

The Reception of Richard Baxter's Writings in Sweden 1660–1740

AN INTRODUCTION

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Richard Baxter (1615–1691) was one of the most influential Puritan writers during the seventeenth century and onwards. He has been credited with being a precursor of Lutheran Pietism and his writings were translated into the major languages of Northern Europe.¹ The purpose of this article is to map the reception of Baxter's writings in Sweden and what circles of people tried to introduce his writings. The role of church censorship will be addressed in relation to the printing process. The monarchy has generally been seen as the force behind the strengthening of church censorship in Sweden in the late seventeenth century.² Common denominators between Puritanism, Pietism, and the absolute monarchy in Sweden are brought into light, and changes in censorship attitudes over time are emphasized through the study of the publishing and reception of Richard Baxter's writings. While this article introduces the reader to these themes, the full extent of Baxter's influence in Sweden requires a larger study. However, through this limited study several important related topics on the influence of Puritan writers on Swedish Lutheranism and Lutheran Pietism can be addressed and relevant questions for further research proposed.

Sweden played a prominent role in the Protestant sphere of Northern Europe in the seventeenth century. The country rose to be a leading military and political power in the Baltic Sea area in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and at the same time became a fortress of Lutheranism. The Lutheran priesthood was represented in the Swedish parliament and tried over and over again to have the *Book of Concord* mentioned in constitutional

1. Nicholas Hope, *German and Scandinavian Protestantism 1700–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 128, 273.

2. Tuija Laine, "English Puritan Literature in the Swedish Realm in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—translation phases," *Journal for the History of Reformed Pietism* 1 (2015): 39–40.

documents and legislation pertaining to the Church, in order to protect the Church from Reformed and Catholic influences. This pursuit was finally successful and achieved its goal in the new Church law of 1686.³ The Pietist movement had early followers in Sweden, but during the last years of the seventeenth century and the early decades of the eighteenth, government measures against Pietism were implemented, including an already existing censorship with attempts to control and direct study tours to certain German universities. At the same time influential clergymen and circles at the royal court tried to create space for Pietist ideas and reforms.⁴

Urban Claesson has recently underlined the common goals and pursuits of the absolute monarchy in Sweden and early Pietism, for example, an increased social discipline and a more pious laity. Richard Baxter's writings included strong appeals for the need of personal repentance and faith in Christ combined with numerous practical directions on how to live a pious and disciplined life. By framing his message in this way, Baxter addressed common concerns among Protestant clergy and laity. The major devotional books of the Swedish laity in the seventeenth century were Luther's *Smaller Catechism* and the church hymnals used in the different dioceses. Luther's *Smaller Catechism* was used in the basic education of the population and applied to practical life. Several of the bishops developed educational material that built on the *Smaller Catechism* and that contained both biblical texts and practical applications. The church hymnals contained psalms sung in the worship services, Bible pericopes that were read and explained in the sermons, and prayers for different situations in life. The Swedish laity was quite accustomed to a pious devotional life that was concerned with living faithfully in the midst of life's trials and challenges.⁵ A consequence of this was that writings of the kind produced by Richard Baxter could be

3. Ingun Montgomery, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria. De. 4. Enhetskyrkans tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2002). Torbjörn Aronson, "Augsburgska bekännelsen och Sverige i historisk belysning," i Lejon, Kjell, ed.: *Confessio Augustana. Augsburgska bekännelsen nyöversatt och kommenterad* (Uppsala: EFS Budbäraren, 2018).

4. Carola Nordbäck, *Samvetets röst. Om mötet mellan luthersk ortodoxi och konservativ pietism i 1720-talets Sverige* (Umeå: Humanistiska Fakulteten, 2004), 23–27, 42–45, 180–88. Montgomery, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria. De. 4. Enhetskyrkans tid*, 180–85. Harry Lenhammar, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria. Del 5. Individualismens och upplysningens tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2000), 21–22.

5. Hilding Pleijel, Bror Olsson & Sigfrid Svensson, *Våra äldsta folkböcker* (Lund: Gleerups Bokförlag, 1967) discusses the impact of the Bible, Luther's *Smaller Catechism*, and the Swedish Hymnal of 1695 on Swedish mentality and popular culture from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

considered attractive and relevant in Sweden, although his theology differed from Lutheran confessional writings. Unintentionally his writings had potential relevance for Lutherans in Sweden who were on the lookout for devotional writings with this leaning. Baxter's writings could obviously be seen as fitting for the situation, and so they were brought into the country, translated, and sold during this period.⁶

With this background, the questions in this article focus on the role of Richard Baxter in Sweden. What books written by Baxter were translated into Swedish? From what languages were the translations made? Which groups were responsible for translating and printing Baxter's literature in Sweden? What were the themes of Baxter's books that were translated into Swedish? How were his writings received? Did the growing dominance of Lutheran uniformity and the Swedish monarchy hinder or help the dissemination and reception of Baxter's writings during the second part of the seventeenth century and early decades of the eighteenth century? What was the relationship between Baxter's writings and the early circles of Pietism in Sweden? These are the questions that this article tries to answer.

The time period the article covers is 1660–1740. This period marks the zenith of the pursuit of pure Lutheran doctrine and uniformity in the Church of Sweden and was also the period when Baxter's writings were introduced in Sweden. Different conflicts related to theological issues arose in Sweden during the reign of Queen Christina (1632–1654), ending with her conversion to the Roman Catholic church and the deposition of bishops pursuing a so-called "syncretist" version of Protestantism.⁷ In 1660, a new guardian regency took charge of the government, as the heir to the throne was still a small child. The guardian regency (1660–1676) and the following absolute rule of Charles XI (1676–1697) were characterized by continual pressure for ecclesiastical conformity and doctrinal uniformity.⁸

The themes explored in this article have relevance for the interpretation of Puritan influence on Lutheran Pietism and on the question of how

6. Urban Claesson, *Kris och kristnande. Olof Ekmans kamp för kristendomens återupprättande vid Stora Kopparberget 1689–1713. Pietism, program och praktik* (Stockholm: Makadam förlag, 2015), 36–41, 66–72, 92–98.

7. General surveys of these conflicts can be found in the following literature: Sven Kjölleström, *Kyrkolagsproblemet i Sverige 1571–1682* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag), 1944; Sven Göransson, *Ortodoxi och synkretism i Sverige 1647–1660* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1950); and Sven Göransson, *Den synkretistiska striden i Sverige 1660–1664* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1952).

