

Union with Christ in the Theology of  
Samuel Rutherford:  
An Examination of his Doctrine of the  
Holy Spirit.

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To Ellen.



Take away the dispensation of the Spirit,  
and His effectual operations in all the  
intercourse that is between God and man;  
be ashamed to avow or profess the work  
attributed unto Him in the gospel, --and  
Christianity is plucked up by the roots.

John Owen, On the Holy Spirit, vi.

...so long as we are without Christ and  
separated from Him, nothing which He  
suffered and did for the salvation of the  
human race is of the least benefit to us.  
To communicate to us the blessings which  
He received from the Father, He must be-  
come ours and dwell in us...The whole  
comes to this, that the Holy Spirit is  
the bond by which Christ effectually  
binds us to Himself."

John Calvin, Institutes III.10.

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Relative to Rutherford's works, the following abbreviations apply and refer to first editions:

- PDG Exercitationes apologeticae PRO DIVINA GRATIA, 1636.
- PP A peaceable and temperate PLEA for Paul's PRESBYTERIE in Scotland, 1642.
- LR LEX REX, 1644.
- DR The DUE RIGHT of presbyteries, 1644.
- Serm. Com. Sermon to the House of Commons, 1644.
- Serm. Lords Sermon to the House of Lords, 1645.
- TT The TRYAL and TRIUMPH of faith, 1645.
- GE The divine right of Church GOVERNMENT and EXCOMMUNICATION, 1646.
- DS DISPUTE against SCANDALL as touching Christian liberty (published with GE as a separate tract with separate pagination), 1646.
- CD CHRIST DYING and drawing sinners to Himself, 1647.
- SA Survey of the SPIRITUAL ANTI-CHRIST, 1648.
- AS SURVEY of ANTINOMIANISM (published with SA as a separate treatise with separate pagination), 1648.
- PLC A free disputation against PRETENDED LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE, 1649.
- Last Speech The Last Speeches and glorious departure of Gordon Viscount of Kenmure, 1649.
- DDP DISPUTATIO scholastica de DIVINA PROVIDENTIA, 1649.
- CLO The COVENANT of LIFE OPENED, 1655.
- SCD Survey of the SUMME OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE penned by Thomas Hooker, 1658.
- ILG INFLUENCES of the LIFE OF GRACE, 1659.
- (posthumous)
- EA EXAMEN ARMINIANISMI, 1668.
- Cat CATECHISM, in Catechisms of the Second Reformation by Mitchell.
- Let LETTERS: the two-volume edition by A.A.Bonar of 1863.

N.B. Erratic pagination has been compensated for by a letter designation following the page reference. Example: DR 248<sub>c</sub> = the third occurrence of a page numbered 248 in Due Right of Presbyteries.

## THESIS SUMMARY

By way of introducing this doctrinal study, we have traced in broad outline the effects of Hellenistic philosophy on the theology of the Holy Spirit. After reviewing some of the errors which arose in the identification of the Spirit with the creation of mediating grace, we noted that there was also a tradition which avoided the worst aspects of Greek dualism by identifying the Third Person of the Trinity with grace as a continuing realisation of the mission of Christ in history. The pneumatological theology of Samuel Rutherford manifests this emphasis in 17th Cent. Scotland. His doctrine of the Spirit is consciously integrated with his understanding of the Trinity in general and with Christology in particular. The Son and the Spirit are both sent according to the plan of the Father. The Spirit in His soteriological office is subject to the Son and produces by recreation the life of the Son in those chosen by the Father. Thus regeneration, faith, repentance, and sanctification are the believer's by an actual union of participation in the life of Christ. This activity of the Spirit presupposes not only His use of the Scriptures which He has caused to be written as an unerring revelation of God's will, but also His absolute control of all creation. The Spirit's power in this regard is manifest in every part of the world but most obviously in the Church which He guides and vitalises and in the life of the individual believer who is constantly under His influences. The presence of the Holy Spirit in man does not create a bridge between him

and Christ as by a creaturely means nor does it annihilate the believer's personhood or responsibility as by an absolute imputation of Christ's life. Rather, by drawing men into a living union with the living Christ, the Holy Spirit establishes man's true creatureliness and his responsibility in an act of worshipping the triune God in and through Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup>

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1. For a more lengthy introduction to the essential aspects of this thesis, see chap.3: Rutherford's Understanding of Grace, "The Spirit and Soteriology," pp.53f.



CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTORY ESSAY,  
HELLENISM, GRACE AND THE SPIRIT.

THE GROWTH OF DUALISM IN WESTERN PIETY

The fundamental question of theism has been: where can man find knowledge of God? In the life of Jesus Christ, this question was given its ultimate answer, and those who walked and talked with that man walked and talked with God. But with His personal departure from the world, the question became once again the focal problem of the piety and evangelism of those who followed Him. In the economy of God, Christ had sent the Holy Spirit to fill the separation created by His ascension. But the Church was soon forced to attempt a logical definition of this non-physical reality which they claimed was God present in their lives.

Plato(347 B.C.)<sup>1</sup> had spoken of non-physical realities which could be perceived by individuals<sup>2</sup> and Philo (1st Cent.) had already adopted a basically Platonic stance in speaking of the reality of God in his Jewish milieu.<sup>3</sup> Quite naturally, therefore, Plato and his disciples provided a chosen vehicle for the philosophical theology of the early Church.<sup>4</sup> However, even within

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1. All dates cited in connection with particular people refer to the date, or approximated date, of their death.

2. Republic, Bk.7,1.

3. "The Kingdom of God is within us, even in this life, for this life's reward is holiness, the vision of God... This vision or knowledge of the Most High is the direct personal communion of a soul that no longer reasons but feels and knows." Quoted in Gregory, An Introduction to Christian Mysticism, p.24. Also see Lossky, The Vision of God, pp.43,53.

4. Justin Martyr claims Plato as a "Christian before Christ." Clement speaks of the Gospel as "perfected Platonism." See Inge, Christian Mysticism, pp.77-80 for other like citations.

Plato's classic parable of the men seated in the mouth of the cave seeing reflections on the wall cast by the realities behind them, we see a basic ontological and epistemological dualism which is the direct antithesis of what the Church is struggling to articulate and which continues to haunt her theologies to this day.<sup>1</sup>

This dualism, characteristic of all the sophisticated philosophies of Hellenism, was formulated in western theology in four noteworthy sources: Augustine, Boethius, John Scotus Erigena (via his translations and commentaries of Pseudo Dionysius and Maximus the Confessor) and the Arabian neo-Platonic commentators of Aristotle. It is an almost impossible task to try and trace these threads through the cobweb of the history of thought in the West. Practically every theological aberration can be located somewhere in the teachings of the philosophical Fathers of Greece and North Africa. They share one thing in common, which is a presupposed ontological dichotomy between God and man.<sup>2</sup> The crux of the Gospel is, on the other hand, the proclamation that God and man are reconciled in Jesus Christ. The Church, declaring this fact in terms of her adopted Hellenistic philosophy, tended to utilise two approaches. The first was a more or less pure

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1. In Republic, Bk.7, that which is communicated is something of shadow or impression which is not truth itself.  
 2. That this is different from the Creator/creature distinction of the Bible is manifest in the relative ease with which the incarnation is presented in Scripture and the philosophical scepticism which has always made that doctrine so difficult to the western mind.

It should not be assumed that this philosophical problem completely sullied the western Church. Practical piety on the one hand and a respect for the Bible (which is not a metaphysical book) on the other kept this emphasis in check. Consequently, Hellenistic philosophy has never been allowed to be fully consistent. This inconsistency helped save the Church both from the nominalism of the late Middle Ages and the humanism of the Post-Enlightenment.



neo-Platonism, stressing the One who "existed" above being.<sup>1</sup>  
 For this group, knowledge of God could only be had by abstraction from being.

"Leave behind both sensible perceptions and intellectual efforts and all other objects of sense and intelligence and all things not being and being and be raised aloft unknowingly to the union, as far as is possible, with Him who is above every essence and knowledge. For by resistless and absolute ecstasy in all purity, from thyself and all, thou wilt be carried on high to the superessential ray of the divine darkness, when thou hast cast away all and become free from all."<sup>2</sup>

While this approach never gained pre-eminence in the West, its influence was widespread and Dionysius is quoted positively by practically every major Catholic theologian from the 9th to the 18th Cents. In its less sophisticated forms, it developed into a type of nature mysticism or pantheism, the roots of which are obvious in the writings of Erigena, Amaury, Eckhart, and the 17th Cent. English Ranters.<sup>3</sup>

The other, perhaps more sober yet not less mystical, approach to knowledge of the Divine, stems from Augustine and the platonised Aristotelianism of Boethius and the Arabian commentators. While it might be questioned that in Augustine's mysticism there is "not a single thought or idea which could not have taken shape without the cement

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1. Dionysius: "The being of all things is the Deity which is above all being. (esse omnium est superesse deitas)."  
 Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages, p.121.

2. Dionysius, The Mystical Theology, chap.1:1. Cf. The Divine Names, I.1-2; V.1-3.

3. See Jones, Studies in Mystical Religion, chap.10; Otto, Mysticism, East and West, pp.197f.; Underhill, The Mystics of the Church, pp.54f.; and Gilson, op.cit., pp.89f.

of Platonism,"<sup>1</sup> there is no doubt that neo-Platonic ideas left a marked influence on his formulations. Augustine did, however, greatly qualify this system to make it more palatable to Christian revelation. Particularly, he rejected the concept of God "existing" above being which is so obvious in the Dionysian writings. Whereas for Plotinus, the neo-Platonist most influential in North Africa from the 3rd Cent., the first principle, the One, was outside being. Augustine united One and Being in his concept of God. But he continued to define Being as "eternal" and "immutable," which left him with the same basically Platonic dualism of being and becoming, eternity and time. We shall see shortly how this dualism affected his doctrine of grace and from there, set patterns for western theology up to the time of Aquinas.

In formulating his doctrine in On the Trinity, Augustine had begun with the concept of a Unitary Being. In Books 9-15, he went on to discuss that Being in terms of three persons largely patterned after analogies of human personality. Boethius(524) then added to this understanding a definition of person as "an individual substance of rational nature." If person is thus defined, the only way one might still hold to an understanding of the unity of the Godhead is to posit one divine "supersubstance" behind the three persons to which each might belong. We begin here to see articulated a concept of God which is other than He who reveals Himself in the Trinity. This is, in

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1. Lehmann, Mysticism in Heathendom and Christendom, p.142. Also see Gilson, op.cit., pp.70f.

fact, a subtle reversion to the concept of an ontologically separated One which Augustine sought to avoid.<sup>1</sup>

Nor was this ontological dichotomy to have no effect on the question with which we began our enquiry, i.e., how can man know God? By the 8th Cent., John of Damascus teaches that since "all that is known to us is sense experience and is mutable; and nothing of what comes into being by way of chance is non-created," we can only know God by His creatures.<sup>2</sup> The ontological dichotomy of Being and existence is now within the Church expressly epistemological.

### The Scholastic Period

The 12th Cent. witnessed not only the continuation of that form of Hellenism which came through Dionysius, Augustine and Boethius, but also the introduction of modified Aristotelianism through the Arabian commentators, Avicenna

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1. This trend continues without serious challenge until the 12th Cent. when Joachim (1202) put forth an "eastern" doctrine of the Trinity. He felt that Peter Lombard's formulation of "one divine absolute substance" which included all three persons was continuing a type of Sabellianism which would not allow the reality of God's actual involvement in the world. (Fournier, Etudes sur Joachim, demonstrates this thesis in great detail.)

Joachim is of interest to us in this regard not only in that he points out the growth of dualism in the western doctrine of God, but also because, in answering this problem, he included an emphasis on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. But, as the Montanists before him championed by Tertullian, he made the mistake of separating the dispensation of the Spirit from that of Christ and thereby introduced problems no less hostile to Christian faith than those he strove to counter. By positing a strict separation between the dispensations of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit (the Law, the Gospel, and the New Age), he failed to see the unity of the divine revelation of God other than or at variance with the revelation of Christ. This has been the danger faced by all those trying to guarantee the possibility of God's immanence. It was a barrier Rutherford had to overcome in his own understanding of the Spirit and in the errors of the 16th and 17th Cent. Antinomians.

2. Gilson, op.cit., pp.91,2.

and Averroes. Only a strong sense of mystical piety seems to have guarded this period from the scepticism which ultimately ended the Scholastic Era. Bonaventura (1245) himself, while speaking of contemplating the divine presence, works within the definition given him by Hugh of St.Victor(1141):

"What is found to be inseparable from and profoundly imprinted upon, our own thought is the affirmation of the existence of God, and not to the slightest degree the comprehension of His essence...God (has) proportioned our knowledge of Himself in such a way that we could never know what He is or know that He is."<sup>1</sup>

Albertus Magnus, who introduced the concept of "created grace," while denying to God "first bodily and sensible attributes, then intelligible qualities, and lastly that being which would keep him among created things," still kept a Platonic (Boethian) sense of the connection between being and its revealed accidents. Thus he could speak of a revelation of God which, though only a created accident, still has a direct ontological link to the Being it reveals.<sup>2</sup> Philosophically this connection came to be challenged when Albertus' pupil, St.Thomas Aquinas (1274) denied "thingness" to the concept of God. By defining God as "esse" (the act of being) rather than "essentia" (an entity), he brought into question the theoretical possibility of knowing God as a being. He left what would

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1. De Sacramentis, 1.3.1. as quoted in Bonaventura, Sentences, 8.1.1.2 and taken from Gilson, op.cit., p.335.

2. See Jones, op.cit., p.219; Gilson, op.cit., Part 10, p.70 and pp.291f. For Boethius, God was defined as an essence above being, but there was no question that He reveals Himself, (although not entirely nor essentially) in uncreated Being as in theophanies or "first manifestations," the vision of angels and the deified.



appear to be only an imperfect, analogous knowledge attained through secondary causes or creatures.<sup>1</sup>

Duns Scotus, in countering the Aristotelian assertion of mere ontological similarity between divine and human being apparent in Thomas' presuppositions, posited a concept of metaphysical "univocal" being which did much to reduce the ontological dualism so prevalent in the West up to his period. However, in the light of the condemnation (1277) of voluntarism in Avicenna, Scotus had to retain a stress on the radical contingency of God and the creation.<sup>2</sup>

### The Fourteenth Century

Prior to the 14th Cent., no matter how one defined Being or how extensive the dualism between God and man, there was still some common reality that extended from God to man, giving man knowledge (be it only created) of the Divine.

"Whether in the illumination of the Augustinians, in the analogy of St. Thomas, or in the univocality of Duns Scotus, there was common to all the conception of a link between God and His creatures."<sup>3</sup>

It was Scotus himself, while advancing against ontological dualism, who introduced the seeds of an epistemological dualism which ultimately ended the scholasticism of the Middle Ages.

"At the end of his treatise On the First Principle, Duns Scotus expressly

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1. Aquinas was, of course, too great an intellect not to see the impossibility of retaining rigid philosophical consistency at this point. Therefore, he went to great pains to stress the reality of a knowledge of God in His essence, seen but not fully "comprehended," given by illuminating grace.
  2. This he accomplished in his doctrine of God's will which intervenes "to bridge the ontological gap there is between the necessary existence of Infinite Being and the possible existence of finite beings." Gilson, op.cit., p.460.
  3. Leff, Thomas Bradwardine, p.255.

states that the all-powerfulness of God...His providence, His justice, His miséricorde toward all creatures, but especially towards man, are as many beliefs not susceptible of rational demonstration."<sup>1</sup>

When Occam (1347), zealous for God's omnipotence, brings these seeds to fruition in his debate with Scotus, we are left with a knowledge of God which is no knowledge at all in the classic sense, but merely a definition, a name. It is the pietism of the nominalist mystics which saves even this system from absolute scepticism.<sup>2</sup>

It cannot be said that the Reformers made an explicit departure from pre-Occamite philosophical dualism. When they "did" philosophical theology, they generally treated it in terms of the scholastics. However, there were several factors which pushed them away from the philosophical cleavages of western thought. Their emphasis on the Bible (as opposed to metaphysics), their piety, their stress on predestination, founded as it was on the presupposition that creation is the theatre of God's immanent power, and their stress on the believer's union with Christ all tended to overthrow the practical effects of the approach

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1. Gilson, Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages, pp.85, 6; also see Leff, Gregory Rimini, pp.26f.

2. See below, "Nominalist Mysticism," p.26.

It is interesting to note the relationship of faith and reason up to this period. For Augustine, faith was prior to reason and reason was illuminated by God as a part of faith. For the Averroists, faith and reason were considered two separate areas, or types of knowledge. Aquinas brought a synthesis to this two-fold truth by making faith the capstone of reason (the reverse of Augustine). Scotus introduced a moderate division of faith and reason and Occam, an extreme separation. The later nominalists interpreted this separation as actually being a type of Augustinianism, i.e., faith goes before and illumines reason. Only for them, this was not an illumination of the mind but of the heart and will which is brought about in unitive love.

so evident in the Schoolmen. In fact, by the 17th Cent. the separation between metaphysics and theology was a "fait accompli" for which, according to Daniel Hoffmann (1611), no apology whatsoever was required."<sup>1</sup> Thus there is, especially in the late 16th and early 17th Cents., with the widespread circulation of the early Fathers among the Protestants, a unique opportunity for the writing of theologies without the philosophical structures that tended to corrupt earlier efforts, in spite of the fact that these structures were not seriously questioned until the 20th Cent. It is significant that in all the books Rutherford published there is not one metaphysical discussion of the Being of the Trinity or of the Son or Spirit.

#### THE DOCTRINE OF GRACE IN THE WEST

We have already noted that Christ provided a means of continuing His presence and reality in the world by sending His Holy Spirit to the Church at Pentecost. From the first centuries, the Church's understanding of the Holy Spirit was bound up with her doctrine of grace and these in turn were explained in the terms of the philosophical

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1. Watkin-Jones, The Holy Spirit from Arminius to Wesley, P.36.

This situation was to continue until the mid 17th Cent. when the Deist and Unitarian controversies forced theology back to metaphysical considerations. Although philosophy and theology were still friends until the Enlightenment, they were never again to become marriage partners (as they had been through the late Middle Ages); for the philosophers began to discover that the Greeks were not true theists after all.

It should be noted, however, that in all the Reformers the Pauline, Augustinian, soteriological dualism was retained. This prevented any absolute overcoming of the problem. Thus the Spirit in creation is different from the Spirit in regeneration. (See Calvin's Institutes, II. 2.16).

dualism we have just surveyed.<sup>1</sup>

Rather than attempting to trace the doctrine of grace through all the Fathers, we shall focus briefly on the theologian who, in systematising their views, has left the greatest impact on the western theology of grace: St. Augustine (430). Before proceeding to him, however, we turn to Tertullian who marks the mid-point in the early development of this doctrine (220).

"Such will be the power of divine grace, which is assuredly mightier than nature, having in subjection to itself within us the faculty of free will."<sup>2</sup>

Tertullian, working within the categories of Hellenistic stoicism, pictures the soul as a material substance (nature) which is basically fallen and in need of divine help (grace). The anthropological consideration of man's overcoming takes precedence over the theological assertion that Christ has overcome. Thus grace, while being linked with the presence

1. The only New Testament passage directly connecting the Spirit and grace is Heb.10:29 where the Spirit is called "the Spirit of grace."

For specific discussions of the New Testament understanding of grace, see: Whitley, ed. of The Doctrine of Grace; Williams, The Grace of God; P. Watson, The Concept of Grace; Torrance, The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers; and Jauncy, The Doctrine of Grace. The last two mentioned have an exegetical treatment of all the occurrences of the word in the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers. All the above see grace in the New Testament as fundamentally God's acting to redeem men in Christ Jesus. They then divide on the number and type of secondary or applied uses of the word in the New Testament, all of which are related to this fundamental sense. The applied uses are variously a gift, a power of God upon or in men's lives, or a state of being in grace.

Once again we note that there are two historically parallel emphases relative to the presentation of grace and the Spirit. One is the philosophical which tends to develop toward an understanding of grace as a creature and the Spirit as a quasi-creaturely mediator of it. Another is the pietist worship-oriented understanding which tends to see grace as an aspect of the Spirit, sometimes completely identified with Him.

2. De Anima, 21, as quoted in Williams, op.cit., p.16.



of the indwelling activity of the Holy Spirit, is considered an impersonal, supernatural yet quasi-material substance given by the Spirit to combat nature. In addition to this, Tertullian embraced an already developed sacramentalism which conceived of this grace as being infused at baptism.<sup>1</sup> Both of these trends will appear in Augustine and be crystallised for western dogma.

#### Augustine and the Pelagian Controversy

The concept of grace was radically altered when it became the focal point in the discussion of man's ability to reach God. The British monk Pelagius (418?), following an already well-defined line of theological opinion, stressed the necessity of man's effort in seeking salvation. This striving, he taught, would be rewarded by God's gracious acceptance.<sup>2</sup> Augustine, countering this apparent deification of man in the matter of his own salvation, stressed the absolute fallenness of man's nature and therefore, of his ability to take any step toward God under his own power. For Augustine, man could only come to God via grace: "an internal and secret power wonderful and ineffable by which God operates in men's hearts."<sup>3</sup>

Substantial Grace: The arguments of both of these theologians were based on the assumption that grace was a "thing" which was a means whereby the other "thing," nature,

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1. See Hardman, The Christian Doctrine of Grace, p.14; Williams, op.cit., p.16; Watson, op.cit., p.76.

2. Cyprian of Carthage (258) had already spoken of grace as a reward of loyalty. Lactantius (325), as a reward of merit; Hilary of Poitiers (368): "...man is himself able to initiate that act of turning to God which meets with the reward of grace;" See Hardman, op.cit., p.14.

3. De Gratia Christi de de Peccato Originali, I.25. (Opera X, p.546.

was to be overcome, making contact with God possible.

While Augustine linked grace to the presence of the Holy Spirit (God in man's heart), he understood it as a "substance" essentially detachable from God. Grace is a vehicle of power or power itself, rather than a description of an act of God's presence or a relationship wrought by Him.

Meritorious Grace: The second emphasis of this discussion revolving about the dichotomy of nature and grace is the question of merit. When Augustine used the same word (grace) to counter the contention of Pelagius that man could earn acceptance of God, he introduced still another understanding of the word: grace is that which makes gracious. Grace is the only cause of merit. "When God crowns our merits He crowns only His own gifts." This concept of meritorious grace, which is a substance, when linked with a high view of the Church and the sacraments, led, as we shall see, to the disastrous conclusion that grace was a spiritual "thing" deposited in the Church and dispensed by it in the sacraments.

Electing Grace: The third new definition of grace which arose in the Pelagian discussion came by an identification of grace with election. If one is to reject the thesis that man can initiate his acceptance by God to adopt the teaching that only grace can lead to God's gracious salvation, then one is led quite naturally to the conclusion that those who receive this gift are only those whom God has chosen to receive it. From Augustine onward, the gift of God's salvation is wrapped in the mantle of predestination and not one major theologian in the West is

able to escape this discussion once the word "grace" is mentioned.

From the Pelagian controversy, we come to an understanding of grace as a substance, somehow related to God, which brings about merit in the elect.<sup>1</sup> There are other aspects of Augustine's teaching which enlarge this concept of grace still further.

Personal Subjectivism: The dichotomy of nature and grace which informed so much of the Pelagian controversy is characteristic of the influence of Hellenism on the Church of this period. In Augustine, this element, neo-Platonism, is nowhere more strongly evident than in his mysticism. The soul only finds God when the

"mind finally turns itself in upon itself, mounting through its progressively more and more spiritual faculties, till it finds God at once in and above itself."<sup>2</sup>

This emphasis on the introspective search for God in the individual soul becomes a characteristic of western mystical piety. But understood within its Hellenistic context of a hidden, unknowable God ontologically separated from man, it contains the seed of another grace problem. Grace becomes the creature bridging the gap. Grace replaces the Holy Spirit. Worse still, within this type of mystical dualism, one's understanding of Jesus Christ is easily reduced from the position of God Incarnate to simply a means of attaining God or of attaining grace. God is

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1. For a discussion of grace in the Pelagian controversy, see: Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, pp.366f.; Seeberg, History of Doctrine, I.pp.341f.; Whitley, op.cit., pp.7f.

2. Confessions, VII.16.23 as quoted in Butler, Western Mysticism, p.39.

something other than He who was revealed in Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup> Christ can easily degenerate to what Lehmann calls a "mystical organ which enables the devout or elect to grasp what the world cannot understand."<sup>2</sup>

The Sacraments and the Church: If Jesus Christ is to be understood as actually present in the sacraments, then there is little wonder why the Church from earliest times should connect the concept of grace with the sacraments. But again, two elements were introduced which tended to taint sacramental theology. One was the ever-present division which reduced grace to a gap-bridging substance and the other was a concept of the organised, institutional Church as a dispenser of the sacraments. Augustine, no doubt recognising the need for a central authority, especially in his desire to suppress Pelagianism, was a militant

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1. Alonso de Orozco, a Spanish mystic (1591), says the following on the contemplation of God in Himself. "We are to strive thereto not to find our God in His image considering Him in ourselves, nor are we to follow in His footsteps by contemplating Him in His creatures. Nor even are we to consider Him made man, and suffering for us upon the cross..., but after the highest manner are we to contemplate Him, in His essence and most perfect Being, without any indirection of any kind." For the translation and original, see Peers, Spanish Mysticism, pp.57,8; 178.

Alonso writes ten years before Rutherford's birth. Several of the Spanish mystics were translated into English in the 16th and 17th Cents., and Rutherford quotes at least two of these. But although he, in common with most Puritan pietists of his age, had a highly personal, individualistic conception of a man's relationship with God, he is completely lacking in two elements characteristic of the Spanish mystics: seeking God within oneself and 2.) the idea that there might be, in the Trinity, something not revealed in the man who "suffered for us on the cross."

2. Lehmann, op.cit., p.6. Also see Torrance, Reports to the General Assembly (Church of Scotland), "Report on Baptism," May '56, p.611 for the relationship of "subjective and individualistic approach" to faith, sacraments, grace, regeneration, and the Holy Spirit.



Churchman.<sup>1</sup> And from at least his period onward, we see a marked tendency to understand grace as a divine quality infused into man, adding to his natural powers of body and soul. This grace is understood to lie stored within the Church and dispensed with the sacraments. Baptism, moreover, was considered a justifying sacrament beginning the process which transforms the sinner into a saint.<sup>2</sup>

It is unfortunate that our treatment of Augustine should be so unsympathetic. It must be remembered that what are but seeds and tendencies toward misconception in his theology only become real perversions of the New Testament doctrine because lesser minds, using these concepts, were incapable of sustaining the balance and subtlety of argumentation achieved by him. Certainly Pelagianism had to be fought, certainly personal piety is important, and certainly the sacraments as being efficacious because of Christ's presence are a "means of grace." Positively, grace is for Augustine, as for his immediate predecessors, still intimately connected to a real work of God the Holy Spirit in transforming the soul of the believer by His presence in it. It is only unfortunate that the term grace should become so broad and subdefined in one of the Church's greatest theologians as to begin to lose its basic New Testament meanings.

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1. It is interesting to note how many see in Augustine, the mystic and Church dogmatist, a type of schizophrenic (see a list in Jones, op.cit., p.88 and Butler's comment, op.cit., pp.24,5). But this combination is far from the exception in the history of the Church and it is certainly common among the Reformers, especially Luther and Calvin, Rutherford, though not on a par with any of these names, is also a container of the Church militant and triumphant in one earthen vessel.

2. See Torrance, "Baptism," p.642. Also Williams, op.cit., p.22.

From the period of Augustine to the 13th Cent., grace remains connected to God as a part of His operation in the soul of the believer. But the roots which will germinate into the doctrine of created grace in the Franciscan Schoolmen continue to grow in the intervening period.<sup>1</sup> Anselm (1109) continues to discuss grace as a transforming reception of the Spirit of Christ, but his emphasis is more and more of the assistance derived from that presence.<sup>2</sup>

Thus by the time of Abelard, we see for the first time an implicit teaching that the action of the Holy Spirit in the soul is the acquisition of a gift of grace not connected to the Spirit's personal transforming of the soul.<sup>3</sup> Richard of St. Victor (1173) speaks of a three-fold knowledge of God;<sup>4</sup> first, that which is available to man by his own labor, then that which comes by the operation of God's infusion of new ideas and species and a third, a blending of these two. The next step is a concept of habitual and actual virtues infused at baptism<sup>5</sup> which are completely detached from any personal presence of the

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1. This concept, a purely created grace, which is distinguished by the scholastics, does not appear in Augustine nor would it have meaning for him although, as we have seen, the seed idea is there and he is referred to in defense of the concept.

2. "...Come, Holy Spirit, have mercy upon me, prepare Thy way within me, and pour forth Thy grace upon me, so that Thy greatness may transform my lowliness, Thy strength my weakness." Oration 14 (Migne, Vol.159.1, p.888).

3. Abelard in Romans 2, as cited by Moeller, op.cit., p.14.

4. Benjamin Minor, Bk.5, chap.1.

5. Alanus of Lille, 1202, Theologicae Regulae, n.88; see Moeller, op.cit., p.14.

Spirit in the believer.<sup>1</sup> (The term "habit" in this respect comes from Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics.)<sup>2</sup>

### The Schoolmen

The scholastic theology of grace is dominated by three principles: sacraments, which give it; merit, which necessitates its being given;<sup>3</sup> and the separation between God and man which prevents its being given directly by the Person of God. It is this last which finally gives rise to the theory of created grace, of which Rahner says:

"However diverse they may be among themselves, it is true of all the scholastic theories that they see God's indwelling and His conjunction with the justified man as based exclusively upon created grace. In virtue of the fact that created grace is imparted to the soul, God imparts Himself to it and dwells in it. Thus what we call uncreated grace, (i.e., God as bestowing Himself upon man) is a function of created grace."<sup>4</sup>

The first use of the term "created grace" appears in Alexander of Hales<sup>5</sup> in the context of the necessary

1. Ibid. This discussion also points out those who retain a more "orthodox" position during this period. Lombard (1160), whom we shall discuss below, and Richard Fishacre (1248) hold strongly to an identification of grace as the presence of the Holy Spirit in the soul. Fishacre goes so far as to draw parallels between the hypostatic union and our union with Christ by the Spirit of grace.

Bernard's rather eclectic piety covers the whole spectrum of the argument from the merit-producing gift of grace, (see treatise to William of St. Thierry on Grace & Free Will, especially chap. 14; Sermons from Canticles, n. 54) to God, the true life of the soul (Sermons from Psalms, n. 10).

2. Bk. II, chap. 1. The word ἥθος, translated as "habit" in both Latin and English is used to describe moral virtue which appears in, but is not innate to, man.

3. On the relation of grace and merit in the Schoolmen, see D. Watsn, Alexander of Hales, pp. 166-71; Obermann, Bradwardine, p. 145 and Forerunners of the Reformation, p. 130; Williams, op.cit., pp. 64f.; Hardman, op.cit., p. 24; P. Watson, op.cit., p. 88.

4. Theological Investigations, I. p. 324.

5. Summa, I. n. 50; see Moeller, op.cit., p. 16.

preparation for the reception of grace, which is the infusion of a habit disposing to grace.<sup>1</sup> The final cleavage of grace from the presence of God is made in Albertus Magnus:

"Between God who gives Himself and man who is transformed there is an infinite distance; there must, therefore, be an intermediary, and that is created grace."<sup>2</sup>

This distinction dominates later scholastic theology of the 13th Cent.<sup>3</sup>

St. Thomas Aquinas' (1274) main treatise of grace<sup>4</sup> is set within the question of merit. The distinction between habitual and actual grace, defined in 109.2, is the one most basic to our discussion. Habitual grace is, as all grace, an infusion of God's gift, which corresponds to an enlightenment of mankind's fallen reason. Through it man can do meritorious works which will earn him actual

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1. Bonaventura does not discuss the rise of uncreated grace (Commentary on the Sentences. III.40.3), but in limiting his comments to created grace, specifies that it is produced by the presence of the Holy Spirit in the soul. "The habitus is the result of the presence of the God of love." Ibid., II.26.1. Also, Breviloquium, 5.1. See Moeller, op.cit., p.16.

2. Summa, 2.98; also Sentences II.26.1.2. See Moeller, op.cit., pp.18,9.

3. Moeller, op.cit., pp.18f., contends that Aquinas did not adopt his teacher's (Albertus) distinction of created grace. But the fact that Aquinas rejected Lombard's identification of the Holy Spirit with grace as a failure to comprehend the ontological separation between God and man (which Aquinas himself widened) shows the difficulty of maintaining this thesis. See Aquinas, Summa Theologica II.2.Q.23. Moeller's treatment of the Roman Catholic discussion of grace, while providing a valuable history of the term, is unfortunate in that it ignores the questions of merit and the sacraments. His view of Luther in this regard is somewhat awkward; see p.21.

4. Aquinas, op.cit., II.I.Qs.109-14.



grace.<sup>1</sup> Actual grace, however, is needed as the infusion of the supernatural virtues.

"With regard to the first kind of help, man does not need a further help of grace, e.g., a further infused habit. Yet he(man) needs the help of grace in another way, i.e., in order to be moved by God and to act righteously, and this for two reasons: first, for the general reason that no created thing can put forth any act, unless by virtue of the Divine motion. Secondly, for this special reason--the condition of the state of human nature. For although healed by grace as to the mind, yet it remains corrupted and poisoned in the flesh...Here grace (habitual) is to some extent imperfect, inasmuch as it does not completely heal man, as stated above."<sup>2</sup>

#### Thomas Bradwardine (1349)

The next place that we note the discussion of the term "habitual grace" is in the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Bradwardine's fight against the "modern Pelagians" William of Occam and his followers. The use of the term here is radically different from that which is employed by his predecessors. Bradwardine is important in our discussion because Samuel Rutherford (1661) employs his use of the term "habit of grace" in his understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit in the life

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1. While Thomas roundly denies the possibility of man's earning grace or salvation without the help of grace, he defines habitual grace so broadly that all men with reason have within them the possibility of earning actual grace. "It is to be noted that in the light of this distinction the two older distinctions between "prevenient" and "subsequent" and between "sufficient" and "efficacious" grace, henceforward only apply to the series of "actual graces."

2. Aquinas, op.cit., Q.109.9.

of the believer.<sup>1</sup>

No doubt one of the reasons which brought about the distinction of "created grace" was a desire to guard the omnipotence of God. This desire was part of the philosophical movement stressing the breach between Being and existence. However, in the 14th Cent., this division began to have extreme epistemological effects. As we have seen even in Scotus, there begins to be apparent the "removal of revealed truth from reason's ken."<sup>2</sup> By the time of William of Occam (1374), God had been exalted so far above the earth in His "absolute potential" that man had taken up an independent position.<sup>3</sup> This in turn resulted in a practical emphasis on man's autonomy in matters of salvation. Bradwardine saw in this a new Pelagianism which he countered by teaching man's complete inability to do anything without God's direct participation in his activities by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. In so doing, he brought about a change in the definition of the terms "uncreated," "created" and "habitual" grace. Grace is to be considered as constituted

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1. Rutherford's use of Bradwardine is certainly a modified one. There is no discussion of merit, which is central in De Causa. But Rutherford does recognise the impingement on the doctrine of predestination which Bradwardine makes in identifying grace with the Holy Spirit. He discusses this problem in similar terms. For convenience, we defer a treatment of Bradwardine and election to the appropriate place in Rutherford.

Bradwardine's use of the term "habit of grace" is widespread after 1630 in Britain. See J.Owen, On the Holy Spirit, IV.II.6.3; Davenant, De Justitia Habituali, chap.3; I.Ambrose(1664), Perkins(1602) and Ames(1633) make use of the term but do not develop it. Bradwardine was published in London in 1618.

2. Leff, Rimini, p.18.

3. Obermann, Bradwardine, p.34.

in God and specifically in the Holy Spirit, as not only God's love of Himself, but of man's love to God.<sup>1</sup> Uncreated grace is equal to God's will, and His will likewise equals two different aspects of uncreated grace, generally, the Trinity and specifically, the Holy Spirit.<sup>2</sup> He quotes Lombard and Augustine in this regard. Whereas the scholastics had put created grace prior to uncreated grace, not in order of nature but in order of activity in the soul, Bradwardine united the two. Created grace is the result of uncreated grace which, as we saw, is in its specific form the Holy Spirit. Therefore, to possess created grace is to participate in the divine nature.<sup>3</sup> Habitual grace is also directly connected with the Holy Spirit. It cannot be thought of as a static possession infused in the rationality of all men. But

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1. Ex his autem potest colligi quoquomodo, quod Deus & Spiritus Sanctus dicitur charitas & gratia, qua chare & gratis nedum Deus diligit se & hominem, verum etiam qua homo similiter diligit Deum & proximum. (De Causa Dei, Contra Pelagium, Bk.I.42, p.375E.

2. Haec etiam gratia increata gratisicans seu gratis dans quae est divina voluntas, potest accipi dupliciter, sicut charitas; communiter & essentialiter, & sic competit toti Trinitati & cuilibet personarum; & specialiter ac personaliter & sic appropriatur Spiritui Sancto. (Ibid., I.25, p. 247C).

Scotus had linked God's will with His knowledge, which meant that His Being was directly related to existence. This naturally resulted in a much more positive attitude toward creation than was hitherto possible. Occam retained this positive outlook toward the creature but by stressing their epistemological division, brought about the practical ontological splitting of God and man. Bradwardine used Scotus' concept of God's will being equal to His knowledge, but stressed the connection of the two to the point that he saw God as participating in all that He permits. For a discussion of Bradwardine's use of Scotus, see Leff, Bradwardine, pp.46-58; Obermann, Bradwardine, pp.61f.

3. Bradwardine, op.cit., I.42, p.374C.

this habit is God present in the believer maintaining His direct relation to the will of God until he gains immortality.<sup>1</sup>

Leff sees in this approach, which he labels "divine participation," a "departure more radical than anything ever expressed in the traditional schools of theology."<sup>2</sup> Bradwardine certainly did not think that this was the case and constantly quotes Lombard, Augustine and others to support his views. Unfortunately his library contained few of the early Fathers, or he could have amassed much more material to support his position. There is a heavy strand in the rope of western theology of grace which identifies the presence of the Holy Spirit as the source of grace in the Christian.

#### Grace and the Spirit Reviewed

While grace and the Spirit have been considered together since the first centuries of the Church, their mode of "togetherness" had not always been clear. There are basically three conceptions to be considered. From the 13th Cent., grace was felt to be a created intermediary between God and man, exclusive of the possibility of direct contact of the two. But this devastating view had by no means been the dominant one up to that time. The other two opinions which existed side by side,

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1. Ibid., I.25, p.247B.

