

English Puritan Literature in the Swedish Realm in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – translation phases.

Searching for pure doctrine in the seventeenth century

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Swedish attitudes towards Calvinists and English Christianity

After the Convention of Uppsala (1593) Sweden became a Lutheran country. Besides Catholicism, the doctrines of the Calvinists and Zwingli were repudiated. The clergy in particular aimed at religious unity, considering it advantageous for both church and state.¹

The nature of English Christianity gave rise to distrust among the clergy. The contacts between Englishmen, both Anglicans and nonconformists, and the Calvinists in Europe during the confession controversies in the sixteenth century, had transformed English Christianity into Reformed Christianity. For that reason the Church of England was considered Calvinistic in Sweden. The differences between the Lutheran and Reformed churches primarily involved the doctrine of predestination, the denial of the doctrine of real presence and the denial

¹ Knut B. Westman, *Uppsala möte och dess betydelse*, Stockholm 1942; Ingun Montgomery, 'Värjostånd och lärostånd. Religion och politik i meningsutbytet mellan kungamakt och prästerskap i Sverige 1593–1608', in: *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*, 22 (1972), 110–112; Martti Parvio, *Confessio fidei. Suomen luterilaisuuden ensimmäinen tunnustuskirja*, Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran toimituksia 162, Helsinki 1993, 176–189. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Kingdom of Sweden had become the dominant power in the Baltic. Besides seizing territories from Denmark, Poland, Germany, and Russia, it had even established New Sweden, a short-lived colony at the mouth of the Delaware River in North America. In the Peace of Stolbova (1617), the Swedish Crown gained the province of Käkisalme around Lake Ladoga and the area along the Gulf of Finland's southeastern coast known as Ingria. With the signing of the Peace of Uusikaupunki in 1721, Russia annexed the kingdom's eastern Baltic provinces and took southeastern Finland. The Peace of Turku of 1743 gave Russia another slice of Finland; the southeastern border was now pushed west to the Kymi River. In the years 1808 to 1809, Russian troops occupied Finland for the third time in less than a century. This time Russia returned none of Finland to the Swedish kingdom. Jason Lavery, *The History of Finland*, London 2006, 41, 43, 49.

of images in churches; these were beliefs that the Lutheran church could not accept.²

After the Convention of Uppsala, Swedish and Finnish students could not visit Catholic Universities during their peregrination, but had to attend Lutheran Universities in Northern Germany, for example in Wittenberg. Studying at a heretical university threatened the career of a student as well as the social status position of his parents.³

A religious decree by the Diet of Örebro (1617) forbade Catholics to visit Sweden. The clergy had hoped for a stricter decree that would have also prohibited the entrance of Calvinists to the Realm and controlled the peregrination of students, but this was not proposed by the state, which was given the control of peregrination in 1620. Students aiming at careers in government or commerce were allowed to study at heretical universities, but others had to attend universities teaching only pure Lutheran doctrine. At the same time noblemen were given permission to peregrinate freely.⁴

Few Finnish students aspiring to the priesthood were brave enough to visit heretical areas, but after 1618 they had to find new places to study; education in Northern Germany's universities was severely hindered during the Thirty Year's War. From the 1620s onwards, those aiming at secular positions found their way to Reformed Holland. Theologians generally studied in domestic universities, or in Uppsala and Tartu.⁵

² David Lindqvist, 'Tysk och engelsk linje i svensk andaktslitteratur', in: *Forum theologicum. Årsbok för Härnösands stifts teologiska sällskap VII* (1950), 48; Lars Österlin, *Svenska kyrkan i profil. Ur engelskt och nordiskt perspektiv*, Borås 1994, 107–108, 157. The question of icons was eagerly discussed in different geographical areas – Central Europe, England and the Nordic countries – from the Reformation until beginning of the seventeenth century; Bengt Arvidsson, *Bildstrid, bildbruk, bildlära. En idéhistorisk undersökning av bildfrågan inom den begynnande lutherska traditionen under 1500-talet*, Lund 1987, 31. The term Anglican/Anglicanism is generally used by several researchers, at least from the Reformation onwards. See for example articles in Religion Past and Present Online.

³ Sven Göransson, *De svenska studieresorna och den religiösa kontrollen från reformationstiden till frihetstiden*, Uppsala 1951, 7-8, 19; Jussi Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti ennen Turun akatemian perustamista 1640*, Helsinki 1997, 286.

⁴ Göransson, *De svenska studieresorna*, 19–20, 23; Lars Niléhn, *Peregrinatio academica. Det svenska samhället och de utrikes studieresorna under 1600-talet*, Lund 1983, 106; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, 286–287, 380.

⁵ Göransson, *De svenska studieresorna*, 31–32, 35–36; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, 359–360, 371, 375, 380.

Papists and Calvinists could not hold civil service positions in Sweden, but they could engage in commerce and serve the country as soldiers. King *Erik XIV* (1533–1577) had already invited tradesmen from Holland to come to Sweden and even previously, during the reign of his father King Gustav Vasa (1496–1560), many Scottish Presbyterians had served in the Swedish army, after which they had also become tradesmen. The well-known Dutch businessman Louis de Geer (1587–1652) employed a considerable number of Vallonians at his ironworks.⁶

The clergy distrusted the Reformed immigrants, who were accepted only if they refrained from spreading their doctrines among the Swedish people. In actuality, however, the Reformed were rarely silent, justifying the clergy's concern with the state of pure doctrine in the Realm. It became necessary to construct enclosed spaces for the Reformed immigrants' meetings because they continuously required permission to assemble. Naturally they were not allowed to espouse their religious views in public.⁷