8. Montgomery, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria. Del. 4. Enhetskyrkans tid*, 146–85.

writings of edification and spirituality could cross confessional and linguistic borders in Europe in the seventeenth century. Books by English Puritans and by Dutch and German Pietists were brought to Sweden, some of which were translated into Swedish through the contacts that existed between the Northern European Protestant countries.⁹ Study tours undertaken by Swedish students of theology contributed to this. In the later part of the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth century a number of future clergymen of the Church of Sweden traveled to England to study for a shorter period of time. In fact, all (except one) of the archbishops of the Church of Sweden between 1670 and 1730 studied in England and returned with an understanding of the English language, experience of English church life, and English devotional literature. They were not allowed to pursue formal theological studies at the universities in England, but obviously got opportunities to get to know different types of theology and spirituality present in England at this time.¹⁰ Church censorship, which could stop the printing of translated theological literature that was considered contradictory to the Lutheran confessional writing and written by non-Lutheran authors existed in Sweden from 1662 onwards. Censorship became a more pronounced threat after the new Church law of 1686. The growing dominance of strict Lutheran confessionalism was manifested through the new Church law (1686), followed by a new catechesis (1689), a new service book (1693), a new mandatory hymnal (1695), and a new edition of the Bible in Swedish (1703).¹¹ In 1688 a special office, *censor librorum*, was created in the royal administration with the purpose of leading, monitoring, and coordinating the censorship of the diocesan consistories.

9. Bengt Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1944). David Lindquist, "Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning," *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 45 (1945): 143–45. Bernt Olsson, "Haquin Spegel och engelsk predikan," *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 69 (1969): 120–42. Udo Sträter, Sonthom, Bayly, Dyke und Hall. *Studien zur Rezeption der englischen Erbauungsliteratur in Deutschland im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987).

10. Sven Rydberg, *Svenska studieresor till England under frihetstiden* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1951). Sven Göransson, *De svenska studieresorna och den religiösa kontrollen från reformationstid till frihetstid* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1951). See also Arne Sträng, "Skarabiskopen i den världsvida kyrkan," 136–45 in Johnny Hagberg, ed.: *Jesper Swedberg. En antologi* (Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2008). Josef Helander, *Haquin Spegel. Hans lif och gerning intill år 1693* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1899), 16–17. David Lindén, "En svensk ayatolla? Haquin Spegel och politik," in Johnny Hagberg, ed., *Haquin Spegel. En antologi* (Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2012), 89–91.

11. Montgomery, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*. Del. 4. *Enhetskyrkans tid*, 146–66.

Its goal was to stop heretical literature of foreign as well as Swedish origin. When Pietist literature in the early 1700s began to flow into the country in larger numbers, *censor librorum* was charged by the king in 1706 with the task of stopping a perceived dangerous trend.¹² How did these developments influence the spread of Richard Baxter's writings in Sweden?

The background and reception of Richard Baxter's writings in Sweden have not been sufficiently analyzed by scholars. Bengt Hellekant's dissertation *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt* (1944) provides some basic facts concerning the printing and sale of Baxter's books in Sweden. Hellekant's dissertation is the point of departure for the analyses in this article and contains a number of important bibliographical facts concerning the publishing of English devotional literature in Swedish in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Hellekant's work was complemented by an article by David Lindquist in 1945.¹³ Recently Tuija Laine has analyzed and provided overviews of translations of English Puritan literature in Sweden in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁴ Lindquist and Laine discuss general trends and attitudes toward English devotional literature in Sweden, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and add important facts to the discussion of the fate of specific authors and writings. Although Richard Baxter plays a part in their overviews, none of them devotes special attention to him and his writings.

Due to the space available, this article only very briefly deals with questions regarding the role of writings by Baxter in other languages brought to Sweden. However, these questions are relevant. Among the educated classes devotional literature in German and English were read and sometimes sold in Swedish bookstores.¹⁵

After a short overview of the life and theology of Richard Baxter, each of Baxter's writings translated into Swedish during the seventeenth century and the early decades of the eighteenth century will be discussed. In the

12. Ove Nordenstrand, *Den äldre svenska pietismens litteratur* (Stockholm, Svenska kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1951), 3–6ff.

13. Lindquist, "Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning."

14. Laine, "English Puritan Literature in the Swedish Realm," 35–55. In Tuija Laine, "Ylösherätys suruttomille. Englantilaisperäinen hartauskirjallisuus Suomessa Ruotsin valan aikana," *Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia* (PhD diss., Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2000), 775 and 778, a detailed comparison of the translations is presented.

15. See f.ex. Nordenstrand, *Den äldre svenska pietismens litteratur*, 64–163.

concluding discussion, the answers to the questions in the article will be summarized and suggestions for further research outlined.

Richard Baxter—Life and Theology

Richard Baxter was born in Rowton, Shropshire, approximately 250 kilometers northwest of London, in 1615. He grew up in a pious family and was baptized and confirmed in the Church of England. After having studied under local clergymen and then under Richard Wickstead, chaplain to the Council of Wales and the Marches at Ludlow Castle, Baxter was ordained to the diaconate (with a license to teach) by John Thornborough, bishop of Worcester, in 1638. During his upbringing and theological training, Baxter studied Calvinist authors such as Richard Sibbes (1577–1635), William Perkins (1558–1602), Edmund Bunny (1540–1619), and major Medieval theologians (and philosophers) such as Thomas Aquinas, John Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham.¹⁶

In 1641, Baxter was invited to become the lecturer in the parish of St. Mary and All Saints' Church at Kidderminster. During this time, his reputation grew and several of his most important books were written. His catechetical teaching and his sermons transformed the parish and attracted people from surrounding parishes. Baxter invited the ministers of those parishes to take part in an association for mutual edification and instruction, irrespective of their theological differences. Aside from a long interruption from 1642–1647, Baxter served as minister in Kidderminster until 1660.¹⁷

Baxter's theology matured during these years into a hypothetical universalism with an emphasis on regeneration, repentance, and sanctification. "Hypothetical universalism" is the belief that Jesus made an atoning sacrifice which was universally sufficient. Anyone who appropriates Jesus's saving work by faith will be saved. Hypothetical universalism differs from the doctrine of "limited atonement." "Limited atonement" asserts that God had only one intention in sending Christ to die for the salvation of sinners, namely, the intention to save the elect, those whom God had eternally chosen to be saved. By contrast, hypothetical universalism believes that God had a general as well as a particular intent in Christ's saving work. Baxter's hypothetical universalism and rejection of limited atonement led to a major theological conflict with John Owen (1616–1683). John Owen was the foremost expositor of what has been labeled "high Calvinism" in England