2. Leff, Bradwardine, p.117. This, and Obermann's book of the same title, provide the only extensive introductions to Bradwardine, although his De Causa Dei is readily available. Extensively used by Protestants in the 16th and 17th Cents., it was republished in London in 1618.



often in the same theologian, were: one, the gifts are produced by the personal activity of the Spirit in the soul and two, grace in the soul is the Person of the Holy Spirit.<sup>1</sup> The first understanding was used in the treatment of merit, the second, in mystic contemplation.

The Greek Fathers especially saw the "created gifts of grace as a consequence of God's substantial communion to justified men."<sup>2</sup> For Athanasius, the presence of the Spirit in the believer necessarily implies the presence of the Father and the Son.<sup>3</sup> Commenting on II Cor.13:13, he says:

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all. 'For this grace and gift is given in the triad, from the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit. As the grace given is from the Father through the Son, so we can have no communion in the gift except in the Holy Spirit. For it is when we partake of Him that

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1. For a discussion of the modern debate of the subject in Roman Catholic mystical theology(1926), see Farges, Mystical Phenomena. The treatment here has been hindered by a failure of the "combatants" to distinguish the metaphysical problems which give rise to the distinctions being employed.

Rutherford will combine these two concepts in a way that allows him to speak of the relationship of the Spirit and grace as His personal activity in and upon the believer. This is very much like Bradwardine's usage.

2. Rahner, op.cit., I, p.322.

For a list of references to the identification of the Spirit and grace in the Fathers: Origen, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Macarius of Egypt, Basil, Didymus, Cyril, Eusebius, Ignatius, Theodosius, Chrysostom, and Athanasius: see Torrance, Grace in the Fathers, chap.IIf., Williams, op.cit., pp.15f., J.Owen adds to these some later Fathers: Fulgentius of Ruspe, Prosper and Augustine in op.cit., III. 1.19,p.347.

It is doubtful that the Holy Spirit was, in all of these, thought of as being more than an abstract power of God. But at least in the Cappadocians and in Athanasius there is no question that an orthodox penumatology is here in view.

3. Serapian Letters, I.19-20.

we have the love of the Father and the grace of the Son and the communion of the Spirit Himself."<sup>1</sup>

Saint Basil says: "When we understand the grace which operates in those who are partakers of it, we say that the Spirit is in us."<sup>2</sup> Gregory Nazianzus: "The grace of the Spirit causes Christ to dwell in us."<sup>3</sup> Didymus the Blind defines grace as an "infusion of the Holy Spirit."<sup>4</sup>

Dominant in the West after Augustine is the view typified by Bernard's(1153) statement that the infusion of the Holy Spirit is "the working in us of many and great graces...repentance, devotion, penitence, works of piety..." etc.<sup>5</sup>

It was left to Lombard(1160), Bernard's contemporary, to reassert the "semi-ontological" identification of the Spirit and grace.<sup>6</sup> "The Holy Spirit Himself is the love or charity whereby we love God and our neighbor."<sup>7</sup> This

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1. Ibid., I.30, Shapland's translation; also see I.4.

2. On the Holy Spirit, 26,63.

3. Oration 40, 31.

4. On the Holy Spirit, I.24,5; On the Trinity, II, p.529a.

5. Canticles, no.18 on the two operations of the Spirit, "effusion and infusion."

6. This understanding could be asserted within an Augustinian neo-Platonic metaphysic which was flexible enough to include, if not define, an ontological connection between universals and particulars, the Being of God and the existence of man, as "accidents" of His Being. This distinction could not be sustained within a framework denying existence to universals. Thus with the ascent of Aristotelian categories, we find a rejection of Lombard's view. See Aquinas, op.cit., II.II.23.

7. I.Sentences, d.17; also II Sent.d.27.

understanding is carried by Richard Fishacre and is the one that Bradwardine adopts 200 years later and which he employs to reinterpret the categories of the Holy Spirit which he inherited from Aquinas. Lombard is the one author most frequently quoted by Bradwardine.

This distinction is not entirely lost within the Roman Catholic tradition. It is especially prominent among her mystics. Arnold of Basil(15th Cent.), Philip of the Holy Trinity, and Anthony of the Holy Spirit(17th Cent. Carmelites) speak of this direct relationship of God to the believer. Luís de León, late 16th Cent. Spanish mystic, says:

"The birth of Christ in us is not only that the gift of grace comes to the soul, but that Christ's very Spirit comes and is united with it,-nay is infused throughout its being, as though He were soul of its soul indeed."<sup>1</sup>

Leonard Less(1623, Dutch Jesuit), embroiled in the Molinist controversy, quite naturally refers to Bradwardine's predestinarianism and shows ontological parallels between the hypostatic union and uncreated grace in the believer.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Peers, op.cit., pp.262f.

2. Rahner, op.cit., I.337.

As a contemporary exponent of this view, Rahner says: "As regards Pauline theology first of all, man's inner justification and renewal is primarily seen as being endowed with the Holy Spirit, being dwelled in by it and led by it." (p.320) "Thus at least from the point of view of his concept of pneuma and its structure we should say with St. Paul that we possess our pneumatic being (our created sanctifying grace) because we have the personal Pneuma of God."(p.322; the parentheses are Rahner's). We must "go beyond the notion of a merely entitative, created state and the merely "ontic" and non-existential element of a 'physical accident.' Grace is God himself, the communication in which he gives himself to man as the divinising favour which he is himself. Here his work is really himself, since it is he who is imparted." (IV,p.177).

### Nominalist Mysticism

Hugo of St.Victor(1141) had differentiated two aspects of faith: one, a cognitio, a rational apprehension or knowledge of God and secondly, an affectus, a loving condition of the believing soul.<sup>1</sup> After the radical disjunction of faith from reason brought about in William of Occam (1347), those who sought the reality of God had to do so within the context of Hugo's second distinction. By at least the early 15th Cent., we can distinguish the rather strange phenomenon of a nominalist mystic. Jean Gerson(1429) is typical of this combination of metaphysical outlooks which combine an Occamite "empiricism" with an emphasis on the very real presence of God in the life of the believer.<sup>2</sup>

Gerson, in true nominalist fashion, rejects any knowledge of God which is available to men via reason. But he does posit an intuitive quality of the soul, love, which has the capacity for receiving truth immediately from God.

"We have to explain how we can make experiment of the union (with God). We may say that this experimental union is a simple and actual perception of God, proceeding from sanctifying grace...We thus arrive at an exact, condensed definition

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1. Lehmann, op.cit., p.161.

2. If nominalism is a reaction against an ontological continuity between God and man which allowed man, in the use of his reason, to "comprehend" God by analysing nature, then we can see that the mere denial of man's rational abilities in reaching God did not necessarily preclude the possibility of God reaching man in other ways. See Gilson, Phil. of Mid.Ages, pp.531f.; Obermann, Harvest of Medieval Theology:Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism, chap.10.



of mystical theology: it is an experimental perception of God in the embrace of unitive love."<sup>1</sup>

It is within this same school (nominalist mysticism) that we see the ultimate denial of created grace. Gabriel Biel (1495), taking exception to Duns Scotus' demand for a rational distinction between grace and love, says that

"grace is a gift above any created thing...it is so great that it is never given unless the Holy Trinity gives Itself with it. The Trinity never gives Itself without this gift nor the gift without Itself."<sup>2</sup>

### The Reformation and Following

Gabriel Biel's discussion of grace is still set entirely within the context of merit and the sacraments. Consequently, it still has little resemblance to the New

#### 1. On the Magnificat, 7.2.

This definition also appears in Theologia Mystica, n. 28. Sanctifying grace is, for Gerson, the presence of the Holy Spirit. See Spiritu Sancto, Sermon 2; see Jones, op.cit., p.307.

Gerson's rejection of reason in mystical union (an approach similar to Pseudo-Dionysius) leaves a marked influence on Catholic mysticism. It is prominent in the Spanish mystics of Rutherford's period. Alonso de Orozco speaks of infused science as being "united through the purest love...with its (the soul's) most loving God, without the interposition of any thought or of any intellectual working or of the understanding of natural reason. It is the divine operation which surpasses reason and understanding, and by it the soul is raised in a moment upon the wings of love and is united with God, so often as it pleases the divine condescension, without the intervention of any thought or created thing." Monte Sion, Bk.3; text in Peers, op.cit., pp.175f.

W.Hilton(1380), an English mystic, had already said: "Ask of God nothing but this gift of love, which is the Holy Ghost. For there is no gift of God that is both the giver and the gift, but this gift of love." Scale of Perfection, II.3.

#### 2. Sermones de Festivitatibus Christi, "De Circumcisione Domini," II.14 as in Oberman, Forerunners, p.172.

Testament conception of grace. The major contribution of the Reformation in the theology of grace was in its rediscovery of Jesus Christ as the point of reference in all discussions of grace. For the Reformers, grace was God's gift of Himself in Christ and secondly, God's continued Self-giving to the believer through the Spirit of Christ. Therefore, the experience of grace, the state of grace, the gift of grace, was the believer's union with Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit.

This rediscovery rendered the scholastic terminology of grace largely obsolete. The discussion of grace was abstracted from the coffers of merit. Likewise was the theology of the Spirit disassociated from any absolute identity with the Church, which could no longer be considered the container or the dispenser of grace. The sacraments were understood no longer as producers of grace but as revealers of Christ and gracious because of His presence. This understanding can be seen as a result of the impact of biblical theology on the Reformers.

We see after John Calvin, to whom the above comments apply most appropriately, a gradual falling away from this view of grace in some of his followers. The predestinarian conflict, beginning in Calvin's lifetime and reaching its high point in both the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches in the 17th Cent., brought with it a type of scholasticism similar to that which had characterised the 13th and 14th Cents.' discussion of grace. Although the Protestant side of this debate was not originally as metaphysically oriented as the Thomist tradition, we do find

a tendency, as in Voetius (1644, an avid Dutch Calvinist), to see a conception of regeneration which is purely a regeneration of the intellect.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, a retention of Calvin's emphasis on union with Christ by the Spirit resulting in the regeneration of the whole man. Most early Puritan piety, even with its tendency toward casuistry, the English-born Ames (pupil of Perkins), and the Scottish tradition of pietists all retain this emphasis.<sup>2</sup> It is within this last group that we find Samuel Rutherford. And our treatment of his concept of grace should reveal the Reformed position at its best.

The influence of Hellenistic philosophical dualism as conditioning the western theological discussion of grace is a 20th Cent. observation. We would not expect a 17th Cent. theologian to be aware of this metaphysical problem. Rutherford is not. On the other hand, in his theology of the Holy Spirit, working within that system, he strove to overcome the dualism. Grace is Glory, not only in the Person of the God-man but ultimately in all of His chosen, because of the presence of that same Spirit who lives in both Him and His elect.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, relative to the question with which we opened this discussion, "where can man find knowledge of

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1. This emphasis is also apparent in Amyraldus (1664). See Watkin-Jones, op.cit., p.19.

2. Stoeffler, The Rise of Evangelical Pietism, traces these historical connections very clearly.

3. For Rutherford, as for all the Reformers, the universal overthrow of this dichotomy was militated against by a soteriology "fenced" by Rom.9:10-14. But this dichotomy is of biblical rather than philosophical origin.

God?", Rutherford has much to say. Although his approach may have had underlying it a metaphysical presupposition somewhat different from our own, his basic reference is Christological. His concerns are primarily biblical concerns and his judgments, biblical ones. His solutions, therefore, must at the very least be indicators toward the path that we must follow in describing union with Christ in this life.

## CHRISTOLOGY AND SOTERIOLOGY

### The Unity of Christ

For Rutherford, the salvation of man in Jesus Christ is something that would only occur because of the activity of the Trinity. Christ's obedient life and death, the cause of salvation, was made possible only because He was sent by the Father's love and sustained in the Spirit's power. This immediately raises the question: how is it that Christ, the giver of the Spirit, can be thought of as dependent upon the Spirit? Is Christ, the Redeemer of man, also the object of grace? Yes. In the incarnation we see One who is both the God of grace and the man who was the object of grace; the Lord who is the Spirit and the man who was baptized by the Spirit.

In trying to show that the Spirit is not the giver of grace but the power of the righteousness of our Lord Jesus Christ,

## CHAPTER TWO: THEOLOGICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS

Before beginning a detailed exposition of Rutherford's understanding of the Holy Spirit, we examine the theological presuppositions and the doctrinal problems which have the greatest bearing on the subject. The relationship of Christ to the Spirit, of the Spirit to the Scriptures and Rutherford's understanding of grace constitute the first section. This introduces us to the doctrinal conflicts of Antinomianism and Arminianism which form the background material for a more critical analysis of his pneumatological thought.

### PNEUMATOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGY

#### The Spirit and the Life of Christ

For Rutherford, the salvation of man in Jesus Christ is something that could only occur because of the activity of the Trinity. Christ's obedient life and death, the cause of salvation, was made possible only because He was sent by the Father's love and sustained in the Spirit's power. This immediately raises the question: how is it that Christ, the giver of the Spirit, can be thought of as dependent upon the Spirit? Is Christ, the Fountainhead of grace, also the object of grace? Yes. In the incarnation we see One who is both the God of grace and the man who was the first object of grace; the Lord who is the Spirit and the man who was baptised in the Spirit.

In arguing that grace is not the cause of merit but the proof of the worthlessness of our merit outside of



identification with Christ, Rutherford says:

"Let not any say that Christ's obedience that came from the fulness of the Spirit without measure *ὅκ ἐκ μέτρος* (sic), must so be less meritorious, which is absurd, for the reason why grace in angels, and men who are mere creatures diminishes the nature of merit, is because grace is not their own, not their proper due, but supernatural or preternatural, and so hurts the nature of the merit, but to the meriting person Christ-God-Man nothing is supernatural, nothing extrinsical, nothing is not His own; grace is His own by a sort of personal dominion, not to say that the man Christ as a man did not merit, yet as a man He was born sinless and with the full image of God.<sup>1</sup>

The relationship of Christ and the Spirit is first manifested in the incarnation of the Son of God. This act was only made possible by the conception of the Holy Spirit.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter, "the man Christ needs influences of grace as well as another man."<sup>3</sup> In CLO, Rutherford lists those qualities of life given to Christ through "supernatural grace" of the Spirit so that His life

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1. CLO 198. Also see AS 214 where he argues that the Spirit of the Lord anointing Christ (Is.61:1) is the Holy Spirit: "For sure this Spirit whereby Christ was anointed, was the Holy Ghost in gifts and fulness of grace given to Him above His fellows." Also see CLO 356; Cat 179. When we speak of grace in Christ we are speaking of a qualitatively different thing than grace in man, because grace is the man Christ's by virtue of hypostatic union.

2. Cat 180. Isaac Ambrose, a fellow non-conformist and contemporary, speaking of Mary as: "The material principle of which that precious flesh was made, and the Holy Ghost the agent and effector; that blessed womb of hers was the bedchamber, where the Holy Ghost did knit the indissolvable knot betwixt our human nature and His deity: the Son of God assuming into the unity of His Person, that which before He was not, even our human nature." typifies the view of this period as to the role of the Spirit in the incarnation. Works, "Looking to Jesus," p.213. Cf. Rutherford's language in Cat 179,80.

3. ILG 53.

might be acceptable to God for the redemption of man. In this "grace-of-headship," He was "anointed with the Holy Ghost and power to do what He did and to be what He was, for our good." This anointing affected His joy, anger, knowledge, attitude toward government and princes, His courage, faith and hope, His awareness of evil in men, His obedience to His Father, His prayer, believing and rejoicing, His compassion and love of sinners, His humility and self-mortification, His preaching and teaching and even His endurance and suffering on the cross.<sup>1</sup> His sinlessness is a result of the ministry of the Holy Spirit.<sup>2</sup>

Not only was Christ's personal life sustained by the Spirit, but so also was His ministry. His healing was done in the power of the Spirit. His preaching, although proclaimed in that power, would have been ineffectual

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1. CLO 353-59. Each statement is given with appropriate Scripture texts. Please note: p.359 is mispaginated and reads 356.

2. ILG 16,17. This is because Rutherford, as Bradwardine, saw sinlessness as only possible because of God's participation in human life through the Spirit. On the other hand, sin is the result of not having these influences. Christ always had them, whereas other men will not to have them. See below on the source of sin, pp.99f.

Rutherford has to walk the same tightrope faced by every theologian working with the principle of the communicatio idiomatum. He wants to say that Christ is unlike us in having more of God through personal union and a perfect sanctification through His full anointing by the Spirit. CD 4,5; ILG 205. Yet he demands, as a Reformed theologian, that we understand that in the hypostatic union, Christ received no actual power to live a human life other than that which other men might receive. CD 118-19. To be without weakness is only for heaven. "If Christ had cried down weakness, He might have cried down His own calling; but weakness is our Mediator's world." Let 286. This is the point of the passage quoted on p.32 above on Christ's merit, to the end that it is not a result of grace of the Spirit. CLO 198.

had the Holy Spirit not personally opened the hearts of the listeners.<sup>1</sup> He carried out His offices of Prophet, Priest and King through the influences of the Spirit.<sup>2</sup> And presently, having ascended to the right hand of the Father, He continues these offices and is omnipresent in the power of His Spirit and Godhead.<sup>3</sup>

Seeing the necessity of the work of the Holy Spirit in Christ, might we ask: is it the Spirit who saves man? Or could the Spirit have taken on flesh for our sake? Definitely not:

"The sinner findeth all that God can have in him or do for saving, in the Mediator Christ; there can come nothing out of God to the sinner, but through Christ...all God and whole God is in Christ, and all God as communicable to the creature...Love, grace, mercy are soldering and uniting attributes in God. Now though these same essential attributes that are in one be in all the three Persons, yet the mediatory manifestation of love, grace and free mercy is only in the Son."<sup>4</sup>

In summarising his sermon, "Christ's Napkin," Rutherford says:

"So the great Christ bringeth all things after His back. So I say, having Christ, they have all things; they have the Father and the Spirit, the Word, life and death."<sup>5</sup>

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1. ILG 173; 420; AS 214.

2. ILG 14.

3. Cat 190. See Owen, op.cit., Bk.II for systematic treatment of the Spirit's work in the life of Christ from birth to glorification.

4. CD 337. Also in TT 91 the point is made in describing the various relations of the Persons of the Trinity, that only the Son could be Mediator.

5. p.23; cf. Calvin, op.cit., III.11.5.

Also in Let 301, speaking of Christ's humanity in glory, he says: "...the steps of the steep ascent and stairs to the Godhead is the flesh of Christ...I know all the three blessed Persons would be well pleased that my piece of faint and created love would first coast upon the man Christ. I should see them all through Him." Nuttall, The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience, p.146 notes: "Puritan piety admits no attempt to seek communion with God's Spirit except as within the bounds of the revelation through Christ." Rutherford, who was glad to call himself a Puritan, certainly fits this description: ILG 13: all our requests for influences of grace must be directed to, and come through, Christ.

## Christ as Giver of the Spirit

It is from this vantage point of the absolute centrality of Christ in soteriology that we are to see the Holy Spirit as given by Christ.<sup>1</sup> All things appertaining to the salvation of men are, in the divine economy, given into the hand of Christ the Mediator. The activity of God the Spirit is subject to Christ in this respect. Thus, as we shall see, although it is the Spirit alone who reveals Christ to us and in us, yet that Spirit only comes to us because Christ sends Him. The Spirit given to man

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1. "Christ gives the Spirit," SCD 160; SA 65; "He infuses the Spirit," LR 145.

Rutherford does not discuss the procession of the Spirit as such. We may assume that he did not question the western tradition. But within this, it is clear that there is no subordination of the Spirit implied. For while Rutherford is vehement in his assertion that all the influences of God toward man in soteriology come by the Spirit as sent by Christ, he distinguishes this activity of the Spirit from His role as the Third Person of the Trinity: Creator, Judge and Sustainer of the universe. (See below, "The Spirit and the World," p.88. The denial of the double procession by Rutherford's contemporary Episcopus (Institutiones Theologicae IV.2.32-36) included, significantly, subordination of the Persons of the Trinity. This pictured the Spirit as subject to Christ and flowing solely from Him. This was, of course, heresy to the Reformers, whether the reference be to the economic or to the ontic Trinity. It would be theologically naive, however, to assume that an orthodox emphasis on One Person of the Trinity automatically assumes the subordination of Another. Note Hendry's criticism of Barth on the filioque: The Holy Spirit in Christian Theology, pp.43f.

The Reformed doctrine of election allows a distinction between the Spirit's soteriological economy and His influences in the rest of creation. This raises immense problems in dealing with the relationship of Christ's humanity to the non-elect. But it must be remembered that Rutherford, as most theologians prior to the Enlightenment, could not be accused of having a "pre-Copernican" view of man: neither his cosmology nor his epistemology were determined by his anthropology. He saw little connection between the doctrine of creation and soteriology. While this was, of course, of great benefit to him in discussing regeneration and those Scriptures which speak of a particular election, it was a hindrance to his understanding of the universal effects of Christ's mission.



can only be thought of as:

"the same Spirit promised and sent by Christ, Jn. 16:7, 13, 14, of which Christ: 'He shall receive of mine and give it to you.' By the influences of this Spirit sent by Christ are the redeemed led, directed, sealed...as saving grace is from Christ the fountain so also these saving influences (come) of Christ as Mediator..."<sup>1</sup>

The work of the Spirit in men's lives is a direct result of Christ's ministry of reconciliation. This Rutherford expresses in several ways:

"Question: What then is the fountain cause of gracious influences and breathings of the Spirit?

"Answer: Sure, Jesus Christ must be the meritorious and fountain cause of such influences."<sup>2</sup>

By "meritorious cause" he means the giving of the Spirit "is a fruit of Christ's ascension and kingly triumphing."<sup>3</sup> But more frequently the Spirit is seen as flowing to us from Christ's death.<sup>4</sup>

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1. ILG 11.

2. Ibid., 10.

3. Ibid., 233.

4. CD 137; ILG 10-12.

He also describes the Spirit being sent as a result of Christ's intercession in glory. "Christ is an established High Priest...and the intercession of Christ is nothing but a continual showering down upon the redeemed ones new and vigorous influences as the head, so long as it lives, night and day, sleeping and waking, sends down influences of life to the members." ILG 208.

It must be remembered that we are speaking of the economy of salvation. It is not to be implied that the Spirit is not personally free and/or active in this economy. There is a perfect unity between the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit here. Rutherford is largely unconcerned with the metaphysical aspects of the economic procession. Owen, on the other hand, goes into great detail on the subject. Op.cit., pp. 118f., 174f. He writes in light of both the Unitarian controversy and the subordinationism of the Arminian, Episcopos.



### Christ's Life Ours by the Spirit

The soteriological office of the Spirit is to unite man to Christ.<sup>1</sup> This union can be distinguished in two ways. One, which we shall treat later, is a personal contact of the glorified Christ with the believer, as in the sacraments and the experimental, experiential fellowship of God with His children. The second is what we may call soteriological union. It is that act whereby Christ's life becomes ours through the work of His Spirit. Herein, that which took place historically two thousand years ago takes place actually in the life of the believer, because he shares Christ's life through participating in the same Holy Spirit which indwelt Him. Thus Christ mediates the same influences of the Spirit which He first knew.<sup>2</sup>

"When the Holy Ghost biddeth us believe, repent, pray, mourn, rejoice in God...we do all this completely, when we believe that Christ believed, repented, prayed, mourned and rejoiced in God for us; and there is an end: For sure the doing of all these came from a Spirit of faith, drawing life and strength out of Christ's death and resurrection to do all these as we draw strength from Christ to mortify the lusts of the flesh."<sup>3</sup>

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1. "If the Spirit glorify Christ by receiving of Christ and showing it to Christ's own disciples, Jn.16:14, then all the influences of the Spirit in acts gracious, when the Spirit teacheth and bringeth to remembrance all things, Jn.14:26, convinceth of sin, guideth and leadeth, mortifieth, quickeneth, comforteth, and sealeth and confirmeth, must be done by influences of the Spirit received from Christ." ILG 13.

2. "Then saith the man Christ, the Spirit of the Lord hath sent the strong and fountain-influences of the abounding anointing on me, and I may send the fruits of these holy influences upon the meek...then, saith he, God lets out to me and to the members; I the head receive anointing, and a full fountain, and I issue out streams and life to the members." ILG 203.

3. AS 42. Rutherford, by stressing this pneumatological link to Christ's active obedience, avoids the Antinomian undermining of personal responsibility in saying that Christ's active obedience was imputed just as was His passive obedience. Yet he retains absolute causality and dependence on Christ for all of our obedience. Thus "our repenting, obeying and believing are true in Christ as the meritorious cause" via our reconciliation and "as the author, and principle cause, who works in us to will and to do, by His effectual grace." AS 130, 31. Also CLO 226f.; CD 464, 65 and below, "Antinomianism," p.82.

With this underlying his thinking, Rutherford develops in all his works one dominant theme: Christ, in His life, is the pattern, and by His Spirit is the source and guide of all of our activities toward God. He was made an infant "that He might pity infants of believers, who were to come out of the womb into the world."<sup>1</sup> He was presented in the Temple on the eighth day with other infants, "that by His Spirit we might offer ourselves as holy to the Lord."<sup>2</sup> Christ was a man in every way, even as we are, that as a man He might sigh for us, weep for us, pray and suffer for us.<sup>3</sup> In prayer He received no answer that we might learn how to react when our prayer is not answered. Christ was a pattern of physical and spiritual suffering. In an age of persecution which touched Rutherford personally, he constantly shows that our suffering is a part of union with Christ and therefore a privilege of belief.<sup>4</sup> As one intensely aware of Christ's personal presence, he saw Christ's desertion on the cross as a pattern of the believer's inability to sense God's presence.<sup>5</sup> He experienced fear to deliver

1. Let 34.

This is reminiscent of Irenaeus, Contra Heresies, II.22.

4. Appendix II, "Authors quoted by Rutherford," will indicate that he was familiar with the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, quoting them constantly in his apologetic works.

2. Cat 186.

3. TT 66f.

4. CD 15; ILG 208; Let 4,6,11,13,22,27,41, etc.

Even the woman who lost a child is comforted with the word that although Christ never had a child, He has married her and therefore is completely united with her in order that He might share her grief. Let 287.

5. "Christ must have been under mighty flowings of the Spirit, who for the public, catholic duty of redeeming mankind was willing to be suspended from the influences of His personal comfort and to be under that sad cloud of being forsaken of God that God might embrace us." ILG 183. Also CD 19-22 where our desertion is to be seen "in imitation of Christ." CD 155; ILG 320. The theological explanation for the possibility of Christ's being forsaken in His vision of God is given in CD 118f. Basically it is: Christ as God, in His union with God and knowledge of God, could never be separated from God but "there was no necessity that Christ should always, et in omne differentiâ temporis, actually see and enjoy God in an immediate vision of glory."

His children from fear.<sup>1</sup> He is tempted for us.<sup>2</sup> He was even tempted to believe that He was not the Son of God to offer us assurance when we doubt His saving love.<sup>3</sup>

"We are not to fear death extremely, nor Hell at all. Christ feared both for our comfort...as dying and suffering are the cup that Christ drank; so are we to love the cup the better, that Christ's lip touched it, and left the perfume of the breathings of the Holy Ghost in it."<sup>4</sup>

We are raised to newness of life by the same Spirit that raised Him on the third day, that death might have no dominion over Him.<sup>5</sup>

We shall be examining later in greater detail this identification with Christ's life in union with Him by the Spirit. Suffice it to say at this point, "to live in Christ, to breathe in Christ, pray in Him, love in Him, rejoice in Him, suffer and triumph in Him, wait in Him for the Lord."<sup>6</sup> Or with Calvin,

"We expect salvation from Him-- not because He stands aloof from us, but because ingrafting us into His body He not only makes us partakers of all His benefits, but also of Himself."<sup>7</sup>

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1. CD 131.

2. ILG 110. Various temptations and Scriptures listed.

3. Let 293.

The Scripture reference is: "If Thou be the Son of God."

4. CD 137.

5. Cat 202.

6. ILG 209.

7. Calvin, op.cit., III.II.24.

## THE SPIRIT AND THE SCRIPTURE

From its earliest days, the Christian Church has understood the revelation of God in Christ through the testimony of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Theological debate drew attention to the necessity of a normative body of truth. Upon the basis of its own self-testimony, the *Θεῖος Τεκμήριον*, as Athanasius often describes it,<sup>1</sup> soon was acknowledged to be an authoritative revelation. When we consider the state of the Church in the 16th and 17th Cents.,<sup>2</sup> we are not at all surprised to see Rutherford spending a great deal of time in the discussion of Holy Scripture as the one absolute and normative rule of faith and society. This discussion, as most of his reforming predecessors had proved, is intimately linked with his understanding of the Holy Spirit. We examine here some of the manifold relationships which exist between the Spirit and the written Word.

### The Spirit Above the Word

Although there is the closest possible connection between the Holy Spirit and Scripture, there is no sense in which the Person of the Spirit is incorporated in or limited to the Word. Nor is the Spirit to be identified with the Word in any formal sense. The Scripture is never anything more than the instrument of the Spirit. While in this understanding it takes on a nature and a function different from any other writing, it remains, nevertheless,

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1. Athanasius, op.cit., 1.21, 1.32, etc.

2. See below, "The Spirit and the Church," pp.102f. Also Appendix I, pp.166f.



a book. To unite the Spirit with the Word would limit the divine freedom of the Spirit.<sup>1</sup> Beyond this, such formal union would result in the divinisation of a finite book. Scripture would have to be thought of as being in some sense divine if the Spirit were somehow locally present in it. Of this Rutherford says: "If we believe God conveys His Spirit in or by these we are idolators and worship God in forms, images and signs..."<sup>2</sup> For him, "The Scripture and all the ordinances are but created things and not the ultimate object of faith...that is reserved to God in Jesus Christ."<sup>3</sup> Anything else is to worship an "inke divinity."<sup>4</sup>

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1. "Neither law nor Gospel can be a rule to the Person of the Holy Ghost, in His immediate actions. The Spirit is free in His operations, and subjecteth both law and Gospel to His breathings, but is subject to none." CD 592.

Rutherford stresses the necessity of separating the Word and the Spirit in order to counter a claim of some Antinomians who, in uniting the two, drew the conclusion that all who heard the Word and claimed to understand it were partakers of the Spirit who always went along with it. If this were the case, any activity, no matter how deviant, could be excused as an activity of the indwelling Christ who always accompanied the proclamation of the Word. See SA 136-38, 161. Also below on "Antinomianism," p.82.

2. SA 231.

3. CD 349.

A comment on the nature of a fundamental article of faith is noteworthy in this respect: "...the specific and essential form of a fundamental article is not taken from the authority of God speaking in the Word, seeing God's authority is one and the same in all that he speaketh, but from the influence that the knowledge of an article hath to unite us to God in Christ, and bring us to salvation." DR 222b.

4. "We profess we hate with our souls that Christians should adore and fall down before an inke-Divinity, and mere paper-godliness, as if the Spirit were frozen into ink and dead figures, writings, letters, or as if naked languages of Hebrew, Greek and Latin could save us. The Kingdom of God is not in letters nor in externals, but in life and power." SA 304.



## The "Unity" of Scripture and the Spirit

It is clear that there is no physical automatic bond between the Spirit and the written or proclaimed revelation.<sup>1</sup> What then is the relationship of the two? We consider first the inspiration of the text. There is no question that Rutherford considered the Holy Spirit to be the author of the Bible.<sup>2</sup> But what does this mean?

"I answer, the pen-men of Scripture when they did speak and write Scripture, were infallible, & de jure, & de facto, they could neither err actually, and by God's will they were obliged not to err..."<sup>3</sup>

This infallibility has its source in nothing other than the activity of the Holy Spirit:

"There are none simply infallible but God, every man is a liar. The pen-men of the Scripture were infallible, because when they were actually inspired by the Holy Ghost, they could not err.

### 1. SA 37.

2. "When we consider the Word of God, especially the Gospel, the spirituality thereof, above and beyond all letters and characters, appertaineth in that the Author can be none other but God, an infinite and glorious Spirit." SA 329. For reference to "the Holy Ghost, the Author of Scripture," see CD 536 and DR 362.

He frequently refers to specific passages of Scripture with the phrase: "The Holy Ghost says," irrespective of human authorship. Let 9,54, 103; TT 306; CLO 309; SCD 27; GE 350. This usage was not uncommon in or prior to Rutherford's period. See the Westminster Assembly document cited in SCD 210 and a passage from Beza in GE 352. Cf. Calvin, Commentaries Ex.4:21; Jer.15:3; Ps.126:4 and Bernard, opcit., 24.5; 37.3. Also: Heb.3:7; 9:8; Acts 28:25, etc.

Calvin and Rutherford seem to share similar doctrines of the Scripture. The only noteworthy exceptions being these: Rutherford never speaks of a possibility of mistakes in the text whereas Calvin mentions several: Ibid., Matt.27:9; Acts 7:16. But on the other hand, Rutherford avoids any such phrase as the Word is "the image of the Spirit," Institutes I.9.3. This may be due to the fact that Rutherford gives larger scope to the concept of the "internal testimony" of the Spirit than did Calvin, who basically limited this doctrine to an epistemological enlightenment of the Scripture. Insts.I.7.4, especially the 1539 edition. See below, Rutherford on "Assurance," pp.148f.

### 3. DR 367c.

And the spirits of all prophets are to be tried by the Word, even Paul speaking at Berea. But it followeth not that Paul could err."<sup>1</sup>

This "theory of inspiration" is dependent upon the assumption that the writers of Scripture, whether conscious of the fact or not, were acted upon by the Holy Spirit above their own free will. They were passive organs, immediately acted upon by the Holy Spirit and therefore, "what the prophets spoke, God spoke." "They could not err."<sup>2</sup> In one place, he uses the word "dictation" to describe this phenomenon.<sup>3</sup>

John Goodwin, an Independent theologian whom Rutherford met at the Westminster Assembly, had apparently denied Scripture to be the Word of God on the basis of

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1. PP 250.

He does not draw a distinction between infallible and inerrant. He generally uses the words interchangeably. In the above quotation, infallibility is dependent upon inerrancy.

He cites passages from Rivetus, Whitaker, Bucer, Calvin, Theophylact, Chrysostom, Beda, Ambrose, Occam and Gerson as his instructors in this doctrine. DR 304b, 305b. (N.B. 304b is paginated 340). Rutherford's primary biblical battle is fought not on the grounds of inspiration against a few English Independents, but on the fields of authority with the Roman Catholics. It is here that his scholarship is most often apparent. An example of this occurs in GE 69f. where he quotes several works of Basil and also from Gregory Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Jerome and Chrysostom.

2. AS 211.

This "apostolic" or "canonic" office of the Spirit is no longer available to the Church. Although as we shall see, Rutherford teaches the possibility of real revelation outside of Scripture, this is not to be seen as on the same level as that received by those whose office it was to bear that Word of God which became canonical Scripture. See DR 407f.; GE 126.

3. "Any stirring upon the Word...is first and principally from the Spirit, for the Spirit is the author, creator and in the immediately inspired organs, the prophets and apostles, the pen-men, and the Spirit, devised and dictated, the words, letters and doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, IITim. 3:16, 17; II Pet. 1:19-21; Lk. 1:55, 70." (sic). SA 307. Also cf. Calvin's use of "dictation" for references, see Forstman, Word and Spirit, pp. 53, 54.

inaccurate textual transmission.<sup>1</sup> Rutherford's response is again couched within the context of his doctrine of the Holy Spirit:

"Whereas the means of conveying the things believed may be fallible, as writing, printing, translating, speaking, are all fallible means of conveying the truth of Old and New Testaments to us, and yet the Word of God, in that which is delivered to us is infallible. 1.) For let the printer be fallible, 2.) the translation fallible, 3.) the grammar fallible, 4.) the man that readeth the Word or publisheth it fallible, yet this hindereth not but the word itself contained in the written Word of God is infallible;... Now the carrying of the doctrine of the prophets and apostles to our knowledge, through printers, translators, grammar, pens and tongues of men from so many ages, all which are fallible, we are to look to an unerring and undeniable providence, conveying the Testament of Christ, which in itself is infallible and begs no truth, no authority either from the Church as Papists dream, or from grammar, characters, printer or translator, all these being adventitious and yesterday accidents to the nature of the Word of God."<sup>2</sup>

The Bible as the container of infallible truth is the "written Word of God." But the appeal put forward in answer to Goodwin rests not on the words of the text nor on the nature of their transmission, but upon the providential character of the communication of truth. This

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1. This appears in a marginal note in his Hagiomast, sec. 28 as quoted in PLC 362. Of Goodwin, Rutherford says: "undeniably the learnedst and most godly man of that way."

Goodwin's comment raised such a furor among all parties at the Assembly, that two years later (1648) he published The Divine Authority of Scripture Asserted or the Great Charter of the World's Blessedness Vindicated; Against the King of Errors and Heresies Antiscripturism. In it he qualifies his previous statement by saying that Scripture can be called the Word of God in the first instance only. In other copies and translations it is His Word, not in the technical sense but only in that it has been protected by His providence. Even then it is authoritative and contains the unerring truth of God. But this inerrancy does not extend to the words, letters and spelling of the text. He makes little mention of the Spirit's role in this book, but in another: Being Filled with the Spirit (chaps. 5, 11), he deals with this at length and in much the same way as Rutherford does.

2. PLC 362-63.

is dependent solely upon the Holy Spirit. The distinction is drawn between the truth and that which symbolises it, not in the sense that the symbol is arbitrary or expendable, but that its authority and true meaning lies not in its literal appearance but in what it represents. Providence is the general reason for the infallibility of Scripture, but the particular reason is that the Spirit, as we shall shortly see, makes the mere signs (words and letters of Scripture) partake of the things they signify.<sup>1</sup>

### The Word as an Instrument of the Spirit

It is important to understand the basis of Scripture's trustworthiness because in the initial subjective act of uniting us to Christ, the creation of faith in the believer, the Spirit has limited Himself to the instrumentation of the Word.<sup>2</sup> Rutherford cannot conceive of saving faith without some exposure to the preached or

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#### 1. SA 236.

Having provided himself with an explanation of possible errors occurring in textual translations, etc., Rutherford never acknowledged that there might be any such errors. Because of the extent of the Spirit's work, Rutherford saw a perfect, harmonious correspondence between truth and that which represents it. This is so extensive, that he has no doubt as to the propriety of making dogmatic statements about a particular verse of Scripture on the basis of a single word or letter. Here is an interesting example: while quoting Erastius and criticising his knowledge of grammar, he approves of his exegetical technique. "The article o' is set before the word (heathen) and the word (publican) by the Holy Spirit, which signifies...a great edge of difference between the heathen and publican here." GE 305.