In the late seventeenth century (1684) the issue of Russian-English trade became timely. From the English perspective, the view was that English tradesmen could confess to Anglicanism. An expert opinion was sought from Johannes Gezelius the Younger (1647–1718), the Superintendent of Livonia, who clearly differentiated between Anglicanism and Reformed Christianity. In his opinion, Anglicanism was quite close to Lutheranism, but the Reformed Church, as well as Puritans and Presbyterians, belonged outside the Swedish Realm. In reality things were not so simple, but Gezelius' point of view was important because he understood the differences between Anglican and Puritan theology, even though several Puritan writers were actually Anglicans.⁸

⁶ Arthur Sundstedt, *Striden om konventikelplakatet*, Stockholm 1958, 44-46; Jonas Berg and Bo Lagercrantz, *Scots in Sweden*. Stockholm 1962, 23–24; Bernt Douhan, *Arbete, kapital och migration. Valloninvandringen till Sverige under 1600-talet*, Uppsala 1985, 26; Bengt Åhlen, *Ord mot ordningen. Farliga skrifter, bokbål och kättarprocesser i svensk censurhistoria*, Stockholm 1986, 17-18; Pentti Laasonen, *Luterilaisuus Rooman ja Geneven välissä. Luterilaisuuden identiteettitaistelu 1577– n. 1590*, Helsinki 1998, 104.

⁷ Turku, Turun maakunta-arkisto, Turun tuomiokapitulin arkisto, Kuninkaallisen Majesteetin kirje Turun tuomiokapitulille [The Provincial Archives of Turku, The Archives of the Cathedral Chapter of Turku, Royal Majesty to Diocese of Turku], El:1, 1.9.1664 § 1, 23.12.1672 § 1, 15.11.1680 § 1, 4.7.1689 § 12; *Prästeståndets riksdagsprotokoll 1642–1786*. I–XXV, Stockholm 1949–1994 III, 21, 52, 151, 369; Martti Takala, *Lex Dei – Lex politica Dei. Lex politica Dei -teos ja Kaarle IX:n lainsäädäntö*, Helsinki 1993, 163.

⁸ Lars Hagberg, 'Johannes Gezelius d.y. och engelsmännens religionsfrihet i Narva 1684', in: *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift*, 48 (1948), 113–116.

Gezelius was one of few Swedish theologians who, already in the seventeenth century, were capable of grasping the differences between Anglicanism and Calvinism. Those who understood this distinction gained a familiarity with English Christianity during their peregrinations, while others continued to view Anglicanism and Calvinism in a very dark light.⁹

Translations purified of heresies

Although many members of the clergy saw Calvinists, Puritans, and Anglicans as enemies of the Lutheran church, English devotional literature had already found its way to the Swedish Realm in the first decades of the seventeenth century. This literature, primarily written by English Puritans, was primarily Low Church in nature; the Puritan characteristics of these books facilitated their acceptance in Sweden. Despite its Reformed influence, Puritan literary production was often more Lutheran than High Church Anglican literature because the Reformed doctrine was not always taken into consideration, and High Church Anglican books still exhibited many Catholic features. In the early seventeenth century, Sweden-Finland held the Catholics in lower regard than the Calvinists, even if the clergy felt somewhat uneasy about the Calvinist invasion that arrived in the guise of promoting trade and industry. As late as 1647, the clergy at the Diet considered Catholicism more dangerous, with Calvinism coming in a close second.¹⁰

The route through which English devotional literature made its way to Sweden was circuitous, but it was just this elongated trail that also made the literature less suspect. Books often came through the Netherlands and German Reformed areas to Lutheran Germany where they were purified and revised as Lutheran versions that continued onwards to Sweden and

⁹ Hagberg, 'Johannes Gezelius d.y.', 115; Lars Hagberg, *Jacob Serenius' kyrkliga insats*, Stockholm 1952, 36–37; Österlin, *Svenska kyrkan i profil*, 107, 137–138.

¹⁰ Yngve Brilioth, *Den svenska kyrkans internationella förbindelser*, Stockholm 1922, 8; Lindqvist, 'Tysk och engelsk linje i svensk andaktslitteratur', 48–49, 52; Richard C. Lovelace, 'Puritan Spirituality: the Search for a Rightly Reformed Church', in: Louis Dupré and Don E. Saliers with John Meyendorff (eds.), *Christian spirituality. Post-reformation and Modern*, New York 1989, 296; Elizabeth K. Hudson, 'The Catholic Challenge to Puritan Piety, 1580-1620', in: *Catholic Historical Review*, 77, nr. 1 (1991), 1-20; Laasonen, *Luterilaisuus Rooman ja Geneven välissä*, 103–105.

Finland, where they were often accepted without problems, because they had already been purified.¹¹

The importance of the Swedish language was crucial to the reception of English devotional literature in Finland. Only a few of the books known in Finland were translated into Finnish; most were read in Swedish. With the passing of time, however, many Finnish translations were made from the Swedish versions.

Compared to German Lutheran devotional literature, the amount of English devotional literature was still quite small. Only fifteen books – eight of which were known in Finland – were translated into Swedish during the seventeenth century, among them Arthur Dent's *The Plaine Man's Pathway to Heaven* and John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the two most popular English devotional books in Finland during the Swedish Realm. At the same time more than a hundred first editions of German devotional books translated into Swedish were published. For example devotional texts of Johann Gerhard and Johann Arndt were popular in Finland at that time.¹²

John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* is the first religious novel, a story about a man, who noticing the distressed state of his soul, sets off on a pilgrimage to find mercy and heaven. On his way he encounters various dangers, but also gains faithful friends. It is indisputable that *The Pilgrim's Progress* is one of the best-known English-language religious books in the world, and it has been translated into many languages.

