enthusiasm.[15] Boehm joined with Anglicans such as Woodward in condemn-

13 *Censura Temporum*, vol. 1 (1709), pp. 348-50.

14 Boehm to Miss S[lare], London, 16 July 1705, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 19.

15 [Boehm], Preface to *Short Introduction concerning True Christianity*, by Johann Arndt, pp. viii-x; see p. 141 above.

ing the bizarre claims of the French Prophets to divine illumination,[16] but was frustrated by the way in which every inner working of the Spirit which went beyond the formal pattern of religion was labelled as enthusiasm.[17] For the Pietist, the increasingly perceptible internal operations of the Spirit were a normal result of the process of regeneration; evidence that Christ lived in the soul of the believer. They were clearly depicted in Scripture, and so utterly different from that fanatical enthusiasm which threw off the authority of the Word.[18]

Much Anglican piety of the early eighteenth century ran in a different stream from that propagated by Boehm. The author of *Censura Temporum* feared that Pietism diverted Christians away from the public and communal services of the Church into private ecstasies and raptures:

> ... he [Arndt] ascribes so much to internal Worship and Communion, that one would think he Slighted the External ... .This is a natural Consequence of an Enthusiastick Feaver. It erects such immaginary Altars, and lights such Visionary Flames upon them in the Brain, that all External Offices and Ordinances instituted in the Church, are either forgot or despised.[19]

The crux of Anglican piety and that which most distinguished it from Pietist spirituality was that the formal, prescriptive ordinances of the Church, sanctioned by law and tradition, that is, the Liturgy and Sacraments, were the primary and only necessary means of expressing devotion. In *Pietas Londinensis* James Paterson provided an account of 201 places of worship in London to show that "there is scarcely an Hour of the Day, but a *Devout Person*, may have the Opportunity of *serving God* in *Publick*, after the Manner of the *Primitive Church*".[20] With so many opportunities available, he encouraged "those *lazy, luke-warm*, and *indifferent Professors*, or *nominal Christians*" to attend the house of prayer as part of their "publick Duties".[21] The stress was on public worship, not private devotion, "for though private Duties are most comfortable, yet publick are more powerful".[22]

Unlike Boehm, who believed that the only source for leading a holy life was regeneration and conversion, many Anglican members of the SPCK in the early eighteenth century thus believed that the power to live morally derived chiefly from regular attendance at the "ordinances" of public worship. This

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16 Woodward, *Remarks on the Modern Prophets* (London, 1708). Boehm sent frequent reports to Halle on the Prophets, some of whom had found their way from London to Halle, where they raised a considerable upheaval and incurred Francke's wrath because local authorities attributed their ecstatic outbreaks to Pietism. (Boehm to Francke, London, 26 Feb. 1714, and to Mr. S., London, 18 Aug. 1714, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 325-35,53-64)

17 E.g. Boehm to Newman, London, 29 Jan. 1718, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 486.

18 [Boehm,] Preface to *Animalis homo*, by Edward Reynolds, in: *ErSchrift*, ii.846-49.

19 *Censura Temporum*, vol. 1 (1709), p. 350.

20 Paterson, Introduction to *Pietas Londinensis*, n.p.

21 Paterson, Postscript to *Pietas Londinensis*, p. 285.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 306.

extremely close link between morality and formal worship dates back in particular to the Restoration,[23] when churchmen, noting on the one hand the moral and religious laxity of the laity and on the other the rigoristic Puritan claim to particular zeal and sanctity, tried to unite piety and morality through worship and the Sacraments. The goal of churchmen was to extend a piety based on the Book of Common Prayer into the daily lives of the laity, a campaign which met with some success, although the Holy Communion was nonetheless still largely neglected by the laity. With this type of Anglican piety Boehm was uncomfortable, not because he deprecated the Sacraments or liturgy, but because he opposed any kind of formalized religion which did not require a changed heart in the individual. Being "strict and punctual in some formal Devotions, receiv'd by Custom", without an internal spiritual sense and principle was but dead formality and virtual "popery" in Boehm's eyes.[24]

Along with the close integration of individual piety and morality into the public worship of the Church of England went a significant theological change regarding justification.[25] There developed among many leading figures in the Restoration Church of England a resistance to *sola fide* and a feeling that belief must lead to performance, well expressed in *The Whole Duty of Man*, the most popular religious book of the period. Fear that the Nonconformist doctrine of the imputed righteousness of Christ led to antinomianism and absolution from moral duties encouraged a doctrine of justification which soon overlaid more or less completely that of the old Anglican Calvinism. Caroline divines, like Jeremy Taylor, Henry Hammond, and, most influentially, George Bull adopted an "Arminian" theology of justification which stressed the necessity of works as a condition (though not a meritorious cause) of justification. Obedience, repentance, and works were held to be not so much fruits of faith as a necessary part of it and prerequisite to justification.