2. "It's true, His omnipotency was eternal before there was a word or promise made to us, but now the Lord will have the word or promise to be the officina, the work-house of His Spirit and of the quickening influences thereof." ILG 60. He quotes Calvin, Comm.Ps.119:28 in this respect. A biblical basis for his argument lies in Rom.10:13,14.



written Word.<sup>1</sup> But the Spirit can produce union with God in those whose knowledge, even of fundamentals, is nugatory.<sup>2</sup>

On the basis of this two-fold understanding, the Spirit's authorship of and His use of the Scripture, the assumption can be made that the Word and the Spirit are never contrary to one another in their teaching and activity. Rather, the relationship is so completely harmonious that it can be described as mutual subordination.<sup>3</sup> By this he does not mean that the Spirit is under the domination of the Word, but that He, in our salvation, works within the framework of the revelation He has given.<sup>4</sup> This understanding of the complementary relationship of Scripture

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1. GE 522; SA 32.

Nor do saints ever grow so close to God in this life that they can dispense with Scriptural revelation. SA 333. However, this revelation will be completely abolished when union is perfected in glory. SA 321.

On this basis, he rejects any understanding of the sacrament being a converting ordinance. The Word and efficacious work of the Spirit must go before conversion. GE 521-23. His reaction is against the concept of the sacrament containing grace in and of itself. See "The Spirit and the Sacraments," pp. 114f.

2. PLC 65.

3. The phrase used is: "not contrary but subordinate." SA 269, 312; AS 164. Rutherford cited Calvin, Musculus and Luther on this harmony of Word and Spirit. But that this is no innovation of the Reformation is evidenced in Bernard:

"Everyone among you who feels this working in himself knows what saith the Spirit, whose words and whose working are never contrary the one to the other." op.cit., 37.3.

4. "The truth of what the Spirit speaketh, dependeth not on the Word, but the credence and faith that I owe to the Spirit, dependeth on the Word because I know the Spirit by the Word as I know the substance of the body of the sun by the light...; when God hath put His last seal to the canon of Scripture, the word of prophecy is surer to us than the Father's voice from heaven. II Pet. 1... The Spirit of Christ as He cannot belie His own Word, so will He not take it ill to be tried by His own hand-writing and seal and His own works." AS 89. Also, "Though the Lord and His Spirit be not tied or fixed to the Scripture, yet we are tied to the Law and Testimony." SA 235.



and of God's immanence achieves two important goals. First, by virtue of divine authorship, the validity of the Scripture as an ethically and religiously normative revelation for all men is established.<sup>1</sup> This is independent of any consideration of the Spirit's enlightening of the Word, so that there is not a "literal" meaning of Scripture which is less true or less normative than that understanding which results in the Spirit's use of the Word to unite us to Christ.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, a valuable check

1. "Moral actions are to be determined by the Word, even in circumstances which are not expressed in the Word." EA 105. Expressed classically: biological actions of the first degree (seeing, hearing, etc.) and of the second degree (eating, drinking, etc.) do not need specific Scriptural regulation but actions of the third degree: the sciences and the arts, farming, medicine, music, all ethical activity of the first and second table, the worship of God and love of neighbor, "are moral actions and therefore it is necessary that the Word of God regulate them." EA 111. Also: The second of a list of absurdities that follow from the distinction of an internal and external sense of the Word is: "The Word of God can lay no tie, no band on the inner man to know God, believe in Christ, love God, intend His glory, long for heaven and Christ's second appearance; for the Law is given to the flesh and the outward man, nor can the letter of the Gospel bind him to any Gospel or heart obedience. Absurd!" SA 30; see AS 101; DR 132; CD 584.

2. "We judge the literal sense of the Word to be the very meaning and kindly sense of the Holy Ghost, and do hold that the Word hath not two sundry senses... Though the one, that is, the letter of the Word may be without the Spirit, and then the letter is a dead thing to the hardened hearer, not in itself; but yet should not the letter of the Scripture, and the outward ordinances or prophesying be despised any more than the Spirit should be quenched." AS 164, and "The Holy Ghost, the author of Scripture, has consecrated with the words the true native sense which all the powers on earth cannot alter." CD 536. Also 584; SA 52, 309-10. Even in the Scripture's role as a pattern for universal ethical and religious behavior, a role often assumed by Rutherford as in his political treatise, Lex Rex, it is noted that it is not simply the existence of the Book which constitutes the necessity of obedience, but the fact of God's will being actually revealed in it. "We never said that the mere commandments and letter of the Scripture is our obliging rule, as the letter is a thing of ink, and a paper, divided from the natural and genuine sense, but as it includes the thing signified, as it expresseth to us what is the good, perfect and acceptable will of God." SA 224; 233.

is made available which can be applied to those who claim divine inspiration as a source of their experiences or doctrines. If that which such a person says falls within the general teachings of Scripture, it may lay claim to the Holy Spirit as author. If not, it must be rejected as contrary to Christian doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

### The Unfolding of the Scripture by the Spirit

We have seen that there is no physical or automatic concurrence of the Holy Spirit with the written or proclaimed revelation.<sup>2</sup> Yet the Word, which is a "dead thing" without the Holy Spirit, is a necessary instrument in the production of faith by that Spirit. The Word alone is not enough; it must be unfolded, revealed or illuminated by the Spirit.<sup>3</sup>

Rutherford does not pretend to understand completely what happens when the Spirit uses the Word. It is but a vain "curiosity" to try and discover this in detail.<sup>4</sup> One

1. In answer to the Antinomian statement: "All doctrines, revelations and spirits are to be tried by Christ the Word rather than the word of Christ," Rutherford responds: "this is against Christ's way who, when it was a controversy whether He was the Son of God or no, was content that they should judge Him...and decide the matter by Scripture. Jn. 5:39." SA 23. He can answer thus not because Christ is subject to Scripture, but because as we have already seen in discussing the Spirit, Rutherford can conceive of no contradiction within the divine activity.

For teaching that the activities of the Spirit are to be tested by the Word, see: Serm. Com., p. 34; SA 205; AS 89; ILG 256. In PP 250 he says: "Parius, Bullinger, Calvin, Beza saith all spirits are to be tried by the Word." He lists some absurdities which can result from the separation of the Word and the Spirit in SA 30, 104; cf. Calvin, Comm. Jn. 16:14; Tract 1 (Reply to Cardinal Sadolet) p. 36.

2. See above, pp. 40-42 and SA 37.

3. "The Word, promises, and prophets and apostles are all creatures and but media fidei, the means of saving faith. They are objectum quo,...of themselves they are dead letters and dead things and cannot without the Spirit produce faith." CD 278; also AS 133; TT 105; cf. Calvin, Insts. I. 9.3.

4. SA 38.

can, however, attempt to describe and qualify what occurs. As in all other difficult situations, he looks to the life of Christ for a solution to the problem.<sup>1</sup> This he finds in the Lord's raising of Lazarus. Christ uttered the word-symbols: "Lazarus, come forth," and the "power of the Godhead" animated and brought life to the dead body. The words were not the primary instrument of his being raised. The Spirit was. Yet the words were an instrumental, active influence. There is no physical connection between the two: The Spirit surely does not "enter into the bodily sound of words, and come along enclosed in it."<sup>2</sup> Yet somehow His word is "elevated as it were above itself, and above the nature and sphere of a mere vocal, and audible sound, and powered by the Spirit."<sup>3</sup>

There are three ways in which the Spirit might be united to the Word:

"I should think the Word and the Spirit are united as 1.) the king and the king's law revealed to his subjects are one, as we say the king is in every court, in regard the king's law is there...

2.) The Word and the Spirit are united as the principal and instrumental cause, as Christ is where His Word is either converting or convincing, and because

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1. SA 37f.

2. Ibid.

Elsewhere his description approaches a physical connection. "The Word and Spirit are united, as if they were one agent, as sweet smells are carried through the air to the nose; the Word is the chariot, the vehiculum, the horse, the Spirit: the rider..." CD 308.

He describes the non-physical conveyance elsewhere as the power which a lumberman gives to an axe: he adds no steel to the instrument but that which is useless becomes otherwise because of his strength. ILG 172. Or again, it is likened to the soul which is the element of life in an otherwise dead body. ILG 171.

3. SA 37.

the way of Christ's working by the Word is much more a moral way, as by a sign conveying the thing signified by His Spirit.

Therefore the 3.) way how Christ, or His Spirit is in the Word, may be thus: Christ clotheth Himself with the Word or Scripture read, or sounding as the thing signified is in the sign;... and when Christ is in our hearts by faith and we regenerated by the immortal seed of the Word, I Pet.1:23. After this new birth, there remaineth something of the Word; some other passeth away, that which remaineth is the thing signified by the Word or produced by the Word, which is Christ formed in the heart or the new creature."<sup>1</sup>

This is described elsewhere as a three-fold revelation which consists in 1.) the document itself; 2.) its obvious literal meaning; 3.) the supernatural overpouring (superinfusus) of the Spirit revealing that literal meaning.

The last is not a new sense or meaning distinguished from the literal sense but it is an unfolding, a spiritual opening of the literal sense which is a result of concurrent out-flowing of the Holy Spirit.<sup>2</sup>

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1. SA 302.

This conforms to Ames' use of terms in discussion of the sacrament which is a sign, and as containing the thing signified, a seal; see Medulla XXXVI, chaps. 6-29, especially 26, 27, 29.

2. "Revelatio enim mihi, triplex est. 1. Literae. 2. Literalis. 3. Spiritualis & supernaturalis. Prima est folius Dei, qui doctrinam Legis & Evangelii ex suae infinitae sapientiae thesauro excogitavit... Revelatio Literalis est informatio & institutio de literalis verbi jam excogitati sensu, literalis & grammatica. Et haec à Pastore & Doctoribus Ecclesiae fieri potest, in hominibus supernaturalis Revelationis expertibus, Pharisei, Haeretici, Doctores profani, & exponere & intelligere possunt sensus Scripturae; sed haec cognitio non sufficit ad salutem. Alia est supernaturalis Revelatio, quae est quidam detectio & apertio, non novi sensus Scripturae, distincti ab eo sensu, qui grammaticus & literalis est, ... sed est apertio & declaratio spiritualis, sensus literalis, qui manat à superinfuso spiritu Revelationis, qui facultati intellectiva datur." EA 83, 4.



On the basis of his distinction, he characterises not a two-fold meaning of the Word, literal and spiritual, but a two-fold power. One is the material power, subjective, which is the result of the actu primo of the Spirit as the author. This makes the Word different from and infinitely better than any other book and a rule of life. The second is a formal power corresponding to the:

"actu secundo as the Spirit going along with the Word makes it effectual, to enlighten, to teach, to rebuke, to convince, to persuade; so our divines say...the efficacy of the Word is from the Spirit. II Cor.10:4."1

Therefore, the:

"ordinances are not mere figures and signs, but holy, divine, powerful signs. Like a hammer, a two-edged sword, weapons mighty through God...Therefore it is false that in their nature they are but parables, figures and types. For the words and letters are so, but in their sense, as they include the things signified, they are another thing of a higher strain."2

The enlightenment of the Scripture is but one side of a two-pronged and united act of the Spirit in drawing us to Christ. The second part of this act, which we shall discuss later, is the enlightenment of the individual believer. Rutherford will not limit himself to the enlightenment of the individual because he has

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1. ILG 172. Cf. SA 39f.

2. SA 236.

This does not mean, of course, that Scripture is in any way to be seen as the author, or object of faith. It is "the objectum quo," never "the objectum quod." SA 25. Chaps.6 and 27 of SA, from which these last two quotations are taken, provide the best summaries of Rutherford's doctrine of the Scripture.





committed himself to the necessity of the presence of both the Spirit and the Word in salvation. The former, because salvation is of God alone; the latter, because Scripture is a God-given revelation of the content and experience of salvation: "The Spirit first stirs and blows upon our Spirit and the word, and then the Word and we are both in-lived."<sup>1</sup>

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1. SA 307.

### CHAPTER THREE: RUTHERFORD'S UNDERSTANDING OF GRACE

There is no one specific section in any of the works of Rutherford where one can turn to find a distinct unfolding of a doctrine of grace. This doctrine is often more implied than expressed. But this does not mean that there is any lack of material on the subject, for next to Christ Himself, Rutherford was most at home discussing the grace which is manifest in and through Christ. Because of the mass of material, the organisation will involve a distinguishing of two categories within God's free act of reconciliation: first, the achievement of salvation in Jesus Christ and second, the application of salvation by the Holy Spirit:

"Grace is either objective, out of us, as the free love of God having mercy on whom He will; or subjective, merited by Christ to us and bestowed upon us."<sup>1</sup>

#### Grace Achieved: the Free Love of God Toward Us

It is impossible to separate God and His gracious love.<sup>2</sup> His love is as eternal as He is.<sup>3</sup> This love is unconditional in the most literal meaning of the term.

#### 1. CLO 230.

Perhaps a more succinct definition is supplied by Rutherford's brilliant contemporary, John Owen, in his discussion of the Holy Spirit and the grace of God in the Scriptures: grace is the free love and favour of God toward us and secondly, it is the free operation of God in us and upon us. Op.cit., II.5.7.

Rutherford never uses the term "means of grace" either in referring to Christ or the sacraments. The phrase does not appear in his writing. We postpone a discussion of the sacraments until p.114.

#### 2. Serm.Lords, p.28; Serm.Com., p.44; CLO 308.

#### 3. Serm.Com., p.48.

For the same phrase applied to Jesus Christ, see: CD 14,17,448; CLO 308.

Creation is a free expression of God's grace;<sup>1</sup> but even His creative act puts no necessity upon God to sustain that which He has made.<sup>2</sup> Love and grace find their only necessity in the loving, gracious nature of God.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, when we look at the redemptive act of grace in Jesus Christ, we see no cause but free love. Sin is the occasion of God's grace, an opportunity for grace to manifest itself, never its cause.<sup>4</sup> Neither Christ's incarnation nor His death were causes of God's love but effects of it:

"1.) Because nothing in time is, or can be, the cause of that which is eternal; Christ is given in time, and dieth in time, as our surety; He is an eternal Mediator dying in God's decree, but that cannot make Him the cause of begetting God's love to us.  
2.) God's free love and His grace is the cause why He giveth His Son to die for us, Jn. 3; I Jn. 4. Then Christ's dying cannot be the cause of God's love.

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1. CLO 31; ILG 9,89.

2. CLO 33,34.

However, as we shall see, once God has committed Himself to redemption in Christ Jesus, the Triune God puts Himself under obligation to supply all that is necessary to secure the final triumph of those who are united to Christ. Though he does not use the term, Rutherford is a supralapsarian (especially see CLO, chap. I, sec. 7). Having said this, the question of necessity in God is immediately answered. The only problem is human freedom. See below on freedom and necessity in God and man, pp. 97f.

3. CD 137.

He quotes Bernard's Sermons from Canticles, 64: "Love triumphed over God," and draws the conclusion that love, "with reverence to His holiness, is mightier than the most high, and brought God down to sick clay." CLO 307. Compare Bernard, Sermon 1 on the "Feast of the Annunciation" and Anselm, Meditation 6. The context shows that the triumph of love in God is not part of a struggle of two warring elements of love and justice in the Godhead. Such a conflict is inconceivable to Rutherford who sees absolutely no necessity in God to be "just" or to "love" until He has revealed Himself as Love, which revelation commits Him to love. The figure "love triumphed over God" refers rather, as the context reveals, to the impossible humiliation of Deity taking on human flesh.

3.) The free love of God should not be free if it had a meritorious cause."<sup>1</sup>

When we look at Jesus Christ, we do not see a cause of grace but the absolute embodiment of grace. In the dedicatory epistle of TT, Rutherford tells us that: "Grace is the proposition of this treatise." Then begins one of his many hymns to grace, part of which reads:

"...Grace is so much the more precious and sweet, that though it be the result of sin in the act of pardoning and curing sinful lameness, yet it hath no spring, but the bowels of God stirred and rowled within Him by only spotless and holy goodness. Grace is of the King's house from Heaven only...Christ for this cause especially, left the bosom of God, and was clothed with flesh and our nature, that He might be a mass, a sea, and boundless river of visible living and breathing grace, swelling up to the highest banks of not only the habitable world but the sides also of the Heaven of Heavens, to overwater men and angels. So as Christ was as it were Grace speaking, Grace sighing, weeping, crying out of horror, dying, withering for sinners, living again, and is now glorified Grace dropping down, raining down, floods of grace on His members..." etc.<sup>2</sup>

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1. AS 73.

Also, "Christ loves us, not according to what we were, but to what grace and love was to make us; and that was fair and spotless. And this love was so free in the secret of eternal election, that it was not increased by Christ's merits and death. But the merits, death, and the fruit of this love had being and worth from Christ's eternal love, and Christ's love have no foundation and cause but love." CD 138. And: "Christ's merits are no cause, but an effect of God's eternal love of election." TT 302.

2. TT vii.

Rutherford frequently uses the image of Christ as a "fountain" or "well" of grace "diffusing grace through His members." This picture appears in Augustine, Praedest. & Sanct., I.15 and is quoted by Calvin, Insts., II.17.1.

Later in TT, Rutherford proves that "Grace and Christ cannot be separated" against some who thought they might experience the work of God outside of Christ. p.73.



As we have already seen, grace is Christ's by virtue of the hypostatic union.<sup>1</sup> Humanity in Christ is therefore inseparably linked to grace. Hence, all of our experience of grace is through Christ.<sup>2</sup> To be united to Him by His Spirit is to know grace, for only Christ is the mediator and channel of grace to man.<sup>3</sup>

While this unity of grace with the creature, seen in Christ, has implications for the whole cosmos, these implications are not generally spelled out by Rutherford.<sup>4</sup>

1. See above, "Christ and the Spirit," p.32.

2. "The Godhead dwelling bodily in the manhead is a well of grace, the manhead the channel through which all grace floweth to us, and Christ, God man, is adored by men and angels." Cat 180.

One might assume from some of the language used that for Rutherford, grace is something manifested beyond the Person and work of Christ. This is true. Grace is essential to the whole Trinity. In the activity of the Spirit, grace is continually manifested in His personal work in and upon creation, for He is sent by Christ as part of the one mission of the Trinity for the salvation of men. The grace of the Spirit is not simply a power of God or a substance separated from God, and therefore has no affinity with the material concept of grace seen in the Middle Ages. See below, pp.58f. Cf. below, p.105.

3. "Grace is now given first to the second Adam as the head and fountain, and to the elect in a way of unseparable union of the stream with the fountain, as he partakes of grace in Christ, and mediately." ILG 4. Also, 163, 206, 352. Serm. Doves, p.19.

4. There are a few isolated passages where he proves that he is aware of the cosmological significance of Christ's mission. In one sermon, he speaks of the sun, the moon and the entire world being renewed by Christ's death, using the fact of this cosmic regeneration as an encouragement to his hearers to experience the same work of God. Christ's Napkin, pp.8,9. Elsewhere, he speaks of the manifestation of grace in Christ as overflowing heaven and earth, men and angels. TT vi, vii, 67f.: a lengthy section of Christ's recreation of all existence. Also CLO 17, 18.

On the whole, however, he is more concerned with the anthropological, soteriological significance of Christ's life than the cosmological aspect, as Let 191 typifies in which the receiver is told that the reason he was brought into the world was to meet Christ for salvation. Creation and sustaining are, however, viewed as an expression of God's grace. CLO 31; ILG 89. There is an influence of God upon all creation which is "gracious" and which is discussed a great deal by Rutherford. But this must be distinguished from his use of grace which is generally limited to soteriology. See below: "Influences Defined," p.92, f.n.1.



But the impact of this concept is clearly felt in some of his thinking. It comes closest to theological expression in his discussion of grace and glory. For him, grace and glory do not differ in nature. They are to be distinguished only in degree.<sup>1</sup> Glory is matured and perfected grace.<sup>2</sup> Quite naturally, the ultimate perfection of grace is found in the consummate union of Christ and His saints.<sup>3</sup>

That the exaggerated, scholastic dichotomy between nature and grace has been overcome in Rutherford is seen not only in his uniting grace to Christology and therefore grace to glory, but also in his emphasis on the absolute dependence of all creation upon the sustaining influences of God. Because God the Spirit is the personal sustainer of creation and the cause of all willing and doing in men, nature is seen not as something opposed

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1. AS 37.

2. "Doth the Lord of free grace create half a new man, or rear up half a new building? No; grace is grace is grace, going on and advancing till it be reaped grace, and so glory." ILG 296. Also CD 178; TT 100; Let 76.

3. "Q. What is His kingdom of glory?

"A. It is the full perfection of grace, where He shall be all in all to His saints." Cat 185.

Also TT vii. Cf. Owen, *op.cit.*, IV.I.11.2.

Rutherford is always careful to guard against any confusion of humanity with what he calls the essential deity of God. In discussing the progressive nature of grace into glory, he avoids this "essential" union by distinguishing between God's "essential glory" and His "declarative glory:" that which He is in Himself and that which He manifests to men and angels. CLO 28-34. Therefore, he can remain consistent while saying on the same page that "glory is matured grace" and "God properly glorifies Himself; angels and men are but chamberlains and factors, to pay the rent of His glory; and because He will give Himself, His Son, His Spirit to us, and His grace, and yet will not give His glory to another." CD 178.

to grace, but as the theatre of grace.<sup>1</sup> Nature is the place where God reveals His grace. It is the dominion of grace, not its antagonist.<sup>2</sup>

GRACE APPLIED: THE ACTIVITY OF GOD IN US AND UPON US. (THE SPIRIT AND SOTERIOLOGY)

Grace, then, is of the very character of God. As the expression of His "free and unhired love" in Christ, it "is the cause of our redemption, vocation, sanctification and eternal salvation."<sup>3</sup> Therefore it is important "that none fail to have the grace of God."<sup>4</sup> Grace is not a super-added substance or power of God, it is God Himself active in us and upon us:

"The actings of God in all created effects, especially His influences of grace are letten out immediately, both

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1. Cf. Sibbes: "The whole world is a theatre of the glory of God" as in Nuttall, op.cit., p.146. We discuss God's causality of finite events and the problems that arise from the concept in detail below, "Pneumatology & Cosmology," "Problems Raised," p.97.

2. Beginning with the argument that the Hebrew use of the hiphil verb denotes a principle of double causation, Rutherford lays the groundwork for a proof that nothing does or could exist without the Godhead acting through the Holy Spirit. In the course of the argument he notes: "Sure it is safer that nature be under grace and the dominion thereof than grace be under nature, as it must be better divinity that God reign, than man reign." ILG 4.

3. TT 285.

4. Heb.12:15.

Rutherford, for all of his emphasis on grace, never let it be thought that God's grace was the object of our love. Christ is the center of our worship, not His gifts nor even His loving acts toward us. See below on mortification, pp.79f.

In order that we do not misplace our worship, grace supports grace so that we will not in weakness or ecstasy (as John at Patmos) mistake a creature for Christ. ILG 380. "God has so protracted and chalked the way to heaven, that all the most supernatural acts, even those that have immediate bordering with the vision of glory, should need a pass of pardoning grace." CD 343.

immediatione virtutis & immediatione suppositi, by immediate concurring of His power and virtue, and by the personal concurrence of Himself, so the Lord works not in us to will and to do by a deputy or lieutenant..."<sup>1</sup>

We see here the cornerstone of Rutherford's pneumatology. The grace of God revealed in Christ is not something limited by His appearance in space and time, neither is that grace only something imputed to us on the basis of that appearance.<sup>2</sup> Rather, grace is in the believer by virtue of his present union with Christ in His Spirit.

"Though it be true that grace is essentially in God, and in us by participation, yet it is false that grace is not properly in us...if grace be taken for a saving qualification, and a supernatural act, work, or quality given freely of the Father through Christ, upon God's gracious intention to cause us freely to believe, repent, love Christ, rejoice in the hope of glory, work out our own salvation in fear and trembling. So grace is not only in Christ, but in us properly, though Antinomians hold all saving grace to be properly in Christ, and there is nothing inherent in the believer."<sup>3</sup>

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1. ILG 433.

Also, God "is strongly present and shining as to influences of grace." Ibid., 11. Twelve years earlier (1647), he had described the work of grace in a man as the image of God in him. CD 149.

2. Cf. Calvin, Insts., III.1.1: "The Mode of Obtaining the Grace of Christ;" "...so long as Christ is out of us and we are separated from Him, nothing which He suffered and did for the salvation of the human race is of the least benefit to us. To communicate to us the blessings which he received from the Father, He must become ours and dwell in us...The whole comes to this, that the Holy Spirit is the bond by which Christ effectually binds us to Himself." Also, ibid., III.2.16.

3. CD 268.

Saltmarsh and other Antinomians, in restricting grace to the Person of Christ, had denied the reality of the believer's personal sanctification which is a result of the Spirit's indwelling. "This is the mystery of Libertines, that there is no inherent grace in-biding in the saints, no spring of sanctification; all grace is in Christ and in His imputed righteousness and so they destroy sanctification." CD 507. Also, Serm.Com., pp.32-4 and below, "Antinomianism," p.82.

For Rutherford, union with Christ is not simply a vicarious imputation of His life and death. It is something in which the believer actively participates through the work of the Holy Spirit. Commenting on Gal.2:20, he says:

"I live not, but Christ, by His Spirit, lives in me; and the Spirit, so to speak, is the full, prominent element of the acting, not that nature sinless is wholly dead and passive, as Familists and others teach, and self appears to be sunk into nothing and is denied, as Matt.10:20... Though they be living persons in their nature and being, Peter and John speak. And yet the Spirit so discloses and lays aside the creature called self and sets up God, that as if self were annihilated and not there at all, I mind no libertine annihilation, the Spirit as the predominant speaks in the man and acts in him rather than the man. And the Spirit of the Father prayeth, preacheth, rejoiceth, acteth, disputeth, confesseth in the believer."<sup>1</sup>

We shall return to this theme in a moment in our treatment of sanctification in Rutherford. First we must note the distinction he draws between grace and the essence of divinity in order to avoid any concept of union with God which might imply the absolute deification, or conversely, annihilation of humanity. While stressing that our participation in the divine nature is a real thing, he is clear that this does not mean that we are united "to Christ with the same union that Christ's humanity on earth was with His Godhead."<sup>2</sup>

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1. ILG 178,79.

"Nor is the blessedness of the saints only passive in receiving, though to be justified and receive Christ's righteousness be the fountain of blessedness. Ps.32; Rom. 4; Gal.3." CD 471. "This place, Ex.33:20, is foolishly wrestled by Saltmarsh, for God speaketh not in that place of seeing God by faith in the light of His Spirit as if these natural faculties were annihilated and pulled out in regeneration; and God did actually see, know, believe, love in us, and our souls were turned into dead, passive organs." SA 295.

2. SA 179.

This is listed as one of the errors of the New England Antinomians.



"The person of the Holy Ghost is not united to the soul of the believer, nor are there two persons here united or made one spirit by union of person with person, but the Person is said to come to the saints and dwell with them and be in them...(Scripts.)...not that the Holy Ghost, in proper Person, doth in us formally and immediately believe, pray, love, repent, etc., we being mere patients in understanding, will, affections, memory as libertines teach. But the Holy Ghost cometh to the saints, and dwelleth in them, 1.) in the spiritual gifts, and saving graces and supernatural qualities created in us by the Holy Spirit, and 2.) acted, excited, and moved as supernatural heavenly habits, to act with the vital influence of our understanding, will and affections."<sup>1</sup>

Sanctification: the Application of Grace by the Spirit.

For Rutherford, the application of salvation by the gracious activity of the Spirit is not something separated from the revelation of God in Christ. The work of the Spirit is not a second mission of God, but a supportive continuation of God's activity in Christ. As we saw in the section "Christ and the Spirit," Rutherford knows nothing of the Spirit's work in salvation separate from Jesus Christ. But on the other hand, we are united to Christ and therefore to the Godhead, only within the mission of the Holy Spirit.<sup>2</sup> And there is no union with

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1. CD 264,65.

Cf. Calvin, Insts. III.11.5,6 where the same point is made against those who taught that justification was a result of the infused Godhead. Rutherford presses the distinction for other reasons also: 1.) "For holiness in saints is a participation of the divine nature but is a temporary and created participation, not the very holiness of God, but a created effect thereof." GE 84. This is against the argument that we should venerate holy men because they participate in the divine nature. 2.) "Now to be a partaker of the divine nature is to partake of the graces and created goodnesses and anointings of the Spirit, otherwise the essence and nature of God in us should be subject to change." SA 16. Also CD 238,468; ILG 241. Cf. Owen, op.cit., II.5.7.

2. "When the Spirit enters in the dry bones they become an army of living men... This is like putting on the Lord Jesus, which is a work of the Spirit." ILG 185. Also SA 322,23; CD 571. Cf. Owen, op.cit., IV.6.71; Basil, op.cit., VIII.12; XVIII.47.

Rutherford asks: "Who applieth this redemption" purchased to us by Christ? The answer: it is "the Holy Spirit, true God, equal with the Father and the Son, who maketh us holy as God is holy." Cat 191.

Christ outside of the context of the Spirit.

"...If any have the Spirit, he cannot want the influences of God. The Spirit is, as it were, all saving influences, and such as are void of the Spirit know not anything of saving influence; yea, the Father and the Son let out all their influences in and by the Spirit."<sup>1</sup>

We may discuss the Spirit's gracious activity of uniting us to Christ under the following headings: "Regeneration," "Faith and Repentance," "Justification," and "Sanctification."<sup>2</sup> The role of the Holy Spirit in uniting us to Christ is clearly set forth in two questions of Rutherford's Catechism:

"Q. How many ways doth God's Spirit make us one with Christ?

"A. Two ways, by inward sanctification or regeneration and by justification in His blood.

"Q. What is sanctification?

"A. It is the work of God's Spirit by the Word, putting in us the life of Christ and renewing all the powers of our soul."<sup>3</sup>

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1. ILG 164.

2. The order is that used by Rutherford in his Cat 119-207. These terms, in their widest interpretation, were often used interchangeably. Thus sanctification in the broad sense can mean "call," regeneration and the gradual perfection of holiness generally implied in the contemporary understanding of the term. See Cat 201; Owen, op.cit., IV, 1-4; Ames, op.cit., XXIX, 4-7. Similarly, effectual calling and regeneration are often used simultaneously, the work of the Spirit being the active element of the call and the believer's passive response (regeneration) being the second aspect of that call. See Cat 199; CD 277; Ames, op.cit., XXVI, 21. So also justification can refer to three (TT 162) and sometimes five (CD 251f.) separate activities of God ranging from His eternal decree to justify to the actual conversion of believers. However, where distinctions are made, these are clear and straightforward. It is upon these distinctions that we base our presentation. It is not our purpose to expound details of soteriology but merely to demonstrate Rutherford's understanding of the Holy Spirit's role in the application of God's grace.

3. Cat 199.

## Regeneration

We examine first that part of sanctification which Rutherford here distinguishes as the "putting in us of the life of Christ," or "regeneration."<sup>1</sup> In regeneration as in all things soteriological, Jesus Christ is the fountainhead and source of all God's goodness toward man.<sup>2</sup> But regeneration is a discussion of the anthropological side of God's activity and, in that respect, has to do with grace as God's work in and upon us, rather than grace as God's free love toward us.

"We accord not with Antinomians who say that grace is only in Christ, none to us, they are but gifts and effects of grace in us, saith Towne. The new creature, the armour of God, and love is nothing but Christ. But we say grace, or free favour, is in Christ as the cause, root, spring; but this is the infinite God, freely of mere grace, imparting His goodness, mercy, redemption, calling us without hire or money, and this indeed is not in us but in Him; but there is a grace created the fruit of this free grace in God, that is in us subjectively, and inherently, and denominates us gracious and new creatures; grace is in Christ, as the flower in the root, as the smell that comes from the flower, and is communicated to us who have senses...the saints are denominated new creatures

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1. Concerning the effectual call of God, except for a few references in the Cat(199,200) identifying effectual calling with regeneration and distinguishing effectual and universal calling, Rutherford spends very little time discussing this aspect of regeneration. In CD especially, he speaks a great deal of "drawing" which is sometimes used as a synonym for "calling"(CD 497. Also CLO 238,39). But the term "drawing" generally refers to the whole act of salvation. When used as call, the only new emphasis apparent in CD is the fact that the Spirit's call is accomplished differently in every individual. CD 276.

CD: Christ's Dying and Calling Sinners to Himself, seems to be patterned after Bernard's Serm.Cant.,21.

2. CD 307.

from grace inherent, faithful and sanctified in Christ Jesus, born again of God, sons and heirs, partakers of the divine nature....," etc.<sup>1</sup>

Rutherford can speak of grace in this way simply because for him regeneration is a real, almost physical implanting of the life of Christ in the believer.<sup>2</sup> This act can only be described as an infusion of the life of God, or the life of Christ, into a man: "We lie as dead men under God's Spirit, who infuseth in us the life of God..."<sup>3</sup> This infusion of the gracious Godhead into man is so radical that it must be described as a new creation:

"In the first moment of our conversion, called actus primus conversionis, we are mere patients. Because the infusion of the new heart, Ezk.36, the pouring of the Spirit of grace and supplication on the family of David, Zc.12, and of the Spirit on the thirsty ground, Is.44, is a work of creation, Eph.2; Jn.5; II Cor.4."<sup>4</sup>

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1. AS 52,53.

2. "...The act of infusion of the new heart is no moral action of God, but as it were physical, and it is a real action, received by us by no subordinate, literal action or moral apprehension of the mind or act of the will." SA 26.

3. Cat 201.

For a description of regeneration as "infusion of the life of Christ," see: Cat 199; ILG 427; SA 26.

For infusion of the new heart, see: CLO 108,124,146; CD 464.

4. CD 464.

He notes a bit further on that the word for "new creation" in Eph.2; Col.2; Ps.51 "is the same word that is used for creating heaven and earth, Gen.1; it is not like repairing a fallen house, where the same timbers and stones may do the work, or the repairing of decayed nature, where a healthy body recovereth out of a fever; grace is a rare and curious workmanship." CD 467. For other places where regeneration is called a "new creation," see CLO 146,47; ILG 246,47; SA 26; AS 52; Cf. Owen, op.cit., IV.6.35.3.

It may be noted that reformed understanding of regeneration is narrower than that implied in the two New Testament uses of the word. Rutherford, as his predecessors, uses the word soteriologically as a description of the new creation spoken of in Jn.3.



This last quotation (CD 464) points out another element always present in Rutherford's treatment of regeneration: we are passive in the activity of the Spirit's gracious creation in us.<sup>1</sup> The emphasis on passivity is to stress that salvation is all of God and that there is no work that man can do to bring about His infusion into the life of the Trinity.

"Our Divines on strong grounds, teach that the sinner is a mere patient, habet se passive in the formal moment of the Lord's infusing of a new heart, as the wilderness is passive in receiving rain, the dead man a patient in receiving influences of life, and you He quickened who were dead in trespasses and sins, the man is a passive subject under a creating power."<sup>2</sup>

All of the above descriptions of regeneration: the infusion of the life of God, the creation of a new life,

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1. Regeneration is for Rutherford something that affects the whole man. It is not simply a conversion of the intellect as for Voetius and Lodenstyn (see Stoeffler, op.cit., p.144) or of the will, as Ames (op.cit., XXVI.21). The extent of this new creation is illustrated in Rutherford's understanding of the epistemological effects of the Holy Spirit in regeneration. For him, the Spirit's activity in the mind of the believer is not limited to simply illuminating and giving meaning to existing symbols or thought forms. But the Spirit is concerned with the giving of actual revelation of new knowledge which would be impossible to reach outside of a new, supernatural activity of God. Thus while making use of existing faculties, the Spirit in infusing the life of God in us gives a knowledge of Him which is otherwise unattainable. "Love is not irrational as a fury, and a fit of madness that hath no reason but its own fire. Therefore the secrets of Christ, the deep and hidden things of His treasures, must be opened to the soul. The soul seeth new gold mines, new found-out jewels, never known to be in the world before, opened and unfolded in Christ. Here is the incomings of the beams of light inaccessible...The bosom of Christ is opened, new breathings and spirations of love that passeth knowledge, Eph.3: 19, are manifested; nor hath the eye seen nor the ear heard nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the things God hath prepared for them that love Him. I Cor.2: 9, yet they are revealed in some measure in this life." CD 363. Also ILG 165, 415; SA 320; CD 100, 404 and below on prophecy, pp.109f. and on the vision of God, pp.141f.

2. ILG 427, 428.

Also Cat 201; CD 89, 464; SA 25, 26, 159. In this last (SA 159), he quotes Luther at length as support.

the passive receiving by man, are based upon the assumption that regeneration is an integral part of the act of God in saving man. Regeneration is a continuation of the grace of God seen in Christ and as such, man's willing or doing have no place in it. Our initial ingrafting into Christ is a work of God the Spirit alone in which we have no part.<sup>1</sup>

### Faith

We may note several connecting links between faith and regeneration. Faith is a result of regeneration.<sup>2</sup>

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1. CLO 71-2; ILG 271; CD 251,497; Cat 199-201; SA 315,316; etc.

There is nothing new to Reformed theology at this point. Stoeffler notes that it was assumed among the Reformers that "it is the Spirit who initiates the process of salvation." Op.cit., p.40. Nor is this understanding of the Spirit's initial activity of grace first seen in the Reformation. Owen, in defending the concept of an "infusion of a new, real Spirit of life," quotes several of the early and later Fathers along with Davenant and Prosper. Op.cit., III.1.19. Bradwardine quotes Bede's Comm.on Jn.'s Gospel as saying: "The carnal begetting of each individual is due to the conjugal embrace, but his spiritual begetting is due to the grace of the Holy Spirit." Op.cit., I.47.

2. "Faith is a work of free grace, and must presuppose conversion and a new heart as an essential condition..." CD 102.

This is not to imply that these are independent of each other but rather that regeneration's necessary result is faith. See below, pp.68 & 76. Cf. Calvin, Insts., III.2.8.

Faith is, for Rutherford, essentially trust in a person as it was for Calvin and Ames, not merely an intellectual assent to the truth as it tended to become in Beza, Piscator and Gomarus. The first four questions of the Cat, "On Faith," p.203, demonstrate this. "Q. What is faith? A. It is an assurance of knowledge that Christ came into the world to die for sinners, and a resting and hanging upon Christ with all the heart for salvation. Q. Why call ye faith an assurance of knowledge? A. Because it is no faith, but a blind guessing to believe as the Kirk believeth when we know not what we believe. Q. Why call ye faith a leaning and a hanging upon God? A. Because it is not enough to salvation to believe that God is true to His Word. Q. How prove ye that? A. Because faith is a leaning upon God (Is.10:20, etc.) as if a sinner's a lame man who cannot stand by himself, but must lean upon Christ as his staff and hold; and a coming to Christ, as a wearied traveller to an inn where he casteth down his bag." Cf. Calvin, Insts., III.2.7 and 14f.