Resistance to published English devotional literature

The reign of Charles XI (1655–1697) on the Swedish throne coincided with the rise of Absolutism. In all fields the importance of unity was remarkable. With its particular fear of heretical literature and its influences, the clergy wholeheartedly supported Absolutism's concern with heresies, disunity, and the preservation of pure doctrine. In 1688, a special censorship body,

¹¹ David Lindqvist, *Studier i den svenska andaktslitteraturen under stormaktstidevarvet. Med särskild hänsyn till bön-, tröste- och nattvardsböcker*, Uppsala 1939, 415–416; Lindqvist, 'Tysk och engelsk linje i svensk andaktslitteratur', 51; Udo Sträter, *Sonthom, Bayly, Dyke und Hall. Studien zur Rezeption der englischen Erbauungsliteratur in Deutschland im 17. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen 1987, 112–113.

¹² Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600-talet*, Uppsala 1942–1946, different sections. I have compared all the translations in detail in my dissertation *Ylösherätys suruttomille. Englantilaisperäinen hartauskirjallisuus Suomessa Ruotsin vallan aikana*, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 775 and 778, Helsinki 2000. In this article I shall concentrate on the main lines.

the *Censor librorum*, was founded to oversee the censorship of all printed materials and imported literature.

The task of censoring religious literature was assigned to the dioceses; the *Censor librorum* only confirmed their decisions. The clergy's concerns were not without justification; at that time Reformed Christianity and Pietism threatened the purity of Lutheran doctrine in the Swedish Realm. Pietistic influences had approached the Realm in the last decades of the seventeenth century from the Baltic and German regions, and Pietism was seen as a threat to the unity of the Realm as well as its religion. Puritan devotional literature was also extremely popular among moderate and radical Pietists. Asceticism, individualism, and the meaning of moral life were important for both movements.¹³ Opposing English devotional literature was also a way to control the spread of Pietism.

Background of repression

During the seventeenth century, the 1670s were without question the liveliest decade regarding translations of English devotional literature. During the Thirty Years War only a few translations were published. None of the books translated in the 1650s and 1660s had been granted printing permission, but in the 1670s a total of eight devotional books – only three of which were known in Finland – were translated. Most of the books were translated by Olof Lemwijk (born ca. 1640) from the original English texts, which were still extremely rare. At that time, even reprints from Lewis

¹³ G. E. Klemming and J. G. Nordin, *Svensk boktryckerihistoria 1483–1883*, Stockholm 1883 [reprint 1983], 288–291; Lindqvist, 'Tysk och engelsk linje i svensk andaktslitteratur', 52–53; Ove Nordstrandh, *Den äldre svenska pietismens litteratur*, Lund 1951, 156–160; Pentti Laasonen, *Johannes Gezelius vanhempi ja suomalainen täysortodoksia*, Helsinki 1977, 482; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800*, London 1990, 154; Österlin, *Svenska kyrkan i profil*, 128; Esko M. Laine, *Yksimielisyyt – sota – pietismi. Tutkimuksia suomalaisesta papistosta ja yhteiskunnasta kolmikymmenvuotisesta sodasta pikkuvihaan*, Helsinki 1996, 79. In the seventeenth century before Pietistic influences, devotional literature in the Swedish realm represented mostly Lutheran orthodoxy and its authors were widely read. In inventory estates, for example, works by Johann Gerhard and Johann Arndt were popular. David Lindqvist has written about devotional literature in the Swedish Realm; *Studier i den svenska andaktslitteraturen under stormaktstidevarvet. Medsärskild hänsyn till bön-, tröste- och nattvardsböcker*, Uppsala 1939 and Sigfrid Estborn, *Evangeliska svenska bönböcker under reformationstidevarvet : med en inledande översikt över medeltidens och över reformationstidens evangeliska tyska bönelitteratur*, Lund 1929.

Bayly's (d. 1631) *Praxis pietatis* and Emanuel Sonthom's *Gudz barns gyllende klenod (A Booke of Christian Exercise)* were published in Sweden.¹⁴

The rapid pace of translations almost dried up in the 1690s due to the rise of Absolutism. There was strong resistance against the publication of English devotional literature in the diocese of Stockholm. Control was strict; besides the chair of the consistory, other members also read the manuscripts before their fates were decided.¹⁵

The members of the consistory were split into two opposing factions. The conservatives strictly opposed the publication of any books that might contain anything suspicious concerning doctrine; Calvinism was considered particularly subversive. The moderates understood the problems that Calvinism might pose, but considered the Reformed literature worthwhile because they appreciated its devotional content and believed that minor edits could be made to the texts before releasing them to publishers and the wider public.¹⁶

The Swedish researcher of Pietism Ove Nordstrandh has studied the length of time that Pietistic literature had to wait in consistories before anyone spoke of their publication. Occasionally this process took years.¹⁷ The situation regarding English devotional literature, however, was totally different; the censorship process progressed rapidly, during the 1690s in as little as two weeks. Perhaps Puritan and Calvinistic literature was easier to comprehend than the Pietistic texts, facilitating and speeding up the process. If the author was known, conclusions regarding his confession could already be made on that basis alone.

It is probable that the strict censorship of English devotional literature at the end of the seventeenth century resulted partly from the religious policies of the Brandenburg Prussian Calvinistic elector who oppressed the Lutherans. The fights for Lutheranism by the Lutheran opposition in Germany, as well as the struggle for Syncretism, were probably known even in the Swedish Realm. Sweden's strictness was

¹⁴ Bengt Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelse-litteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, Samlingar och studier till Svenska kyrkans historia 10, Stockholm 1944; Tuija Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille. Englantilaisperäinen hartauskirjallisuus Suomessa Ruotsin vallan aikana*, Helsinki 2000, 77–79, 117–118.

¹⁵ Anders Burius, *Ömhet om friheten. Studier i frihetstidens censurpolitik*, Uppsala 1984, 110.

¹⁶ Nordstrandh, *Den äldre svenska pietismens litteratur*, 10–11, 19, 29–30, 32–33.