16. Geoffrey Nuttall, *Richard Baxter* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1965), 1–17.

17. Nuttall, *Richard Baxter*, 40–84.

in the second half of the seventeenth century, in which the doctrine of limited atonement was an integral part. Baxter did not accept all the tenets of the Council of Dordt (1619) but advocated a theology that put a stronger emphasis on man's responsibility to repent and have faith in Christ.¹⁸ In the English Civil War, Baxter sided with the Parliamentary forces and those who wanted a Presbyterian form of church government. While serving in the Parliamentary army, he evidently considered all forms of church government secondary in importance to the questions related to salvation and regeneration.¹⁹

Restoration brought havoc to him as well as to most of the Puritan divines through the Act of Uniformity of 1662, which Baxter could not accept. After having turned down offers to become a bishop in the restored Church of England, Baxter lived a precarious life as an itinerant preacher and was put in jail several times during the 1670s and 1680s. At the same time, he was widely seen as one of the most important leaders of nonconformity in Britain. He lived his last years in London peacefully and continued his written ministry until the end.²⁰

Baxter wrote a large number of books. Parts of them were concerned with practical piety while others, especially those written in the later part of his life, explored eschatological issues and social ethics. A great many of his writings were polemical, engaging with the theological issues of the day.²¹

18. Hans Boersma, *A Hot Pepper Corn: Richard Baxter's Doctrine of Justification in Its Seventeenth-Century Context of Controversy* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 2003). Jordan J. Bailor, "The Shape of Reformed Orthodoxy in the Seventeenth Century: The Soteriological Debate Between George Kendall and Richard Baxter," in Jordan J. Bailor et al., eds., *Church and School in Early Modern Protestantism: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Muller on the Maturation of a Theological Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 665–78. Tim Cooper, *John Owen, Richard Baxter and the Formation of Nonconformity* (Farnham: Routledge, 2011). Dewey D. Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology 1525–1695* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 150.

19. Nuttall, *Richard Baxter* 1965, 29–39. William Lamont, *Richard Baxter and the Millennium: Protestant Imperialism and the English Revolution* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), 124–209. Baxter published in 1659 *A Holy Commonwealth*, in which he explained why he fought in the Parliamentary army in the Civil War and gave his support to Oliver Cromwell and his son. During the Restoration era, the book became controversial and he publicly repudiated it in 1670. The views Baxter expressed in *A Holy Commonwealth* differed from the explanations he offered in his later memoirs: see William Lamont, ed., *Baxter: A Holy Commonwealth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

20. Nuttall, *Richard Baxter*, 85–131; Lamont, *Richard Baxter and the Millennium*, 210–84.

21. Lamont, *Richard Baxter and the Millennium*, 9–76.

Baxter's works reached Sweden in several forms during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in their original English editions, in Danish, Dutch, and German translations, and in translations into Swedish.²²

Swedish Translations of Baxter's Writings

Four books by Richard Baxter were translated into Swedish during this period:

- ✦ *A Call to the Unconverted to turn and live* (1658) which was published as *En lijten book om Gudz taal, röst och uthroop* in 1683 and was printed in one edition.²³
- ✦ *Now or never* (1662) which was prohibited from publication by the Stockholm consistory after having been translated in 1696.²⁴
- ✦ *A treatise of self-denial* (1659) which was published as *En på Gudz heliga ord grundad underwisning* in 1729 and was printed in a single edition.²⁵
- ✦ *The poor man's family book* (1674) which was published as *En andelig hus-bok* in 1733. It was also printed in a single edition.²⁶

These four books deal with questions related to conversion, repentance, faith, and practical godly living. No books written by Richard Baxter dealing with eschatology, social ethics, or doctrinal polemics were translated into Swedish. The works of Richard Baxter presented to the Swedish public dealt with themes related to pastoral theology. The background of this was probably the obstacles existing for publishing books written by

22. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 72, 73, 76, 148, 152.

23. Nuttall, *Richard Baxter*, 133. Richard Baxter, *En lijten book om Gudz taal, röst och uthroop*, Stockholm, Henrik Keyser II, 1683. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 70–78. The title of the Swedish translation is abridged.

24. Stockholm, Stockholms stadsarkiv, Stockholms konsistoriums protokoll 14.10 1696. David Lindquist, *Studier i den svenska andaktslitteraturen under stormaktstidevarvet med särskild hänsyn till böne-, tröste- och nattvardsböcker* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1939), 197.

25. Richard Baxter, *En på Gudz heliga ord grundad underwisning*, Stockholm, Jacob Schneidler, Johan Henrik Werner, 1729. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 140–43. The title of the Swedish translation is abridged.

26. Richard Baxter, *En andelig hus-bok*, Stockholm, Johan Laurentius Horrn, 1733. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 147–53. The title of the Swedish translation is abridged.

non-Lutheran authors and with subjects deemed to be controversial in one way or the other. The first book was published before the office of *censor librorum* was created. The later books were translated during two decades that brought renewed controversy around Pietism in Sweden and a new, strict law against lay conventicles (1726). During the same period censorship was challenged in a number of ways.²⁷ The context for the actual translations and printings is thus of great interest. Printed in a single edition only, none of these books evidently became bestsellers.

A Call to the Unconverted was one of Baxter's most popular writings and was printed in approximately 20,000 copies during its first year of publishing. Its subject was conversion. Baxter showed that man was faced by two ultimate alternatives: holiness-life and sin-death. The title of the book referred to the loving call of God to man in sin, calling him to turn from sin, believe in Christ, and let the work of the Holy Spirit have its way in repentance and faith.²⁸

The translation and publishing of *A Call to the Unconverted* in Sweden had an international Protestant context and was supported by establishment figures interested in promoting Baxter's devotional writings. The book was translated from German by the royal translator, Johan Silvius (1620–1690), and printed by the royal printer, Henrik Keyser II (1640–1699). The German edition had been translated in 1667 from the English original by the Italian Protestant Johannes Tonjola (1634–1700), who pastored an exile congregation in Basle.²⁹ The initiator of the Swedish translation was Jacob Sneckenberg (1625–1697). Sneckenberg was the son of Olof Pederson Schnack (1599–1676), mayor of Nyköping, a small town a hundred kilometers south of Stockholm. Jacob Sneckenberg was an example of the widespread phenomenon in early modern Europe of migrants or their descendants being involved in translation.³⁰

27. Nordenstrand, *Den äldre svenska pietismens litteratur*, 10–37. Lenhammar, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria. Del 5. Individualismens och upplysningens tid*, 58–61. Arthur Sundstedt, *Striden om konventikelpakatet* (Stockholm: Förlaget Filadelfia, 1958).