And both are gifts of God's grace.<sup>1</sup> Further, they are similar in that faith has its ultimate purpose in union with Christ.<sup>2</sup> They are both products of the activity of the Holy Spirit.<sup>3</sup> The similarity between faith and regeneration is so marked that at times Rutherford seems to be using them synonymously.<sup>4</sup> This is no more apparent than when he discusses faith as a condition of justification. When he speaks of faith in this respect, he shows that "condition" means a moral state of the believer rather than an obligation which must be fulfilled by his effort.

"Faith is a moral condition of life eternal, and wrought in us by the free grace of God. I never saw a contradiction between a condition wrought by irresistible grace, and the gift, or free grace of eternal life."<sup>5</sup>

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1. "We conceive the bottom of no man's faith is within himself, but the common ground and royal charter warranting all to believe in the free and moneyless offer of a precious Saviour." AS 3. Also in TT 46, we receive all by believing, except faith "which cannot be received by faith, but by a free favour and grace without us in God." Also, TT 167; Cat 203.
  2. "Faith desireth an union with Christ and a marriage union." TT 264, 247f.; CLO 161. It is a means of enjoying Christ until heaven when it shall be done away with and be replaced by possession. Let 291.
  3. In arguing against the Antinomians, he says that men "are unable to believe without the Spirit, as to pray without the Spirit." CD 246. Also SA 25. Later he quotes Calvin (Contra Anabaptistas, 23, p. 460) as using the exact words. CD 322. Cf. Insts. III.1.4 and 2.24 for similar statements.
  4. See SA 25.
  5. CD 252.

Also, "We speak not so, that the Covenant of grace demands not a condition in us; dependency includes a causality in that of which the thing has dependency, we know nothing in us, either faith, or any other thing that is the cause of the Covenant of grace, or of the fulfilling of it: a cause is one thing, a condition caused by grace is another thing." CD 471.

And: "God out of His grace which is absolutely free, works in us the condition of believing. Can God give His Son as a ransom for us upon condition that we believe, if He Himself absolutely work the condition in us? They (Socinians) will not admit this." CLO 13. See ibid., 180; AS 108.

The basic difference between regeneration and faith is best seen in their respective functions. In regeneration, the believer is made a new creature, the life of God is, as it were, put into him by the Holy Spirit and in this he is entirely passive. Conversely, in faith he is put into God. Through a Spirit-given capacity, he actively unites himself to Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup> In faith, unlike regeneration, the Christian is not passive. This distinction is perhaps best seen in Rutherford's discussion of the imputation of Christ's obedience. As we have seen, Rutherford posits a direct link between all of Christ's life and the life of the believer. This connection or union is two-fold: one, by imputation of His active and passive obedience for our justification; two, by a vital union supplied and sustained by His Spirit which is our sanctification. The term "imputation" can only apply to Christ's righteous obedience which renders us righteous and just before God so that He can be both just and the justifier of them that come to Him in Christ. This is an act of God in which man has no hand. The term "imputation" cannot apply to our understanding of faith, repentance and sanctification. For in these areas, Christ's obedience is ours by participation, not imputation. We are united effectually, permanently, and vitally to Christ's active obedience by the Holy Spirit, remaining active, conscious agents in God's movement of grace.

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1. Faith "is the hand that layeth hold upon the righteousness of Christ and draweth Christ into us." Cat 206. See below on "Justification," p.72.



"Faith is so Christ's, as the fountain and the cause, that it is ours as agents moved and acted by Christ. Hence it is soul error to say, that there is no inherent righteousness in the saints, and no grace in the souls of believers, but in Christ only."<sup>1</sup>

Elsewhere:

"It is a curious and an unedifying question to search out whether faith be active or passive in receiving Christ's imputed righteousness. Though if he speak of actual believing, to call it passive is an/unproper speech, 1.) We hold that tò credere(sic), to believe is not imputed, as our righteousness, which is Socinianism. 2.) That for the dignity, worth and merit of faith, Christ's righteousness is not imputed to us; and therefore neither we nor Scripture before us, saith we are justified for faith, but by faith."<sup>2</sup>

#### 1. TT 276-77.

The rest of the paragraph reads as follows: "There is water, even the Spirit poured on dry ground, Is. 44, God's Spirit put within us, Ezk. 36, the Spirit of grace and supplication poured on the house of David, Zec. 12, a well within the saints springing up to everlasting life, Jn. 4, the Father and the Son, through the operation of grace, take up house in them, Jn. 14. Such a new stock and plant of Heaven set in them, as they have the anointing dwelling in them, I Jn. 3. Unfained faith dwelling in Timothy, II Tim. 1, grace in them as fire under ashes, II Tim. 1, a new divine nature, II Pet. 1, an inward man, II Cor. 4, Col. 1, Christ in you the hope of glory. Nor are the faculties destroyed as some say as if the Holy Ghost should come instead of these; for Christ taketh down the old work and maketh a new building for Himself, but the stones are ours, the soul remaining in its powers and operations, the understanding and will remain but opened, Lk. 24; Jn. 21(etc.)...Hence we are agents...if we by grace were no agents in these but mere patients and Christ and the Holy Ghost be only immediate agents, in the omitting of believing, praying, praising, hearing; in not doing all our natural and civil actions for God, and in a spiritual way, yea, and in our forbearing to murder, whore, blaspheme, etc., --for by the grace of Christ the saints abstain from sin, all these wretched acts were to be imputed to the grace of Christ and the Holy Ghost which is blasphemy and a flat turning of the grace of God into wantonness." TT 276-77.

#### 2. AS 113.

Thus "our having the same flesh and nature that Christ had makes us not victors, but our faith which overcomes the world." SA 295.

In CD, pp.77-80, he discusses this confusion of justification and sanctification while commenting on this passage from Robert Towne's Assertion of Grace: "Christ not only repenteth in us, but for us, Christ obeyed for us, and is the end of the Law to every one that believeth."<sup>1</sup> Rutherford's response is too long to be repeated in full, but abbreviated it reads as follows:

"If the meaning be, that Christ by His grace worketh in us repentance and new obedience, and mortification, and the change of the whole man; it's a good and sound sense...to see all these wrought by Christ as the efficient and meritorious cause, and to ascribe them to the Spirit of Jesus...But I fear the sense of this...be far otherwise, to wit, that Christ's obedience of the Law, He being the end of the Law, as also His passive obedience is ours. If this be the sense, then all our sanctification is nothing but the sanctification and holy active obedience of Christ...Christ's active obedience imputed to the sinner can be no evidence of justification, because it is in Christ, not in me; any work or evidence of justification must be inherent in the believer not in Christ. And one and the same thing cannot be a mark and a sign of itself. Now the active obedience of Christ imputed to the sinner is holden to be a part of justification.

"...The Scripture maketh Christ and justification the cause, and sanctification and the new creature the effect; and this(Towne's statement)assertation maketh sanctification, as formally distinguished from Christ, and justification as, just nothing."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Towne, p.32; Rutherford, CD 78.

Towne's book was published in 1644 and immediately branded Antinomian by several including Rutherford who devoted a large part of TT(1645) and CD(1647) to its refutation. Towne, an English Nonconformist, published his Vindiciae Evangelii(1654) as an "Answer to Rutherford."

2. CD 78-9.

We shall return to this problem shortly under the discussion of "Antinomianism," p.82.

## Repentance

Faith is the natural, unavoidable result of the regenerating implantation of the life of God in the believer. Repentance is also a direct fruit of this united activity of the Holy Spirit.<sup>1</sup> Much of what we have already said about the source of faith could therefore be said regarding the beginnings of repentance. It is directly linked to Christ's ministry on our behalf.<sup>2</sup> And it is associated directly with the life of the Holy Spirit in man.<sup>3</sup>

Although both faith and repentance are results of the activity of the Holy Spirit, they must be carefully distinguished. Repentance is never to be understood as prior

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1. The keenness with which Rutherford felt this can be seen in his castigation of Mr. Richard Baxter who taught that repentance had to precede belief in Christ and knowledge of pardon. "This is," says Rutherford, "to bid men keep a distance from holy Jesus and not come at Him or touch Him by faith...until they be holy and righteous... This is to bring in an inherent physical pardoning and justification by works; the Scripture knoweth not any justification but one, and that is through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus." ILG 97-8. Also ILG 346-49. The references in Baxter are: Aphorisms, "Appendix," p. 260; Confessions, V. 1.6, p. 101.

Before reading Baxter, Rutherford had said: "Not any Protestant ever taught that evangelical repentance is a previous preparation to conversion." CD 244, (1647). However, several Independents of the period were writing that a sense of sin is a prerequisite of conversion. See:

Joseph Alleine: Alarm to Unconverted Souls, 1673.

Rogers of Deadham, The Doctrine of Faith, 1629.

Thomas Shepard, The Sincere Convert...The Great Difficulty of Saving Conversion, 1641.

Thomas Hooker, The Souls Preparation of Christ, 1632.

2. "As also godly sorrow for sin (is) a special work of the Spirit, and princely and kingly gift of His Spirit who was raised from the dead to act this sorrow in us." ILG 418.

3. "Q. What is repentance?

"A. Godly sorrow for sin wrought in us by the Holy Spirit. (Zc. 12; II Cor. 7; Acts 5...etc.) Cat 202.

It is "the Spirit of grace that causeth sorrow according to God, and repentance which is never to be repented of," CD 507. Also ILG 420; CLO 143; AS 33.

to faith nor is it to be considered a moral condition of justification as is faith.<sup>1</sup>

### Justification

In terms of pneumatology, our discussion of justification differs from other aspects of the application of salvation in that unlike regeneration, faith, repentance and, as we shall see, sanctification, there is in justification no work of the Spirit in us and upon us.<sup>2</sup> Rather, we are here referring to grace as once again the free love of God toward us. The reason justification is included here is because of its direct relationship to faith.<sup>3</sup>

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1. "We are justified by faith never by repentance." AS 36. "We are justified by faith, not by repentance. We receive Christ by faith, Jn. 11. He dwelleth in our hearts by faith, Eph. 3; We live by faith, Hab. 2; none of these can be said of repentance." AS 107. Also CD 272; TT 106-08.

2. Rutherford, as Calvin and most other Reformers, while stressing the unity of the activity of God in justification and sanctification, carefully distinguished the two, as opposed to Augustine's understanding of justification in terms of sanctification: to make, rather than to declare, righteous. See Calvin, Insts., III. 11, 5-15. The point being that justification is not dependent upon something that happens in us, our being made righteous, or infused with righteousness, but something which is imputed to us on the basis of Christ's obedience: our being declared righteous in Christ.

"It is most unsound to assume that justification and regeneration are all one, for this must confound all acts flowing from justification with those that flow from regeneration or the infused habit of sanctification. 1.) Justification is an individual act; the person is but once for all justified by grace. But sanctification is a continued daily act. 2.) Justification doth not grow; the sinner is either freed from guilt of sin and justified or not freed; there is not a third. But in sanctification we are said to grow in grace, II Pet. 3, and advance in sanctification. Nor is it ever consummate and perfect, so long as we bear about a body of sin." CD 271-72. Also AS 19, 64.

3. In the words of Scripture, we are justified "by faith" or "through faith" or "upon faith," see Rom. 1:17; 3:22, 25-28, 30; 4:3, 5, 16; 5:1; Gal. 2:16; 3:8; 5:4; Php. 3:9, etc.



There are, of course, several different levels on which one may consider justification.<sup>1</sup> But we are interested here in uncovering Rutherford's basic understanding of this doctrine as it relates to the faith which the Spirit brings about in the believer. The fact that faith is, as we have seen, a gift of God, proves that we are not justified for or on the basis of our faith.<sup>2</sup> From the point of view of God's eternal love, His children "are justified and freed from their sins long ere they believe..."<sup>3</sup> However, we are not bid to look at justification, in the mind of God. For justification, as creation or incarnation, must take place in time if it is to have meaning for us.

"We hold against Antinomians that we are never justified till we believe. They say 'from eternity we were justified or from the time the Messiah dies, all sins were finished and we justified,'

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1. 1.) "We are justified in Christ virtually, as in the public Head, when He rose again and was justified in the Spirit. 2.) In Christ, as His merits are the cause of our justification. 3.) In Christ, apprehended by faith, formally, and in the Scripture's sense, in the Epistle to the Romans and Galatians; not that faith is the formal cause, or any merit in justification, but because it lays hold on imputed righteousness which is the formal cause of our justification. 4.) We are justified in our own sense and feeling, not by faith simply, but as we know that we believe whether this knowledge result from the light of faith, or from signs, as the means of our knowledge." CD 253. Also TT 160f.

2. "Q. Doth not God justify us for our faith, or is faith any cause or instrument upon God's part?

"A. None at all..." Cat 206.

"Q. Why are we commanded in the Word to believe, to repent, to be holy, but are never commanded to be justified?

"A. Because God only and wholly, without any work in us, justifieth us for His dear Son's sake." Cat 207. And: "All these (afore mentioned Scriptures) include not only inherent holiness, but imputed righteousness, and both have their rise in time, but can never prove that our time excellency, whether imputed or inherent is the cause, condition, reason, merit, or ground of the Lord's eternal, immanent, and unchangeable love." AS 22. Also TT 167; CLO 231f.

3. Cat 206.

or from our birth. But justification in God's decree and purpose from eternity, is no more justification than creation, sanctification, glorification, the crucifying of Christ, and all things that fall out in time; for all these were in the eternal purpose of God. 2.) In justification, our sins are, in their guilt, fully done away...if all this were done from eternity, believers were never sinners, never children of wrath, really as Paul saith, never dead in sins, never enemies of God, or ungodly: they were only such in a mental condition."<sup>1</sup>

# 1. AS 19.

The assumption is that original sin is a positive evil separating each and every individual from God until that sin is dealt with in each individual by the appropriation of Christ's imputed righteousness through the means of God-given faith.

It may be helpful to note Rutherford's understanding of reconciliation at this point. "There is no ground for two reconciliations in Scripture, one, of man's reconciliation to God and another of God's reconciliation to man. 1.) Because we read that man is reconciled to God, Rom.5; II Cor. 5; Col.1; Eph.2. Man is the enemy, whereas in Adam he was the friend and in Christ the Second Adam he is made a friend; but that God is reconciled to man or changed toward His elect from an enemy and a God that hateth their persons into a friend and a lover of them, I never read; if at any time, God be said to be comforted toward His people, or eased, these are borrowed speeches. 2.) Love of election, yea, the love that putteth God on work to redeem, call, justify, sanctify, the elect is no love bought with hire; yea the price of redemption, which Christ gave for sinners, cannot woodset against love...In a word, the shed blood of Christ is an effect, not a cause of infinite love. 3.) What then, doth reconciliation place any new thing in God? No; doth it turn Him from an hater to a lover? No. Reconciliation active, on the Lord's part, is a change of His outward dispensation, not His inward affections. Fury is not in me, He saith Himself. Is.27:4." TT 301-02.

It is presupposed that holiness is so essential to God that sin in man automatically alienates him from God. Although God is not obliged to punish sin by any necessity of justice, for this would be a limitation of His freedom (CLO 24-5,32) and prevent His providing a Saviour for men; yet He freely subjects Himself to the demands of justice. By Christ's death on the cross, God overcomes man's alienation in a substitutionary way, fulfilling the requirements of justice which kept man unreconciled to God. But this death is not the first cause of that reconciliation. God's eternal love is the source of all salvation. See above, pp. 54-5.

To Rutherford, this justification meant a definite change of state before God which takes place in time. For every believer there was separation from God and there is now union with God. There was a time in each individual when Christ's righteousness was not imputed to him and then a time when that righteousness was given him. There was a time when sin was counted against him and a time when, for Christ's sake, that sin was no longer reckoned to be his.

"Yea, clearly before God, there is an excellent change in the state of the saints, from ungodliness to justification, so as they were not from eternity, nor before they believed, justified and godly, 1.) because the Lord saith, in time past the Gentiles were no people and obtained no mercy, and now are a people and have obtained mercy. I Pet. 2. Jerusalem was once polluted in her own blood, and the Lord looked on her so, and He washed her and adorned her. 2.) The apostle was once to God a blasphemer, a persecuter, and God saw him so, else neither was the apostle so, nor could he speak the truth in saying so, but he obtained mercy. So in other Scriptures (Eph.2 and 4; II Tim.1) a most real change is holden forth, and that in God's eye."<sup>1</sup>

Although faith is not the cause of this change of state before God, it is His instrument. And there is no justification without faith.

"Now if we be justified before we believe, we should have a union by a

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1. AS 22-3.

In TT 293-301 under the heading "Our Believing and Conversion to God doth Alter and Change our State Before God," he presents essentially the same argument in greater detail, with forty-five separate passages of Scripture exegeted to establish the argument. Also, TT 59-61, 162; AS 34-5, 130.

vital act of faith, before we be justified, and so we should live before we live, and be new creatures, while we are yet in the state of sin."<sup>1</sup>

The emphasis which Rutherford puts on the necessity of justification by faith reveals the reality of the life of sin and alienation from which Christ has redeemed us. This necessity is based on the unity of God's saving act. He never regenerates without giving faith, he never sanctifies without justifying, never justifies without regenerating, etc.<sup>2</sup> There is never any place where this necessity is presented in a way which might imply that faith were some work which we did to cause God to love us. Every discussion of justifying faith makes it abundantly clear that this is a gift of God brought about in us by the Holy Spirit.

### Sanctification

In our discussion of sanctification, the gradual dying to sin and coming alive to God, we return to the "subjective" aspect of grace: God's activity in and upon

#### 1. TT 60.

This occurs at the end of a section beginning on p.59 with the words: "We cannot be justified before we believe." Also, CLO 246-47; AS 110-11; SA 118; CD 101. Cf. Calvin, Insts., III.11.14.

2. The time element involved here has to do with time relative to historical regeneration rather than time as considered in the overall application of salvation. In other words, Rutherford argues, we are not personally justified without our involvement. We were not justified before we were born or before we believed. When Rutherford shows the progression of events in the application of salvation or what happens when the spirit unites us to Christ, he stresses that we are regenerated, we believe, and we are justified all at the same moment. AS 11-12f. Cf. Calvin, Insts., III.2.8; 3.21; 16.1.



us applying the salvation given to us in Christ.<sup>1</sup> What we see in sanctification is not just the activity of man living a virtuous life by his own effort.<sup>2</sup> Nor, on the other hand, is it the activity of perfected or sinless men.<sup>3</sup> What we do see in sanctification is a necessary two-fold activity of the Holy Spirit working in us so that we become more and more dead to sin and alive unto Christ.<sup>4</sup> "The Law of the Spirit of life is indeed the

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1. So-called "positional" sanctification, a term which Rutherford does not use, is for him regeneration and it is in this respect that he uses the term synonymously. See above, p.62, f.n.1. Rutherford knows nothing of sanctification as a "second blessing," although he does describe a new "fullness" of the Spirit which can be experienced many times after conversion. ILG 179. His piety is based on this assumption; see below, "The Spirit and Piety," p.121.

2. In AS 223-25, Rutherford shows: "Wherein our Divinity touching sanctification agreeth with moral philosophy in acts of moral virtue and wherein not." The similarities are: 1.)Both are arrived at by learning. 2.)Both result in moral reformation of life. 3.)Both increase by exercise. The differences arise in that Christian ethical behavior takes its rise from the infusion of "a new heart, a new Spirit," and habits "being from heaven and infused by the Spirit of grace." Also SA 104; Cat 202; Let 225.

3. "Never any of our Divines said that pure mortification is the not acting of sin, or the not conceiving of lusts; nor that it is the mere absence of the body of sin." CD 512. "Antinomians cannot endure that we say that sanctification is imperfect in this life..." TT 155.

4. This is necessary in the sense that faith and good works are necessary; not as conditional to salvation but as conditions of the saved.

"Sanctification conferreth no meritorious capacity and fitness for salvation, therefore it cannot add any higher degree of fitness above that which sinners have from the merits of Christ." AS 64. But against Antinomians he argues the necessity of works of sanctification using Luther's distinction between necessitate medii and precepti (AS 62) and Calvin's use of the term "inferior causes of the possession of salvation" CLO 154. He makes frequent use of this illustration: "a man's journeying on foot or horse to a city or a kingdom to inherit it, is the way, condition of his entering the city; but it is not his charter, or law, title or right to enjoy the crown as his inheritance." AS 63. Also CD 251. Necessity is here again built upon the unity of God's activity in salvation.

indwelling Spirit of sanctification, mortifying the lusts of the flesh."<sup>1</sup>

This mortification and its positive counterpart, vivification is, as all the applicatory work of the Spirit, built upon our union with the life and death of Jesus Christ.

"Hence, from our being crucified with Christ crucified, something is to be said in a practical way of our mortification; for mortification flows originally from Christ's death, we being crucified in Him and with Him."<sup>2</sup>

And a paragraph further on he says:

"Christ dying doth merit by blood the Spirit and infused grace which deadens the whole life of sin...infusing the life of God, Christ applies the real principle of mortification."<sup>3</sup>

The emphasis Rutherford puts on sanctification as stemming from the infusion of the life of God avoids, once again, the Antinomian error of uniting sanctification with imputed justification and negating man's agency in holiness.

"Mortification is not as Mr.Denn saith:'an apprehension of sin slain by the body of Christ: because this apprehension is an act of faith, in the understanding faculty, believing that Christ has mortified sin for me,' and so Mr.Denn saith:'vivification is to live by faith, that is to believe that I am justified and have life and righteousness freely in Christ.' Now mortification is not formally any such apprehension, it doth flow from faith as

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1. SA 336.

2. CLO 261.

3. Ibid., p.262.

Christ also supplies us with the pattern for our sanctification: "From Christ's dying we learn to die to sin and live to Him that died for us." CD 547.

the effect from the cause. But mortification denominates the man mortified not in his apprehending and knowing that Christ was mortified and died for him, but that he really himself is dead.

"...The Scripture holds forth a real and physical and personal mortification inherent in us, and saith nothing of the purative or apprehensive mortification in Christ."<sup>1</sup>

This emphasis on the Spirit's work in faith as a real activity in which man has a part avoids the Antinomian error of human irresponsibility. It likewise counters the Arminian contention that sanctification is a work begun and sustained by mere human effort.<sup>2</sup>

Whereas the term mortification appears quite regularly throughout Rutherford, he uses vivification very rarely. The concept is more often expressed under its English equivalent, "quickenings."<sup>3</sup> Or more frequently, as positive or true mortification, which is a growing awareness of God through the infused life of Christ.<sup>4</sup>

Rutherford's attitude toward the world and earthly pleasures, which he even describes as hatred,

("Ye will find in Christianity, that God aimeth, in all His dealings with His children, to bring them to a high contempt of and deadly feud with the world, and so set a high price upon Christ..."<sup>5</sup>)

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1. CD 508-9.

2. See below, "Arminianism," p.85.

3. Cat 201-2.

4. AS 341.

In this place, he makes the point that there is nothing "Christian" about abstinence from sin or hatred of the world as these can be seen in many pagans. But a growing awareness and love of God in Christ can only come from the Spirit, and it is a peculiarly Christian phenomenon.

5. Let 20. Also see CD 494; Let 223.

stems not from a Platonic sense of evil in nature, but a fear lest the world or anything created should take the place of the Creator. This fear of idolatry includes not only the physical world but extends even to manifestations of God's love and tokens of Christ's presence in this life, which, though profitable, may because of their reality, become hindrances to faith in the sense that one might turn from a love of Christ to a love of His benefits or gifts.<sup>1</sup>

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1. In a long yet beautifully portrayed list of 27 things to which we must be mortified, Rutherford includes the following, which reveal not only his devotion to the Person of Christ but also a bit of his "experience" of God.

"21.) It were good to pray much and be dead to prayer. One of the main causes why we cry and pray much and are not heard is because that which is proper to God the hearer of prayer, to wit, confidence and hope, we give to prayer which is not God...

"22.) How many fetch peace, pardon and righteousness not from Christ, but from their act of believing?...

"23.) We fail in being more alive to comforts than to God the Comforter...and shall feelings and raptures, and manifestations of God in His out-goings be courted and over courted by us beyond the God of comforts?...

"24.) And nothing can be more contrary to a living the noble and sure life of continual dependence by faith on the given leader of the people, Jesus Christ, than to trust in habits of grace, they are not Christ...

"25.) Who is that mortified as to be dead to the created sweetness of joy, and the right hand of pleasures of God, and the formal beatitude of glory, and alive to the only pure objective happiness of glory? And yet that is mortification, to love...heaven not for the pleasures of the Garden and the Tree of Life and the River of Water of life but for only God. And therefore we cannot be alive to pure and the only abstracted and unmixed Godhead, except we be dead to Heaven...

"27. We must also be dead to the rays, out-shinings and manifestations of God to the soul here, and must trans-charge God in all presence and all love-embraces, and no more. But be dead to the house of wine, to the lifted up banner of love, the love kisses of Christ, the love-banquets, and to the felt lying as the Beloved all the night between the breasts. For these nearest communications are not God Himself." CLO 279-81. Also, Ibid., 263-65; Let 249, 335.



## GRACE CONTROVERSIES

The soteriology of grace which we just outlined in Rutherford has as its keystone the fact that it is God and God alone who saves man. The bulk of Rutherford's life and writing was devoted to the defense of this concept. His early expulsion from the ministry and banishment to Aberdeen was the result of this defense.<sup>1</sup> Not one of his books is free from the sometimes tedious skirmishes of this constant battle. A thorough treatment of this controversy is beyond the scope of this work.<sup>2</sup> Thus we limit ourselves to a brief description of the difficulties as Rutherford saw them in order to appreciate in a general way the context in which he developed his pneumatology.

From at least the time of the Galatian Epistle of St. Paul, the doctrine of grace has been set in juxtaposition to an understanding of man's effort and will as the means of salvation. In Rutherford's period, the discussion of free will was open to the two extreme interpretations of Antinomianism and Arminianism. The former saw man's will

1. The immediate cause was the publication in Amsterdam of Apologeticae Pro Divina Gratia, where he attempted to expose the Pelagianism implicit in the then-popular Arminian theology. Although he makes extensive use of all of the Scriptures, many of the Fathers, the more orthodox Schoolmen, and most of the Reformers, the names that appear most frequently are: St. Paul, St. Augustine and J. Calvin. As a type of Arminian theology held sway at that time in the established Church, this work soon aroused the ire of the Scottish bishops against him.

2. Any adequate appreciation of Rutherford here could not be had without not only a thorough exposition of his Reformation heritage in this respect, but also of the Molinian Controversy as the Roman Catholic counterpart of the problem, with which Rutherford was intimately involved. It would also require a thorough survey of his doctrines of election, sin and the atonement.

as so united to the accomplished work of Jesus Christ as to be subsumed and eliminated in Him.<sup>1</sup> The latter, at the opposite pole, stressed man's work or cooperation in salvation to the point of denying God's power to save whom He will.<sup>2</sup>

### Antinomianism

Antinomian error revolved around the doctrine of sanctification. Rather than viewing sanctification as an activity of the Spirit in and upon the believer implanting Christ's life and power as a vital force in his own ethical activity toward God, they understood this union to be one exclusively of imputation. This led to several errors. The most widespread was a disregard for personal obedience and holiness in ethical relationships to God and man. It was argued that since Christ's active obedience had been imputed to the believer, he need no longer obey, as his obedience had already been perfectly accomplished by his faith in Christ's having done all for him.<sup>3</sup>

1. It was fortunate that this doctrine was often substantiated by an expressed pneumatology, as much of what is to be learned from Rutherford's doctrine of the Spirit comes as a clarification of the extremism which he found in the Antinomians. Rather than abandoning areas of his position most open to misunderstanding such as the sensual experience of God, he goes to great pains to formulate an orthodox doctrine.

2. CD 264.

The later Arminians and Socinians combined with their Pelagianism a universalist doctrine of the atonement reminiscent of Georgius of Sicily in his debates with Calvin. See Calvin's De Aeterna Praedestinatione Dei, chap. IX.4,5.

3. In its most extreme form, this imputed perfection was interpreted as deification; the believer being "Christed in Christ" by His Spirit who dwelt personally in him by faith. This doctrine included a concept of complete "active and passive annihilation" of man's will after being indwelt by the Holy Spirit. Some of the documents are quoted at length in CD 345f.

Rutherford's response was based upon the denial of Christ's obedience being imputed in areas of sanctification.<sup>1</sup> "It is false that we are freed from active obedience to the Moral Law, because Christ came under active obedience to the Moral Law."<sup>2</sup> In arguing against the deification of men by the indwelling of the Spirit, Rutherford uses Christ's humanity as the example of that which, while full of the Holy Spirit without measure, remains nevertheless entirely human. Christ is truly man, even after the resurrection. As a man He receives glory and sits at the right hand of the Father, thus proving that uncreated glory can dwell in creaturely humanity without changing it into the essence of God.<sup>3</sup>

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1. It is only in justification that Christ's active and passive obedience are imputed to us. And here, both are necessarily imputed or we could not be redeemed. CLO 226-30 and above, pp. 72f. He explains the Antinomian error as a confusion of justification and sanctification in AS 46-7; 63-4.

2. CD 275.

"The suffering of another, as of the man Christ, may well stand for what we should have suffered, but cannot remove the inherent blot of sin, and remove fundamental guiltiness ... it is impossible that the active obedience of Christ can make us actively and inherently righteous or restore us to our lost innocence." CLO 236, 246f.

Rutherford is countering an argument similar to Osiander's who taught that we are justified because God's righteousness is infused into us rather than forensically on the basis of Christ's obedience. See Calvin, Insts., III.11.5-13.

3. SA 18; CD 467.

This is based upon a typically Reformed understanding of the communication of attributes in the hypostatic union which denies the genus majestaticum: Christ's human nature is not adorned with the divine elements of omnipresence, omnipotence, and omniscience, etc. because of His union with deity.

Rutherford's other arguments against deification are limited to pointing out the errors of logic in his opponents' presentation. They confuse: the Word preached with the Word indwelling and justification with sanctification. See SA 58f., 175f. and above, p. 72.

In answering the notion of perfectionism, he not only stresses the doctrinal confusions just mentioned but also makes the practical observation that none are perfected in this life. CD 341-2; Let 3, 249. He quotes Luther, SA 123f. and Calvin, CD 322f. as support.

Rutherford is particularly anxious to defend the propriety of works of sanctification because he sees these good works in the Christian as a product of the presence of the Holy Spirit in him. And as such, sanctification is an evidence of the believer's union with Christ.<sup>1</sup>

### Arminianism

If the Antinomian error revolved around the doctrine of sanctification and the reality of God's activity of grace in us and upon us, the Arminian error challenged God's grace as His free love toward us.<sup>2</sup> Rutherford saw a challenge to grace in the Arminian/Jesuit interpretation of election as the mere fore-knowing of God rather

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1. AS 45,79; SA 153; Serm.Com., p.36; and below, "Assurance," p.148.

In Roman Catholicism, the blurring of the distinction between justification and sanctification led to an understanding of the former as a process of making the sinner into a saint by the infusion of grace. (See Torrance, Report on Baptism, op.cit., pp.641f.) The result was, as Luther experienced, that no man could have absolute assurance of his right standing before God. The problem was carried to its opposite extreme in the Antinomians because in carrying the identification of justification and sanctification to its logical conclusion, they replace the error of salvation by works with that of abrogating works completely. In so doing, they made the question of assurance, and to a certain extent the reality of God's immanent presence, irrelevant.

2. The doctrines put forward by the Protestant followers of Arminius, Episcopus and Socinius and the Roman Catholics Suarez, Vasquez, Molina, Less, Fonseca and Bellarmine were, unlike the Antinomian heresies, full-blown theological systems. As such, they received detailed treatment by Rutherford in all their aspects. Witness: Disputatio Scholastica de Divina Providentia, a 620-page discourse proving that God can be source of all secondary causes and not be the author of sin.

Until Rutherford became familiar with the writings of Cornelius Jansen, who is first cited in his last work, ILG (1659), he had defended the Dominican party as the orthodox one in the Molinian Controversy. After reading Jansen's criticism of the Dominican Cumel, he seems to have given his full support to Jansen and his party. See ILG 364f.



than of His actual predisposing of events. For if salvation were dependent not upon the Spirit's actual regenerating work ingrafting us into the completed work of Christ and the life of the Trinity, but rather dependent upon our choice of what we would do with the grace offered us in Christ, a choice which God, looking into history, foresaw that we should make, then salvation is something ultimately left in the hands of man and not of God. Salvation is of man's effort rather than God's gift.<sup>1</sup> In this understanding of election, grace becomes nothing more than a gracious offer based upon something Christ did, not an accomplished fact of redemption complete in Him. Faith, interpreted as man's act of believing apart from divine assistance, ultimately must become equal to or greater than Christ in our salvation.<sup>2</sup>

In answer to these challenges to free mercy, Rutherford presented the doctrine of salvation which we have already outlined in this chapter. The entire work of the redemption of man is based upon God's activity of free love in Christ.<sup>3</sup> Before their creation, God's children are elected to a union with Christ based upon His mission of grace on their behalf and brought to personal consummation in them via the free activity of His Holy

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1. It is true that Suarez enlarged the concept of foreknowledge to include an actual extention of help on God's part to the believer, based upon His foreseen choosing of Christ. But it remained that the ultimate responsibility for "having" or exercising initial faith was man's and not God working in man.

2. CLO 11f.; ILG 330-31.

3. CD 262.

Spirit.<sup>1</sup> Reconciliation, justification and regeneration are part of that one, eternal election of grace and man's free will has no part in any of them.<sup>2</sup> Faith, repentance, and sanctification are part of that same continuous and united act of free grace wrought in the sons of God by the Holy Spirit, working in men to will and to do His good pleasure. What man does here is no cause of his salvation, but is merely the necessary result of his being indwelt by the Spirit in correspondance to his eternal election in Christ unto salvation.

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1. Because God hath chosen us in Christ before the foundation of the world (Eph.1:4), Rutherford cannot understand union with Christ separated from God's eternal, electing love. For him, a division of the two or denial of either would result in the undermining of both. Election, apart from union with Christ, would be an impossible negation of the necessity of Christ's incarnation and death. Union apart from eternal, electing love would either, on the one hand, universalise the concept of union to the point of rendering regeneration and sanctification meaningless, contrary to Scripture and to experience, or, on the other hand, throw the responsibility of union to man's willing and working. It was this last, a picture of union with Christ which results from man's act of faith, against which Rutherford formulated most of his theology. AS 23-4; TT 231f.

2. PDG 436-37.

## CHAPTER FOUR: THE SPIRIT IN THE WORLD AND THE CHURCH

The theological concepts we have just surveyed in Rutherford were for him not only presuppositions of a system of soteriology structured to counter the opponents of orthodoxy. They were also the very backbone of a life of practical devotion to Christ which gave meaning to the existence of all creation and gave particular guidance to the life of every believer.

### PNEUMATOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY

Toward the end of his life, he regretted the fact that few had attempted to write a "practical divinity" incorporating the foregoing understanding of grace and the Spirit's immanent activity. In the preface of CLO(1655), he promised to write such a book and in 1659, a year before his death, his last book, Influences of the Life of Grace, appeared. In it he describes the implications of God's immanent, sovereign, personal influence sustaining and directing all of creation. As we consider in greater detail his doctrine of the Holy Spirit and union with Christ in this life, we shall adapt ourselves to Rutherford's constructions in ILG as the last and best expression of his doctrine. We turn first to the source of divine influences, their universality, some of the problems raised by the theory and, in order to particularise the concept, we then examine the Spirit's ministry in the Church. In the last chapter, we turn to the influences of the Holy Spirit on the life of the individual.

#### Source of Influences

Rutherford's exposition of the source of divine

influences is conscientiously Trinitarian.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Father is seen as the source of influences, in the first instance because He gives "fulness of influences to the man Christ" who then, as the God-man, mediates all of these to creation. The Father is the source of influences in the second instance because He is the cause of drawing men to Christ. The Spirit is also seen as the source of influences because He it is who actively fulfills God's purposes in creation. These soteriological purposes are Christological. Prior to Christ, the Spirit is the testimony of what shall come.<sup>2</sup> In Christ, He is the source and vital influence of the Lord's life and after the ascension, He is the One sent by Christ to accomplish the Trinity's ongoing ministry.

"Now as touching the Author of influences, that we may come more particularly to the supernaturalness of influences, we know the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit are all in the Scripture said to act on the soul, in a gracious way. It shall not be needful to speak much of the Father's influences upon the man Christ in sending and bestowing the Spirit and the anointing above His fellows upon Him: in a personal union upon the man Christ in

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1. Although this can be seen in all of his discussions on the subject, this Trinitarian structure is enumerated in detail in Part 2, chaps. 5, 6 of ILG, pp. 156-74. The basic approach is the same as the one we saw in his formulation of the doctrine of salvation. Cf. above, p. 31.

2. Only in a few instances does Rutherford speak, and then cursorily, of the relationship of the Spirit's ministry in the Old Testament to the New. There is not enough material to warrant separate treatment. We only note that he sees the Spirit's work in both dispensations as essentially the same, i.e., revealing Christ. In that respect, His activities are but quantitatively increased after Pentecost. See AS 15-6. Cf. AS 237; CLO 214. Owen, op.cit., Bk. II, chap. 1 treats the Spirit in the Old Testament in great detail.



filling Him with the Holy Ghost from the womb."<sup>1</sup>

The Father's second operation of sovereign interaction with creation is seen in His calling men effectually to Christ.

"The Father's drawing sinners to Christ, Jn. 6:41, the Father's teaching men, and causing them to hear the learning of the Father, Jn. 6:45, holds forth the influences of the Father upon sinners. Christ's word is remarkable, Jn. 15:1, 'My Father is the husbandman.' When Christ's Father plows the sinner, and breaks up the fallow ground of the heart, there must be influences there, for then is the Father fitting the soul for Christ."<sup>2</sup>

It is the Father who sends the Redeemer, equips Him for His ministry and draws men to Him. But when we speak of the theology of the influences of the life of grace, we are examining the method and activity of God and therefore, it is "influences of the Spirit that are mainly here to be eyed."<sup>3</sup> While the discussion of God's immanent activity in the world after Christ's ascension is a pneumatological one, nevertheless Rutherford is constantly reminding us of the fact that the Spirit's ministry finds

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1. ILG 159.