¹⁷ Nordstrandh, *Den äldre svenska pietismens litteratur*, 17.

shared by Lutherans in Germany, and strengthened the image of Sweden as a stalwart Lutheran fortress.¹⁸

The most important factor in publication policy was the appreciation of Swedish literature. The 1690s was a decade that witnessed the translation of a considerable quantity of literature into Swedish; translation activity related to, for example, German devotional books was particularly lively. In any case, this was an extremely difficult period for English devotional literature, which was almost impossible to get into print owing to the strict censorship.¹⁹ During the 1690s, the Consistory of Stockholm refused to approve two manuscripts but reluctantly granted it to another one, almost against its will. One edition furnished to the Consistory was printed, proving that it had been already published without permission. Only one devotional book, unknown in Finland, passed through the censorship process unscathed, but that work consisted primarily of secular aphorisms.²⁰

The suspicious attitude of the Consistory towards English literature could even be seen in the small number of reprints existing at the end of the century; the publishing of reprints virtually ceased during the 1690s. Of the books known in Finland, only the second translation *Ethica sacra* (*Salomons ethica*) of Joseph Hall's (1574–1656) *Salomons Divine Arts* was printed in 1691. It was a new translation by Olof Moberg, the Rector of the University of Tartu. The book contains a lengthy letter of recommendation by the *Censor librorum's* Claes Arvidsson Örnhielm (1627–1695), including special praise for the translator. Örnhielm writes that the book gives advice on how to live with pure conscience, adding that “rebellious Papists and Anabaptists” teach in a very different way.²¹

The heretical or Calvinistic content of the manuscripts was not always the real reason for the negative attitudes and denials of publication;

¹⁸ Pentti Laasonen, 'Die Rezeption der deutschen Spätorthodoxie im Norden. Ernst Salomon Cyprian und Erik Benzelius d.J.', in: Ernst Koch and Johannes Wallmann (eds.), *Ernst Salomon Cyprian (1673–1745) zwischen Orthodoxie, Pietismus und Frühaufklärung. Vorträge des Internationalen Kolloquiums vom 14. bis 16. September 1995 in der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha, Schloß Friedenstein, Gotha 1996*, 71–81; Laasonen, *Luterilaisuus Rooman ja Geneven välissä*, 196–197, 199–201, 206, 216.

¹⁹ Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600-talet*; Stina Hansson, *Afsatt på swensko. 1600-talets tryckta översättningslitteratur*, Göteborg 1982, 17, 106–107.

²⁰ Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning*, 89–90.

²¹ Joseph Hall, *Ethica sacra [...] uplagd af Bängt Höök, och finnes hoos honom till köps*, Stockholm, Niclas Wankijf, 1691, l.)(5r.,)(8; Gustav Benzelstjerna, *Censorsjournal 1737–1746*, L. Bygden and E. Lewenhaupt (eds.), [Stockholm 1884–1885], XVII.

in many cases, the members of the Consistory had no knowledge of the origin of the books and their translations. Occasionally publication was denied even if no Reformed doctrine remained in the manuscript. It was often a question of image politics; if there was any reason to suspect that a manuscript might be Calvinistic, or that there were hints that attempts were being made to conceal the true origin of the book, the Consistory became extremely suspicious and printing permission was pitilessly forbidden.²²

Towards a freer publication policy (1700–1759)

The weakening grip of censorship

Attitudes towards English devotional literature changed radically during the first decades of the eighteenth century. The Consistory of Stockholm that had strictly controlled doctrinal purity and attempted to block all heretical influences from entering the Realm at the end of the seventeenth century loosened its grip.

The first Swedish translation granted printing permission in the early eighteenth century was made from Arthur Dent's (d. 1607) book *A Sermon on Repentance* (1582). Dent had been the Vicar of South Shoebury in Essex from 1580. His refusal to wear a cassock during the mass and make the sign of cross led to difficulties with his bishop.²³

Dent writes about repentance, its properties, timing as well as the things that lead a man towards or away from repentance. In Dent's view, repentance is sorrow for a sinful life, then turning to God's mercy and the grace of Christ. Those unwilling to repent are destined for the Last Judgment and the torments of Hell.

Dent's Swedish translation *En sann omvändelses öfning*, based on the first German translation, contains a lengthy preface written by the German translator who clarified the strong emphasis on repentance in the original book and explained that it was the reason he had wished to add remarks and observations about faith to his preface. He had not, however,

²² Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 121–122.

²³ Arthur Dent, *En sann omvändelses öfning*, [...] beskriwfen af Arthur Dent, och nu effter mångas åstundan och begäran, af tyska språket, på swänskan transfererat och öfwersatt, Götheborg, Zacharias Hagemann, 1702; Thomson Cooper, 'Dent, Arthur', in: *Dictionary of National Biography XIV*, London 1888, 376; Edgar McKenzie, 'British Devotional Literature and the Rise of German Pietism', PhD-thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1997, 160.

made any changes to the text itself. The German translator's preface was also added to the Swedish translation that became the basis for the Finnish translation (*Totisen kääntymisen harjoitus eli tie*) thirty years later in 1732.²⁴ Dent's work was the first English devotional book translated into Finnish. Samuel Wacklin (1710–1780), an Apologist in the Oulu school (later vicar of Laihia) who was a known Finnish Pietist, made the Finnish translation. Dent's book also became very popular in Finland; for example, the Diocese of Turku frequently recommended it for the laity and clergy in letters and other documents.²⁵

The last attempt by the Consistory to block the publication of an English devotional book based on perceived Reformed influences took place in 1727. At that time they had the Swedish version (*Christens resa till ewigheten*) of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* on the table. The Vicar Johan Possieth (1667–1728), a member of the conservative faction, stated that there was no reason to translate Reformed literature into Swedish because it was alien to Lutheran doctrine. The Consistory, however, took a different position compared to previous cases. In the seventeenth century, all doctrine-related discussions had resulted in the denial of printing permission, or alternatively the stipulation of special conditions for the printer. In this case, the opponents' opinions were overruled; it was no longer difficult to obtain printing permission if the comments and remarks made by the censor were included in the text.²⁶