28. Nuttall, *Richard Baxter*, 114–15. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 72.

29. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 72–73, footnote 8.

30. See f.ex. Peter Burke, "Cultures of Translations in Early Modern Europe," in Peter Burke & R. Po Chi-Hsia, eds., *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 7–38, and Jan van de Kamp, "auff bitte und einrahten etzlicher frommen Menschen ins hochteutsche ubersetzet." *Deutsche Übersetzungen englischer*

Olof Pedersson Schnack had immigrated to Sweden from the town of Snaeckenburg in Flanders in the 1620s.³¹ He probably came to Nyköping with a larger group of Walloons in this decade. Nyköping had the earliest colony of Walloon artisans and smiths in Sweden in the seventeenth century. An important background to the immigration was the military alliance between Sweden and the United Netherlands in 1614. It provided Sweden with much-needed capital and a skilled labor force for the development of its iron industry. The Walloons who immigrated were Reformed Protestants. Some of them kept their Calvinist beliefs and were granted restricted rights of worship during the seventeenth century. Others were assimilated into the Church of Sweden and accepted its Lutheran confession.³²

The history of the Olof Schnack family during the seventeenth century was very much a story of success. Sources on the religious life of the Schnack family are with some exceptions lacking. But it is clear that two of the sons of Olof Schnack had international religious contacts, one of them with the Catholic world and the other with early Pietism and Puritanism. Three brothers were born into the family: Peter Schnack (1632–1713), Erik Sneckenberg (1634–1695), and Jacob Sneckenberg. All of them became part of the Swedish nobility through their industriousness. They represented a new type of nobility that achieved their noble name through loyal and dutiful work for the Swedish monarchy in the late seventeenth century.³³ The family history points to the fact that this Walloon family evidently had strong religious interests and international connections.

und niederländischer reformierter Erbauungsliteratur 1667–1697 und die Rolle von Netzwerken (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit, 2011, 338–40).

31. Fredric Wilhelm Radloff, *Beskrifning öfver Åland* (Åbo: A.J. Nordström, 1795, 157–58. Gabriel Anrep, *Svenska adelns ättar-taflor. Afdelning 4. Skytte af Duderhof—Östner, jemte tillägg, rättelser och slutord* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt, 1864), 17.

32. Robert Mattson, "Järnets tidiga historia i Sverige," 6–9, and Anders Herou & Lars Hansén, "Personer som påverkat historien," 32–33, both articles in *Vallonska rötter. Människorna, migrationen, järnhanteringen och forskningen* (Stockholm: Sveriges Släktforskarförbund, 2018). Fredric Bedoire, *Hugenotterna värld. Från religionskrigens Frankrike till Skeppsbroadels Stockholm* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 2009), 118–19. Tore Hållander, *Vägen in i sockenkyrkan. De uppländska vallonernas religiösa assimilation 1636–1693* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1999), 9–16, 131–37.

33. Gustav Elgenstierna, *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor med tillägg och rättelser. Vol VII Schildt–Sture* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1932), 338–42: Peter Schnack was raised to the nobility in 1688 with the noble name Snack after a long career of royal service in the highest echelons of Swedish public administration. He was a close confidant of three Swedish monarchs, among them Queen Christina. Schnack was part of the queen's initial entourage when leaving Sweden after her conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1654 but

Jacob Schnack was ennobled in 1673 and changed his name to Sneckenberg, referring to the geographical origin of his father.³⁴ After having studied at the universities of Turku (1641), Uppsala (1644), Greifswald (1649), and Rostock (1649), Sneckenberg began working in the royal treasuries and became a royal secretary. He rose to a final major position in 1673 and also became the guardian of the heirs of the former royal chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna (1583–1654). With this position within the royal administration Sneckenberg had the financial resources and a network of contacts that could help him promote the publishing of a book that could potentially be seen as deviant in relation to the dominant Lutheran theology.³⁵

Through his studies at two German universities, Sneckenberg had acquired the language skills and international experience that provided the context for the translation of a major English Puritan writing in German into the Swedish language. The fact that he studied in Rostock for a short while is worth mentioning. Rostock became a center of Lutheran reform after the Thirty-Years War (1618–1648). A number of important reform-minded Lutheran theologians taught or worked in this trading port on the coast of the Baltic Sea immediately following the war, anticipating the Pietist movement.³⁶ We do not have explicit evidence regarding contact between Sneckenberg and these theologians, but the fact that he ended his university studies in Rostock directly after the end of the war implies that he might have attended lectures and sermons by some of them.

Sneckenberg paid for the translation of *A Call to the Unconverted*, which was dedicated to a number of high-ranking royal officials, for example, the master of the treasuries, the equivalent of a minister of finance, Sten Bielke (1624–1684), and another member of the Privy Council,

returned soon and continued in the service of the subsequent monarchs. One of his sons, Erik Snack (1661–1705) converted to Roman Catholicism in 1688 and went on to a successful military career in the service of Louis XIV, ending as an imperial baron of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. By his conversion he disgraced both his father and Charles XI and was deprived of his inheritance.

34. Radloff, *Beskrifning öfver Åland*, 157–58. Anrep, *Svenska adelns ättar-taflor. Afdelning 4. Skytte af Duderhof—Östner, jemte tillägg, rättelser och slutord*, 17.

35. For a general discussion regarding the role of the royal secretaries in the royal administration and their potential as powerbrokers, see Svante Norrhem, *Uppkomlingarna. Kanslitjänstemännen i 1600-talets Sverige och Europa* (Umeå, Umeå universitet, 1993). Norrhem mentions Jacob Sneckenberg as one example of an influential royal secretary with access to influential informal channels within the royal administration, see pp. 114–15.

36. Jonathan Strom, *Orthodoxy and Reform. The Clergy in Seventeenth Century Rostock* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999).