In the following paragraph, some of the supernatural influences from the Father exercised in Christ by the Spirit are enumerated. They include His "preaching with authority," His disputing with the doctors in the Temple when He was but twelve years of age, "His mighty miracles of all sorts," "His strength against devils, healing all manner of diseases instantly without medicine, in raising the dead, rebuking the sea, multiplying the loaves, blasting the fig tree, "His praying, preaching, His mortified walk, His sinlessness, His fasting, His obedience and delight in God, etc. ILG 159-60.

2. Ibid., p.160.

The role of the Father in drawing men to Christ is several times linked with the doctrine of election. Thus He can say in one place, "The Lord's saving influences go along with His free decree of election." ILG 116. Also, Ibid., pp.38f.

its beginning and purpose in the mission of Christ.

"Q. What then is the fountain cause of gracious influences and breathings of the Spirit?

"A. Sure, Jesus Christ must be the meritorious and the fountain cause of such influences."<sup>1</sup>

Just as in the discussion of grace, the Christian man is to look to Christ when seeking the source of this expression of God's love toward creation.

"Christ is made the new great Lord, Factor, and public Agent for His Church, to rule all for their good and salvation; and heaven, and earth, and the world, and life and death, and things present and things to come are put over into Christ's hand."<sup>2</sup>

The Christian is reminded that although it is the Spirit who is directly acting in and upon him, "all the promises are in Christ" and when the believer asks for gracious influences from God he does not pray to the Spirit, "but we ask all which we ask in Christ's name."<sup>3</sup>

1. ILG 10.

Also: the giving of the Spirit is "a fruit" of Christ's ascension and triumph. ILG 208,233. For the relationship of the Spirit's coming to Christ's offices of Prophet, Priest and King, Ibid., pp.162f. For Christ's use of the Spirit and Scripture, Ibid., p.256. Also much relevant material above, "Christ and the Spirit," p.31.

2. The quotation continues: "The morrow, the next year's deliverance, the believer's out-going in death, are all made over to Christ. And then, in Christ, all things are ours, I Cor.3:21 and the watering of my witheredness, and the quickening of my deadness, hic & nunc, in this same moment of time is first Christ's and I get it seasonably from Him in a better time and way than according to my time and way. Ibid., 206.

3. Ibid., p.13.

Much of the material showing the necessity of the activity of the Spirit and His relationship to the work of Christ has already been discussed in the sections relating to "Christ and the Spirit," p.31 and "The Spirit and Grace," pp.58f. While many of the sentiments there expressed could be repeated in the specific terminology of the "theology of influences," such an exercise would be extraneous, as the footnotes under the relevant topics already contain all appropriate passages cited by Rutherford in ILG.

### Influences Defined

For Rutherford, all of creation is indebted to the personal influences of God not only for its existence, but also for its continued being and activity.<sup>1</sup>

"Influences are acts of God concurring with created causes under him, and a sort of continued creation; as God of nothing makes all things, so in His providence He gives a day to all borrowed beings, in their being preserved by Him, and they are the Lord's debtors in being acted by Him,

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1. The relationship between the terms "grace of God" and "influence of God" is one which is difficult to distinguish precisely. Rutherford never defines the two in relationship to one another. They have much in common. Christ is the source, goal and key to the understanding of both. The Holy Spirit is the agent in the "communication" of both. Much of the language used to describe them is the same. Generally speaking, however, the term "influences of God" has a wider reference than the term "grace." Except for a few isolated places where grace is used to designate a renewal of cosmic proportions (see above, p. 56), it is used almost exclusively soteriologically. Influences, on the other hand, cover a much wider spectrum of God's activity. Under this term he speaks of God's work in nature, in man, in the Church, in soteriology, in revelation, in the entire sphere of creation. There are influences: natural/supernatural, private/public, moral/physical, moral/prophetical; of government, nature, salvation, disposition, and desolation, etc.

There are several categories of influence which may be distinguished. The first would include all of God's natural acts of sustaining and creating. A second would be His "supernatural" acts: miraculous interventions of God which seem to run counter to the natural course of events. A third would include all those acts of God which we described in the last chapter to which Rutherford would attach the word "grace." A fourth would be acts of God within that life of grace which draw men into a more vital awareness of and communion with God in Christ. (Cf. ILG 246). Rutherford never applies the term "grace" to acts of God in the first two categories without qualifications, (e.g., creation is twice called "a type of grace"). But the term is used constantly to describe divine activity in the last two, (Cf. ILG 2, 213, 266, 283, 297, etc.). There is also a technical use of the term "influences of grace" which applies exclusively to the fourth distinction above: the personal communion of the believer with Christ. It is this last which Rutherford has in mind when he encourages his readers in "the way, manner, and means of having and improving spiritual dispositions and quickening influences from Christ." (from the sub-title of ILG. Cf. 208f., 316.).

or they could not stir or move.

"The same free goodness, which is a sort of grace which moved God to create the sun and give it being, so also puts Him to give influences to the motions and actings of the sun;...All creatures are dead cyphers which signify nothing, except the influence of God add a figure to them; and they lie dead, if He stir them not...He hath a sort of check lock upon all second causes."<sup>1</sup>

God carries out these influences by His personal activity in creation.

"He commands the sun to rise; He sends rain, and He joins His concurrence with the things of nature."<sup>2</sup>

"God acts in all both by the immediate influence of His power and of His Person."<sup>3</sup>

The extent to which God exercises His influence over creation is universal.

"If the Scripture holds forth as it doth that the Lord by His strong and invincible dominion doth indeclinably, and without any possible failing, bring forth His decreed effect, some impulsion in God immanent, transcendent or mixed, which is terminate upon all second causes there must be; so He is the Father and cause of all things that fall out...

"His influences are in things small, as in the falling of a sparrow to the earth; not one hair of the head but it is numbered by Him, Lk.12, Matt.10. Not a gourd groweth, nor a worm eats it, but at His command (texts from Jonah, Amos, Joel, Psalms, etc.)...He hath a hand in the bird-nests' building, Ps.104.

"And the actings of the Lord are in great things, as in the translation of kingdoms, dominions, and thrones. In the rise and falling of princes, the stars of whatever magnitude. (Dan., Jer., Is., I Sam., Ps.)

"His actings are in matter of lots that seem to be ruled by fortune and

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1. ILG 9.

2. Ibid., p.197.

3. Ibid., p.433.



chance. (Pr., Gn., Deut., Josh.)

"Especially in borrowing the free will and determining the actions of evil angels and good and leading and determining the free will of all men. (I Kgs., Job, Gn., Matt., Lk., Acts, II Thes., Pr., Es., Deut., Jer., Ezk., Ps., Cant., etc.)"<sup>1</sup>

Elsewhere he tells us that it is the Lord who determines whether the sun shall rise or not rise, or whether the eagle shall fly to the North rather than to the South.<sup>2</sup> Everything from locusts and caterpillars to angels and men is indebted to God's activity within and/or upon it.<sup>3</sup> Even the being and activity of Satan is sustained by God's sovereign influence.<sup>4</sup> It is the Spirit of God active in the social order who is responsible for the moral and cultural achievements of man.<sup>5</sup> In a period of great political and military uncertainty, Rutherford

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1. ILG 6,7.

In this discussion, Rutherford gathers most of his arguments from Scripture but he also provides one linguistic, the use of the hiphil verb form, and one philosophical argument: neither of these is enlarged to any great extent. The latter is the Aristotelian argument of ultimate causes: "Every being must be from the being of beings and so every action natural and supernatural must be attended with supernatural influences from God." ILG 5.

We see, then, that the concept of nature as the stage of God's grace continually upheld and acted upon by the Spirit's influences, within the "atmosphere" of His immanence, becomes the presupposition of Rutherford's doctrine of predestination: "the pillar of predetermination" (ILG i). Whereas this doctrine had always been a problem in the West because of the nature/grace dichotomy, it became a manifestation in the Reformers, working within the legal categories of Scripture, of the distance they had traveled in overcoming this dualism. For predestination was not, for them, a minor doctrine which had to be understood within the context of the split between nature and grace, but rather a first principle grounded on the fact that God is sovereign over and within His creation.

2. ILG 404.

3. CLO 17; ILG 283. Also, ILG 9.

4. ILG 111. Also, 190-91.

5. AS 225; ILG 143. Cf. Calvin, Comm. Gen. 4:22; I Cor. 1:17.

asserts again and again that the governments of men are in the hand of God.<sup>1</sup> He is so certain of God's control of creation that he can even speak of revelation by event.<sup>2</sup>

Rutherford specifically rejects the Deist notion which was to become so prominent in the years following his death. Under a section called "Our Atheism in Reading the Book of Providence," he derides himself and others

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1. This is especially evident in his political treatise, Lex Rex. "God disposes the people" to choose one man king and not another. LR 16; similarly, p.145, where this choice is specified as a work of the Holy Ghost.pp.20-1; 117; Let 24. These show that all power of government at all levels is established by God just as are all sciences and lawful arts.

There are two interesting examples of the working of this principle in Rutherford's correspondence. In Let 16, he extols the military successes of the Protestant king Gustavus Adolphus as proof to the world of God's great power to establish the Church by the sword. Upon the death of that great man, he says: "We can do nothing else but reverence our Lord, who doth not ordinarily hold Zion on her rock by the sword." Let 48. A strikingly similar incident took place during the darkest period of Rutherford's own life when in 1650, he encouraged the Scot, Colonel Kerr, to sense "the breathings of the Spirit as Gideon and Samson," for "I believe the way of the Lord is Colonel Gilbert Kerr's strength and glory." Let 331. The letter was posted Nov.23. Barely eight days later Kerr was captured and imprisoned in his first encounter with Cromwell's forces. Rutherford's response: This is the will of Christ, glory in it.Let 332-34.

This submission to the will of God is not based upon any "Candidian" illusion that "This is the best of all possible worlds," but rather upon an explicit faith that God has a purpose for all that He does. "He could have made a more perfect world than this and the angel-nature, man's nature, the sun, birds, beasts of more excellency, as touching perfection both of nature and accidents, than these that now are; but here sovereignty hath place." ILG 52. Also: "The times would make any that love the Lord sick and faint...Yet very often when we complain of times we are secretly slandering the Lord's work and wise government of the world." Let 305.

2. "It is, I grant, often God's decree revealed by the event...but this will (of God) is not our rule, and people are to swear no oath of allegiance contrary to God's will in Scripture." LR 71. Cf. SA 336f.; ILG 8.

for ever thinking that:

"...all stirrings in nature, societies and kingdoms, were set on work by the sway of nature, and blind fortune, without God, as a wheel rolling about with a mighty violence of a strong arm moves a long time after the arm of the mover is withdrawn."<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Rutherford is careful to guard against any interpretation of this personal concurrence of God with nature which would allow for the introduction of Pantheism.

"The Lord maketh rich and poor, killeth and maketh alive, maketh snow, frost, fair weather, draught, and rain, the sun to rise and to go down and that in His own person, Father, Son and Spirit; He, He only made heaven, earth, sea, and all creatures and the world;  $\lambda\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$  Acts 17:25 and  $\chi\lambda\eta$  Ps.33:9 do prove Him to be a person who doth all these. But we cannot say that the person of God must be united with clouds, ships, sea, sun, heavens, men fighting and men saving and killing; and that God personally filleth all creatures, only God in the immensity of His nature, is all these and everywhere, and is in them by His operation, so the Holy Ghost is with the saints, and dwelleth in them, not by union of His person to them or the immensity of His essence, which is everywhere, Ps.139:7, but so He is in heaven, in hell, in the sea. But He dwelleth in the saints, in regard to the works, operations, gifts, and graces of the Holy Ghost."<sup>2</sup>

### Problems Raised

Having once seen the absolute dependence of creation

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1. The quotation continues: "Or suppose a pair of chariot-wheels were letten loose in the top of the huge mountain, and should move down some hundred thousands of millions of miles for hundreds of years after the man who set them first a-work were dead; so we fools believe that God gave a mighty strong shake or some omnipotent impulsion to all causes natural, free and contingent, to heaven and earth, sea and land, to all creatures in them, angels and men, and did bid them to be a-going; for He must sleep and could not actually stir them any more." ILG 8. Also, TT 317.

2. CD 466-67.



upon God's will, we are justified in asking: what is the relationship of freedom to this formulation? We may pose this question on two divergent levels: First, is God free in the exercise of His influences?<sup>1</sup> Secondly,

1. Rutherford does not discuss necessity in God except as it relates to soteriology. The existence of creation does not reveal God's intention toward it, but only manifests His power and wisdom as Creator. Existence does not commit God to any course of redemption of that which has been created except when creation is viewed as a result of the divine decree. Even then God is radically free (relative to creation, not the decree) because only that which is chosen to be so is ultimately redeemed.

God's decree, and in that respect the incarnation itself, is assumed to be a manifestation of God's will rather than of His nature. While he does not discuss the relationship of God's nature and will, Rutherford constantly opts for the priority of the latter. This will is not subject to modification by anything in creation. The expression of God's will is finalised in the decree which is as eternal as God Himself. The eternal covenant of grace is unconditioned by anything in time. (This emphasis was lost by later generations of Scottish covenant theologians). The idea of a "bargain" or covenant between God and man which would determine any act of God toward man is unthinkable to Rutherford. Rather, his position on the will of God is determined by two things: the first is a serious attempt to cope with the biblical material which presents the concept of grace as a free gift of God and election as a free choice of God. He is also under pressure from Arminianism and its semi-Pelagian forerunners, whose systems depend upon a view of God as One obliged by nature to accept those who perform properly in the exercise of faith. Rutherford faces the same dilemma of any who try to reconcile in the same system the Scriptural data which on the one hand, points to the nature of God as love and, on the other hand, presents the manifestation of His will as "arbitrary" or at least "exclusive" to the point of rejecting certain nations (Ammon) and certain men (Esau). The problem is rationalised in the Reformers by stressing the character of the supreme good. The most important thing in creation is not its redemption (let alone the redemption of fallen men) but the glory of God. If the glory of God is the supreme good for the creature, then it is seen that the nature of love, which is of the essence of God, must embrace all that will tend to His glory. Eternal redemption and eternal punishment are both, therefore, expressions of God's love. This characteristically anti-humanistic position became increasingly difficult to maintain after the Enlightenment.

An absolute, either/or answer to the problem of necessity in God seems to be immediately prejudiced when asked within the context of redemption. This is shown to be the case in a contemporary solution, opting for God's nature, which ties the knowledge of God and His being so closely to the economy of salvation that it must pass over (or ignore by redefinition) the classical problems of predestination and the nature of God. See Barth, Church Dogmatics, II.I.vi.28.1. and II.II.vii.35.4; Rahner, The Trinity, III.C.D.



is man a free agent under the influences of God? Both are, of course, exceedingly difficult questions, not only for Rutherford, but for all of his western predecessors. And, as theirs, his arguments arrive at no answer which seems ultimately satisfactory. He attempts to answer both questions with a clear "yes," yet must qualify both in order to balance other aspects of his theology and the Scriptures which inform that system.

In answer to the first question, he says that there is no necessity placed on God by anything creaturely which demands that He either sustain, destroy, or redeem. However, God has freely, in an act of absolute liberty, brought Himself under necessity to do that which He has declared He will do. Rutherford demonstrates this necessity by several arguments: first, the revelation of God's eternal decree puts the Godhead under obligation of fulfillment.<sup>1</sup> Secondly: the fact that Christ has redeemed a people for Himself puts Him under necessity to bring these to glory.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly: there is a necessity laid upon Christ "founded upon the identity of nature which is between Christ and His chosen ones."<sup>3</sup> Fourthly, in His role of uniting the

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1. "The great design of free grace in Christ must in these two bring Him under a holy necessity to bring His many children to glory; for the decree of election is an act of the three persons." ILG 230.

2. "If Christ as High Priest offer Himself a sacrifice for us to obtain reconciliation to us when we were not born, and when we were ungodly and enemies, He must intercede that such a purchased reconciliation...be in His due time bestowed upon us." ILG 232.

3. Ibid., pp.233 and 204.

There is no indication that Rutherford felt that Christ shared in this saving way the humanity of the reprobate. For although Christ's life and death provide redemption from both the legal and ontological or "existential" aspects of sin, it is the legal problem only which is solved by imputation of that which Christ is and did. Redemption from "being in sin" is achieved in the particular individual by the Spirit uniting him to Christ. This raises a question relative to the humanity of the non-elect. Rutherford's response would probably be that 'No one outside of Christ and the Spirit is truly human.'

believer to Christ, "the Spirit's office puts Him under a necessity of giving him influences."<sup>1</sup>

Having thus qualified God's freedom within the context of election, Rutherford can then do justice to the Scriptures underlying the doctrine of eternal security. All this combines to give the believer reinforced assurance of God's love, for once God has decreed and declared His love to a man in Christ, He has committed Himself to doing all that is needful to perfect that union.<sup>2</sup>

Our second question, "What of man's freedom under God's influences?" is the more complex of the two. It is one thing to say that God can impose upon Himself a pattern of activity which He has determined. It is something else altogether to say that man is still a free agent when so obviously the object of God's predisposition. While the question would have some theoretical interest if all men did what was in accordance with the revealed will of God, it becomes of crucial theological importance when man acts contrary to God. The problem is: How could man, created by God and under His influence, choose to sin?<sup>3</sup>

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1. ILG 234.

The radical freedom of God in grace is not so much seen in His self-commitment to save but in that this commitment has a limited object: the salvation of the elect. It is implied in Rutherford's argument as in most of the Reformers (it is explicit in Calvin, Insts. II.4.3), that God has likewise committed Himself to the damnation of the reprobate.

2. ILG 229-31, 266. Cat 177.

Also below, "Assurance," p.148.

3. All monotheists have had to contend with the problem of the existence of moral and physical evil. For Rutherford as for most of the orthodox commentators up to his period, that problem focused on the sin of Adam; physical evil being a result of God's curse on Adam's act and moral evil being most keenly manifested in the first man's willful disobedience of God. As Augustine notes: "The origin of sin is in the will; therefore in the will also is the origin of evil, both in the sense of suffering under a just sentence." Augustine, Contra Faustum Manichaeum, XXII.22.

The question of human freedom for Rutherford is not one of man's ability of exercise faith: man's choosing God. Rutherford assumes that given man's existence in sin he cannot, nor does he desire to, choose God. Such a choice is not even an option for man. Cf. Calvin, Insts., II.2.7.

Rutherford admits that God's permitting the existence of sin is a "mystery hid in God" and that "there be reasons unanswerable" to the question.<sup>1</sup> But he does note that there are great blessings that do arise from the existence of sin. One: it is the occasion of the revelation of God's pardoning grace. Secondly: if there had been no sin,

"there should never have been such a thing known to the generations to come as that ark of glory, the huge and boundless all fulness of the indwelling Godhead in the man Christ."<sup>2</sup>

Even though sin gives rise to the greatest good, it would still be absolutely false to say that God is the cause of sin. Such a concept would make sin and

1. CLO 287.

2. Ibid., p.288.

Given the election framework in which Rutherford worked, he probably felt that the incarnation must be considered in terms of the fall. In any case, he nowhere discusses the possibility of incarnation in any other context than God's precreative plan for man. However, the fact of sin, or creation, has nothing to do with the question of the existence of the Godhead as a Trinity. "Had sin never been, the glorious Second Person of the blessed Trinity, and the eternal Spirit had been, and must be the same, one ever blessed God with the Father. For the glorious one Godhead in three admirable substances comes under no acts of the free will and sovereign councils of God, the Godhead being most absolutely and essentially necessary." CD xii. (he here calls sin a "design and most holy state contrivance" of free grace for the revelation of the Trinity.)

If one should argue the case of the necessity of the incarnation irrespective of the existence of sin on the basis of the historical fact of the existence of Jesus of Nazareth, one could see Rutherford as inconsistent in his formulation at this point. But such an approach would be unacceptable to him as it implies a commitment to creation on the part of God which would virtually eliminate His freedom, thus making grace a necessity and as such, a misnomer. On the basis of this historical approach, sin must also be considered necessary, a concept with which Rutherford could not agree without a radical re-interpretation of his view of the atonement, one aspect of which is the overcoming of sin.

evil to reside in deity who has revealed Himself to be spotless and undefiled. In order to avoid this danger, Rutherford attempts to show that the deprivation of God's influences for good is not the cause of man's sin.<sup>1</sup> The argument runs as follows: 1.) Man can do no good unless he is under the influence of God to do so. 2.) If God withdraws His influences, man must necessarily fall into sin. 3.) Man is always the responsible agent in sinning, therefore, 4.) God withdraws His influences at the same moment that man freely chooses to have these removed. God is not the cause of sin, although the removal of His influences is a necessary condition for the existence of sin in man.<sup>2</sup> How Adam should choose to sin while under God's influences is not explained, but his sinful choice to be without these and God's deprivation of His influences is instantaneous.

"The Lord by order of nature withdraws His influences, and in the same moment of time, which is of great importance, Adam sins and refuses the influence. And it follows not that Adam sins before he sins, nor follows it that Adam sins by any necessity helping and aiding freedom, because the Lord withdraws no influence from Adam against

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1. This is more or less the same approach as appears in earlier formulations. Cf. Tertullian, De Cultu Feminarum, I.8; Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 12.1; Boethius, Fifth Theological Tract, sec.8 (Migne, Vol.64, p.1353); Aquinas, op.cit., I.8.49; Bradwardine, op.cit., p.554 (as cited in Leff, Bradwardine, p.64); Calvin, Insts., II.4.3.

2. The crux of the argument lies in the mystery of something which must be necessary and yet is not a necessary cause. The best that Rutherford can do is to assert the reality of such a thing and refer to and repeat the arguments of "the learned of both ways (Roman Catholic and Protestant) who teach there be diverse necessities that hurt not free will." ILG x. Cf. DDP 384f.; ILG 331f.; SA 304.



His will, but in the same moment of time that the Lord withdraws His consent to the act, and virtually subscribes to the wanting of influences of God."<sup>1</sup>

Aspects of this problem emerge again in Rutherford's discussion of the Spirit's role in the obedience of the believer. He remains quite consistent in this respect. Whereas the influences of God are necessary for one to obey God's law, it is the law which constitutes the rule for obedience, not the Spirit's influence. Thus while man may take no credit for obedience, still he is responsible for disobedience.<sup>2</sup> Herein lies the key to his approach to both problems. God is absolutely free to do as He will. Man, at least in the first instance, is free to obey or disobey but even that freedom is based upon a principle of ultimate dependence on influences of the Spirit of God.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE SPIRIT AND THE CHURCH

Although his work on the influences contains no specific section on the relation of ecclesiology to pneumatology,

##### 1. ILG xi.

The argument remains substantially the same when combined with the consideration of predestination. "We say Adam, not through any defect or want of the Lord's holy predetermination, as therefore ideo, for that cause he sinned, because the Lord did withdraw His influences; but the adequate, culpable moral cause of Adam's sinning, and of his choosing of a virtuous action, for Adam in sinning is only and properly a moral cause under a law, is his own free will, freely declining from the rule. There is no defect or moral want of God's predetermination because the sovereign Lord, who is above a law, was not obliged to withdraw His predetermination from the man, who in the same moment of time was willing to want that predetermination. For God out of His holy sovereignty withdrew in the same moment His influences, in which Adam sinfully rejects the same influences." ILG vii. Also, p.20; DDP 384f.; 433.

##### 2. See SA 304; ILG 129, 271.

##### 3. See below on human "Liberty and Responsibility," pp.125f.

there is still some material available in his numerous writings on Church government and discipline.<sup>1</sup> We shall examine the material under the following categories: first, we survey the Spirit's role as guide of the Church, which includes His ministry in the government and the worship of the gathered community. Secondly, we look at the Spirit's ministry of revealing Christ in the sacraments and ordinances.<sup>2</sup>

There are several factors which must be borne in mind as we examine Rutherford's ecclesiology. First, the Reformed doctrine of the Church was hammered out on the anvil of protest, in the main against the Roman Catholic system it had just abandoned and to a lesser extent, against the schisms and fragmentations which constantly appeared in its own ranks. Secondly, both the Roman and Protestant ecclesiological formulations assumed a political paternalism and quasi political institutionalism present in the Church, both East and West, since the time of Constantine the Great. While there are some analogous situations to be found in the Church of the New Testament, its form was not dominated by the massive organisational cleavage or the political patronage which undergirded all ecclesiological discussions of the 15th-17th Cents. It is thus impossible to find a thoroughly temperate, well

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1. GE; DS; DR; PLC; PP; SCD and also LR.

2. The terms are somewhat interchangeable, the latter being the larger of the two categories and including such things as public preaching, praying, reading of Scripture, etc. The term "sacrament" does not occur in the Bible, whereas "ordinance" does, but not in reference to baptism or the Lord's Supper.

balanced and biblical doctrine of the Church in that period. Anyone reading Rutherford on the Church without some acquaintance with this theological and political history will be struck with his intolerance. Although he often tries to distinguish individuals from their faults and/or offices,<sup>1</sup> nevertheless, every form of Church government and theology which is not Presbyterian and Reformed is anathematised. Liberty of conscience in teacher and minister is to be punished by magistrates. Luther's and Calvin's label of Anti-Christ as applied to the Papacy is widened to include "her daughter," Episcopacy, and any sectarian deviant from Presbytery. Yet in all this, he represents no more nor less than the average attitude of the majority of churchmen of his period.<sup>2</sup> This is an outlook which had been conditioned by years of theological debate and physical repression which, in Scotland, was about to develop into one of the bloodiest persecutions which the country had yet known. Rutherford would have been one of the first of its victims had he not been on his death bed when summoned to appear before the Parliament which condemned his friend, James Guthrie. As Rutherford formulates his doctrine of the Church, he has in the foreground of thought Familists and other Antinomians, a bit further back but with more influence, Brownists and Baptists. Behind these with government support stands Episcopacy. And beyond the horizon, out of sight but never out of mind, the Bishop of Rome. All of these represent threats to him and leave

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1. As in DR intro.; TT 69; SCD intro.; PP intro., 124.

2. His book, PLC, was written as an apology for the formal protest of the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly. See pp.266f.

their mark on his doctrine.

It would be unwarranted to examine Rutherford's ecclesiology beyond its relation to pneumatology, but the following excerpt indicates the balance of Christology and pneumatology which exists even in his basic formulations:

"A Church is considered in two ways: 1.) as totum essentiale, this is a mystical Church consisting of only believers or of persons as professing faith, a Church of faithful, of saints. 2.) The Church is considered as totum integrale, made up of offices and the flock, this Ames calls an instituted Church, others a ministerial Church...

"There is a two-fold primacy answerable to this, one whereby a number of believers is the first mystical body of Christ, immediately united to Christ, as a mystical body to the head...

"There is another primacy or principality ministerial, whereby such a number of men are the first subject of the keys, having power of binding and loosing, first and immediately from Christ...

"Christ hath a two-fold influence, as head upon these two bodies, one influence of special and saving grace upon the Church of believers; another common influence, communicating to the ministerial body the power of the keys and gifts which He gave to men to be pastors, and teachers and elders, when He ascended on high and led captivity captive."<sup>1</sup>

The concept "mystical Christ" which is repeated several times in the above quotation and often used by

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1. PP 31.

This is part of an argument against Congregational government. It reveals one of Rutherford's primary struggles as being against those who wanted to define the Church only in terms of believers rather than as the ordained body of Christ containing "a mixed multitude" under His headship. See SA 255(quoted below, p.116).

Except for one point(see below,p.116,f.n.2)in connection with Rutherford's doctrine, MacPherson's analysis of him provides a valuable introduction to this aspect of his theology:The Doctrine of the Church in Scottish Theology, chap.2.



Rutherford, lends itself to comment. The term is interesting as a practical expression of the unity he felt exists between Christ and His people.<sup>1</sup> He speaks of the Church on earth as a part of "Christ's mystical body not yet within the gates of the great high city, the New Jerusalem."<sup>2</sup>

1. The term "mystical" is part of a more complex ecclesiological formula than that found in the early Reformers. Calvin, for example, making reference to Augustine's maxim: "There are many sheep outside the Church and many wolves within," (Insts. IV.1.8; see Rutherford, DR 277) distinguishes two uses of the term in Scripture, invisible and visible; that which is so by virtue of God's election to union with Christ and that which professes to be so. The latter contains many "who have nothing of Christ but the name and appearance" (Ibid., IV.1.7. see also IV.1.2.). Basically the same definition appears in the Scottish Confession of 1560 (chap.16). Ames (op.cit., chap.31-2), while retaining this general distinction, breaks it down into several more categories. He distinguishes the instituted and mystical Church (Calvin's visible and invisible). The latter is that which, "because it is united to Christ is therefore the Church of Christ." (31.2) This mystical Church is divided "into members according to the degree of communion which it hath with Christ, in which respect it is called either militant or triumphant." (31.21) The triumphant Church is that "which is already perfected." The militant Church is that part of Christ's body on the earth. It is either purer or impurer, depending on its doctrine. And it is both visible and invisible. This last is not a distinction of genus and species (elect & non-elect and elect alone) but of manner of existence. Invisible would correspond to the Church "underground:" "that whose profession is less open: which is wont to come to pass by reasons of heresies, persecutions, or profane manners abounding abroad." (31.34) There is room for confusion, however, in that he frequently calls the Church instituted, "visible." (32.1-3) There is no question that the instituted Church is a true Church, although this fact does not receive as much emphasis in Ames as in Rutherford.

While Rutherford nowhere openly adopts this scheme in toto, his terminology fits it and there is no place where his argument is not in agreement with Ames' basic outline. Like Ames, he sometimes distinguishes but more often equates visible with instituted and invisible with mystical.

## 2. Let 177.

It is this emphasis on "Mystical Christ" which keeps him from a total immersion in a concept of the Church existing in juxtaposition to God and merely connected to Him by the Holy Spirit. This concept is unavoidable as long as the Church exists as a political authority. Rutherford cannot escape it, though his emphasis on the Spirit saves him from the worst results of this approach: that the Church is simply a collection of believers, that it is "connected" to God by the Spirit, that the sacraments are only symbols of spiritual realities, etc.

Also:

"A man cannot go abroad in cold weather and forget to put on his clothes, sense will teach him to do that; a painful boil will keep a man in mind of pain; the Church is a fragment and piece of mystical Christ; He cannot forget His own body; the Church is bone of His bone."<sup>1</sup>

### The Spirit as Guide of the Church

The influences of the Spirit in the Church are, as in other areas, founded upon the ministry of Christ and under His direction. Thus it can be said without contradicting any statement on the role of the Spirit that it is Christ who governs the Church;<sup>2</sup> and the "spiritual power of the Church (is) immediately subject to Jesus Christ only."<sup>3</sup> Speaking within the context of pneumatology, however, we must say that the government of the Church and guidance of the Church has been from the beginning the result of the influence of the Holy Spirit.<sup>4</sup> Wherever the

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1. CD 529. See also TT v.

The language is often that of the imagery of the Song of Songs, the Church being the bride of Christ. Thus in Let 5 he makes the quaint observation that God the Father must be the Father-in-Law of the Church, since Christ is her husband. The application of the title "Bride of Christ" is also freely used in connection with the individual believer as well as the Church. Canticles is one of the books of Scripture most cited by Rutherford. He quotes most of the authors who interpreted its symbolism in terms of either the Church or the soul of the believer: Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nyssa, Theodoret, Bernard, Richard of St. Victor, Aquinas, Gerson, Bonaventura, Piscator. Although he has read Salmeron and Cornelius à-Lapide, he never interprets the Bride as the Virgin Mary as did these and others.

2. GE 13.

3. Ibid., p.503.

4. "The Spirit descended upon the apostles in the framing and governing of the first Church, insofar as it was a Christian Church, and they were to act all, not of their own heads, but as the Holy Ghost led them in all truth," GE 42. See also p.204.

The Spirit is within the Church giving it life and direction. This fact becomes the basis of Rutherford's contention that a specific form of Church government (Presbyterianism) is divinely ordained. Unfortunately, he also seems to assume that his interpretation of the Spirit's activity in the early Church shares in that same divine ordination.

Church meets in council or synod, she is under the direction of the Spirit.<sup>1</sup> This does not mean that the Spirit is so essentially linked to the Church that doctrine can be defined by a moral consensus of the gathered representatives.<sup>2</sup> This quasi-physical identification of the Spirit with the Church and the abuses to which this gives birth is one of the points that the Reformers sought to deny in Roman Catholicism. Rutherford avoids the error by emphasising the role of Scripture as the instrument of the Spirit governing the Church.

"The decision of controversies made by the Church in synods which we suppose is not divided from that of God's ... (is) no other thing than the decision of the Holy Ghost speaking in the Word and declared by the Church in a ministerial way."<sup>3</sup>

The Spirit not only leads the Church Catholic but He is also present leading the worship of the individually instituted Church. It is therefore the responsibility of "Ministers and hearers to pray that the Spirit may go along with the Word." For the preaching and worship will be of little benefit unless illuminated by a "spiritually quickening light."<sup>4</sup>

"Ordinances, reading, praying and hearing of the Bible sleep until the Spirit glow."<sup>5</sup>

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1. See DR 359-60.

2. That lawful synods cannot err depends not upon the office of those present but upon the Spirit's leading which is in turn subject to the check of Scripture. DR 363, 372.

3. PLC 28. Also SA xx. Cf. Calvin, Insts., IV.8.13 and above, "The Spirit and the Scripture," pp.40f.

4. ILG 172-3.

5. Ibid., p.358. Also Let 290; DR 372; SA 312f.; ILG 133, 272, 307. Cf. above, "The Spirit and the Life of Christ," p. 31.

The Spirit's initiating and directing the Church's worship may be demonstrated in one aspect of Rutherford's teaching on prophecy. He distinguishes two types of prophets:

"Some who foretold things to come... (and) some extraordinarily inspired with an extraordinary grace of interpreting Scripture. The former were prophets of the Old Testament, the latter prophets of the New Testament; knowledge of both were given without study or pains."<sup>1</sup>

The designation "prophecy" for preaching is rarely used, however, and never as a form of exhortation which requires no study. On the other hand, Rutherford spends a surprising amount of time enlarging upon the predictive element of prophecy.<sup>2</sup> Much of this discussion is in connection with his doctrine of Scripture.<sup>3</sup> But he notes:

1. PP 250.

2. Surprising, on the one hand, in that some of the sects against which he contends had perverted this doctrine to give justification to their respective causes, and the easiest retort to such teaching would be a declaration that such prophecy had ended in the first Cent. or Cents. (Cf. Warfield, Counterfeit Miracles, chap.1). But Rutherford says that the office of apostle or writer of Scripture implied the gift of prophecy: miracles, etc., and though such offices are no longer extant, the gifts may still be exercised. See SA 201. Cf. Cat 195; DR 153, 156. It is surprising on the other hand in that he pays any attention to the subject at all, for the history of theology "is a history of the theological devaluation of the prophetic element in favour of the non-prophetic... Nevertheless, prophecy has its foundations in Scripture and in practice a great history in the Church, and yet orthodox theology has never paid any serious attention to the question whether there are prophets even in post-apostolic times, how their spirit can be discerned, what their role is in the Church, what their relationship to the hierarchy, what the import of their mission for the exterior and interior life of the Church." Rahner, Visions and Prophecies, pp.20-1.

3. As in TT 37; PP 252; SA 297.

Herein he distinguishes a "Spirit of Prophecy" which overwhelms the will of the prophets and makes them declare the will of God. Also see, "The Spirit and the Scripture," above, p.40.



"The prophesying of faith is not dead with the prophets...to see things that God shall do either by Himself or by angels is an act of prophecy and differeth not in nature from the prophetic light of the prophets."<sup>1</sup>

He gives as examples certain contemporaries who have exercised this function under the Spirit's influence.<sup>2</sup> Of these it is said:

"There cometh upon the souls of the servants of God some strong and mighty prophetic impression and violent impulsion that they speak and prophesy what otherwise they would not, in cold blood, speak, and God hath made good the words of His servants, which as it is not ordinary, so it must be tried."<sup>3</sup>

As the last sentence of the above indicates, Rutherford avoids extremist interpretations of the prophetic activity of the Spirit with certain safeguards. These depend somewhat on the integrity and orthodoxy of the person involved, but to a greater extent on the relation of the prophetic word to the Scriptures.

"Such men may have, I confess, a prophetic spirit, but first they were eminently holy and sound in the faith and taught that the catholic Church should believe nothing, nor practice

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1. TT 82.

2. "There is a revelation of some particular men, who have foretold things to come even since the ceasing of the canon of the Word, as John Huss, Wycliffe, Luther have foretold things to come and they certainly fell out, and in our own nation of Scotland, Mr. George Wishart foretold that Cardinal Beaton should not come out alive at the gates of the Castle of St. Andrews...Mr. Knox prophesied the hanging of the Lord of Grange, Mr. John Davidson uttered prophecies known to many of the Kingdom, divers holy and mortified preachers in England have done the like." SA 42. Cf. below, f.n.2, p.111 with the statement from Blair's autobiography where some of the same people and others are noted.

3. SA 307.

nothing but what is warranted by the Word. Such as boast of Spirit or prophecy and reject the Word are therefore not to be believed.

What these men of God foretold is a particular fact...but no dogma fidei, nor any truth that lays bands on the Catholic Church to believe that to the end of the world, as all Scriptural truths do, and doubt it is, if we are to believe these in the individual circumstances of fact, sub periculo peccati, upon hazard of sinning against God, we may, I judge, without sin suspend belief and yield charity to the speaker."<sup>1</sup>

Rutherford will not tolerate any question of an extension of the Canon. For him, any contemporary revelation of the Spirit must fit securely within the borders of Scripture and be entirely subject to it.<sup>2</sup>

While he does not spend a great deal of time in its discussion, his comments on the spiritual gift of "tongues" are of interest. He distinguishes two functions for this

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1. CLO 139.

Elsewhere he notes that the prophets of the Reformation never demanded that anyone believe their forecasts nor did they claim these to be a word of the Lord as the Scriptural prophets. Further, they were never the means of accomplishing what they had foretold, as had been the case with some of the enthusiasts. SA 43; CD 279-80; PP 126.

2. Cf. Rutherford's attitude with his friend's, R. Blair who, relating a vision and prophecy he received telling him of his wife's death while he served at the Westminster Assembly with Rutherford, says: Lest any should stumble at this feeling that "revelations are now closed, and we are to stick close to the revealed will of God in Scripture. For their satisfaction I answer: that if an angel from heaven should reveal anything contrary to Scripture, or offer to add anything to the perfect rule of faith and manners, he ought to be accursed, and much more if any man on earth should offer to do the same. But it ought not to be denied that the Lord is pleased sometimes, to His servants, especially in a suffering condition, to reveal some events concerning themselves and that part of the Church of God wherein they live;" He then gives examples of "martyr Wishart, Knox, Davidson, Welsh (one of Rutherford's correspondents whom he calls "the prophetic man of God" who predicted the destruction of his town; SA xiif.) and Patrick Simpson of Stirling." Autobiography of Blair, pp. 97-8.

ministry of the Spirit: evangelism and the edification of the Church.<sup>1</sup> He notes two means of acquiring tongues: "by education, industry, pain, studying, reading and teaching of men" or "by supernatural and immediate revelation or infusion."<sup>2</sup> By linking his conception of tongues with human industry and study and then noting the value of the gift for evangelism, he argues against certain Antinomians who saw no necessity in the study of Scripture or the languages of Scripture.<sup>3</sup> In the case of tongues, prophecy, or other miracles he points out that these manifestations of the Spirit are but aids to the Church and not necessary for worship and communion with Christ.<sup>4</sup>

The Spirit not only vivifies and leads worship, but

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1. DR 463.