After 1727, translations of English devotional books sent to the Consistory of Stockholm did not provoke any further discussions. When printing permissions were given, the books' practical usefulness and doctrinal purity were emphasised. Any remarks made by the censor were included as references in the printed text.²⁷

²⁴ Arthur Dent, *En sann omvändelses öfning eller wäg. [...] Beskrifwen af Arthur Dent. Och efter mångas åstundan och begäran af tyska, på swänska språket öfwersatt, nu med 100. biffogade christendoms reglor, i Gudz hel. ord gundade, Gudoch boot-älskandom til en märckelig vplysning.* Stockholm, A. Holm, 1714,)(1v,)(5,)(8; Erkki Kansanaho, 'Samuel Wacklin ja Tukholmassa v. 1732 painetut suomenkieliset hartauskirjat', in: *Ramus virens in honorem Aarno Maliniemi*, Helsinki 1952, 123.

²⁵ Henrik Schück, *Den svenska förlagsbokhandels historia I–II*, Stockholm 1923, vol. II, 320–323; Kansanaho, 'Samuel Wacklin ja Tukholmassa v.1732 painetut suomenkieliset hartauskirjat', 111–112, 114–115, 117; Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 129, 131, 273.

²⁶ Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 136–137.

²⁷ Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 195–196.

New attitudes towards printing permissions

Attitudes towards printing permissions were also changing. Literature that could be considered subversive was already being published continuously without printing permissions, which were not even always requested. In any case, during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, translators, printers, and the publishers of translations of English devotional literature had sought printing permissions from the Consistory, and usually abided by its decisions. This all changed in the mid-eighteenth century.

In 1720, the Consistory had expressed indignation when the preliminary section of a book by William Beveridge (1637–1708) had been printed without permission. In 1743, however, while the censorship process of the third part of John Bunyan's allegory was being delayed, the Consistory made a proposal to a publisher that enabled him to take the manuscript out of the Consistory. This can be seen as a suggestion to print the text without official printing permission. *Tractatus de officio hominis* (*The Practice of Christian Graces*), denied publication permission in 1699, was also printed as a new translation in 1741, still possibly without printing permission. In 1759 it was even translated into Finnish in Reval with the title *Jumalisuden harjoitus* (2nd edition in Turku 1802). The patron financing the Finnish translation was probably Christian Adrian Lado, a wealthy tradesman and exponent of Halle Pietism from Viipuri. The longer and more morally stringent Finnish translations differ substantially from the German and Swedish editions.

The only English devotional book not approved for publication at that time was James Janeway's (1636?–1674) book on the conversion of children, *Andelig exempel-bok för barn* (*A Token for Children*). It is difficult to ascertain if the English origin of the manuscript was the real reason for its publication ban because the book was subsequently revised several times. This book was also printed quite soon after its negative printing permission decision in 1746.

Printing permissions were naturally not requested for mystical or heretical texts, for example the works of Thomas Bromley or John Pordage. Most of these were read in Finland as manuscripts, especially among the so-called Ostrobothnian Mystics, who were often engaged in the translation, copying, and sales of illegal literature during the late eighteenth and early 19th centuries.²⁸

²⁸ Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 196; Laine, 'From England to Ostrobothnia – The long journey of Thomas Bromley's mystical writing', in: Dorrit Gustafsson and Kristina

At the beginning of the Age of Liberty (1725–1731), the strictly orthodox vicar of the Nicolai parish and leader of the Consistory Nicolaus Barchius (1676–1733), attempted to defend his point of view against a small minority headed by Herman Schröder (1676–1744), who had a more favourable attitude towards English devotional literature and Halle Pietism. Schröder had also corresponded with August Herman Francke and his son for two decades. Andreas Kalsenius (1688–1750), the stepbrother of Barchius and a follower, also supported strictly orthodox views. Nevertheless, the entire ambience in the Consistory shifted in a more tolerant direction when Eric Alstrin (1683–1762) became its head. None of his followers wished to assume the role of judge regarding theological points of contention.²⁹ The change in the composition of the Consistory directly affected the publishing of English devotional literature.

New attitudes towards Pietism and Calvinism

The spiritual atmosphere in the Realm also changed during the first decades of the eighteenth century as the emphasis on individual conversion and religious experience became increasingly important. This was also seen in more tolerant attitudes towards Pietism as moderate Pietism gradually gained additional supporters. The first positive references to Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705) appeared in the late 1730s in dissertations written at the Turku Academy. The more positive attitude towards Pietism also influenced attitudes towards English devotional literature, which had similar ideals.

The unity valued by Lutheran orthodoxy and Absolutism gradually gave way to diversity. Publications popular among radical Pietists, for example works by the Philadelphians Thomas Bromley (1629–1691), Jane Lead (1623–1704), and John Pordage (1607–1681), were still in any case denied publication permission. The Philadelphians, a community organized ca. 1670 by the mystical writer Jane Lead, focused on God's Earthly Kingdom, the love for one's neighbours, and the battle against carnality. Members of the society had mystical and supernatural experiences, and Millenarianism played a key role in the society's beliefs.

Linnovaara (eds.), *Essays on Libraries, Cultural Heritage and Freedom of Information. Festschrift published on the occasion of Kai Ekholm's 60th birthday on 15 October 2013*, Helsinki 2013.

²⁹ Gunnar Hellström, *Stockholms stads herdaminne från reformationen intill tillkomsten av Stockholms stift*, Stockholm 1951, 439–442; Burius, *Ömhet om friheten*, 110.