These views of justification became dominant in the early eighteenth century. Robert Nelson provides an excellent example of the Augustan churchman. In his *An Address to Persons of Quality and Estate*, he tells those "of good-breeding" that their salvation ought to be their chief concern: "Your Sins render you uncapable of the Happiness of Heaven; for Vertue and Piety are not only Conditions of Your Salvation, but are necessary *Qualifications and Dispositions* for it."[26] The divines who introduced this new understanding of justification were seeking to avoid antinomianism by stressing the need to observe both Tables of the Decalogue, i.e. worship of God and living a moral life.[27] Yet instead of works and obedience being a part of faith, they came almost to replace it: Anglicanism had become largely a "Second Table"

23 See Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", esp. pp. 165-242.

24 Boehm, "The Doctrine of Original Sin", in: *Discourses*, p. 91.

25 On what follows, see Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", pp. 182-209; Allison, *Rise of Moralism*, *passim*.

26 Nelson, *Address to Persons*, pp. 24f.

27 Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", pp. 206f.

religion.[28] This, perhaps, is why many religious societies were caught up into societies for the reformation of manners; the spiritual devotion in the early years frequently gave rise to a legalistic moralism in which faith was comparatively insignificant.

Boehm was of a different breeding. He espoused a Lutheran doctrine of justification little different from that of the English Reformation and Puritanism, stressing the imputed righteousness of Christ.[29] To it he added an understanding of the *ordo salutis* not too unlike Francke's, in which he spoke of the "way of repentance" [*Buß-Weg*] through which one must go to prepare for receiving the gospel and the experience of conversion.[30] The whole Christian life for Boehm was one of process, flowing from the experience of conversion.[31] As evident from his sermons, he uses common terms like conversion, regeneration, illumination, and justification, though seldom with much theological precision. Conversion [*Bekehrung*] appears to be his favourite description of salvation; he was convinced that this transformation must precede and empower good works:

> I have often wished that those who have recognized corruption begin the work of reformation with the spirit and inward principles and let the form alone until it has with those its correctness; then would be born the external out of the internal and the form out of the spirit, as the fruit and leaves are born out of the roots.[32]

It is on this basis that he so strongly criticized (by implication) the theological rationale behind the societies for the reformation of manners in the Preface to the second edition of *Nicodemus*.[33] In his sermon on regeneration Boehm declared:

> All such Endeavours as tend to the Suppression of Vice, and are carried on by the Laws of Men, ought to be made subservient to the Principle of *Regeneration*, and are to be *resolved* at last into a true *Gospel-Spirit* … .When the Law reforms the *Manners*, then *Regeneration* reforms the *Temper*.[34]

A morality not enlightened by a truly regenerate spirit was in Boehm's thinking ultimately no better than a heathen morality based solely on the law.

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28 See McGee, *Godly Man in Stuart England*.

29 Boehm, "The Doctrine of Justification", in: *Discourses*, pp. 219-44.

30 Boehm to Miss S[lare], London, 12 May 1713, and to Mr. Williams, London, 13 Oct. and 1 Nov. 1720, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 240f,524-29; Boehm, "Doctrine of Justification", in: *Discourses*, pp. 241f. On Francke's doctrine of conversion, see Peschke, "Speners Wiedergeburtslehre und Franckes Lehre von der Bekehrung", pp. 206-24.

31 See Sames, pp. 126-30.

32 "Ich habe daher oft gewünschet, daß diejenigen, die das Verderben einsehen, mit dem Geiste und inwendigen Grunde das Reformations-Werck anfingen, und die Form so lange stehen liessen, bis es mit jenem seine Richtigkeit hätte; so würden das Aeusere aus dem Innern, und die Form aus dem Geiste, wie die Frucht und Blätter aus der Wurtzel, erboren werden." (Boehm to Mr. G.H. at F. in Hollstein, London, 6 Mar. 1710, printed in: *ErBrief*, p. 93)

33 See p. 138 above.

34 Boehm, "The Doctrine of Regeneration", in: *Discourses*, p. 259.

Recommending a book which the SPCK had given him to peruse, Boehm makes plain to Newman that an unregenerate moralism was not in keeping with the professed character of the Society:

> As our Society has the name not of the promotion of some heathen moralities but the knowledge of Christ himself, wherein consists eternal life, so we should also in the choice of our books always keep an eye on this glorious title which we have adopted and by all means not abandon the goal of promoting the knowledge of Christ to which we have pledged ourselves.[35]