As the latter seems to have been unknown to Rutherford, he puts most emphasis on the evangelistic aspect while guarding the possibility of the latter. The use of Latin in the Roman Catholic Church he rejects as unlawful, there being no interpreter as demanded by I Cor.14:13. DR, p.463. He quotes Calvin, Beza, Parius, Piscator, Cajetan and others as teaching the use of tongues for evangelism. SCD 400. Also see DR 208b.

2. SA 47-54.

The former is the normal approach both for his own time and in the New Testament where he notes Paul's counsel to Timothy to study. The latter, while possible at any period, was not even generally manifest in the age of the apostles. As in SA 49.

3. Ibid., and p.54.

4. ILG 213f. where it is shown that Judas had the gift of preaching and Baalam the gift of prophecy. Rutherford's comments on miracles are few in number but notable in that while never using the term to describe anything in his own experience, he nonetheless guards the possibility of their existence. See DR 206; TT 308; GE 318-19. Cf. Isaac Ambrose, The Ministration and Communion with Angels, pp.503-48 for a list of "miraculous" occurrences of this period.

He also directs in the choice of its human leadership.<sup>1</sup> These choices are then declared by the Church acting in the Spirit with the laying on of hands.<sup>2</sup> The ultimate efficacy of these choices lies in the fact that Christ confirms them.<sup>3</sup> This principle of ratification is perhaps best illustrated in excommunication, which is an

1. "The election of elders...is a private and popular act, flowing from the Spirit of grace in believers." PP 4.

The necessity of the Spirit's movement in the choice of deacons and preachers is discussed in DR 165.

With the rise of hetero-orthodox opinions in its ranks, Protestantism quickly qualified the doctrine of the priesthood of believers to subtract from that concept the functions normally associated with the ordained such as preaching, teaching and the administration of sacraments. Rutherford is firmly attached to this tradition. Thus he distinguishes "the way of Christ's presence with the believer, and with the overseers" of worship in their "offices" as leaders. He distinguishes the "office" from the "person" of the elder or minister holding the office in order to avoid "The error of the Donatists to hang the worthiness of God's ordinance upon the worthiness of the instruments, one baptism is not more essentially baptism than another: whatever be the goodness or badness of the minister." PP 41.

2. The laying on of hands is not an indication of reception of the Holy Spirit. Rather it is an activity of the Church, led and praying in the Spirit, by which specific individuals are designated to various offices while the act is confirmed by the Spirit. Rutherford points to Stephen, Paul and Barnabas as those who were already acknowledged to be full of the Spirit before hands were laid on them. He draws the conclusion that it is a new office, not a new filling of the Spirit, which is in mind when these are set apart by the Church. DR 169; PP 80.

Rutherford speaks of an "apostolic succession" of ministry and teaching which he relates to the laying on of hands. But it is obvious in his discussion that such a succession is not determined by this activity of the Church, but rather by orthodoxy of doctrine. In two interesting sections, this orthodox, apostolic succession is traced from the New Testament through each generation of the Church to his own day, thus proving the validity of Protestant ordination which he claims never separated from what was true in Roman Catholicism. DR 209-30; PP chap.10. MacPherson, *op.cit.* chap.3, "The Sin of Schism" (esp. pp. 113f.) considers this subject in more detail as it relates to Rutherford.

3. "The Lord ratifies in heaven what the Church does on earth...for what the Lord commands, that He must approve and ratify in heaven." SCD 149.



act of the Church but is only effective because Christ withdraws the influences of the Holy Spirit from the person excommunicated.

"This external cutting off, is ratified in heaven: and Christ hath ratified it by a real internal suspension of His Spirit in heaven."<sup>1</sup>

### The Spirit and the Sacraments

Keeping in mind the second of Rutherford's two-fold definition of grace (God's activity in and upon us uniting us to Christ) and his emphasis on the universality of God's power to sway all of creation, we are not at all surprised to find that he sees all of creation as a potential means of communion with God.<sup>2</sup> Even those things most often considered the worst foes of grace, spiritual dryness, suffering and the activity of Satan are, for Rutherford, God's instruments for bringing His children to the reality of Christ. "The devil is but a wetstone to sharpen the faith and patience of the saints."<sup>3</sup> For Christ "can make a stepping-stone of the devil himself for setting forward the work."<sup>4</sup> He makes much of the fact that pain and suffering are part of our communion

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1. GE 262. See also Cat 210.

This concept is an explanation of what happens in a "valid" or "efficacious" excommunication. Quite naturally he argues against any automatic or physical connection between this act of the Church and God. The principle of God's freedom is constantly upheld against any institutionalisation of grace. GE 261 expresses this relative to excommunication.

2. Rutherford does not use the term "means of grace" either in his discussion of ordinances, sacraments or God's multifarious influences in creation.

3. Let 114.

4. Ibid., p.10. Also TT 321-24 for an explanation of Christ's power over and use of Satan. And also ILG 189f.

with Christ, whose lot it was to suffer:

"Crosses are proclaimed as common accidents to all the saints, and in them standeth a part of our communion with Christ."<sup>1</sup>

Using the language of the commentators on the Song of Solomon, he often speaks of "love sickness:" "languishing pain, through want of the feeling and enjoying of Christ's presence."<sup>2</sup> But even this is interpreted as a tool of God to prepare the believer for ultimate

1. Let 240.

Also, "Sorrow, loss, sadness, death are the worst of things that are, except sin. But Christ knoweth well what to make of them, and can put His own in the cross's common (debt), that we shall be obliged to affliction, and thank God who taught us to make our acquaintance with such a rough companion, who can hail us to Christ. You must learn to make your evils your great good; and to spin comforts, peace, joy, communion with Christ, out of your troubles, which are Christ's woovers sent to speak for you, I Kgs.2:18, to Himself." Let 122. Also Ibid., 35.

2. ILG 314.

See also CD 34,91f.; Let 249; ILG 108,417.

One of the most detailed discussions is in ILG 314-27. Cf. Richard de St.Victor, Tractatus de Gradibus Caritatis, 2(Migne, Vol.196, pp.1198-9); Bernard, Serm.Cant., 14, 17, 32, etc.

There is a great body of "mystical" material in Rutherford which would make a fascinating study if contrasted with his apparent sources in the western mystics, Augustine, Gregory, Bernard, Bonaventura, the Victorines, Gerson and the 16th Cent. Spanish mystics. This is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of our presentation. (see below, Appendix I, "The Life and Times of S.Rutherford," Aberdeen, pp.186f.) We may note, however, that even in a discussion of the saints' experience of the withdrawal of felt influences of the Holy Spirit--the Spirit Himself is never withdrawn, although a sense of His presence may be--Rutherford takes page after page to show how Christ is our forerunner, pattern and guide in this as in every other aspect of our relationship to God. See especially CD 19f., 49, 53, 62f., 118 (the theological problem of Christ's desertion is here cleared by emphasis on the distinction of the two natures) CD 155; ILG 107f., 183, 320, etc.

perfection in Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Although God uses all things to accomplish His purposes in His children, yet He has especially ordained sacraments to be used as a means of drawing the Church into communion with her head. It is to these we now turn. The sacraments for Rutherford are not simply signs and figures of spiritual realities. They are in themselves Christ-ordained means of union with God. The sacraments have a necessary visible manifestation which is indispensable.<sup>2</sup>

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1. "The very withdrawing of Christ, as touching His end, is mercy, and requires strong missing...Dispositions heavenly in the affection, make a huge deal of noise and tumult, as here there is pathetic charging to tell Christ of love sickness under desertion. And it is good when desires for Christ under absence are strongest as faith is strongest when it makes least noise and tumult." ILG 309. Also see Let 234; ILG 234; CD 44-61, where the subject is discussed at length treating the purposes, causes, results and benefits of such removal of Christ's presence.

2. Speaking against one who thought that ordinances and sacraments were merely symbolic and therefore, expendable, he says: "The author (Saltmarsh) will have no real unity but inward and spiritual. What then is to become of all outward ordinances that have an outside by Christ's appointment answering to an inside, and these two united make but one and the same spiritual ordinance? For the body followeth the soul and both follow the Spirit of Jesus according to the written word, and the vocal praying, the preaching, the hearing, visibly acted by a believer in the outward, is no less spiritual, when inside and outside both join with the Word and Spirit, then the inward act of the mind transacted only within the soul. This author,...would exclude all unity in the body to the head that consists in outward ordinances, as if Christ were not the head of the body visible and of the true visible Church, as well as of the invisible Church and as if Christ, as the head of the Church, did not command and appoint there should be a visible ministry, and an external Church government which is spiritual, and outward ordinances of hearing, preaching, praying, sacraments, written word of Old and New Testament." SA 255. Also, Ibid., pp.64, 301. MacPherson, without offering any evidence, claims Rutherford to have taught that Christ is not the head of the visible Church. (Op.cit., p.65) This is clearly an error.

But while the physical expression is necessary, it is not in itself sufficient. It is the Holy Spirit alone who transforms these symbols into the vital act of union with Christ which they manifest.

"...Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Scriptures read and preached (are) heavenly things. It is true they are external and without the Spirit, they avail not."<sup>1</sup>

By stressing this activity of the Spirit in vivifying the sacraments, Rutherford not only eliminates the danger of identifying these ordinances with a "physical grace" which can be given, sold or dispensed by the Church, but he also calls attention once again to one of his favorite themes: the absolute freedom of grace. This freedom, as is often the case in Rutherford, is set alongside man's obligation to serve. Thus man is obliged to use the sacraments, but God is not obliged by anything but His own love to vivify them and make them a means of union with God in Christ.<sup>2</sup>

"There is not a promise made in the using of means, but there is a sad threatening of wrath to such as use no means; he that plows none but sleeps in the summer shall be clothed with rags. But there be no word that all

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1. SA 63-4.

Also, "The sacrament is but as the glass of the physician that carrieth oil, but the oil and not the glass cureth the wound." Cat 209. Also ILG 94, 341; Cat 210; AS 80. Cf. Sibbes, Works, III.134; Ames, op.cit., XXXVI. 6-29; Calvin, Insts., IV.14.8; Comm.Acts 11:17.

2. It is to be remembered that God is not limited to the use of ordinances and sacraments in drawing men to Christ. ILG 368-69. See above, p.114.



who plow painfully shall be rich men  
and clothed with scarlet."<sup>1</sup>

Having made these general remarks about the Spirit in the sacraments, we are somewhat surprised to note that Rutherford does not develop this theme to any great extent.<sup>2</sup> References to the Spirit's specific work in baptism are particularly scarce.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, citations of the Spirit's activity in the Lord's Supper are hard to locate and when they do occur, refer to the manner of Christ's presence rather than to any specific work of the Holy Ghost.

"Q. Is Christ, then, really present in the sacrament?

"A. Yea, certainly the Lord doth really and truly, not in imagination, give

#### 1. ILG 344.

Also: "Let nature stir first in the using of means; first bow the knee, stretch out the hands. Should the Spirit from above first bow the knee? and first physically act upon the hands to lift them up? Nay, nature begins in its order before the heat and fire of the Spirit come." ILG 358.

Elsewhere, he quotes Luther at length in this respect and summarises with the observation that it is wrong to believe "the Person of the Holy Ghost and Christ's grace were the only formal, efficient cause and principle in all supernatural works, and we (tree) trunks and stones, and not to be rebuked as slothful servants in sins of omission." SA 156.

2. This is not to indicate that he ignores discussion of the sacraments. There are lengthy sections relating them to the polemics of Church government. See GE, chaps. 11, 20-23; CLO chap. 14; PP, chaps. 12, 17; DR, chaps. 5, 10, 4b (pp. 210b-214b); SCD, Bk. 1, chap. 21. Consideration at such a level, however, is beyond the intention of this thesis.

For a note on the significance of the sacrament in Rutherford's own life, see below, p. 119, f.n. 1.

3. In CLO, while discussing communion as a sign of "instituting any in the Church of Israel," he quotes I Cor. 12:13: "We are baptised by one Spirit into one body." But he makes no comment. In another place, he notes that the efficacy of baptism cannot be in belief, else Christ should be made a separate accident of the Gospel contingent upon belief and therefore, baptism must be "a seal of grace and privileges which were before baptism was." SCD 121. Although the reference here is obviously to the Spirit, he makes no specific reference to Him.

us His body and blood, but after a spiritual manner."<sup>1</sup>

It is sufficient to note what has been said about the Spirit's role in the ordinances in general to establish that Rutherford understood the presence of the Holy Spirit to be the absolute prerequisite for the life of the Church, not only in its ministry of evangelism,

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1. Cat 223.

The lack of material for the subject at hand is not meant to show that Rutherford's interest in the sacraments was merely a polemical one and of no practical import in his ministry or experience. It is true that his period as a whole was still formulating its doctrine of sacraments in reaction against the sacerdotal system from which the Reformation had rescued them. It is also true that the Brownists and the Baptists of England and New England were beginning to abandon the regular administration of communion in relation to the purity of profession they judged to be present in their midst. And both of these influences were to have their effect on Scottish Presbyterianism. But Rutherford argues against both of these misrepresentations in his treatment of the sacraments. (See above, p.118, f.n.2).

In his own experience, he writes frequently of his communion seasons which, judging by the dates on the correspondence, would have been at least three if not four times a year. It also seems to have been the practice of his congregation at Anwoth to join that of Kirkcudbright's at their communions and vice versa (Let 33,45). This seems to have been a not uncommon practice for the Scottish Church of that period. Robert Blair mentions in his Autobiography (p.64) celebrating the Lord's Supper eight times in 1624; four in his parish and four in the neighboring one, both congregations uniting each time.

The following are indicative of Rutherford's attitudes: "You are not unacquainted with the day of our communion. I entreat, therefore, the aid of your prayer for that great work, which is one of our feast days, wherein our well-beloved Jesus rejoiceth, and is merry with His friends ...He delighteth with us to remember that day. Let us love Him, and be glad and rejoice in His salvation. I am confident that you will see the Son of God that day, and I dare in His name invite you to His banquet." Let 14.

"Please you understand my grief, our communion is delayed till Sabbath come eight days (the Laird who "hath lately taken physic" asked postponement)...I trust in God's mercy...advertise your people...show such of them that you love in Christ for me, that Jesus Christ will be welcome when He comes, in that He has sharpened their desires for eight days' space." Let 33. Also, 17, 20, 25, etc.

teaching and discipline, but also in its public worship.

Considering the amount of time and material he devoted to the subject, Rutherford's work on the Church is the least satisfying of all of his efforts. It is the only area where he can be easily accused of allowing something other than Scripture to determine his theological and exegetical method. The result is that he is defensive and unimaginative. Instead of letting his theology determine his ecclesiology, he formulates the latter on the basis of political philosophy, sociology and inherited structures which have at best questionable foundations. However, when we consider the physical danger of being united to any dominant ecclesiological tradition in this age, we can understand why he, as well as all of his contemporaries, friend and foe, were pushed in the direction of this method.

## CHAPTER FIVE: THE SPIRIT AND PIETY

Although the bulk of Rutherford's publications are devoted to the defense of Reformed soteriology and ecclesiology, he is perhaps best known as the writer of "spiritual" letters. It comes as no great surprise to us to discover that the form of piety which found its practical expression in his correspondence should be delineated with theological precision in his works of practical divinity. Thus we find, especially in ILG, a detailed study of the doctrine of sanctification.<sup>1</sup> We have already discussed the basic elements of this doctrine as a product of the grace of God in and upon the believer, rendering him a new creature.<sup>2</sup> It is to the dynamics of this process that we now turn.

In his treatment of the Spirit's intervention in creation, Rutherford develops a series of distinctions and definitions which, if charted, show a progression of theological concepts from the most general, universal sustaining of the cosmos by Deity to the experiential union of

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1. Generally Rutherford does not discuss the influences of the Spirit in terms of sanctification. Rather than working within the scheme of Reformed soteriology which would involve the treatment of masses of important material (calling, atonement, faith, justification, etc.) considering sanctification in its normal, concluding position as a doctrine dependent on all that has occurred before, he chooses a more direct approach by taking as his starting point God's immediate influence over all creation. Therefore he can make an easy transition from the influences of the Spirit in the world to His activity in the life of the believer. The content of his soteriology is then handled quite readily in reference to these influences. Thus Christology is considered under "Sources of Influences," faith as a result of influences, etc.

2. See above, "Regeneration," p.63; "Sanctification," p. 76.



the individual believer to Christ in this life.<sup>1</sup> Rutherford discusses the Spirit's interaction with man, developing the following topics:

I. Moral Influences

II. Physical Influences

A. Habit of Grace

1. Dispositions of Grace

2. Influences of Grace

Moral and Physical Influences

Rutherford sees the grace of God in the Spirit's activity both upon and in the believer. He describes these as the moral and physical influences of the Spirit.<sup>2</sup> This moral activity results in the knowledge of God, a fear of sin and a basic instruction in the way of godliness.<sup>3</sup> Whereas the Spirit's moral influences may be resisted, His physical influences cannot.<sup>4</sup> Physical influences have to do with the actual new creation and internal witness of the Spirit. It is under this category that he considers the habit, dispositions and the narrower meaning of influences of grace.

We have already discussed physical influences to a

1. The treatment of the Spirit's influence in creation, see: "The Spirit and the World," pp.88f.

2. ILG 2.

3. "The moral influences are the persuading actings of God from the Word of precept, of promise, of threatening, from the Law, from the Gospel. Such are common to all within the visible Church. Hence from these flow warnings, inspirations, holy motions, strong convictions, that Christ is to be followed, all are to be foregone and cast over-board, that we may gain Him. In regard of these, Christ stands at the door and knocks, Rev.3." ILG 197. Also, 420-21.

4. "But when the Lord in real influences lays His hands on the sinner, the man is then as if he were at the bar, the robber on whose legs and arms the Law hath laid bolts and fetters and is really wrought upon by more than literal influences...and when the influences physical of God are upon the soul of the spouse, then love itself...speaks with sense." ILG 198. Also, 427.

large extent in our treatment of regeneration as the infusion of the life of Christ;<sup>1</sup> the present focal point will be Rutherford's further description of one aspect of physical influences as the infusion of "an inward principle of grace."<sup>2</sup>

### Habit of Grace

The inward principle of grace which comes with the Spirit's regeneration of the individual is called the "habit of grace."<sup>3</sup> The primary definition reads:

1. See above, "Regeneration," p.63.

2. ILG 2.

3. We have already noted the historical development of the difference between St. Thomas Aquinas' use of the term "habit of grace" and T. Bradwardine's. See above, pp. 19-23. While not citing him in this regard, it is Bradwardine's use of the term which Rutherford adopts. Neither does he mention Aquinas' presentation, though he specifically rejects his understanding of a universal "habitual gift whereby corrupted human nature is healed and after being healed, is lifted up so as to work deeds meritorious of everlasting life." Op.cit., II.109.9. Rutherford employs Bradwardine's label of "Pelagian" in countering this position: "The Spirit poured on the thirsty ground, Is.<sup>44</sup>, on the House of David, Zc.12, is either a gift of nature or a grace. The former can be said by none but Pelagians and Socinians. For if the only principle of the life of God and the new birth be a work of our industry, Christ died in vain; if it be a free grace, we must receive it out of Christ's wholeness; Jn.1:16." ILG 220. Rutherford time and again stresses that the habit of grace is an act of God with absolutely no connection to the efforts of men. See below, p.124.

The "Bradwardian" use of the term, while apparently having little effect on his own period (with the possible exception of Gregory Rimini--see Leff on Rimini, p.190) is fairly widespread toward Rutherford's time. Ames mentions it, but without development: On Free Will, XXVI.27. "The act of faith doth depend partly upon a principle or habit of grace ingenerated and partly upon the operation of God moving before and stirring up." John Owen makes frequent use of the term "infused habit of grace" and defines it as "a habitual holy principle wrought in us by God and bearing His image, but not equal to the nature of God." Op.cit., p.351. Also 349 and IV.6.5-10, 15-35. Isaac Ambrose incorporates the ideal latent in the term when he says: "The Spirit...leaves a supernatural power, a spiritual and overpowering virtue upon the soul and thereby brings it unto Christ." Works, "Regeneration," p.73. Elsewhere, he describes sanctification as the "Spirit working in us a principle of spiritual life" by means of our union with Christ. This is accomplished by "habits of spiritual grace" or "habits of grace abiding in us." Op.cit., "Sanctification," pp.78f.

"The habit of grace is a fixed disposition infused in the soul by the Lord, purchased by Christ's merit of His death,<sup>1</sup> by which we perform supernatural duties."

Rutherford discusses this definition thoroughly and the important emphases which emerge are as follows: 1.) The habit of grace is a result of the activity of the Trinity.<sup>2</sup>

2.) The habit of grace is something infused by God in which man has no part.<sup>3</sup> 3.) The habit of grace is a quality of soul created in the believer.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere, he describes the

1. ILG 218.

2. a.) Father: "The Father hath blessed us in all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ; then also with the habit of sanctification." Ibid., pp.219-20.

b.) Son: "The habit of grace is given through the merit and grace of Christ." Ibid., p.219. This theme is developed in several places stressing the point that "Christ is the giver of repentance and of all the spiritual habits, not simply, but as crucified and made a meriting prince." Ibid.

c.) Holy Spirit: Is.44:3; Zc.12:10; Ezk.11:19; 36:26 are all quoted at length showing that the habit of grace is a result of the work of the Spirit. Ibid., pp.218-19. The conclusion is, "When the Spirit is poured upon the House of Jacob, the second acts flowing therefrom are acts of believing and looking on Christ..., etc." Ibid., p.221. Also, 213, 222-23.

3. "As also that this is an inbiding and permanent quality, infused from God and an habit not acquired by our industry, by which the saints are, and really are, named, anointed, renewed, born again, new creatures, is clear... Now this is infused, and no more an acquired habit than regeneration, conversion, translation is acquired." ILG 219.

Also: "Free grace infused the first habit. So by infusion of grace He adds parcels to the first habit so that the increase of the habit of grace is as free grace as the first habit, and there is no earning, nor hiring of grace, or engaging of the Lord else grace should not be grace, and works should not be works." Ibid., p.158.

4. This point is stressed in order to distinguish the habit of grace as a fixed element in the soul from, on the one hand, the actual personal interaction of the Holy Spirit with the soul: "It is a fixed quality different from a spiritual disposition." (see below, "Dispositions of Grace," p.130.) On the other hand, this emphasis is used to guard against any misplacing of worship or faith. "It is not improbable that saving grace of itself, being not God, nor the Holy Ghost Himself, but a created thing, may, as to its own nature, perish and dry up. For it is not to be trusted in; nor doth the weight of our standing against temptation consist in our own stock, but in the Lord's conserving power." ILG 236.

purpose and character of this inward principle of grace:

"The habit of grace is a sort of new nature, a heavenly power, a kind of seed of spiritual acting, and a weight that inclines the soul to acting, and by a sort of pleasantly refreshing disposition sways and draws habitually the man to supernatural acting...as the habit of music inclines the man to singing...so this habit of grace as a weight inclines the soul to act."<sup>1</sup>

### Liberty and Responsibility

Because of the extensiveness of God's control upon all creation, it is difficult to understand what is the nature of man's freedom in dealing with God.<sup>2</sup> It is precisely at this point that the doctrine of the habit of grace becomes so meaningful.<sup>3</sup> In discussing the will of

#### 1. ILG 226.

The habit of grace receives further clarification when Rutherford contrasts it to what he calls "other habits of sciences and arts." These other habits differ from the habit of grace in three major respects. First, these "secular" habits are the result of education and training, whereas "This is infused from heaven. This habit is indeed Christ's trading...and stands Christ at a high price." ILG 222.

Secondly, "Other habits may be forgotten and lost; this is part of the believer's stock, of Christ's buying, and so in Christ's keeping. Christ keeps His own purchase from wasting in shipwreck." ILG 222.

Thirdly, natural habits are under the full control of the person who possesses them. But in the habit of grace, "Only the Spirit of Jesus is steersman." ILG 223.

Rutherford uses the habit of grace as a means of emphasising the manner of the believer's responsible activity before God. But even then he will not allow the believer to function solely upon the principle of grace within, but that habit must be stirred by the Spirit to be of worth. This crucial distinction is discussed in detail below, "Dispositions of Grace," p.130.

#### 2. See above, "Extent of Influences--Problems Raised," p.97.

3. Rutherford does not concern himself with the liberty of the non-Christian because man dead in sin has no ability to come to God or freedom to choose that which is good in the sight of God. The habit of grace in this respect provides the great difference between the Christian and the unregenerate. For though it does not of itself provide the motive power for drawing near to God or performing good works, it does put within the regenerate a sincere desire to love God and to do good which is not in the unregenerate man.



man, Rutherford points out that the will is only free when acting within the sphere of union with God. Separated from the image of God in him, man lies in bondage to sin. But once reconciled to God in Christ and with the infusion of the life of Christ, man once again experiences liberty.<sup>1</sup>

"Free will in pure naturals before the Fall and after regeneration is a subject receiving a holy, sanctified rectitude of will. And before the Fall, that rectitude was that concreated and natural image of God in the first Adam, in regeneration it is the supernatural image of the second Adam which we call the new heart, and before the Fall, Adam did not love and serve God by free will simply, but by free will gifted with that natural accident of con-created sanctity and holiness added to the will as a con-natural gift to make the will complete in its operations. Now the will is a mere patient in receiving a supernatural active power to will according to Christ, and in this regard, in its natural activity by receiving a new infused heart...free will acts according to Christ in believing, hoping, loving, out of faith, all by the strength of new supernatural habits..."<sup>2</sup>

The habit of grace as expressed in terms of human freedom is "the power to will according to Christ." The will of man thus augmented by grace becomes the foundation of Christian responsibility. For while the Christian as an unaided mortal is powerless actually to do good without

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1. Rutherford does not limit the infusion of the life of Christ to the infusion of the habit of grace. Nor in fact does he discuss the two in each other's context. This is because union with Christ means something far more than simply the practising of Christ-like virtues, regardless of how perfect these may become. Neither is this union a static quality. While the infusion of the life of Christ includes the habit of grace, it is a growing thing which is perfected only in heaven when the believer is so united to Christ as to know Him as he is known.

2. SA 158.

Also, 159-62; ILG 2, 168; AS 93f.; CD 266.

the aid of the Spirit, he does have power by virtue of the habit of grace to will what is good. Therefore, in the good act of a Christian, Rutherford may distinguish a moral cause, which has its root in the will of the man, and a physical cause, which is the actual supportive and motive power of God which brings the act to fruition.<sup>1</sup>

While the doctrine of gracious habit may at first strike us as a bit of scholastic sophistry, we must remember that the distinction achieves several important objectives. Firstly, within a universe entirely under the predetermined and immanent control of God, a real locus-point of human freedom is established, dependent though that freedom may be upon the regenerating activity of the Spirit. The image of Christ in man is the ground of human liberty. Secondly, even though Christian liberty, and therefore responsibility, has been established, yet there can be no question of the existence of any such thing as human merit. All is of grace. Unquestionably, the power to do good is only of God. But even the will to do good can come only from a habit infused by grace. Human merit as an element in salvation simply cannot exist within this formulation. Thirdly, as has been mentioned, the habit of grace being the basis of Christian liberty also provides, within the context of a God-ordained and

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1. "When man complains of deadness it is with reflection on God; He quickens me not...(etc.) That is the physical cause, and the Lord is free of your sinful deadness and unsavoryness in so doing. Why? Complain of the moral, faulty cause, that is, complain of yourself." ILG 288. Cf. 408.

controlled universe, a basis of human responsibility.<sup>1</sup>

Having once grasped the extent of God's control of the cosmos in Rutherford's theology, we might be surprised at the amount of emphasis he puts on the responsible freedom of the individual.<sup>2</sup> This responsibility even extends

1. On the basis of this responsibility, it is pointed out that man is the only cause of not receiving good from God. ILG 228,274 and below on influences as not being a rule of obedience, pp.147f. He will even list those things over which we have control that will deaden our relationship to God and for which we may be held responsible. A few of these compiled in ILG 385f. are: willful ignorance of the Gospel and hatred of Christ, pride, worldly sorrow, self-love, etc. ILG Part 3, chap.14 is devoted to this subject as it relates to conversion. "Our sinful will, not the Lord's refusal of a power, is the culpable cause of our non-conversion." ILG 360. He can speak this way of the responsibility of the unregenerate not because they have the habit of grace and therefore the power to choose the will of Christ, but because they have willfully rejected the offer of such grace in their refusal to acknowledge and receive salvation in Christ. ILG 361. The resolution of this circular argument is only found in the all-wise providence of a loving God who wills that none should perish.

2. He distinguishes several types of freedom beyond that of moral choice. These are 1.) freedom from the ceremonial law, 2.) freedom from man's religious customs, 3.) freedom from the curse and judgment of the moral law, though not, of course, from its obligations, which would be Antinomianism, 4.) freedom from the power of Satan and death, 5.) freedom from the power of sin by the Spirit; AS 93-4. It is the last mentioned in this list which deals with freedom of moral choice, which, for Rutherford, is a new thing in the history of man since the Fall. Freedom for him does not mean liberty to choose what is wrong. Rather, it means freedom to choose what is right and what will draw one closer to Christ. This freedom to love God is unknown to the unregenerate. It is beautifully illustrated in 12 "considerations" on Christian liberty, three of which are: "6.) Free will's Sabbath and rest is to lie quietly and contentedly under the sweet actings of grace, and our non-resisting of Christ in His sweetest operation, is our only happiness; would we be patient of the Holy Ghost's omnipotency of saving operation, and not withdraw our hearts ...and rest in the bosom of Christ's love, and sleep and lie and drink in Christ, then we were undeniably happy. 7.) True free will is a sparkle of God, so much of a loose and unfettered will to do good is so much of God...freedom to do ill and to move to Hell is the Devil's fetters of vengeance...9.) Man chooseth God because he is chosen. And marrieth Christ because he was first married against his will, for without consent, the consent was conquered by Christ." SA 162.

to man's communion with God. While it is clear that there is nothing we can do to make God come to us, there are many things we can do to prepare ourselves for His coming.<sup>1</sup> In every instance, he makes abundantly clear that these personal preparations have nothing to do with our salvation and are, in fact, done under the impulsion of the Spirit.<sup>2</sup> He must qualify the emphasis of some of his predecessors who, in going to the extreme in denouncing works, had found them a hindrance to conversion.<sup>3</sup>

On the basis of the freedom and responsibility given men in the habit of grace, he can even advise a correspondent to wrestle with God and "Fight! He delighteth to be overcome by wrestling."<sup>4</sup> Rutherford goes so far as to draw up lists of what can be done in order to "have

1. He demonstrates this principle with several pictures: 1.) of a sailor who cannot cause the wind to blow but can have the sails ready and wait on the tide. Cat 200; ILG 131; 2.) of the preached or written Word as a net which can be gotten into but it is the strength of God which pulls the net to land. ILG 130; 3.) it is the physician who cures, but we may walk to Him to receive the medication. Ibid., p.130. Many similar examples are given in this section.

2. See CD 583; TT 250; ILG 130, 160, 227, 271, 359. He always emphasises within the same sentence encouraging personal activity that it is not this which saves. Thus Rutherford shows not only the danger he saw in turning the Gospel of Christ into a "works righteousness," but also his determination not to sacrifice what he felt to be a biblical emphasis even though it had been perverted and misunderstood by those around him.

3. "It is true, some of our divines have said natural preparations are hurtful, destructive, and noxious to conversion. I wish they speak not so, their meaning is as they are trusted in," ILG 151. Cf. above, p.71, f.n.1, his negative reaction to Baxter's demand for repentance in preparation for the Gospel.

4. Let 38. Also 145, 147.

Elsewhere he notes that this wrestling with God "is done by a secret supply of divine strength within." Ibid., p.295. Also ILG 112.



and improve" spiritual influences from Christ. These suggestions serve to show the necessity of God's meeting every Spirit-motivated desire which the Christian expresses.<sup>1</sup>

### Dispositions of Grace

We have noted previously that while the habit of grace "gives the power to will according to Christ;"<sup>2</sup> it does not give the power to actualise what is willed. There is a moral desire to do good in the regenerate, but there is not necessarily a physical power to perform it. There is never a moment when the Christian is thrown upon his own resources to live a good life. Nor a time when any can boast of having done some good thing in his own power. On the contrary, life in union with Christ demands a constant reliance on the Spirit for spiritual energy. The power to live righteously demands that He work in us not only to will but also to do His good pleasure.<sup>3</sup> The term Rutherford uses to describe this activity

1. The four places where these rules are enumerated, while revealing somewhat different emphases, contain basically the same message. The first tells us, 1.) Look to Christ every moment. 2.) Be sure of the vision. 3.) Keep close to Christ. ILG, p.14. The second says: 1.) Entertain a large apprehension of God and His grace. 2.) Expunge all thought of law-condemnation. 3.) Keep a near communion with Christ. 4.) Improve faith by much believing. 5.) Grow in love. 6.) Obtain and cherish inwardness of the Spirit. Ibid., pp.264f. Cf.292f.,382f.

2. SA 158 as quoted in full above, p.126.

3. John Owen describes this most simply when he notes: "There is in our regeneration habitual grace received, a nature bestowed on us capable of growth and increase and that is all; if it be left unto itself it will not thrive, it will decay and die. The actual supplies of the Spirit are the waterings that are the immediate cause of its increase. It wholly depends on continual influences from God." Op.cit., IV.II.6.3., p.106.

of the Spirit is "dispositions of grace."

"Dispositions are moveable qualities of the soul, beyond and above the habit enabling us to act graciously and to perform actions suitable to those dispositions."<sup>1</sup>

In order to clarify this definition, he immediately compares and contrasts dispositions with habits of grace. They are similar in that: 1.) They are both manifestations of free grace which cannot be acquired by any human effort.<sup>2</sup> 2.) Both are resultant from Christ's mediation.<sup>3</sup> 3.) Both may be seen as a blessed conspiracy of the Trinity functioning through the Person of the Holy Spirit.<sup>4</sup>

The difference lies in that first, the Spirit gives the will to do, in the second, the power to accomplish.

"Now the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, dwells in the children of God... 1.) in the habit and divine power given them to confess Christ before men or in preaching, working of miracles or in praying. 2.) in actuating that power, in giving grace actually

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1. ILG 240.

Rutherford later broadens the term to include experiences of God's presence as in Part 3, pp.307f. But as his overall treatment places this discussion of experimental religion in the category of "influences of grace," we defer comment until that point. See below, p.134.

2. "Therefore know wherein dispositions and spiritual habits agree...Both are above nature...no man is born with habits of grace, or gracious disposition...Both are the supernatural gifts of God infused from above and neither of them (is) acquired by natural actings." ILG 241.

3. "Both the habit of grace, as it is proved from Bk.2, and much more gracious dispositions are the purchase of the merit of Christ." Ibid.

4. "Both are supernatural gifts of God...Jn.14:16, 'I will pray the Father, and He will send you the Comforter.' Christ sends Him, the Father sends Him in Christ's name." ILG 241.

to will and to do, to confess, prophesy, as the Lord is said to thunder in the clouds, to give rain, not that He is personally united to the clouds, but because He creates in the clouds the power of thunder and raining and doth actually determine the clouds to rain."<sup>1</sup>

Both dispositions and habits of grace are described as qualities of the human soul.<sup>2</sup> But the latter is called a "moveable quality enabling us to act." The basic difference between the two resides in the immediacy of the work of the Spirit. The habit is, as it were, the permanent mark of the Spirit in the believer, whereas the disposition: the power to act upon that desire, comes and goes as the Spirit supplies the motive force to perform what is acceptable before God.<sup>3</sup> He asks himself the question:

"But is not the habit of grace and spiritual dispositions all one and the same? Ans. They are not one: for the habit is the seed of God that remains always in us...I Jn.2, but a disposition comes and goes, ebbs and flows...To say that spiritual dispositions are as permanent and constant as habits, is to deny the going and coming of the Spirit..."<sup>4</sup>

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1. ILG 241. Also 290,299.

2. The term is insisted upon in order to avoid confusion of anything that occurs in us with the actual person of the Holy Spirit. Cf. CD 583.

3. It should perhaps be stressed that Rutherford does not speak of these distinctions within the one sanctifying act of God as though they were fragmented, independent acts of grace. Rather, he sees all of God's work as a harmonious whole. The distinctions he draws here are nothing more than the result of an attempt to isolate and thereby clarify what is actually happening at the individual level when God acts in redemption in Christ.

4. ILG 242-3.

He notes further on that "if these heavenly dispositions were ever in it (the soul), it should speak much against the liberty of the blessed Spirit whose breathings and out-lettings are sovereignly free."

We may ask, what is Rutherford's purpose in identifying this element in the spectrum of sanctification? Primarily, it is a necessary invention to complement the doctrine of the habit of grace in order that that concept should not allow man a position of anything but total dependence upon God. The doctrine of the dispositions of grace demonstrates clearly that even after the infusion of the life of Christ by the Spirit, man can only find fulfillment and power in a dependent union with the life-giving God.<sup>1</sup> Within this framework, the doctrine explains how man can act righteously before God.<sup>2</sup> If the habit of grace provides a locus point for human responsibility by giving man a real principle of will, then the disposition of grace united with that principle provides a locus point for human activity; all within the framework of God's absolute control of the universe.

While not discussing it at any length, Rutherford says enough to show that he is aware that somewhere between the habit of grace and the dispositions of grace we have a sort of interaction between the redeemed, free

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1. "So are the saints kept still in a spiritual living, being by Christ's issuing out of influences upon them. So sweet is the union of dependency daily and momentarily upon Christ...but our actings separated from Christ and His influences of life, not known to be such, through our unwatchfulness are dreadful." ILG 209.