John Pordage's *Sophia* as well as Thomas Bromley's *Hengellinen tutkistelemus Israelin lasten waelluxesta* (*The Journeys of the Children of Israel*) and *Tie lepo sapattihin* (*The Way to the Sabbath of Rest*) were disseminated in Finland's Ostrobothnia region in manuscripts during the late eighteenth and early 19th centuries. The latter (*Wägen till hwilo-sabbathen* in Swedish) was printed in Swedish in 1740 without printing permission and without the names of the publication location or printer. It is known that the book was used in Finland, also in a Swedish translation. Bromley's book is a description of spiritual growth toward divine perfection and light through rebirth and constant self-denial. The book comprises 16 chapters which allow the reader to follow the path step by step. Even though the mystical dimensions of the book were anti-church, the 1655 first edition bore both the name of the printer and the publication location, a consequence of it being printed during the era of Oliver Cromwell's republic.

The idea of linking Calvinism and Lutheranism gained increasingly enthusiastic support in Germany at the turn of the eighteenth century. Serious negotiations about a unification project (*Corpus Evangelicorum*) were conducted in 1722 in Regensburg. Although the Lutheran orthodoxy rejected the proposals, the ambience had already changed; German Lutheranism could no longer encourage the Swedish church to stand against Calvinism. In many places, people acquiesced and accepted views which had been strictly rejected two decades earlier.³⁰

The emergence of translated literature

One factor that mitigated the severity of censorship processes was the rapid emergence of translated literature. German examples reveal that as translations began to proliferate widely, there was less enthusiasm for the protection of doctrinal purity than previously.³¹ A similar trend was discernible in the Swedish Realm. Censorship officials simply had no time to control all the publications and bookshops as the supply of books proliferated. By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, only a few English devotional books had been published, but their translations, as well as reprints, began to spread in the 1720s. One reason was that as

³⁰ Rudolf Buddensieg, 'Bromley, Thomas', in: *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd, rev. ed., vol. 3, Leipzig 1897, 417; Otto Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus von Otto Ritschl. IV. Band Orthodoxie und Synkretismus in der altprotestantischen Theologie*, Göttingen 1927, 464.

³¹ Sträter, *Sonthom, Bayly, Dyke und Hall*, 11.

the demand for Pietistic literature dwindled, English devotional literature took its place. Another reason was weaker censorship.³²

A dry spell in the translation of English devotional literature

The lively pace of translations of English devotional literature slowed in the mid-eighteenth century; except for five reprints, no new translations were published during the 1750s. The newspaper *Stockholms Post-tidningar* also reflected this diminished intensity. English devotional books were seldom advertised for sale; only the bookseller *Lars Salvius* (1706–1773) tried to sell previously unsold books by Richard Baxter and Sonthom.³³

The reason for the paucity of publishing activities during the 1750s was the fear of Calvinism that re-emerged in the 1740s. In earlier times, members of the Reformed society could only practice their religion privately behind closed doors. In any case, His Majesty granted Anglicans and the Reformed limited freedom of religion in August of 1741. Despite the Lutheran clergy's opposition to the resolution in the diet of 1741, Calvinists were given permission to build their own churches.³⁴

Another threat to “pure Lutheran doctrine” was the influx of Moravians arriving in the Realm from Baltic areas; more attention was thus paid to censorship and immigration policies. Letters sent by His Majesty to dioceses warned of the Moravians. In the Turku and Oulu regions Moravians caused “all kinds of trouble” when their missionaries arrived to assist their “brothers in faith”. Many Finnish Moravians were laity, for example craftspersons, but certain priests also belonged to their society. For example Samuel Wacklin, the vicar of Laihia who translated Arthur

³² Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 198.

³³ Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 198; *Stockholms Posttidningar*, 10.12.1753 number 93, 25.2.1754 number 16, 25.3.1754 number 24.

³⁴ Turku, Turun maakunta-arkisto, Turun tuomiokapitulin arkisto, Kuninkaallisen Majesteetin kirje Turun tuomiokapitulille [The Provincial Archives of Turku, The Archives of the Cathedral Chapter of Turku, Royal Majesty to Diocese of Turku] El:7, 12.9.1743 § 1; R. Modee, *Utdrag utur alle ifrån [...] utkomne publique handlingar, placater, förordningar, resolutioner ock publicationer, som riksens styrsel samt inwärtens hushållning ock författningar i gemen, jämväl ock Stockholms stad i synnerhet, angå; [...] ett fullkomligt orda-register öfwer des innehåll [...] I–XV*, Stockholm, Lorentz Ludwig Grefing, 1742–1829 III, 1698, 27.8.1741; Sven Wilskman, *Svea rikets ecclesiastiqve verk, i alphabetisk ordning sammandragit utur lag och förordningar, privilegier och resolutioner, samt andra handlingar; förra delen*, Örebro, Joh. Lindh, 1781, 569–573; *Prästeståndets riksdagsprotokoll*, X, 428.

Dent's book into Finnish in 1732, associated himself for a while with his Moravian brethren.³⁵

In their research studies, the Swede Bengt Hellekant and German Udo Sträter have ascertained how the original English texts and their Reformed translations were purged of any Calvinistic influences. Modifying the texts to better suit the Lutheran public, often necessary for their reception, facilitated their dissemination in Lutheran Germany and the Nordic countries. On the other hand, it was impossible to eliminate all ostensibly subversive features from the texts. Calvinism not only manifested itself in special words or expressions, but in many cases it "contaminated" the entire work in one way or the other. Whether a work was "purified" or not did not necessarily influence its printing permission; the same work might have received different receptions from consistories at different times. There were periods when it was almost impossible to print anything and others when it was quite easy; even text modifications often had no bearing on the matter. The most powerful influence was the attitude of the clergy towards Calvinists and Pietists; at times a prevailing fear led to inertia in publication activities, while at other times, in a more tolerant atmosphere, it was fairly easy to even publish English devotional literature.³⁶

Improved book publishing conditions, a new phase in the translation of English devotional literature in Sweden (1760–1809)

The translating of English devotional literature into Swedish that had dried up in the mid-eighteenth century enjoyed a new Renaissance in the 1760s, which would become the liveliest period in the publication of English devotional literature during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Before 1809, ten new translations and series, also known in Finland, were published, most of them in 1760s.