Claes Fleming (1649–1685).³⁷ Like Sneckenberg himself, these notables held prominent positions within the financial and judicial administration of the realm. Stina Hansson has done a survey of all translated literature that was printed in Sweden during the seventeenth century. She points out that dedications in translated books were common in the beginning of the century but decreased in the later part, and that the 1680s was the decade when they tended to be quite rare.³⁸ This means that the dedications in this book in fact could be seen as a kind of statement about the existing high-ranking support for the publication of the book. The Stockholm consistory, responsible for the church censorship of theological writings in Stockholm, made no reservations, and the book was printed in 1683.³⁹ The theme of this book by Baxter and support by the establishment for its publication confirm the suggestion by Urban Claesson that common ground existed between the goals and ideals of the Swedish monarchy and Puritan thought and practice closely related to early Pietism.

Now or never (1662) was translated into Swedish from a German edition by Georg Gottlieb Burchardi. The title of the Swedish translation is not known, and only the German title is referred to by the Stockholm consistory.⁴⁰ The book has the same theme as *A Call to the Unconverted*, that is, conversion. In *Now or Never* Baxter pleaded with the sinner to repent through a discussion of the character of God, the uncertainty of time, the misery of hell, and the glory of heaven. Georg Gottlieb Burchardi was a German bookseller and publisher who immigrated to Sweden and founded a new printing house in Stockholm in 1693.⁴¹ His goal was to obtain a royal privilege for the printing of the new church hymnal and a new edition of the Bible in Swedish. Burchardi enjoyed strong backing from a professor of theology and the president of Uppsala University at the time, Jesper Swedberg (1653–1735).⁴²

37. Valborg Lindegärde, "Johan Sylvius, 1620–1685," https://litteraturbanken.se/översättarlexikon/artiklar/johan_sylvius.

38. Stina Hansson, *Afsatt på svensko. 1600-talets tryckta översättningslitteratur* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 1981), 118–19.

39. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 74.

40. Stockholm, Stockholms stadsarkiv, Stockholms konsistoriums protokoll 14.10 1696. Lindquist, *Studier i den svenska andaktslitteraturen under stormaktstidevarvet med särskild hänsyn till böne-, tröste- och nattvardsböcker*, 197, footnote 6.

41. Hansson, *Afsatt på svensko. 1600-talets tryckta översättningslitteratur*, 206–9.

42. Karl-Johan Hansson, *Koralpsalmboken 1697. En undersökning av dess tillkomst och musikaliska innehåll* (Åbo: Åbo akademi, 1967), 31–33.

Swedberg was the driving force behind a plan for a new edition of the Bible in Swedish and a new church hymnal.⁴³ Swedberg went on a study tour of England, France, Germany, and the Netherlands in 1684–1686. In England he visited Joseph Fell (1626–1686), bishop of Oxford at that time, but also took part in a Quaker meeting. He was impressed by the way the Lord's Day was honored in England in comparison with Sweden. In Germany he tried to see Philipp Spener while visiting Frankfurt am Main. Spener was unfortunately unwell and a meeting could not be arranged. In his autobiography he also describes seeing a house where a copy of Johann Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein* had been miraculously preserved when a Catholic lieutenant once tried to burn the book by throwing it in the furnace. A similar thing happened later in his own life when his episcopal residence in Skara was burned to the ground in 1712. Swedberg concludes his story with great praise of Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein*, a book that God had protected.⁴⁴ Swedberg was sympathetically inclined to Pietism, which he clearly exemplified in his autobiography by telling of his favorite authors, which were Christian Scriver (1629–1693), Johann Arndt (1555–1621), Theophil Grossgebauer (1627–1661), and Johann Schmidt (1594–1658). Later Swedberg became critical of the Pietists' lay conventicles in Stockholm, but he shared their emphasis on Christian practical life and the importance of sanctification.⁴⁵ He quickly became a close confidant of Charles XI and a royal court preacher.⁴⁶ In 1702 he was appointed bishop of the diocese of Skara in the western part of Sweden and in 1705 was chosen to oversee the Swedish congregation in London.⁴⁷ Swedberg was thus a clergyman of great influence in Sweden at this time and close to the monarchy. He at the same time represented a Lutheranism that was interested in strengthening devotional life in Sweden in accordance with Pietist ideals and with a practical orientation.

Swedberg supported Burchardi financially and advanced his cause at the court. The result was that Burchardi obtained the royal privilege for the printing of the new mandatory hymnal in 1694 but was denied a similar privilege on the printing of the new edition of the Bible. Burchardi built

43. Markus Hagberg, "Jesper Swedberg—en biografi," 41–46 in Johnny Hagberg, ed.: *Jesper Swedberg. En antologi* (Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2008).

44. Jesper Swedberg, *Levernesbeskrivning* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1960), 45–60.

45. Swedberg, *Levernesbeskrivning*, 41–42, 108–15, 265–71.

46. Oloph Bexell, "Jesper Svedberg," *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon. Band 34*, ed. Åsa Karlsson (Stockholm: Riksarkivet, 2013–2019), 434.

47. Sträng, "Skarabiskopen i den världsvida kyrkan," 136–45.

his printing house while using a new printing press imported from Frankfurt am Main through the financial support of Jesper Swedberg.⁴⁸ However, Burchardi was not only interested in printing the new hymnal but developed an extensive publishing activity, in which translations of German Pietist and English Puritan devotional literature became an important part. He was then both an important contributor to the development of Lutheran confessional uniformity, cooperating with the Swedish monarchy and major Swedish ecclesiastical figures, and a transmitter of Pietist and Puritan literature.⁴⁹

The publication of these Pietist and Puritan translations was dependent on approvals from the Stockholm consistory. The consistory became more and more reluctant to approve translations of books written by non-Lutheran authors during the 1690s and the first decade of the eighteenth century, irrespective of the content of the books.⁵⁰ This was the context of the translation of *Now or Never* in 1696. As with *A Call to the Unconverted*, this was also a translation of a German edition of the book. In the case of *Now or Never*, Burchardi was not successful.⁵¹ The decision was surprising given the subject of the book and the fact that *A Call to the Unconverted* was given permission to be published. The denial of the request for publication could be interpreted in light of the consistory's general reluctance to grant rights of publication to books written by non-Lutheran authors. Tuija Laine has suggested that the strict censorship of English devotional literature at the end of the seventeenth century could be explained partly by the religious policies of the Brandenburg Prussian Calvinistic elector who oppressed the Lutherans. The general negative connotation of Calvinism could have led to a kind of image politics, which meant that publications were denied even if no Reformed doctrine remained in the manuscript.⁵²

48. Hansson, *Koralpsalmboken 1697. En undersökning av dess tillkomst och musikaliska innehålla*, 31–33; Swedberg, *Levernesbeskrivning*, 83–89, 102–104.