2. He also uses the distinction to explain fluctuations in the Christian's spiritual experience. But he endeavors to prove that what he is describing in the dispositions is something more than simply a psychological aspect of religious life. Thus he distinguishes dispositions from "affections of the heart," ILG 244, and "between spiritual burnings of the heart for love of Christ and literal heat," Ibid., pp.252f., and the power of dispositions of God to overcome and control dispositions of the heart's affection, pp.300f.



human will and the divine power. He uses the picture of a river whose banks have been established by the Spirit. The habit of grace establishes divine boundaries of a free will and within these boundaries man can act with God in the performance of religious duties. While all this is under the control of providential love, he can still say: "influences of the Spirit are con-natural to the spiritual man."<sup>1</sup>

"As the Lord in His common influences with the sun rising and going down, the wind blowing, the sea ebbing and flowing straineth not, nor forceth the nature of second causes, nor draws them as passive lumps...so neither doth the Spirit of grace, by His actual influence, carry along the rational powers of knowing, believing, willing, as mere dead and passive blocks...But the Lord makes the suitable, active concurrence of sinless nature and of grace stirring in its influences to join together and accord friendly, connaturally, and without jarring or violence done to nature and so carries on the supernatural and gracious actings of obedience."<sup>2</sup>

### Influences of Grace

The habit and dispositions of grace are definitions resulting from the observation of human activity and

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1. ILG 415.

2. Ibid., pp.386-7. Also 209; SA 222.

In his discussion of prayer, this emphasis is restated. Prayer is actually effective in moving God because in every act of prayer, there are clusters of influences from God strung together. ILG 169. God first acts in us by recreating us in Christ's image as men who will to do His will. Then, as part of that union which puts God under obligation to redeem those for whom Christ died, God also ties Himself to be moved by a moral cause. Yet that moral cause, our prayers, does not function until God moves us to pray and God the Spirit prays through us. Thus, while all is of God, there is still a sense in which man, endued with the Spirit, can be said to move God in prayer. ILG 123-28. Also 213-15, 311, 372; AS 134; SA 331-32; TT 42f., 220; CD 171.

responsibility before God. But personal devotion to Christ means more than moral rectitude. It also means communing with and receiving from God. As any who have read his letters realise, Rutherford's conception of union with Christ could include an actual, physical, sensual awareness of the presence of Christ in the earthly life of the believer.<sup>1</sup> While he is quick to stress that this is by no means a necessary aspect of the Christian pilgrimage, nonetheless, he attempts to analyse this aspect of the life of grace theologically as one who has experienced what is being described.<sup>2</sup>

Rutherford distinguishes between fundamental influences of grace and non-fundamental. The first category includes all that is necessary for the saints'

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1. Stoeffler's comment regarding this aspect of Puritan piety seems to describe Rutherford's attitude: "The conviction that the essence of Christianity consists in a personal relationship rather than in doctrinal, liturgical or organisational structures has prompted certain pietists to write a good deal about feeling. The majority of them, as has been said, had no time for a religious faith which might tend to aim solely at pleasurable emotions...(they) accepted them as inevitable by-products of a Christianity which is personally meaningful." Op.cit., p.14. Cf. Nuttall, op.cit., chap.9.

2. This aspect of Rutherford's theology presents problems peculiar to the stylistic idiosyncracies of his age. On the one hand, in describing his own experience of Christ, he uses language which seems over-loaded with sentimentality and physical allusions which appear vulgar from the 20th Cent. concept of communion with God. On the other hand, when he comes to describe this relationship theologically, his "versatile genius" (Macpherson, op.cit., p.42) becomes so subtle and ingenious as he cuts through the subject with his already finely honed system, that the course of his argument frequently becomes obscured if not lost in the welter of intricately balanced theological qualifications.

perseverance unto consummated salvation.<sup>1</sup> Non-fundamental  
 i influences are "some single influences, hic et nunc, that  
 the saints may be without and be saved."<sup>2</sup> These influ-  
 ences control the means or the route rather than the end  
 of the Christian's journey.

"There be two sorts of dispositions,  
 one fundamental, another not fundamental;  
 the former is the Lord's carrying on His  
 begun work, which is to will and to do  
 the end in His ordinary course; the dis-  
 position which is not fundamental res-  
 pects the Lord's way of doing here and  
 now, and in such circumstances, and the  
 degrees of grace given or infused, which  
 do not vary the space and nature of the  
 work."<sup>3</sup>

While influences non-fundamental may include a great  
 variety of things,<sup>4</sup> it is influences of the "presence and  
 nearness of God" which receive greater treatment.<sup>5</sup> We  
 shall examine why these influences are not considered  
 fundamental shortly as we look more closely at the role  
 of the Holy Spirit in them. We must first consider what  
 is meant by the concept "influences of the presence of

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1. "Some influences of Christ are fundamental, and sim-  
 ply necessary and principally promised; some are not fun-  
 damental, and less necessary as:

"(1) The influences by which the Lord gives a cir-  
 cumcised and one and single, soft and new heart and spir-  
 it. These are simply necessary.

"(2) These influences are also fundamental, in which  
 the Lord promiseth and doth put in act the habit of grace  
 for the perseverance of believers. ILG 208.

2. Ibid., p.209.

3. Ibid., p.106.

4. These vary from influences which keep one from sin to  
 influences of prayer and praise, (ILG 109-19) to the abi-  
 lity to "wrestle with God and prevail." Ibid., p.106.

5. ILG 106,322. The bulk of parts III,IV, that is, some  
 250 pages of ILG, are devoted to one or another aspect of  
 this subject.

God."

In spite of his familiarity with the subject, Rutherford does not write anything approaching a mystical theology. His works on practical divinity do not dwell on the definition or psychological analysis of this type of experience. His interest is in the theological presuppositions undergirding the possibility of man's personal communion with God. In the course of his writing, he gives informative examples of the kind of influences he is seeking to justify.

As in all other areas of his theology, Rutherford's first reference is Christological. It is in Christ's awareness of relationship with His heavenly Father that Rutherford finds justification for our awareness of the Lord's presence. In studying His life, we see that:

"No man enjoying God could have a more living and vigorous sense of the enjoyed Godhead than Christ; so His apprehension and vision of God must have been strong. Because the union with the Godhead, and communion of fulness of grace from the womb, must add to His natural faculties a great edge of sense."<sup>1</sup>

Also in CD, he notes that in Christ there was an "influence of an highest vision, love, presence, feeling of God in a personal union at the feet of God."<sup>2</sup> The basis of Christ's sense of God is in His hypostatic union and fullness of grace. Similarly, the basis of the Christian's personal communion is a fulness of grace (with the filling of the Spirit of grace) and union with Christ, though this is not an hypostatic union. In spite of this

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1. CD 21.

2. Ibid., p.141.



disparity, however, in the basis of union, Rutherford must be justified in drawing the comparison between Christ and the believer in this instance. If not, Christ's true humanity would be thrown into question. Although Christ's union is, as it were, natural and the basis of man's union is created, the result of imputed righteousness and the filling of the Spirit, still there is no divergence from the real humanity of Christ, because in the particulars of the felt presence of deity and the comforts which flow from that manifestation, Christ, as a man, is not necessarily aware of the union in which He lives. Rutherford avoids injustice to Christ's humanity by stressing the point that though Christ's sense of God's presence is based upon an indissoluble union, still His awareness of that presence is dissolvable. Christ in fact could be and was deserted in His awareness of God.<sup>1</sup>

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1. "There were two relationships in Christ; one as viator, another as comprehensor, seeing and enjoying God. There were two sights in Christ, one of vision, another of union; the sight of union of two natures is the cause of the sight of vision. Christ being on His journey travelling toward glory did with a faith of dependency rest on God as His Father, seeing and knowing that the union could not be dissolved, but as a comprehensor...enjoying God in habit, there is no necessity that Christ should always, et in omni differentia temporis, actually see and enjoy God, in an immediate vision of glory.

"This implieth no contradiction to personal union, even as the seeing of God habitually, which is the most joyful sight intelligible, and by necessity of nature does produce joy and gladness, may and did consist in Christ with groanings and sickness of spirit even before His last sufferings; so the interruption for a time of the actual vision of God might stand with Christ's personal happiness as God-man." CD 118. Also 467 where it is argued that because Christ's obedience was not based in His hypostatic union, the saints should not expect to live by some sort of essential union with "the uncreated and eternal life of the Holy Spirit."

In attempting to describe this influence of grace as it relates to the individual believer, Rutherford resorts to a variety of spiritualised sense images. He makes much of the spiritual odor of "uncreated glory" which abides with those who have been with Christ.<sup>1</sup> But the high point of the believer's union with Christ is, as it was for the disciples, seeing and being transformed by the vision of His transfigured glory.<sup>2</sup>

"There must be much sense of God in the fruition of Christ. Because believing, though we see Him not as we hope to see Him, causeth joy unspeakable and full of glory...(We) are changed into the same image from glory to glory, as it were, by the Spirit of

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1. CD 13.

Also 294; Serm.Lords, p.5; ILG 325-6 where it is noted that "the savoriness as it is in the Head, in Christ, the Cause and Fountain," is also in the Church and the individual believer because of their contact with Him. Cf. CD 91 with AS 78.

This sensual language is that of the Song of Songs. It has a theological lineage which can be traced through the works in Rutherford's library. The well-known passage in Augustine's Confessions which begins, "What do I love when I love my God?" contains reference to "a certain voice, a certain light, a certain smell which no blast can disperse." X.6. Ambrose picks up the theme: "The soul savours inwardly the odor of His divinity. Suddenly the soul's sense of smell is filled with a spiritual grace so that she is aware of the presence of Him whom she seeks." Serm.6 on Ps.118. See Poulain, Graces of Interior Prayer, pp.101f. for references to Bonaventura, Hugh of St.Victor, Gerson, Cassian, etc. on spiritual senses analogous to bodily senses. Also Luis de León on The Birth of Christ in the Soul, Peers, op.cit., p.160. Rutherford makes use not only of the spiritual sense of odor but also of sight, hearing and touch.

"The sense of touching, which is the most spiritual, is the heavenly feeling, sense and experience of God's consolations, and this sense is fed with the kisses of Christ's mouth. Cant.1:3." CD 295.

2. The zenith of the disciples' experience is "at the Transfiguration of Christ, when they saw His glory," CD 45. Cf.299 where John is spoken of as being "overglorified with His brightness" when he saw Christ. Also Ibid., p.50.

the Lord. The veil, that by the Law's ministry which can darken but not lighten in the Gospel, is removed; and we with uncovered face see God revealed in Christ, in the brightness of Gospel-day. We see, behold and enjoy glory. Heaven darteth in rays, and beams of God in Christ at our soul. This is a changing glory...We seeing the unspeakable resplendency and heavenly glancing of divine majesty, in the mediator Christ, are transfigured and changed into the Lord Jesus, His beauty and holiness; the Gospel light maketh us holy as He is holy."<sup>1</sup>

While there is a sense in which all the regenerate may lay claim to what is stated above, especially as to the vivifying effect of the sight of Christ, Rutherford has particularly in mind those whom he describes as having been changed from glory to glory<sup>2</sup> and perhaps received revelation of facts not in Scripture, although not contrary to it, by virtue of their close communion with Christ.<sup>3</sup>

It is when he turns to the discussion of the vision of God that we begin to detect the theological exposition

1. CD 357.

He continues to explain that this is accomplished by Christ creating in His saints "the image of the glory of God in the soul;" which is a work of the Spirit uniting us to Christ. It is a "growing change by degrees" to be perfected in heaven but begun on earth.

2. "Though all utterings and stirrings of the soul that flow from the Spirit are warranted by the Word, yet I am assured some are, and have been, even in our time, so changed from glory to glory by the Spirit of the Lord, that their faces have shined like the face of an angel, they have been at singing and a desire to shout for joy, yea to leap and dance, and have been so filled with the fulness of God that they could not speak," He goes on to cite experiences of various people and draws the conclusion: "I am sure this is the joy unspeakable and full of glory spoken of in I Pet. and the begun fulness of God of Eph.3," similar to the experience of John at Patmos (Rev.1:17) and Daniel in exile in Babylon (Dan.10:7f.). SA 303.

3. CLO 139 and above, on prophecy, pp.109f.

which makes Rutherford's comments on experimental religion valuable. He defines the beatific vision in terms of the transforming sight of Christ just described.

"An act of living in Christ and on Christ in acts of loving, seeing, enjoying, embracing, resting on Him, is that noon-day divinity and theology of beatific vision."<sup>1</sup>

Two questions arise in connection with the vision of God. One, is it available to creatures in space and time? Two, in what manner can the invisible God be "seen, enjoyed and embraced?" In answer to the first question, Rutherford responds affirmatively but with qualifications. First, any glimpse of God available to the earthly creature must be incomparably less than that of glory.<sup>2</sup> Second, the vision of God is not to be the object of worship. It is never to be confused with God Himself.

"There is a two-fold happiness in the saints, one formal, and another objective. There is a mediate seeing

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1. CD xi. Also TT 313. Cf. GE 171; CD 191; Let 7.

Elsewhere, he describes the vision of God in terms of "practical union" with Christ in this life. CD 350.

2. "Paul's ravishment to the third heavens, John's being in the Spirit, and seeing the heavens opened, and beholding the throne and Him that sat on it...do clearly evidence saints may in this life be in the suburbs of heaven, but the suburbs is not the city." CD iii.

One of the reasons why the distinction is made between temporal and eternal beholding of God lies in the nature of man who, in an unglorified state, lacks the capacity to see God and live. Thus Rutherford can tell a correspondent that when she sees Christ in glory, "He shall appear a new Christ," not that He shall change, "but the change shall be in you when ye shall have new senses and the soul shall be a more deep and a more capacious vessel to take in more of Christ." Let 317. Also CD 90, 343-4.

(Any beholding of God with the eye of faith in this life must be as He reveals Himself to the creature bound by earth. CD 291; SA 299-300). For the perfection of the vision in glory, see ILG 283f.; CD 289; as it relates to the Church as a whole, ILG 283.



of God, one by ordinances and means; another immediate....The formal blessedness of the saints is in the act of seeing, knowing, loving, enjoying God, (Cf. the beatific vision definition) which on our part are created things, and so empty nothings, and not essentially the happiness of man, but means by the which we enjoy God, our happiness....God in Christ, and in the incomings and out-flowings of the Spirit of glory, or the blessed one God in three Persons, is the object and happiness of the saints, and therefore we are to prefer Christ Himself to all the kisses, visions, out-flowings of glory, and all our acts of seeing, loving and enjoying God. We may...highly prize the vision of God, but God Himself and Jesus Christ we must not only prize but be ravished, over-charged with Himself, as the Bridegroom is far more excellent than His(various gifts)."<sup>1</sup>

In declaring that God in Christ is to be preferred above any vision of God, Rutherford answers our second question regarding the means of the beatific vision. The vision of God must be in creaturely forms and images, for it cannot be identified with God Himself.

"A vision of God immediate in this life, and that ordinary, without forms and images, without Word, sacrament, ordinances, I know not; I understand it not."<sup>2</sup>

That the knowledge of God in His essence is impossible was long recognised.<sup>3</sup> The West generally expressed this

1. CD 349-50.

See below on the idolatry of influences, p.146.

2. CD 351-2.

This is a summary of a short argument against an Antinomian plea for the possibility of such a vision. Rutherford's basic objection is that this goes "beyond what is written." The Antinomian claim of a vision of God without intermediate species had its Roman Catholic counterpart in their 17th Cent. contemporaries, the Carmelites, Philip of the Holy Trinity and Anthony of the Holy Spirit. See Farges' discussion in Mystical Phenomena, p.76.

3. E.g., see Pseudo Basil's Contra Eunomius, II.32; Epist. 234.

denial by speaking of the vision of God in terms of the created grace which bridged the gap between God and man. Although Rutherford's language seems reminiscent of someone like Bernard who speaks of "created images" within the vision of God, it must be kept in mind that Rutherford knows nothing of a created grace between God and man. By distinguishing "images" and "forms" from the essence of God Himself, he is not saying that these are but created intermediaries which do not partake of the reality of the Trinity. On the other hand, he will not allow the invention of a new Divinity, an "energy" or light which shares the essence of God. Rather the vision of God is to be likened (as CD 352 just quoted above indicates) to the sacrament: something given, subsumed, vivified and indwelt by God, who in His Holy Spirit acts in all things by both "His power and His Person."<sup>2</sup>

While it is clear that images are necessary for the earthly vision of Christ, Rutherford reserves judgment on the state of the question for the glorified.

"In Heaven we see God face to face, that is, without means or messengers or ordinances, I cannot determine whether when we shall know and see the Lord in an immediate vision of glory, our understanding shall receive created forms, intellectual species and images...of the Lord Jesus; it's a nicety not for our edification."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Op.cit., 32.1; 41.3.

2. ILG 433.

See above pp.58,93 and the discussions following.

3. He continues: "Surely Christ shall infuse and pour into every vessel of glory so much of Himself...that the soul shall be full, and who knoweth...(how they) drink from the honeycomb of uncreated glory...(or) what are the emanations, the out-flowing of blessedness from the pure essence...and what can these incomings and the eternal flowing of the tide of that sea of matchless felicitude be? Come up and see can best resolve." CD 351.

Whatever the means of the vision of the glorified, Rutherford is so sure of its reality that he uses the "divinity of immediate vision" as a proof that "the bodies of the godly are saved no less than their spirits." GE 240; TT 161; Cf. CD 569-70.

Having seen Rutherford's description of personal, experimental union with God in Christ, we note that it is the Holy Spirit once again who is the life-giving influence in this area of communion.

"If the spirations and breathings of the Spirit go not along, both the voice and the love-bracelets--for Christ is no more counterfeit in His love tokens than in His Word when He speaks as a husband--are alike ineffectual to persuade the soul. I see no reason to call works of sanctification inferior helps in the manifestation more than the voice of the Beloved, for both without the Spirit are equally ineffectual, and if the Spirit breathes and moves with them, both are effectual."<sup>1</sup>

Rutherford uses the knowledge that the Spirit is the Author of any temporal experience of Christ's reality as the foundation of his often stressed qualifications and warnings regarding such manifestations. These are:

1. Since the Spirit gives these gifts at His discretion, none ought to demand them nor measure spirituality on the basis of such experiences.
2. Faith, a universal gift to the redeemed, is more important than sensual experience of God.
3. Since the Spirit is the giver of these experiences and not the substance of them, they must not be idolised.
4. Since these are not revelations of God or of His will, but merely revealed gifts of God, they can never be a rule for obedience.

First, manifestations of God are not necessary for union with Christ. These things are gifts of the providence of

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1. CD 99.

This argument is part of a discussion of assurance establishing the point that only because they are products of the Spirit's activity can either good works or manifestations of Christ's presence be "evidences" of personal regeneration. See below, "Assurance," p.148.

Also see CD 52 relating to the Spirit as the means of Christ's personal visits.

God alone. There are many "solid walkers by faith" who never knew any sense of the Spirit's presence.<sup>1</sup> There is absolutely no command of God that any must experience these things.<sup>2</sup> Nor is there any possibility of being able to force Christ to reveal Himself in this way.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, "Faith is above sense."<sup>4</sup> For all of his emphasis on the desirability of such influences of grace,<sup>5</sup> Rutherford carefully and consistently points out that faith has

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1. ILG 102.

Also, "Some of the saints are carried to Abraham's bosom and to heaven in Christ's bosom and for the most, feast on sweet manifestations all the way, and others are often in the hell of soul trouble...there be not two sundry ways to heaven, but there are, I doubt not in the latitude of sovereignty, hundreds of various dispensations in the same way." CD 50. Cf. TT 258; Last Speech, p.111.

2. SA 299; GE 239 where it is noted that Scripture never rebukes any for not experiencing the gifts of spiritual life.

3. ILG 18, 428; CD 485.

"Absence and presence, His coming and His departing, are both His(Christ's) own works. God hath liberty in the one and the other....so hath He His own freedom in the breathings of His own Spirit...whatever ye be, Christ is Lord of His own presence and visits and it's good the King's chamber of presence be a dainty...nor can we here force kindness or acts of heavenly manifestations of Him." CD 58.

4. This is the heading of a discussion in ILG 322f.

5. In several places Rutherford defends his preaching of influences of grace and the presence of Christ against those who would have him "preach fundamentals" and not "imaginations." He lampoons such by saying that those who would obliterate all truths of Scripture because they are not fundamental are like those who pull the roof off a house and when criticised, say "do not complain, I have not touched the foundation stone!" He says that these have become "enemies of true zeal by making an idol of moderation." ILG 323-4. Also Let 286. Cf. ILG 171, 184, 262, 310; Serm. Lords, pp. 4, 5. Rutherford sees these experiences as valuable only in that they can lead to a greater dependence upon Christ.

"...The more of the Spirit any hath, the more doth the spiritual life depend upon the operation of grace." Thus our life becomes more and more dependent upon the life of Christ and the Spirit. We live because they live and our life is in them. "The life of grace in this life is kept in being by the Spirit; and the life of the body...is restored again(in the resurrection) by the Spirit of Christ." ILG 313.



priority over all such manifestations and that these can, if idolised, be more of a hindrance than a help in the life of grace.

"Remember that faith is one thing, and the feeling and notice of faith another. God forbid that feeling were proprium quarto modo to all the saints; and that this were good reasoning, 'No feeling, no grace.'"<sup>1</sup>

Thirdly, since neither Christ nor the Spirit are essentially the manifestations experienced, one must be careful not to magnify these above the One from whom they emanate.

"We dote too much on the sweet accidents (manifestations to the soul) of Christ and love Himself too little."<sup>2</sup>

If this should ever become the case, experiential theology should become guilty of relegating Christ to merely a means whereby we procure spiritual experience.

"Sin it must be to sue and woo the King's attendants and courtiers (enjoyments of aforementioned 'formal vision of God') by Himself or to make... Christ but a man-servant or Mediator to duties,<sup>3</sup> sense, comfort, assurance, or the like."<sup>3</sup>

It is for this reason that the vision of God must be distinguished from His essence.<sup>4</sup>

1. Let 293.

In like vein, he notes that if we should follow our senses, God would often appear to be more a foe than a friend, Let 295, the reason being that sense demands a felt presence of Christ which is not always given. Cf. ILG 309. Thus "Believing is surer than too frequent gathering warmth from our own hot skin." CD 71.

2. CD 155.

3. Ibid., p.83; TT 259; SA 328; CLO 56.

Cf. "The only Heaven and sum, yea the all of all, the shadowed expressions of the Kingdom, whatever is spoken of that glory comes home to this: to magnify Christ, to make Him as God equal with the Father and Spirit, all one; and all, the only Heaven of all Heaven and all in all to the saints. Then created delights there, as divided from Him, must be nothing in nothing, as He is all in all." CD 288.

4. As above, p.143.

Fourthly, experiences of God's presence are no rule for obedience. While defending the type of experience that was claimed by many Antinomians, Rutherford nonetheless makes it perfectly clear that the conclusions they often drew from their experiences were invalid. Their sense of God's activity in their lives can never become a rule of obedience nor can the Scriptures be subject to or interpreted by such movements of His grace.<sup>1</sup> His reasons against the Spirit's manifestations being a rule of obedience are based on a three-fold misunderstanding in his opponents of the nature and effects of the Spirit's presence and union with man. First, if the Spirit were personally united and therefore continually present in man, only then could we identify all our various dispositions with movements of the Spirit. But since He is not so essentially united to us, such a reading of our feelings involves an illicit "tying of the Spirit to our spiritual senses."<sup>2</sup> Secondly, since the Godhead, though personally present in the Spirit, is not physically united to man, there is no sense in which temporal man is perfected until glorification. The Spirit's presence does not automatically render one sinless, neither do great manifestations of His activity in the life indicate that one has risen above sin. The fact that John, in an ecstatic experience

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1. There is no lack of material on this point, as it figured highly in Rutherford's debates with the Antinomians. See ILG 67; CD 53; SA 175, 225, 327; CLO 345. In this last, he notes that although the Spirit helps us to obey the Law, He is not the Law nor the rule of our ethical life. See above, "The Spirit and the Scripture," p.40.

2. ILG 68.

Also above, "Antinomianism," p.82.

on Patmos, could worship a creature rather than Christ shows that "these raptures are not inconsistent with sinful infirmities."<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, since the Spirit's actual indwelling is not essential but rather in terms of habits of grace and influences, it is inconceivable that man should be so united to God in this life that he should lose the freedom of will given him in regeneration; and as long as man exercises an imperfect will, he will in some degree err and commit sin.<sup>2</sup>

With all of these necessary and valuable qualifications, Rutherford taught and experienced a communion with Christ which involved the whole being, not only mind, morals and politics, but also emotions and senses, all at the deepest level of abandoned commitment. This teaching was founded on the reality of God's immanent activity in the world and the soul through the Holy Spirit.

#### Assurance

There remains one more area of personal piety in which Rutherford gives the doctrine of the Spirit special prominence. It relates to the believer's personal assurance of union with Christ. Since the majority of theologians

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1. CD 363. Also CLO 140f.

2. "There remaineth true liberty in the regenerate man. His free will is not destroyed...His (God's) testimonies argue a sanctified elective power of free will in the soul...(it is) a foolish opinion grounded on conceit... (that) the immediate rapture and pull of the Holy Ghost removeth all freedom, reason, deliberation, knowledge, action, from the soul in either supernatural works of grace or sin, as if the soul were turned into a rock or a stone." AS 152. See above, "Liberty and Responsibility," p.125.

Some Antinomians had gone so far as to justify their activities as being direct products of the Holy Ghost who indwelt them, and therefore, above censure.

of the 16th and 17th Cents., whether Roman Catholic or protestant, rejected the notion of universal salvation<sup>1</sup> (as opposed to universal redemption), it was of particular importance that the individual know, if possible, that he was united to Christ. This necessity was intensified in the Reformed tradition. Having once denied the Church to be a receptacle of grace and works as a causative element in redemption and placing the emphasis upon elective grace, the Reformers removed the search for assurance from its improper base of introspective analysis or dependence on the organisational Church to faith in God's redeeming activity in Christ. But taking assurance to this "less tangible" base made the issue even more difficult to grasp. Rutherford attacks the problem within the context of his doctrine of grace. Because of the two-fold character of grace corresponding to the mission of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, there is also a two-fold character in assurance. Grace is first the redemptive activity of God the Son; assurance has its first ground in this same fact. But grace is also the activity of God the Spirit sent by the Son to act in and upon the believer. Therefore, while not necessary for faith, assurance may be had in the recognition of the Spirit's work in the life, thereby providing

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1. This rejection extended even to those who conceived of the atonement as universal. This concept was repugnant to the Reformers because it implied that some could be lost for whom Christ died. If this were the case, the believer could find no grounds for assurance in the life and death of Christ who would be seen as incapable of saving all who call on Him. CD 384. The theology of grace, which is informed by the presupposition that God can and must do whatever He wills, was felt to be undermined. However, in framing the argument on the extent of the atonement in this manner, the Reformed school was left with the enigma of a "genuine" universal offer of salvation which had no basis in the atonement.



concrete evidence that God's first mission of grace in Christ is directed to the particular Christian.<sup>1</sup>

Every act of grace on God's part serves to assure the believer of His love. Thus the final ground and source of all assurance is in the revelation of God's reconciling love in Christ. It is impossible to try to find evidence of salvation in religion abstracted from this reference.<sup>2</sup>

1. It may be stressed again that Rutherford never sees a division in the mission of Christ and the Spirit. Both acts of God are necessary. What brings about a distinction at this point is that the Spirit's mission is not necessarily recognised by the believer, and thus assurance which is based on that recognition is not a requirement for salvation. See below, p.151.

2. "God's law of faith in Christ's concluded atonement is better and surer than your feeling...It is adultery to seek a sign because we cannot trust our own husband's word." TT 10.

This quotation appears after a section proving the foolishness of trusting sense rather than Christ. He notes further that: "The comparative pouring, and more frequent living on the comforts of our own gracious actings, more than on Christ Himself and His death, is as if I would live too much on a sight of a new, created birth in myself, and the image of the second Adam, when I have Christ Himself to live on...What we over-behold, that we overlove; what we over-love, in that we over-confide...(However) We see not that actings of grace are made a secret-substituted mediator with Christ. But these flow from the corruption of our own nature, not from the strain of our doctrine in these points." AS 92-3.

A related objective form of assurance is the biblical revelation. "The formal object is that into which our faith is resolved when we give a reason of our faith, as this: for what cause or formal motive do you see with the eye of faith, and believe that Mary's Son is the Messiah and only Saviour? Ye do answer, because so saith the Lord in the Old and New Testament, and that is the true object. But ye do not give an account of your faith when ye answer, I believe it because I have eyes within enlightened, because that is not to answer what is the true object of your faith." SA 327-8. Cf. Stoeffler, op.cit., p.80; above, "The Spirit and the Scripture," p.40.

On the other hand, "Far less was it ever heard that Protestants teach that men may have assurance from the mere letter of Scripture." SA 239. Scripture is only a means of certitudo mentis (see below, p.151) when used as a tool of argumentation by the Spirit. Thus the Spirit may lead a man to argue from certain facts in his life and draw the conclusion that since Scripture says a man who lives this way is Christ's, he is Christ's.

Christ and the Scripture in this respect are so central to the question that it would be nonsense to speak of assurance without these presuppositions. But the problem involved in this aspect of theology is not the ground of assurance, i.e., Christ or the Scripture, which is the invariable object. The problem is whether or not the individual believer has sufficient grounds to believe that these invariables have reference to him. Rutherford notes that his discussion of the Spirit's work of assurance is not a question of the object of assurance, but the certainty in the conscience of the individual.

"The whole argument (of Cornwell, his protagonist) is of a direct assurance, called certitudo entis, or of the object. The question is, touching reflect certainty, how persons may be sure in their own conscience, called certitudo mentis. And so it (Cornwell's argument) concludeth not the question."<sup>1</sup>

Before examining the means whereby the Spirit gives this certainty, we should appreciate that Rutherford stressed the fact that assurance, as influences of grace in the narrow sense, is by no means a necessary thing. Faith is the more sure way and provides the first line of defense against doubt.<sup>2</sup> Assurance, like manifestations of God's presence, is a gift of the Spirit and therefore, not a thing that can

1. CD 112. Also EA 21; Cat 213.

2. CD 108, 110; SA 153; AS 78; Cf. ILG 312-3.

But once again, faith which is one of the universal gifts of the Spirit to the Church is in a different category from that certainty which Rutherford has in mind when he speaks of the Spirit's direct evidencing. Faith provides the bridge between assurance of the Object (Christ) and assurance of the subject (the believer).

"We are first assured of our justification by faith, not by good works. For we grant the arguments of one sort of assurance which is proper to faith; and they prove nothing against another sort of assurance by signs and effects, which is also divine." CD 110. Also, PLC 14. See above on the Spirit and faith, pp. 60f.

be demanded or even expected to be present in each believer.<sup>1</sup> Thus one can never be scorned for lack in this certainty. And many, in fact, live and die without this assurance.<sup>2</sup>

The assurance of salvation which the Spirit may give the believer is discussed under two headings. First there is a granting of an ability to the believer to perceive the work of sanctification which has taken place in him as a work which can only be done by God. Secondly, there is an immediate internal testimony to the fact of redemption in Christ:

"Assurance from evidences and assurance from the testimony of the Spirit are both divine and supernatural evidences...We judge both to be the testimony of the Holy Ghost."<sup>3</sup>

1. "The keeping of the commandments and the Word of Jesus, is infallible in itself that I know Christ savingly and that He dwelleth in me, but that it infallibly concludeth to me, actu secundo, is not sure, except the wind blow fair from heaven and the Spirit act in me...(manifestation, love of the brethren, etc.)being works of His Spirit which dwell in Jesus Christ, are actu primo, in themselves, as infallible signs of the Bridegroom's love to me...and if the spirations and breathings of the Spirit go not along, both the voice and the love-bracelets...are alike ineffectual to persuade the soul." CD 98-9. Also 86.

2. AS 84; PLC 12; SA 238-9.

3. AS 89; Cat 213.

This distinction occurs as part of the running battle with Antinomians. Members of this group (Crisp, Saltmarsh, Towne) held a very strong doctrine of assurance based on the two-fold foundation of the absolute imputation of Christ's active obedience and the internal testimony of the Spirit which witnessed to individual believers that Christ's obedience was theirs. Rutherford took exception to their presentation because of the incomplete nature of their doctrine. He saw immediate testimony as only one of many parts of the Spirit's work of sanctification. There is an immediate testimony in some, but there is regeneration in all with its corresponding desires and works. These two results of regeneration, when compared with the biblical description of what a regenerate person is and does, would provide a three-pronged yet unitary basis for assurance. (see below pp.55-6.) The Antinomians, on the other hand, substituted the doctrine of the Spirit for the doctrine of Scripture, thereby making an emotional experience an authoritative basis of assurance devoid of any objective standard for the judgment of the experience. More importantly, this conception of the Spirit as merely a "Testifier" precluded the necessary existence of any works of sanctification by the believer. This in turn demanded the Antinomians' understanding of the imputation of Christ's active obedience which led to their theory of human annihilation. AS 81-91. See above, "Antinomianism," p.82.



Assurance, which is a result of the observation of the Spirit's sanctifying operation, and its effects are based on the reality of grace in and upon the believer: as nature reflects God as Creator, so fruits of the Spirit prove there has been a creation in us.<sup>1</sup> The result is a "mediate" assurance arrived at by the observation of sanctification rather than an "immediate testimony" of the Spirit.<sup>2</sup> He allows us, as it were, to take a step back from ourselves and observe our lives as objects of God's grace and further, to draw the observation that only God can do such a work.<sup>3</sup>

"But we think, and can prove, the saints passing...judgment of themselves, and of their own sincere walking, as is clear, Cant.5; Is.26; Job 23:31, etc.; Ps.18; Ezk.38; Jer.15; II Cor.1; II Tim. 4, do certainly know the graces of God in themselves to come from no other principle than the Holy Ghost; and that none can do these works in them but Christ,

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1. PLC 12.

2. "The assurance of our spiritual acts resulting from our Christian walking, is a mediate assurance collected by inference, not immediate, as we see the sun." AS 90.

This was a generally accepted means of certainty among the 17th Cent. Reformed party; witness the Synod of Dort on assurance: "The elect are informed each at his own time, though in varying degrees and with unequal measure; not indeed by curious prying into the deep mysteries of God, but by observing in themselves, with spiritual delight and holy pleasure the infallible fruits of election, designated as such in the Word of God...", chap.1, canon 12.

3. "Could we look over ourself, and abstract our thoughts from ourself as if we were nothing and dead, and behold the actings of grace...and see these in the Spirit, the Worker. There were surer inferences to be made thus than when we eye our own selves." AS 82.

"To eye the actings of the Spirit in ourselves, and overlook ourselves, is the surest arguing of a spiritual state." Ibid.



and the inferences made from them are the reasonings of the Holy Ghost, and the result is an infallible assurance."<sup>1</sup>

The second way that the Spirit may give assurance is in His immediate testimony to the believer.<sup>2</sup>

"I deny not but there is a pure and immediate assurance that floweth from the witness of the Spirit. Rom.8:16; II Cor.1:21; Eph.1:13. So as the shining of the sun maketh evidence that it is day, without a syllogism and discourse...But I utterly deny that in every moment of time when the person believeth, he is assured of his state of salvation; for this reflect assurance is not essential to faith."<sup>3</sup>

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1. AS 90.

The most complete discussion of the doctrine is in AS, chap.53, pp.75f. Similar ground is covered in CD 85-110 under the topic "How Sanctification Giveth Light to Justification." Especially see pp.105f. under the heading "Scriptures and Reasons from these make good that we know our justification by our Sanctification."

It need hardly be noted that in this area open to a marginal degree of confusion, Rutherford goes out of his way to prove that simply because it is possible to have assurance from observing works done in the power of the Spirit, does not in any way imply that these works are causes of salvation. Especially see AS 92; Cat 205 and above, p.71. He notes that while it is possible that the doctrine could be abused if confused with meritorious works, still in the end it is not possible "that one grace of God should obscure and destroy another; for to see, feel and profess sanctification is an act of supernatural feeling and of grace, how then can it darken the faith of remission of sins in Christ?" To deny this means of assurance is "against the office of the Spirit which is to make us know the things freely given us of God." CD 81.

2. Rutherford makes no distinction of priority between these two means. While assurance by argumentation from sanctification seems to have been widely held by Rutherford's party, many, probably because of Antinomian abuses of this second means, did not acknowledge it.

"Many doubt, and these both godly and learned, of the immediate word and testimony of the Spirit. They say it is from signs and effects of saving grace, by which arguments the Spirit testifies that we are the children of God." SA 239. Also 333.

3. SA 238-9.

This testimony is founded entirely upon the immediate communication by the Spirit to the being of the believer of his union with Christ.

"The testimony of the Spirit bearing witness to our spirit that we are the children of God(Rom.8:16) is, in this sense, an immediate act of the Spirit, because reflect acts of the soul are performed without any other medium or means, but that whereby the direct acts are performed...My sense, by that same immediate operation of the Spirit by which I know God, without any other light, teacheth me to know that I know God...So when I believe in Christ, that habitual instinct of grace of God, actuated and stirred up by the Spirit of God, maketh me to know that I know God, and that I believe and so that I am in Christ to my own certain feeling and apprehension."<sup>1</sup>

Assurance flows from every act of God's movement of grace. It is grounded in Christ's mission. It is concretised in the saint by the Spirit's mission. The Spirit moves and gives faith which is a basis of assurance. The Spirit regenerates and the new life witnesses to God's love. The Spirit empowers the individual to do works of righteousness and enables the believer to see the supernatural origin of these works; this yields its assurance. The Spirit allows one to reason from Scripture that the record is describing something God has done

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1. Serm.Com., p.33.

Also, "As faith which is the direct act of knowing and relying on Christ for pardon, is a work of the Spirit, above the reach of reason, so also the reflect act of my knowing and feeling that I believe and am in Christ... is a supernatural work, above the compass and reach of our free-will, and is dispensed according to the spirations and stirrings of the free grace of God." CD 86. Also 99,100. He lists here seven ways of the Spirit's giving assurance, quoting over eighty separate texts as evidence. Cf. Stoeffler, op.cit., p.14.

in me. The Spirit brings Christ to the soul in periods of intimate communion. The Spirit may, even in times of spiritual aridity, confirm in an immediate way that God's mission of grace in Christ has me as its object.

#### CONCLUSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

We may summarise our investigation of Rutherford's pneumatology and his potential contribution to this aspect of theology in terms of the historical survey with which we began our inquiry. We saw there that the Church was faced with a dilemma of expressing the reality of an incarnate, saving God within an ontological system which implied that God is a static, unknown Unknowable. The most serious results of this unhappy "union" were held at bay until the late Middle Ages, because philosophical theologians had worked within the tension exerted by the Bible and functioning piety. The doctrine of grace fell prey to the dualism implicit in this philosophical approach and became detached from the person and activity of God to be considered as a meritorious, sacramentally distributed, created substance. Thus it assumed a mediatory function between God and man. We saw, however, that even this dominant outlook was always paralleled by another, somewhat weaker tradition. This understood grace within the context of the Person and work of the Holy Spirit. Yet so vigorous was this tradition that even during the reign of Aristotelian theological categories someone such as Bradwardine could unite created and uncreated grace in the Person of the Holy Spirit and say that to have created grace is to participate in the divine nature.