At that time the first Swedish translations from English devotional books in Danish were made. The amount of English devotional literature in the Danish language was greater than in Swedish; according Frans Huisman

³⁵ Turku, Turun maakunta-arkisto, Turun tuomiokapitulien arkisto, Kuninkaallisen Majesteetin kirje Turuntuomiokapitulille [The Provincial Archives of Turku, The Archives of the Cathedral Chapter of Turku, Royal Majesty to Diocese of Turku] EI:7, 15.12.1748, 2.5.1751; Martti Ruuth, 'Itämeren maakunnat ja erittäinkin Rääveli uskonnollisten liikkeiden välittäjänä Suomeen varhaisemman herännäisyyden aikana', in: *Suomen uskonnollisten liikkeiden historiasta asiakirjoja ja tutkimuksia*, I, Helsinki 1915, 278–279, 302.

³⁶ Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 200.

it was approximately double during each phase (1636–1699, 1700–1759, and 1760–1809), but there were no major fluctuations regarding the authors whose writings had been translated. The same authors popular in Germany and Sweden, for example Sonthom, Lewis Bayly, Daniel Dyke, John Bunyan, Richard Baxter, Arthur Dent, Philip Doddridge, and James Hervey were also well represented in Denmark. The end of the century witnessed a quiet period in Sweden with respect to new translations, but even then reprints were being made (see Appendix). In the 19th century, the translation of English devotional literature into Swedish and Finnish again flourished. Besides larger works and books, various kinds of tracts were translated.³⁷

With the publication of Philip Doddridge's works during the 1760s and 1770s, the Swedish Realm turned to a newer kind of English devotional literature. Books translated into Swedish during the last decades of the eighteenth century had originally been written in English during the eighteenth century. These works no longer reflected the religious struggles or fears of civil war prevailing in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Censorship policies in consistories were now more relaxed; the new books did not expound the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination or the Eucharist if there was any mention of the sacraments at all. Attitudes in Sweden and Finland also differed compared to the previous century; the public did not expect doctrinal discussions from devotional literature. Calvinistic doctrines certainly held their own in English devotional literature,³⁸ but translators were no longer interested in those kinds of books. Doctrine-oriented books were not being offered for sale; the Enlightenment now commanded readers' attention.

During the seventeenth century, English devotional literature had generally been translated into Swedish directly from the original English texts (owing to Olof Lemwijk, who made most of the translations) and in the first decades of the eighteenth century mostly from German. During the 1760s and 1770s, translators also began to use the original English texts or Danish translations as the interest in the English language grew. The German book market no longer dominated translating policies in Sweden

³⁷ Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*; F.W. Huisman, 'Puriteins-piëtistische invloeden in het lutherse Denemarken tot 1800', in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 32, nr. 1, (2008), 183–186.

³⁸ Richard Baxter, *The saints everlasting rest: or, A treatise of the blessed state of the saints in their enjoyment of God in glory. [...] and now published by Richard Baxter, teacher of the church of Kederminster in Worcestershire*, London, Rob. White, 1650.

because Swedish translators were no longer relying on German translations. This must have also been one reason for the selection of non-doctrinal books for translation. The Enlightenment and French literature also diversified the book market; especially in the fields of fiction and philosophy, German literature had to take a back seat.

Many translations now concentrated on providing condolence, spiritual guidance, or reflections on the Bible; personal conversion was no longer required. Fiction and poetry became increasingly popular. Philip Doddridge's *Den sanna gudsfruktans början och framsteg* (*The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*) and other works, however, continued to emphasise conversion.

At the end of the century, the translating of English devotional literature into Finnish became livelier. Until the 1760s, only two Finnish translations had been published; during the period 1760–1809 a total of 5 translations were published: William Cowper's *Lohdullinen kanssapuhet*, 1770 (*A Most Comfortable and Christian Dialogue, Betweene the Lord, and the Soule*), Thomas Wilcox's *Kallihit hunajan-pisarat*, 1779 (*A Choice Drop of Honey from the Rock Christ*), John Bunyan's *Se paras sanoma sille pahimmalle ihmiselle*, 1781 (*The Jerusalem Sinner Saved*), Thomas Gouge's *Sana syndisille, ja sana pyhille, eli ylösherätys suruttomille* 1800 (*A Word to Sinners, and a Word to Saints*) and John Bunyan's *Yhden kristityn waellus autuahan ijankaikkisuteen*, 1809 (*The Pilgrim's Progress*). Four of these had been made from Swedish translations, but the last one had been translated from German. Two of these, Wilcox and Gouge, became quite popular in Finland.

The red thread of Wilcox's booklet is salvation through Christ. The author posits that people do not turn enough to the merit of Christ, but attempt to seek Salvation on their own. It makes no sense to look at one's own merits or sins; Salvation comes only through a belief in Christ. Gouge's book emphasises the spirit of law. Although the author writes about the necessity of rebirth and uses even threats to convert the reader, he also comforts repentant sinners, explaining the responsibilities that come with rebirth.

From all the Swedish translations, books emphasising conversion were chosen for translations even though this theme was no longer as popular in Swedish translations as it had been previously. The reason was that many Finnish translations had been made by members of various revival movements where conversion was a crucial issue. The Finnish

translations were thus stricter and even more archaic than the Swedish translations made at the same time.³⁹

Compared to the early 1700s, publication conditions improved dramatically by the end of the eighteenth century. At that time a Swedish political party, the “Caps”, even advocated freedom of the press, a freedom that was ratified in the Diet of 1766. The publishing of newspapers and political literature began to proliferate dramatically. Although the newly acquired freedom of the press did not always affect the publishing of religious literature because of older resolutions remaining in force,⁴⁰ the new and more positive atmosphere in publishing policies indirectly influenced the publication of religious literature.