49. Fex. Johann Arndt, *Anderike förklarning öfwer alle evangeliske söndags-, högtjids-, och aposteldagars texter hela året igenom* (Stockholm: Georg Gottlieb Burchardi, 1700), which was a translation of sermons of Johann Arndt edited in German by Philipp Spener. The translation was done by Burchardi himself, which was publicized on the title page. See also Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 87, 90–91, 93, 100, 140, 170, and Lindquist, "Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning," 133.

50. Nordenstrand, *Den äldre svenska pietismens litteratur*, Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 91, 100n17; Laine, "English Puritan Literature in the Swedish Realm," 42–43.

51. Stockholm, Stockholms stadsarkiv, Stockholms konsistoriums protokoll 14.10 1696.

52. Laine, "English Puritan Literature in the Swedish Realm," 41–43.

Three years later, in 1699, Burchardi successfully fought the consistory concerning a translation of *Christian thoughts for every day of the month* (originally published in English in 1683), written by the Anglican clergyman Richard Lucas (1648–1715). In spite of serious charges from the consistory against Burchardi, e. g. that he was spreading Reformed theology and Calvinism through his translations, the publisher won the case. In his defense, Burchardi explicitly referred to support from anonymous and high-ranking theologians.⁵³ In this case an earlier assessment of a similar issue may have exerted an influence on the consistory. In the late seventeenth century the issue of Russian-English trade had grown in importance. The English perspective was that English tradesmen ought to have the right to confess and practice their Anglicanism. A theological expert opinion was sought from Johannes Gezelius the Younger (1647–1718), the Superintendent of Livonia, in 1684. Gezelius's opinion was that Anglicanism was quite close to Lutheranism, while the Reformed churches, as well as Puritans and Presbyterians, belonged outside the Swedish Realm.⁵⁴ The book by Richard Lucas was published and the Swedish title was *Tjdmätning medelst christelige tanckar*. The theology and style of Lucas had similarities to Baxter's.⁵⁵

The successful efforts to publish a Swedish translation of *Christian thoughts for every day of the month* by Richard Lucas provide additional information about the publishing activities of Burchardi and the circles that supported him. The book contained a dedication to a widow in Stockholm, Anna Maria Kalckberner, whom Burchardi thanked for earlier financial support of his publishing activities. She was the widow of the merchant Johan Adam Kalckberner (d. 1698), who was an early sympathizer of Pietism in Stockholm.⁵⁶ Kalckberner corresponded with the nephew of August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) and with Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (1670–1739).⁵⁷ Johan Adam Kalckberner's brother, Petrus Adami Kalckberner (1661–1733), was superintendent of the Lutheran church in Brandenburgian, Pomerania, and a correspondent of Francke

53. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 91. See also Lindquist, "Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning," 133.

54. Laine, "English Puritan Literature in the Swedish Realm," 37–38.

55. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 94.

56. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 90–93.

57. Hilding Pleijel, *Der Schwedische Pietismus in seinen Beziehungen zu Deutschland* (Lund: Gleerups förlag, 1935), 124n4.

himself. He was born in Sweden and had studied at Uppsala University, but made his ecclesiastical career in the Protestant states of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.⁵⁸ After the death of Johan Adam Kalckberner, Anna Maria Kalckberner provided important financial support for the efforts of Buchardi to spread English devotional literature.⁵⁹ A son of the Kalckbernals, with the same name as his father, Johann Adam Kalckberner (1697–1768), was sent to study at the university of Halle, the very center of Pietism in Prussia, in 1720.⁶⁰

The conclusion of this overview is that the Swedish translation of *Now or Never* had an international Protestant context. It was part of the publishing efforts of a German bookseller and printer. Buchardi's circle also included Stockholm merchants with German Pietist contacts. His publishing efforts were not successful in the case of *Now or Never*, which probably was a result of the generally repressive tendencies of church censorship in the late 1690s. But the wider context of Buchardi's work included close contacts between him, the Swedish monarchy, and influential Lutheran clergymen. Although church censorship had become severe, this did not mean that common denominators and common concerns had ceased to exist. Swedish absolutism and the pursuit of Lutheran doctrinal conformity did not rule out an interest in the themes of Pietist and Puritan literature among circles close to the court and ecclesiastical establishment. The activities of Buchardi and his efforts to publish a book by Richard Baxter once more confirms the observation made in recent studies of early Pietism in Sweden mentioned in the beginning of this article, that common goals and pursuits of the Swedish monarchy and early Pietism in fact existed.⁶¹

After 1706 the repressive tendencies of church censorship became even more severe, resulting in a list put together by *censor librorum* in 1708 consisting of books in foreign languages that were prohibited for publication in Swedish bookstores. Among the books on this list were a number of books written by well-known Pietist authors such as Philipp Spener, August Hermann Francke, and Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714). Also included was

58. K. G. Odén, *Östgötars minne. Biografiska anteckningar om studerande östgötar i Uppsala 1595–190* (Stockholm: Iduns kungliga hofboktryckeri, 1902), 80; Peter Schickentanz, ed., *Der Briefwechsel Carl Hildebrand von Canstein mit August Hermann Francke* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972), 208, 217, 255ff., 270, 312, 473.

59. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 93.

60. J. S. Pajula, "Svenska och finska studerande vid universiteter i Halle 1693–1744," *Historisk tidskrift* 15 (1895): 334–37.