How much Boehm's voice found an echo within the SPCK during his years of involvement makes for interesting conjecture. Conversion was not a common word in the vocabulary of the early eighteenth-century Anglican churchman, partly because it smacked of Nonconformity and partly because it did not fit in with the popular conception of salvation as a continual improvement. Among lay leaders like Sir John Philipps, Henry Hoare, and especially Frederick Slare, one finds quite strong traces of Puritan ways of thought, inherited from forebears brought up in a Calvinistic world. With his talk of the imputed righteousness of Christ and of the need for conversion, Boehm sounded themes familiar to contemporary Nonconformists, but which by Anne's reign were very seldom heard in Anglican circles. A few embattled Calvinists like John Edwards at Cambridge, author of *The Preacher* (1705-09) and *Veritas Redux* (1707-08),[36] still expounded the old Reformation "doctrines of grace", but they were a mere handful, given to frequent ragings at the apostasy of their clerical colleagues from the "good old way". Boehm is of special interest as someone who still expounded, in courtly and establishment circles, what, despite its Pietist gloss, was recognizably the "old divinity". How influential he was in keeping alive those doctrines in the "tunnel period" between Anne's reign and the Evangelical Revival, it is impossible to establish. That he was able to retain the friendship of colleagues whose piety was moving in a different direction was an achievement. No doubt Boehm commanded respect through his position as a Court preacher. Perhaps allowances were made for him as a foreigner. But his influence was also a tribute to his own attractiveness, both as a person and as a man of deep personal piety.

One must not exaggerate Boehm's closeness to Dissent or divergence from the norms of early eighteenth-century Anglicanism. He shared with his Anglican friends an intense concern for the *practice* of piety: the conviction that

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35 "Wie unsere Societaet den Namen hat, nicht von der Beförderung einiger Heidnischer Moralitaeten, sondern der Erkentnis Christi selbst, worinnen das ewige Leben bestehet, so solten wir auch in der Wahl unserer Bücher allezeit ein Auge haben, auf diesen herrlichen Titul, so wir angenommen haben, und durchaus nicht weichen von dem Zweck, die Erkenntnis Christi zu befördern, wozu wir uns haben anheischig gemacht." (Boehm to Newman, 29 Jan. 1718, printed in: *ErBrief*, pp. 486f)

36 *DNB* (vi.539-41).

works are a necessary result of faith and a visible sign of grace. As Sears McGee has shown, Puritans and Dissenters were unwilling to accept the idea that *Imitatio Christi* was a goal which could or should be aimed at: their view of human depravity precluded so exalted a quest. By contrast, the "Imitation of Christ" was a potent theme in Anglican High Church devotion of the late seventeenth century and later.[37] Boehm here sided firmly with the Anglicans. He praised à Kempis's classic and John Worthington's English translation of it.[38] If there was a clear difference between works conceived as a necessary fruit of justification (Pietism) and works as a necessary condition of justification (post-Restoration Anglicanism), representatives of both schools could meet in the *praxis pietatis*. The Pietist concern for living the Christian life and for philanthropy struck a chord in Anglicanism, even if the notion of conversion was not shared by both. Aside from his "new birth" theology, Boehm was a moral crusader; he did not find fault with the ultimate goal of the societies for the reformation of manners, only in how they set about their task. Although the underlying theology of Halle Pietism bore a close resemblance to Puritanism, its outward manifestations had more similarities to the Anglicanism of the voluntary societies.

The interaction between Pietism and Anglicanism centred on praxis and mission rather than theology or doctrine. Dr. John Spurr has shown that out of reaction to Puritanism and atheism the Restoration Church retreated from the close study of theology and replaced doctrinal polemics with a moralistic message and a developing ecclesiology.[39] Here it differed from the Lutheran Churches of the Continent. If the legacy of the Restoration Church was the elevated importance of the Book of Common Prayer, morality, and episcopacy, the Lutheran Church in Germany still gave pride of place to theology and doctrine. Even in Halle, where practical and pastoral issues were close to the heart, theology was still of vital importance. A.H. Francke himself was a theologian and professor at the university. Furthermore, whether it liked it or not, German Pietism was constantly on the defensive against the theological onslaught of its Orthodox opponents and compelled to formulate its position. Hence, the questions Boehm most frequently received from Germany about Anglicanism were theological. In the discussion of church union to which we now turn it should not be surprising that from the Anglican perspective the central issues were usually liturgical and ecclesiological, while on the Lutheran side the main questions were doctrinal.

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37 McGee, *The Godly Man in Stuart England*, pp. 107f.

38 See p. 144 above.

39 Spurr, "Anglican Apologetic", pp. 243-304; cf. Allison, *Rise of Moralism*, p. 192.