As the economic situation improved, the marketing of books became increasingly important. The *Stockholms Post-tidningar* regularly printed advertisements for earlier editions and novelties on its pages. Published by vicar Anders Lizelius, the *Suomenkieliset Tieto-sanomat*, the first Finnish newspaper at that time, was short-lived (one year, 1771), but its Swedish contemporary *Tidningar utgifne af et sällskap i Åbo* published a considerable number of book advertisements and book auction announcements. Book advertisements also appeared in women’s magazines. New possibilities enabling private persons to buy books through subscriptions also spurred the publication of larger series. With respect to English devotional literature, these improved possibilities did not always lead to greater literary quantity, but bolder risk-taking and higher-quality marketing.⁴¹

Summary

As early as the first decades of the seventeenth century, English devotional literature began to proliferate in the Kingdom of Sweden. This literature was mainly Low Church in nature, primarily written by the English Puritans, whose conservatism facilitated the acceptance of these books in Sweden. Despite its Reformed influence, Puritan literary production was often more Lutheran than then the High Church Anglican literature that still exhibited many Catholic features.

The content of devotional books that found their way to the Kingdom of Sweden through the Netherlands as well as Reformed and Lutheran areas in Germany was constantly rearranged by purging the text of Reformed influences.

³⁹ Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 242.

⁴⁰ Tuija Laine, ‘Sensuuri ja sen asettamat julkaisurajoitukset’, in: Tuija Laine (ed.), *Kirjahistoria. Johdatus vanhan kirjan tutkimukseen*, Helsinki 1996, 205.

⁴¹ Laine *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 242–243.

The earliest Swedish editions passed the censors in the Stockholm Consistory without difficulty, even if times were turbulent because of the Thirty Years' War. Attempts to publish Swedish editions of English devotional books in the 1690s, however, encountered strong opposition. Fears and fantasies substantially affected attitudes towards English devotional literature and printing permissions. Whenever Calvinism, Pietism, or the Moravians were perceived as a dangerous threat to national unity and the Lutheran faith, attitudes towards English devotional literature became more rigid; whenever this perceived menace receded, the censorship authorities could afford to be more indulgent.

The mass production of Swedish editions began in the 1720s, which was soon reflected in the reception of English devotional literature in Finland. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Swedish editions had changed their profile; a concern with dogma gave way to a growing interest in practical issues such as the education of children and romantically picturesque garden design.

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Appendix

Table 1. Printed Swedish translations, new prints and translation languages of English devotional literature in 1630–1699. Equivalent information of devotional books known in Finland in brackets.⁴²

Decade	Amount of Swedish translations	Translations from German	Translations from English	New prints	Total number of editions
1630–1639	1 (1)	1	-	-	1
1640–1649	1 (1)	1	-	-	1
1650–1659	-	-	-	-	-
1660–1669	-	-	-	-	-
1670–1679	8 (5)	-	8	5	13
1680–1689	1 (1)	1	-	-	1
1690–1699	3 (2)	-	3	1	4
Total number	14 (10)	3	11	6	20

⁴² Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning*; Libris (<http://libris.kb.se/>): Richard Baxter, Lewis Bayly, Joseph Hall, John Hayward, Olof Swensson Lemwijk, Richard Lucas, Henry Smith, Emanuel Sonthom, Thomas Watson. According to Hellekant (33) there were also editions of Sonthom's work *Gudz barns gyllende klenod* in 1674 and in an unknown year. In Libris there are no mentions of these editions. Unfortunately there are no sources, which would tell us about the number of copies of these editions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Table 2. Printed Swedish translations, new prints and translation languages of English Devotional literature in 1700–1759. Equivalent information of devotional books known in Finland in brackets.⁴³

Decade	Amount of Swedish translations	Translations from German	Translations from English	New prints	Total number of editions
1700–1709	1 (1)	1	-	-	1
1710–1719	1 (-)	-	1	2	3
1720–1729	8 (8)	6	1	8	16
1730–1739	3 (3)	1	2	5	8
1740–1749	10 (8)	8	2	5	15
1750–1759	-	-	-	5	5
Total number	23 (20)	16	6	25	47

Table 3. Printed Swedish translations, new prints and translation languages of English Devotional literature in 1760–1809.⁴⁴

Decade	Amount of Swedish translations	Translations from German	Translations from English	Translations from Danish	New prints	Total number of editions
1760–1769	8	1	4	3	11	19
1770–1779	5	-	3	2	8	13
1780–1789	3	-	4	-	10	13
1790–1799	-	-	-	-	6	6
1800–1809	-	-	-	-	3	3
Total number	16	1	11	5	38	51

⁴³ Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelse-litteratur i svensk översättning*; Libris (<http://libris.kb.se/>): William Assheton, Richard Baxter, William de Britaine, Thomas Bromley, Thomas Brookes, John Bunyan, Arthur Dent, Thomas Goodwin, Thomas Gouge, James Janeway, Richard Lucas, Matthew Mead, John Rawlet, John Shower, *Tractatus de officio hominis*, *Tungans styrelse*.

⁴⁴ Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelse-litteratur i svensk översättning*; Libris (<http://libris.kb.se/>): Richard Baxter, Thomas Brookes, John Bunyan, William Cowper, Arthur Dent, Philip Doddridge, Thomas Gouge, James Hervey, James Janeway, Richard Lucas, Matthew Meade, Thomas Sherlock, John Tillotson, Thomas Wilcox. John Tillotson's and James Hervey's works consist of several parts, which have been counted in table separately.