61. E.g., Nordenstrand, *Den äldre svenska pietismens litteratur*, 3–5.

the most popular of Richard Baxter's writings, *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* (1650) in its German edition.⁶² However, *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* was finally translated into Swedish in 1765 and published under the title *De heligas ewiga ro*.⁶³

A treatise of self-denial (1659) was translated from a German edition by an anonymous writer with the initials "G. W." in 1729. The Swedish translation comprised only one chapter from the original work. This chapter dealt with the use of the tongue and was of a practical and pedagogical character, listing, for example, twelve rules for preventing an unholy use of the tongue. Bengt Hellekant suggests that the translator could have been the future bishop of Visby (1735–1745) and Gothenburg (1745–1760), Georg Wallin II (1686–1760), who translated other English theological works.⁶⁴ Wallin was, at the time of the translation of *A treatise of self-denial*, librarian of the University library of Uppsala, and became Professor of Theological Ethics in Uppsala (1732–1735). Wallin went on a study tour of Germany, England, and the Netherlands in 1707–1710. In Germany he visited Greifswald, Rostock, Berlin, Halle, Eisleben, Naumburg, Wittenberg, and Jena, meeting several well-known German theologians at this time, including Johann Friedrich Mayer (1650–1712), Valentin Ernst Löscher (1673–1749), Gottlieb Wernsdorf (1668–1729), Joachim Justus Breithaupt (1658–1732), Johann Franz Buddeus (1667–1729), and August Hermann Francke.⁶⁵ This meant that Wallin met theologians that have been labeled "orthodox" and strongly criticized Pietism (Mayer and Löscher), those who tried to find a more conciliatory approach to Pietism (Buddeus) and leaders of Pietism (Francke). Wallin was thus well acquainted with different theological positions within Lutheranism but there is no indication that he publicly associated himself with the Pietist movement in Sweden or in Germany. Instead he often joined the critics of Pietism, but did not withhold

62. Nordenstrand, *Den äldre svenska pietismens litteratur*, 275–78.

63. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 76.

64. Tor Andrae, Georg Wallin. *Resor, forskningar och öden* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1936), 227–33. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 141.

65. Sven Pettersson & A. Robert Litzén, *Göteborgs stifts herdaminne samt geografisk, historisk och statistisk beskrifning öfver pastoraten* (Göteborg: Zetterström, 1872), 9. Jöran Jacob Thomaus, *Skandinaviens Kyrko-Häfdar från de äldsta till närvarande tider. Senare delen* (Kristianstad: Cedergrens boktryckeri, 1838), 763.

admiration for August Hermann Francke.⁶⁶ In England Wallin went to Cambridge to see Professor of Hebrew, Henry Sike (1669–1712), and to Oxford, where he met John Potter (1674–1747), regius professor of divinity and later archbishop of Canterbury (1737–1747). Potter was a High Churchman and a Whig. Wallin also took part in a Quaker meeting, where he heard two women preach. According to Wallin's biographer, Tor Andrae, Wallin did not pay much attention to Anglican theology and liturgy during his visit to England. But back in Sweden, he showed himself well acquainted with the contemporary debate in England concerning liturgical versus spontaneous prayer in regular worship. In a dissertation which he wrote in order to obtain a post as lecturer in theology, he argued for a middle position between, on the one hand, some Pietists and Puritans who only favored spontaneous prayer, and on the other hand, Anglican High Churchmen who only would allow the written liturgical prayer. His general estimation of the Church of England was one of genuine ecumenical interest. In 1718, in a letter answering a question from the Swedish ambassador in London concerning the possibility of a closer relationship between the Church of England and the Church of Sweden, Wallin clearly stated his support for this.⁶⁷ With this ecumenical interest, pursuing a middle position within Lutheranism and in relation to the Church of England and the Puritan tradition, an interest in the practical theology of Richard Baxter would not come as a surprise.

It could also be mentioned that Georg Wallin II was at this time married to Margareta Schröder (d. 1773), who was a sister of Herman Schröder (1676–1744).⁶⁸ Herman Schröder was one of the leading Pietists of Stockholm and the person who sent the translation of *A treatise of self-denial* to the Stockholm consistory. Schröder was vicar of one of the Stockholm parishes (Katarina församling, 1718–1729) and was appointed bishop of

66. Tor Andrae, *Georg Wallin. Resor, forskningar och öden*, 100–84. Horst Weigelt, "Löscher, Valentin Ernst," in Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller, eds. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Vol. 21 (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1991), 415–19. Dietrich Meyer, "Wernsdorf, Gottlieb," in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Band 15 (Herzberg: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 1999), 1464–1472. Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, "Breithaupt, Joachim Justus," in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Band 1 (Hamm: Vlg Traugott, 1990), 739–40. Kurt Aland, "Buddeus, Johann Franz," *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Historische Kommission, ed., Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Band 2 (Berlin: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1955), 715.

67. Andrae, *Georg Wallin. Resor, forskningar och öden*, 160–96.

68. Anrep, *Svenska adelns ättar-taflor. Afdelning 4. Skytte af Duderhof—Östner, jemte tillägg, rättelser och slutord*, 548.

Kalmar (1729–1744). According to his memoirs, Schröder grew up in a Lutheran family which originally had emigrated to Sweden from Mecklenburg. Schröder experienced a personal conversion around the turn of the century after contacts with followers of August Hermann Francke. Shortly after that he began a correspondence with Pietists in Halle. He also started to read literature written by Francke. Schröder became a military chaplain in 1710, following the Swedish army in Norway, and during the campaign (1716–1718) developed a personal friendship with the Swedish monarch at the time, Charles XII (reigning 1697–1718). Charles XII was well known for his support of Lutheran pure doctrine and uniformity in the Church of Sweden. In spite of this, and in spite of Schröder's open defense of Pietism, a mutual understanding developed and Schröder's estimation of the king's character and spirituality was very positive. In 1722, Schröder began a correspondence with August Hermann Francke that led to Schröder's support of the missionary efforts of German Pietism in India. Schröder has been labeled a "conservative" pietist because of his criticism of Johan Conrad Dippel (1673–1734) and his Swedish followers and their radical brand of Pietism.⁶⁹

A conclusion of this overview is that Richard Baxter's writings were well known and read among Swedish Lutherans with quite diverse relationships to Pietism, including leaders of the second generation of Pietists in Sweden. The translation was a result of Swedish contacts with the English-speaking world and its publishing was a result of joint Lutheran efforts to spread edifying and important devotional literature among the Swedish population. Baxter's writings fell into this category, which was explicitly stated by Herman Schröder in his request to the consistory for the publishing of this small book. The Stockholm consistory granted his request in October 1729.⁷⁰

Four years later, in 1733, another book by Richard Baxter was published in Swedish: *The poor man's family book* (1674). It was a translation from a popular Danish edition made by the Bishop of Trondheim, Eilar Hagerup (1685–1743), in 1715. The book was intended for poor families and had a

69. Ingemar Brohed, "Herman Schröder," in Åsa Karlsson, ed., *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, vols. 30–31, (Stockholm: Riksarkivet, 2002), 637. See also Hilding Pleijel, ed., *Herman Schröders levernesbeskrivning* (Stockholm, Svenska kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bok-förlag, 1940), 25–26, 38–42, 45–55, 66–68, 76–77.

70. Stockholm, Stockholms stadsarkiv, Stockholms konsistoriums protokoll 18.10 1729. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 141.

catechetical form. The teacher proceeded by means of questions and answers and imaginary conversations between a parson and a landlord and between a parson and a tenant. The subject was conversion and its fruits, especially love toward God and one's neighbor. Baxter emphasized personal responsibility and one's duty to co-work with the Spirit of God in the process of salvation. Advice on how to live and examples of prayers to pray in different situations were also part of the message of Baxter. The Swedish translation was made on the initiative of a printer in Stockholm, Johan Laurentius Horrn (d. 1741) in 1731–1732. Horrn also financed the printing of the book. The Stockholm consistory had some reservations but granted the request and attested that *The poor man's family book* was in accordance with the Scriptures. The censor was Lars Arnell (1689–1742), a vicar of one of the Stockholm parishes (*Jacob och Johannes församling*) and known for his support of Lutheran pure doctrine and ecclesiastical uniformity.⁷¹

The publishing of these two books by Baxter took place after the law against lay conventicles in 1726 had been enacted, and with the approval of censors known for their loyalty to Lutheran confessional uniformity. This points to common ground that actually existed between the dominant Lutheran establishment and Pietism with regard to Baxter's theology and practical directions. Both of the books had a Swedish ecclesiastical context. In the case of the publishing of a part of *A treatise of self-denial* there also existed an international context, through its probable translator Georg Wallin II and through Herman Schröder with his contacts in German Pietism. The Swedish absolute monarchy had ceased to exist in 1718 and a new age of parliamentary rule had begun.⁷² The subject of the books was practical piety, saturated with concrete advice and admonishments, where personal responsibility in matters of faith and practice was emphasized. In spite of the fact that the Lutheran ecclesiastical establishment and Pietism in Sweden were involved in a deep controversy during these years, the writings by Baxter were translated and published with the support of both. The

71. Stockholm, Stockholms stadsarkiv, Stockholms konsistoriums protokoll 18.8 1732. Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, 148–49. S.J. Boëthius, "Lars Arnell," in Bertil Boëthius, ed., *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, vol. 2 (Stockholm: Riksarkivet, 1920), 237. See also Lindquist, "Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning," 139n4.

72. Michael Roberts, *The Age of Liberty. Sweden 1719–1772* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

content and context of these publishing processes confirm the continuing relevance of Baxter's theology in a Lutheran context.⁷³

Tuija Laine has pointed out the increasingly tolerant attitude toward English devotional literature that developed in the Stockholm consistory during the 1720s. After 1726 it only made one attempt to stop the publication of a book containing English devotional material during that decade. This happened in 1727 and the book in question was John Bunyan's *A Pilgrim's Progress*. Still, however, in the 1740s the Stockholm consistory showed its teeth by denying printing permission for James Janeway's (~1636–1674) book on the conversion of children, *Andelig exempel-bok för barn* (*A Token for Children*).⁷⁴

Conclusion and Suggestions for Further Research

Four books by Richard Baxter were translated into Swedish between 1660 and 1740. Three of them were translated from German editions and one from a popular Danish edition, i.e. through translations into a language of another nearby Lutheran state. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the groups responsible for the publishing process were Swedish notables with an international orientation and a close relationship to the monarchy and also a German publisher working in Stockholm. The translations were part of efforts to spread devotional literature that could deepen piety among the Swedish population in general. The themes of the books point to the existence of shared common goals among reform-minded groups close to early Pietism and the Swedish monarchy, especially the need for a deeper piety and social discipline among the Swedish population. The second group of books was published from 1729 to 1732 due to the initiatives of Swedish pietists intending to spread devotional literature that reflected the ideals of Pietism, in this case literature that contained practical directions for a pious life. None of Richard Baxter's writings dealing with eschatology, social ethics, or doctrinal polemics were translated into Swedish.

The Stockholm consistory was not consistent in its handling of Baxter's writings; the earliest translated writing dealt primarily with the need

73. See also Claesson, *Kris och kristnande. Olof Ekmans kamp för kristendomens återuppriktande vid Stora Kopparberget 1689–1713*, 95–98. Lindquist, "Engelsk uppbyggelse-litteratur i svensk översättning," 144–45, discusses the same area of common ground between Lutheran Orthodoxy in Sweden and English Puritan literature without referring to any specific sources. Lindquist also underlines the fact that Anglican High-Church literature was less translated into Swedish than Puritan literature.

74. Laine, "English Puritan Literature in the Swedish Realm," 43–45.

for personal repentance and faith in Christ and was granted permission for printing. The second addressed the same theme but was stopped. The first text arrived at the Stockholm consistory before the office of *censor librorum* had been instituted, the second one after that. The impression, then, is that the translations of Baxter's writings were not perceived as heretical but that the general repressive tendencies after 1688 limited the possibilities of receiving permission to print translations of books written by non-Lutherans.

The Swedish monarchy in the late seventeenth century has generally been seen as the force behind the strengthening of church censorship. This view has been problematized in this article, and a more multifaceted and complex picture has been presented. People close to the monarchy were in fact interested in promoting literature with a Pietist and Puritan origin.

The 1729–1732 translations were approved by censors known for their loyalty to Lutheran uniformity although tensions existed between them and the Pietists at that time. The practical orientation of Baxter's writings seems to have attracted a positive response from both groups.

The conclusion of this article is that Richard Baxter's pastoral theology was acceptable and attractive among Swedish Lutherans of different persuasions throughout the period studied. His theology included a practical spirituality where human responsibility in matters of repentance, faith, and sanctification was emphasized, and this was evidently considered necessary among the Swedish public. From this conclusion it follows that a more thorough assessment of Baxter's influence in Sweden is worth considering. To make such an assessment possible, a mapping of the dissemination of Baxter's writings in other languages in Sweden in the seventeenth century and early decades of the eighteenth century is needed along with analyses of sermons and other writings by clergymen who studied in England, and similar material by conservative Pietists who owned or referred to Baxter's writings.