Even during the nominalist era this perspective remained alive among some pietists and mystics who did not hesitate to deny the doctrine of created grace as such. We claimed that this view of identifying grace with the activity of the Trinity came to the forefront of theology in the Reformation, and that the Reformed, pietist tradition of the 16th and early 17th Cents. was in a unique position to reassert a biblical doctrine of grace even though it might not be aware of the philosophical problems latent in the ontologies inherited from the Greeks.

Samuel Rutherford was neither a metaphysician nor a doctrinal innovator. He was an extremely well-read, articulate, penetratingly systematic (narrow-minded if you will) dogmatic theologian committed to the defense of an "ultra pietistic" expression of Reformed, biblical theology. How did his presentation come to grips with the chronic tendency of the West to fabricate "means" between God (or God in Christ) and man?

The basis of Rutherford's attack on the separation of grace in Christ lies, as it must, in his Christology. We saw this manifested in two respects: first, in his emphasis on the fact that salvation is something flowing from the Trinity. The man Christ is dependent upon the sending of the Father and the outpouring of the Spirit. Christ's birth, baptism, ministry, obedience unto death and resurrection would have been impossible if it were not for the Holy Spirit's activity in His life. This emphasis is necessary in overcoming a substantial,



mediatory concept of grace simply because if Christ is ever considered an entity in Himself, separated from the Father and the Spirit (the *raison d'être* of the Trinity), His significance as mediator is immediately compromised if not sacrificed. Something else must fill that "mediator" role. This need is then supplied by created grace, the Church, the ministry of the sacraments or the Holy Spirit acting in these.

Secondly, and of more direct bearing on the grace dichotomy, is Rutherford's constant insistence on the fact that Christ is the giver of the Spirit whose mission it is to actualise His (Christ's) life in the believer. Christ's birth, baptism, etc. become the believer's not on the basis of imputation, but of actual participation in a union brought about in His Spirit. If this principle is constantly carried out as it is in Rutherford, there is neither need nor room for a concept of grace which is anything other than a completed salvation both through and in Christ. There is no need because the pre-supposition that grace is inseparable from the Person and activity of God will not allow for any consideration of another mediator or of merit. Even the obedience and death of Christ cannot be seen as acts which merit grace but as manifestations of the gracious decree of God's love.<sup>1</sup>

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1. We have already noted on pp.8,30 that there remains in Rutherford, as in the other Reformers, a soteriological dualism between elect and non-elect. This, although not unrelated to it, is of a different character from that which caused problems in the western doctrine of grace. It is basically an exegetical, theological problem stemming from an attempt to take seriously the election motifs of Scripture. It does not stem from the effects of Hellenistic philosophy. The fact that it has been such a thorn to those working within the categories of western metaphysics witnesses to this difference in origin.

Christ is seen, then, as the substantial embodiment of grace, not its cause. He is the only source and mediator of grace to man.

But this is only half of the doctrine of grace. It is the ground and spring of a continued, unified activity of God redeeming men by His Spirit on the basis of Christ's life and work. Every aspect of soteriology must be seen as an act of God working by both His personal power and "personal concurrence of Himself."<sup>1</sup> This is a continuing, historical manifestation of grace by the Holy Spirit. His mission is never separated from, more (or less) important than, or even to be considered in juxtaposition to the mission of Christ. Rather, the Spirit's mission is one with Christ's. It is His provision for a realisation and continuance of His own mission within the triune God's one economy of salvation. Thus regeneration is a real "physical" implanting of the life of God in the passive subject. Faith, as repentance, is a work of the Spirit. Even imputed justification, in the sense in which it is dependent upon faith, is impossible without the activity of the Spirit realising an historical union with Christ. This understanding not only leaves absolutely no room for any created, mediating elements between God and man, but it also avoids an equally troublesome error of seeing salvation as nothing more than an imputation of Christ's life. This view led to both Antinomianism with its divinisation

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1. ILG 433 as quoted above, pp.58-9.

of man and creation and the relegation of the sacraments (and piety in general) to a remembering of, rather than an actual communion in, Christ.

We saw that one of the effects of thinking of grace materially and in terms of merit was that the Church came to think of itself as the repository of the Holy Spirit and of grace. Aside from the more obvious sacramental and sacerdotal abuses to which this gave rise, it also implied a sense of unquestioned authority inherent within the Church. Rutherford's emphasis on the Spirit's activity in and with the Scripture was concerned with countering this problem of authority. Only the Spirit speaking in the Bible and revealing the will and purposes of God in Christ can be the fixed standard of faith and morality. The Bible is not a source of grace (certainly the Church is not); it is a normative revelation of God's will and an instrument of the Spirit in the regeneration of men.

While it may be inappropriate to criticise a man for sins he does not commit, it should be noted that Rutherford and all of his Reformed predecessors put so much emphasis on the Scriptures in countering Roman Catholic authority patterns, that there was a tendency for their followers to substitute the Bible for the Church. This happened not only in the proper sense of it's authority, but also in the improper sense of it being considered a mediator of grace. Once a pneumatological emphasis is lost and/or grace is taken from the Person of God, it

is easy for the Bible to be seen as a connecting link, a means of grace, a mediator between God and man. This is especially true when it is properly considered as a revelation of God to man.<sup>1</sup>

Rutherford's point that it is the power and Person of the Holy Spirit which is responsible for the sustained being and activity, direction and will of all that exists, proves the extent to which he had overcome the artificial dichotomy between God and man while still being able to retain a biblical distinction between creature and Creator. Even though his doctrine of the Church is wanting in many respects,<sup>2</sup> it is still valuable in its countering of the perversion of grace which blurs the distinction between creature and Creator. For Rutherford, there is only one mediator between God and man: the man Christ Jesus. The Church can never be that. Thus his ecclesiology will not allow grace to be an "accident" of the Church. The Church's existence is a manifestation of grace, but it is in itself neither gracious nor the container of grace. It manifests grace in that the Holy Spirit is its creator, sustainer, leader, and the vital life of Christ within it.

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1. In like manner we may note the use of political categories in the theology of the Covenant. While the attempt to conform doctrine to these categories was not overt but originally took the form of illustrating specific theological points to which they were particularly suited, still the very language of "covenant" when applied to grace invites misunderstanding. It is wrong to accuse those who devoted the bulk of their work to the defense of free grace of erring at this point. But given the constant tendency toward Pelagianism which permeates western theology, the term "covenant" was capable of being very rapidly corrupted into a form of Arminianism which would have appalled those who introduced it.

2. See above, p.120.



It cannot give nor reveal God to man. Rather, it is the result of God's giving Himself to man in the revelation of Christ Jesus.

The final evidence of Rutherford's overcoming of the ontological, epistemological gulf we traced in chap. 1 is seen in his practical theology. The believer can enjoy communion with the Godhead in Christ because of the personal presence and activity of the Holy Spirit. This has nothing to do with merit or predisposition on man's part, but is entirely of the free act of God. Furthermore, redeemed man cannot even be considered apart from his union with Christ. He is neither free nor entirely human apart from his incorporation in the image of Second Adam. He is free and human only because God the Spirit lives in him (without personal union, as in Christ) to will and act the life of Christ in him. There is no room here for an illicit separation between God and man, Christ and man, or Christ and grace because man's life is founded upon and exists in union with God in Christ.

### Observations

We may make two observations from all of the above. First, the Holy Spirit can never be either exalted or relegated to the position of mediator between God and man. To do either is to illicitly divide God's economy of salvation. To exalt the Spirit to a role of mediator is such an obvious exegetical, theological and practical error that only an extreme "Joachimite" could not see in it an undermining of Christology. Yet to relegate

the Spirit to this position, while being just as erroneous and for the same reasons, is often done without thought. It is natural to think of the Spirit as a link to Christ, a mediator between us and the Person or benefits of the ascended Lord. In so doing, an error is committed relative to the Third Person of the Trinity which we try to avoid at all cost when speaking of the Second Person: we make the Holy Spirit a means to an end. But if the term "means" has any soteriological relevance, it can only apply to some aspect of our understanding of the incarnation, obedience and death of the mediator, God-man Christ, not the Holy Spirit. The Spirit is never the means of salvation (union with God), only Christ is. Rather, the Spirit in His Person provides and becomes the medium or context of salvation. He is, and supplies, the dimension in which salvation is accomplished. We see this in Christ's dependence upon Him. Jesus' life is lived in the Spirit. We see it in the Christian's dependence upon Him. The believer lives and actualises the life of Christ because he is baptised in the Spirit. The Spirit is the necessary milieu in the triune economy of salvation. Being sent by Christ, He is constantly revealing, exalting, carrying on by actualisation that one united mission of God for the salvation of man which is revealed in the Person of Jesus Christ.

The second observation we may make from Rutherford's pneumatology is that one of the reasons the West has tended to be so vulnerable to the Greek concept of a static,

unknowable God and all the problems that this leads to is because the Church has not sustained an adequate pneumatology. Without a proper doctrine of the Holy Spirit one is left after the ascension of Christ with exactly the same problem of piety which had to be faced before His incarnation: how and/or where does one obtain a knowledge of God which has contemporary relevance to creation. Without a doctrine of the Spirit, there are only two approaches which can be taken: to deny the validity of the question, or to create a bridge between man and Christ. The bridge can take the form of the Church, substantial grace, sacramental or sacerdotal grace, the Holy Spirit, etc. or more subtly: redeemed creation itself can be seen as the manifestation of the Spirit. The regenerate cosmos becomes the sacramental bridge by which the Spirit makes God real. In this, God the Spirit, if not the Father and the Son also, becomes identified with existence. But this is to throw into question the very existence of the God who reveals Himself as Creator. Similarly, the question of piety can be declared invalid (as it would be if God did not exist) if Christianity were simply a form of rationalism excluding questions of where and how is God real, or if Christ's Person and work were presented as entities in themselves: imputed, absolute realities. For this implies a deism of the Second Person which precludes the question because it finds that there is nothing more to say about soteriology after the incarnation and ascension of Christ.

With a proper pneumatology, such as is at least suggested in Rutherford, the question of God's reality and His present significance for creation does not have to be ignored. Neither do created links have to be fabricated between the subject and some act of God personalised ~~two~~ centuries ago. It can be said dogmatically that God lives, He is risen, He is present in creation sustaining, directing and transforming it by the personal presence and power of His Spirit as revealed in, and on the basis of, the gracious, self-revelation of the Trinity in Christ Jesus.

The second study appears to be a study of the Covenant of Grace, which would be at once a study of the Covenant of Grace and a study of the Covenant of Grace.

1. Recent for the few public reports which have been published by Thomas Murray in his Life of John Calvin, 1900, the only source of information on Calvinism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and there is no other source of information on Calvinism.

There are over a dozen other sources which have been published of Rutherford. All of them, except for the one of the very early ones which are in the Life of John Calvin, are copied from a single source, Thomas Murray. Although all others are inferior forgeries, they all contain valuable information and have been properly used by Thomas Murray in his Life of John Calvin. They are all copied from that historian's original source, Thomas Murray. The plagiarists most readily available are those who are reporting the important details of Rutherford's life. The best biographies are:

Thomas Murray, Life of John Calvin, 1900.

Andrew Thompson, John Calvin, London, 1880.

Robert Gilman, John Calvin, Edinburgh, 1880.

Other lengthy sketches may be found in:

Henry, John Calvin, 1880.

McNabb, John Calvin, Glasgow, 1880.

Chambers, John Calvin, 1880.

Vol. VII, Edinburgh, 1880.

Scott, 1880.

Also see below, P.M.A. 1880.



## APPENDIX I

### THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SAMUEL RUTHERFORD

#### Introductory Note:

The most that a biographical sketch can do to enlighten a study of a particular theologian's perspective is to attempt to expose some of the different forces bearing on the subject which made him what he was. The cardinal difficulty with such descriptions is that they frequently suffer from lack of perspective. This is especially true when there is little historical material available about the man, as is the case with Rutherford.<sup>1</sup>

One could study him as the "saint of the Covenant" or attempt a psychological analysis of the personality which could be at once a fierce polemicist and a sensitive

1. Except for the few public records which have been exposed by Thomas Murray in his Life of Samuel Rutherford, the only source of information on Rutherford is his letters, and these reveal personal attitudes rather than historical facts about him.

There are over a dozen biographical sketches and monographs of Rutherford. All of them, except for the one or two very early ones which abound in historical errors, are copied from a single source: Thomas Murray. Although all others are inferior forgeries (they all quote extensively from Murray and none give proper recognition; Gilmour alone includes Murray in his list of sources), they do benefit from that historian's careful scholarship. Consequently, the biographies most readily available are accurate in recording the important details of Rutherford's life. The major biographies are:

Thomas Murray, Life of Samuel Rutherford, Edinburgh, 1828.

Andrew Thompson, Samuel Rutherford, London, 1889.

Robert Gilmour, Samuel Rutherford, Edinburgh, 1904.

Other lengthy sketches may be found in:

Muir, Scottish Divines, Edinburgh, 1883.

McGavin, Scots Worthies, Glasgow, 1828.

Chambers, Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, Vol. VII, Edinburgh, 1855.

Bonar, op.cit.

Also see below, F.N.1, p.167.

mystic.<sup>1</sup> While these approaches have some value, they both lack historical integration. We are left with a balloon of detached facts, floating disunited to any historical landmarks which might, simply in their recognition, provide a milieu revealing enough of the man's cultural environment to hint to us why he was what he was. Because of these difficulties, we have chosen to try and integrate some of the known facts of Rutherford's life with a few of the dominant phenomena of European culture in his period. It is hoped thereby that we should come away with a "feel" for the world which shaped his

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1. Those studies of Rutherford which have followed in the wake of A.B. Grosart's monograph in Representative Non-conformists have inevitably stressed this so-called dichotomy in him. They have found a "unique" combination of "St. Thomas and St. Francis under one hood." These writers:

Innes, Evangelical Succession

Whyte, Rutherford and his Correspondents

Smellie, Men of the Covenant

Loan, Makers of Religious Freedom

have never seen the combination of ultra-pietist and polemicist. But here, if nowhere else, lack of historical perspective (or knowledge) has left us with a very distorted image of Rutherford. The fact that there was a St. Francis under Thomas Aquinas' hood should at once suggest that the combination of mystic and hard-nosed theological combatant is not a unique one in the history of the Church. In fact, Rutherford's language in dealing with prelates is meek compared with that of Luther against the Antinomians or of Augustine's against the Pelagians, Athanasius' against the Arians, Ezekiel's against the elders, David's against the enemies of God or for that matter, Jesus' against the Pharisees. This is not to imply that Rutherford's intolerance should be easily excused, but it does warn us that it is not to be too glibly dismissed on the basis of an emotional deficiency verging on schizophrenia. See Innes, p.146. Although Grosart first suggested this approach, Taylor Innes is the one who developed and popularised it with his very readable and otherwise profitable study of Rutherford.

theology.<sup>1</sup>

Rutherford's life can be conveniently discussed in terms of four periods: (1) that from his birth to his banishment to Aberdeen (1600-1636), (2) his year and a half at Aberdeen, (3) the period from the signing of the National Covenant up to his return from the Westminster Assembly (1638-1647), and (4) his later years (1648-1661).

#### Europe in the Latter End of the Sixteenth Century

The dominant feature of Europe prior to Rutherford's birth was the division which rent it after the Reformation. Wars of religion dominate the entire period. While these struggles will ultimately lose their religious character and emerge as dynastic struggles between the great sovereigns of the second half of the 17th Cent., they demonstrated, especially during Rutherford's life time, the extent of fear, persecution, hatred and bloodshed which could exist within the Christian communion.

The supreme political power was Spain. Although she had lost an armada near England and a few hundred acres in northwestern Europe (the northern Netherlands in 1581), and was recognised by most to be in the last days of her empire, she still controlled not only all of the Iberian Peninsula, but most of Italy (except for the Papal States in Venice), the major islands of the Mediterranean, and the Lowlands of central Europe from the

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1. This is not meant to be a history of the period, consequently some selectivity has been employed in the choice of data and in editorial comment. If any prejudice has been exercised in this choice, it is unintentional except in areas where it serves to underline the contradictions of values which were manifest in many events.

Spanish Netherlands to Lorraine. Although she was harassed by both Dutch and English pirates such as Hawkins and Drake, she still maintained and controlled the most sizable, wealthy overseas empire of any European country. In spite of the loss of most of her military and political power, she remained a force to be courted even after Rutherford's death.

The politics of Europe revolved around Spain, but its wealth lay in Holland. By the time of Rutherford's birth, the independent Estates of the Netherlands were not only the banking and finance center of the western world, but also led all of Europe in the production of precision machines, lenses, apparatus of civil engineering and most important, cannon, hand guns and war ships. The armies of Roman Catholic and Protestant countries were financed and equipped through the auspices of Amsterdam's nobility.

The independent Republic of Venice retained an uneasy dominance of the Mediterranean. France, while beginning to consolidate the cultural and economic resources that made her the center of Europe after Rutherford's death, was before his birth still a battle field between Huguenots and the Roman Catholic monarchy. Although guaranteed religious freedom by Henry IV (Edict of Nantes, 1598), French Protestants remain a source of unrest and military strife until 1685. Britain shares the restlessness of the rest of the Continent. England, through a combination of delicate treaty alliances and good luck, maintained a somewhat precarious independence from Spanish



dominance. Scotland, which we shall soon examine more closely, has gained and retained independence from France and successfully avoided English control.

One of the most important events, whose repercussions were to have a major influence on the politics of Rutherford's Europe, happened surprisingly enough in Stockholm. In 1599 the Riksdag dethroned Sigismund III. Had this event not occurred, it is more than likely that Protestantism in Europe would not have survived the next century.<sup>1</sup> Sigismund, who considered himself an ordained crusader for Roman Catholicism, was already King of Poland when he inherited the Swedish throne. With close family and political alliances with the Hapsburg Empire, he came within inches of capturing the Russian throne which he would surely have done with Swedish military aid. Had this been the case, the European balance of power would have been thrown overwhelmingly against the Protestants. As it turned out, however, Sweden herself was destined to be the great military power of the 17th Cent. Under her Lutheran king, Gustavus Adolphus, she was to control nearly all of Europe north of Switzerland and guarantee the existence of the Protestant cause.

Although politics captured center stage in the decades prior to 1600, there were other, more profitable developments germinating on the Continent. The Renaissance continued its growth, giving man the greatest scientific control of nature that had yet been known in the West.

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1. For a full discussion, see Pennington, Seventeenth Century Europe, pp.341f.

Bodin (d.1596) and B<sup>ea</sup>chanan (d.1582) had published their radically different political theories. The latter, ironically James Stuart's tutor, foreshadowed in Scotland Rutherford's own rejection of absolute monarchy. Pierluigi Palestrina, as chapel master of St.Peter's in Rome, had brought Renaissance music to new perfection by the time of his death in 1594. Although Christopher Marlow had met his violent end in 1593, Shakespeare was at the zenith of his career and the literary arts were reaching a new peak in England. The foundations of 17th Cent. Baroque architecture had been laid in 1584 when the Jesuits completed their Jesu Church in Rome. The Society of Jesus not only set patterns of Church architecture, they had also by 1599 completely revised the educational structure of the Continent, establishing with their Ratio Studiorum a system of primary, secondary and university education which would continue for several centuries. They had also, with the Dominicans, been responsible for the introduction of Christianity in most of the then-known world. By 1596, Portuguese Jesuits could claim over 300,000 converts in Japan, and the Spanish Order, over 600,000 in the Philippines. Their work in South America had been established for well over half a century by 1600 and in that year, their great Chinese enterprise began with Ricci's presentation to the Emperor in Peking. Back in Europe, the Protestant, radical Anabaptists were politically extinct by 1600; the Bible had been translated and was largely available

in fifteen European languages and devotion to the Sacred Heart had begun and was sweeping the Catholic areas of the Continent.

By 1600, Europe, although only possessing two cities with a population of over 200,000 (Paris and Naples), was passing into one of the most stimulating scientific centuries she had ever known. Copernicus (d.1554) had published his Theories of the Universe and there were destined to be, in Rutherford's lifetime, advances in science and mathematics which surpassed the cumulative results of the 16th Cent.'s development. The telescope, microscope, pendulum clock, thermometer, and barometer appear along with decimal fractions, logarithms, the slide rule and probability calculus. It is the age of Bacon, Descartes, Galileo, Lister, Harvey, Ray, Napier, Pascal, Huygens and Kepler.

Yet in spite of all these and the advances which they represent, life in the first half of the 17th Cent. did not present a very happy picture. Rutherford's parents may well have contemplated what unnatural death would prevent him from reaching old age. If he survived the diseases of childhood (only one of Rutherford's children out of nine survived him), he might well be killed as a result of one of the many wars which afflicted Europe in his generation, although he was less likely to die in battle than to suffer from the pillage, starvation and disease which attended these. If war missed him, there was always the plague, or the famine and disease that naturally devastated a continent which did

not have hygiene in its working vocabulary, which ate with knife and hand, throwing the garbage into the street only when the stench indoors became intolerable. Failing war and disease, he could easily find his end at the stake as a witch, for since Innocent VIII's Summis Disiderantes in 1484, the torture and killing of witches affected every part of Europe: Geneva could average 130 a month, Toulouse, the center of the Inquisition, set a record of nearly 1000 in one execution. Witch-burning did not begin in earnest in Scotland till 1590, but once committed to the idea, the country maintained a respectable average.<sup>1</sup>

If Rutherford had been unfortunate enough to have been born a Jew, he would have had a better chance for a tranquil life in the Ottoman Empire than anywhere in Europe.<sup>2</sup> He might be tolerated in Poland and in the independent Netherlands, but even there he would not be considered a citizen, and his trading would have been severely restricted. Many Protestants recognised that the Jews' conversion was necessary for the Second Coming of Christ. But the logic of bigotry frequently calculated the extermination of the Jewish population to be

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1. A country the size of Fife could average 30 or more a month during the 1643 persecutions. See Mathieson, Politics and Religion in Scottish History, pp.159f. If Satan was not in the witches, the accounts prove that he surely was in those who tortured and "interrogated" them. Also see Pennington, Op.cit., pp.125f.

2. Jews in Moslem lands were recognised as citizens and many gained high office and wealth in the service of the Sultan. See Gottschalk, History of Mankind, IV.I, pp. 186f., 368f. Cf. Pennington, op.cit., pp.23,103.



the fastest way of converting them to the realm of true spirituality and overcoming this obstacle to Christ's Parousia.<sup>1</sup> Of course, to be born a Jew in Europe was still preferable to being found on the West Coast of Africa where the slave trade was beginning in earnest and was to devastate the population in the next century.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, in spite of Jesuit protest, the native population of South America was to become practically extinct in most "European" areas because of the introduction of new diseases and forced labor. On the whole, Rutherford was fortunate to be born of Protestant parents on the Scottish countryside.

#### The Scottish Situation

In Scotland the year 1600 was nearly three months shorter than most years; for James VI, in an attempt to realign the old Jovian calendar, which over the centuries had fallen 87 days behind the lunar year, had decreed that the new year should not begin until March 25.<sup>3</sup> But the calendar was not the only thing King James Stuart realigned. The year 1600 was an important one in his strategy for gaining absolute control of Scottish politics. We may recall that the Reformation had been, if nothing else, a great blow to the Scottish Crown. From

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1. Pennington, op.cit., p.23.

2. By 1775, England controlled half the European slave trade, which meant some 40,000 lives in English ships every year. Of this, an estimated five died for every one brought to the boat and of these, only 50% survived the voyage. Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Slavery," Vol.20, pp.773f.

3. Roman Catholic countries had abandoned the Jovian calendar for the one now used in the West as early as 1582.

the time of the forced abdication of his mother, the Roman Catholic Queen Mary (1567), James was the vassal of the Scottish nobility. His position was so powerless that he could be abducted for a lengthy period (1580) while the nobility removed his most trusted courtier, the Duke of Len<sup>ox</sup>, a Frenchman allegedly involved in an intrigue which would lead to the release of Mary and the renewed intervention of the French in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> But from at least the time of this humiliation, James began to consolidate his policies to the ultimate end of giving the monarchy control of the nation. Unfortunately for all concerned, the easiest way to achieve this was through ecclesiastical manipulation. One of the most significant steps in this process took place in the year of Rutherford's birth (1600) when the General Assembly, under the direction of Lord Menmure, was persuaded to allow the King to initiate a new form of civil government, i.e., the reestablishment of bishops with civil (but not ecclesiastical) authority. But the powers then given to

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1. It was in the best interests of the nobility to thwart any French, Roman Catholic advances in the country because they had become immensely wealthy through the estates and booty they confiscated at the disenfranchisement of the Catholic Church.

The nobility, as the monarchy itself, was a privileged class in Rutherford's time. While there were nearly 400 crimes with prescribed death penalties for a commoner, the nobles could quite literally get away with murder.

We may also note that Scotland was not only two countries legally, but also physically, for the area in the North and West was to all intents and purposes another nation with a language, religion, dress and culture unlike the South. It was only James' skillful administration which brought some measure of central authority to these regions. By 1600, he had suppressed the MacGregors and replaced the Norse Law of the Orkneys with the law of the Crown.

this new civil episcopacy were so extensive that within a few years they and their appointees dominated both Parliament and the governing commissions of the State. So skillfully was this effected that James could, as early as 1602, postpone the annual meeting of the General Assembly, incarcerate his leading opponents, and fill all the remaining civil bishoprics with his appointees. And by 1610, he had so reversed the authority structure of Scotland that he could give his civil bishops full ecclesiological control, appoint two episcopal courts of high commission for the government of the Church and essentially do away with the Assembly which had initiated this rise to power.

In order not to alienate the nobility who were allowed to retain the real estate of the Roman Catholic system, the new bureaucracy was supported by the Crown's use of tithes. But the rising wealth of the various bishops and their even more rapidly growing power constituted a threat to the position of the nobility. When Charles I continued to undermine their power with Acts of Revocation annexing all former Church lands to the Crown, he alienated the nobles still further. This estrangement contributed a great deal to the success of the rebellion which followed the signing of the National Covenant in 1638.

We see, then, that Scotland at the time of Rutherford's birth was committed to a deepening of the confusion which had characterised its political existence from at least the introduction of the Reformation. Yet for

all the tragedy and pathos which this implied, Scotland was but a reflection (and a dim one at that) of what was occurring in many areas of Europe. And the wars which were to sweep over the Scots in Rutherford's lifetime cannot be compared in intensity or brutality to those which devastated north-central Europe during this period.



## Rutherford's Birth and Early Years: 1600-1636

(In order to retain the "perspective" mentioned earlier, we shall list in a column corresponding to the years under discussion in Rutherford's life a few significant or interesting events which occur during that period.)

Rutherford's place of birth cannot be established by any records.<sup>1</sup> The tradition maintained by Woodrow that he was born in Nesbet, now a part of Crailing near Jedburgh in Roxburghshire, is the one which Murray chooses as having the best secondary evidences.<sup>2</sup> The tradition which begins with Reid,<sup>3</sup> that he was from the Kirkcudbright area, gains some support not only from the fact that there were families of this name in the area and that both he and his brother James settled there, but also from the frequent allusions to the sea which appear in many of his letters. While rarely

### 1600

SEVILLE receives the South American fleet and unloads a record bullion import of 35,000 pesos.

-BRUNO is burnt at the stake for a number of heresies including "Copernicanism."

-VINCENT DE PAUL dies in France, having founded the Lazarists.

-RICHARD HOOKER dies, having grounded English Episcopacy in his Ecclesiastical Polity.

### 1601

EARL OF ESSEX is executed for rebellion against the Queen: Elizabeth I.

-SPANISH troops land in Ireland hoping to raise a popular rebellion and march on England. Unsuccessful, they surrendered to English troops in 1602.

-DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY is chartered, and begins with the English wresting the "rights" of exploitation in the Far East from Spain. The English East India Company was chartered in 1600.

### 1603

ELIZABETH I dies, and James Stuart VI of Scotland is made James I of England.

-WILLIAM PERKINS dies.

1. In fact, the date 1600 which is fixed for his birth is only a guess based on the date of his registration at the University in Edinburgh in 1617. This is the first known record of his existence.
2. These are: (1) a large number of Rutherfords whose family residence in that area dates well beyond 1600. (2) a lively tradition in that area as to its being his birth place. In 1828, "the house in which he was born or at least another on the same spot," was still pointed out. (3) one of his letters (344) to a minister in the Presbytery of Nesbet refers to the place of his "first breathing," though this is not specifically identified.
3. Memoirs of the Lives of the Westminster Divines, Vol. II, p. 345.

speaking of the land, he constantly draws his best illustrations from the life of the sailor.

This knowledge may, however, have been gained after his settlement at Anwoth. Although nothing is known of his parents, it is assumed that they had some means because of the education they provided him and his brothers.<sup>1</sup>

If he was born in Nesbet he probably received his first education in the school which met in the ruined abbey of Jedburgh. Once again, this is but conjecture. While he was in school, the following transpired in Europe:

-SHAKESPEARE celebrates the completion of three plays begun two years earlier: Othello, Macbeth and King Lear.

-ANDREW MELVILLE, after being invited to London to settle "the peace of the Church," is committed to the Tower for four years. Ten years earlier, he had told James that the King was but "God's silie vassal."

-SCOTTISH COAL ACT passed, which would become the legal instrument used to keep Scottish colliers and their families in a state of serfdom until 1799.

#### 1607

-SCHOLASTICISM reaches its peak in Spain with the publications of the Dominicans Benez(1604), Vasquez(1607) and the Jesuits Molina(1600), Bellarmine(1621) and Suarez(1617).

-EDMUND SPENSER's Faerie Queene begins wide circulation in Britain.

#### 1608

-MONTEVERDI produces Orfeo and the opera secures a permanent place among European art forms.

-the PROTESTANT UNION is formed in Germany and the clouds of the 30 Years War begin to gather. The CATHOLIC LEAGUE is established a year later.

-SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN, one of the greatest scientific explorers

1. His brother James was a school master and another brother was an officer in the Dutch navy.

#### 1604

FAUSTO SOZZINO(SOCINIUS) dies, having laid the foundations of Unitarianism.

-ENGLAND and SPAIN reach peace.

#### 1605

DON QUIXOTE is introduced and Cervantes becomes the "rage" of Spain.

-WILLIAM GILBERT dies after beginning the study of magnetism and electricity.

-GUY FAWKES is executed for his part in the Gunpowder Plot to blow up the King and Parliament.

#### 1606

VALIGNANA, Visitor of the Jesuits, dies after three decades' supervision of missionary activity from India to Japan and China to Indonesia.

-CARAVAGGIO(three years before his death)flee Rome after killing a man.

-THE VIRGINIA COMPANY receives its first charter; England begins colonization of North America with the ill-fated Jamestown settlement which, by 1623, will have absorbed 4000 dead out of 6000 colonists and gained a deficit of £200,000.

of his age, founds Quebec.

1609

-LERMA, first secretary to the Crown, begins expulsion of the Moriscoes (Christians of Moorish descent), Spain's only middle class, significantly adding to a foolish home policy which brings ruin to the Spanish economy.

-HENRY HUDSON, an Englishman working for the Dutch East India Company, explores the Hudson River.

1610: FRANCE

-Mariana's DE REGIS & REGE republished, defending regicide for religious reasons.

-KING HENRY IV, Huguenot become Roman Catholic, assassinated by a Catholic fanatic. Marie de Medici becomes Regent for Louis XIII.

HOLLAND

-ARMINIAN theologians present their "Remonstrance" to the Estates General.

SWEDEN

-JOHN FORBES OF CORSE presents a plan for union to the Lutherans at Upsala.

1611:

-RICCI dies in China, having gained some 12,000 converts to his "Confucianised" Christianity. This Jesuit strategy of missions is to cause inter-Order strife lasting to the 20th Cent.

-GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS succeeds to a Swedish throne dominated by Denmark's military and economic influence.

-PIERRE DE BERULLE founds the Oratory in Paris.

-JAMES I authorises "his" version of the Bible. In the same year, he presents a paper to the Estates of Amsterdam denouncing the Arminianism of the Leyden Remonstrants.

1614:

-THEOTOCOPULI (El Greco), a Cretan immigrant to Spain, dies after popularising the Mannerist movement in that country (50 years after the death of Michelangelo).

1616:

-JOHN OWEN is born, (Richard Baxter was born in 1615).

-SIR WALTER RALEIGH, after failing to find gold in Orinoco, is beheaded for conspiracy.

-PRIVY COUNCIL OF EDINBURGH orders the establishment of schools in all parishes of Scotland and the expulsion of beggars from the Canongate. The latter was immediate, the former took 7 years to be ratified by Parliament.

In 1617, he entered the University of Edinburgh. Although

we do not know under whom he

studied,<sup>1</sup> we do know that he

labored under the Ramean dia-

lectical approach introduced by

1617:

-FRANCISCO SUAREZ, greatest of the Spanish Schoolmen, died after writing his Metaphysics which was to be taught in all universities, Roman Catholic and Protestant, for a century and which Leibnitz would call the "received philosophy."

Suarez's De Legibus, denying both divine right and natural

1. Murray, op.cit., p.13 records the name of Andrew Young. But this seems to have been decided upon more for the fact that he was a non-conformist than from any historical evidence.



Rollock(principal from 1582 to his death in 1599)as part of the university reforms initiated by Melville. It is no doubt the training he received in this atmosphere, with its emphasis on enquiry and debate, which accounts for the evident ease and enjoyment Rutherford later displayed in arguing the minutiae of ecclesiastical polity.<sup>1</sup> It is this fascination with every aspect of and possible nuance of a position which makes his work on the one hand, very unattractive reading, and on the other hand, immensely valuable to anyone seeking to discover his position on a particular subject. A great deal of what he says about the Holy Spirit comes not by way of explication of that doctrine in particular, but as "side-street" argument in probing the avenues of some other problem.

We know nothing of his work at the University, except that he graduated in 1621 with the degree of Master of Arts. Two years later he successfully competed for, and was appointed, Regent of Humanity at the same university.<sup>2</sup> Although this position entitled the holder to

law in favor of "social contract," sets the pattern for the political debates of the century.

-THE ABACUS gives way to "Napier's bones,"an adding mechanism invented by the Scottish developer of lagarithms. Pascal will introduce another calculating machine in 1642.

-JAMES VI returns to Scotland for the first and last time since becoming King of England, in order to introduce his "Perth Articles" to a hesitant Episcopal hierarchy.

1618:

PROTESTANT BOHEMIA revolts and initiates 30 years of devastating war in central Europe.

-JOHN CAMERON accepts the Chair of Divinity at Saumur.

-THE SYNOD OF DORT is called to suppress Arminian theology.

-THE SCOTTISH GENERAL ASSEMBLY passes the five Perth Articles, after being told by Archbishop Spotiswood that they were the "King's own motions."

1619:

-LODOVICO, the last of the Carracci, dies, marking the turning point in what proved to be the Baroque rejection of Mannerism.

-COLBERT is born in France, destined to be Louis XIV's chief minister.

1620:

-ENGLISH RELIGIOUS REFUGEES sign the Mayflower Compact(Covenant) off the coast of Massachusetts.

-THE LUXEMBOURG PALACE is completed, marking the transplant of Renaissance Italy to the seat of French government.

1621:

-PHILIP IV becomes King of Spain under the rule of Olivares and war with the Dutch

1. Peter Ramus' thesis was: Everything that Aristotle Taught is False. This sheds even more light on the fact that although Rutherford sometimes adopts the language of the Schoolmen, he is, in fact, unsympathetic to their metaphysical approach.

2. Murray notes that there were three men competing with him, and although one had greater technical mastery of the subject (an ode of Horace), Rutherford was chosen because he was known by the faculty, having already "demonstrated to them his eminent abilities of mind and virtuous disposition." Op.cit., p.17.



be considered for the post of Regent of Philosophy or Theology should one of these become vacant, it was of secondary importance. The Regent of Humanity was simply a Latin tutor.<sup>1</sup>

In January of 1626, Rutherford married Euphanie Hamilton, of whom nothing is known. Four months later their first child (a daughter Marie) was baptised. Because of this irregularity, he, whether of his own choice or under pressure, abandoned his position at the university. It should be noted that neither law nor custom were by any means fixed standards in the early 17th Cent. While this incident may have been cause for personal embarrassment, and that is not clear, it was certainly never used as a sign of moral failure. None of his enemies mention it. The Town Council of Edinburgh seemed unaffected by it and not only offered him an "honest gratification at his demission,"

1. The position was created out of necessity since all lectures, theses, sermons, prayers and classroom discussions were conducted in Latin. Rutherford was the third such regent at the University which celebrated its 40th anniversary during the year of his appointment.

is renewed.

-GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, amid a flurry of religious propaganda, begins his conquest of northern Europe by capturing Port of Riga from Poland, allaying Protestant fears of a Hapsburg Roman Catholic alliance after the fall of Bohemia.

-FRANCIS XAVIER is canonised (1552).

-JOHN DONNE becomes Dean of St. Paul's.

-COOPER, first Earl of Shaftsbury and founder of the Whig Party, is born.

-WILLIAM ALEXANDER lays plans for the colony of Nova Scotia.

1622:

#### FRANCE

-St. FRANCIS DE SALES, exiled Bishop of Geneva, dies having raised Roman Catholicism to new respectability in the French Court.

-ANDREW MELVILLE dies as professor of theology at the University of Sedan, after reforming the educational system of Scotland and witnessing the collapse of "his" Presbyterianism.

-BERGIER writes the first scientific study of road building.

#### ENGLAND

-INIGO JONES completes the Banqueting House in Whitehall.

-FRANCIS BACON coins the verb "to colonise."

1623:

-VELASQUEZ is appointed Court Painter to Philip IV of Spain.

-CHARLES, son of James I, heads an unsuccessful diplomatic mission to Madrid, failing to make a marriage alliance with the Spanish Crown.

1624:

-JACOB BOECHIM dies.

-CARDINAL RICHELIEU gains control of the French government under the 23-year-old Louis XIII, seven years after the end of Marie de Medici's Regency.

1625:

-HUGO GROTIUS defends government of natural law against theories of absolute monarchy advanced by Bodin and James I.

but also repeatedly extended calls to him to be minister or lecturer in their city.<sup>1</sup>

In any case, Rutherford did not leave Edinburgh after resigning his regency, but devoted his time to studying theology, probably under Andrew Ramsay. Sometime during this period he qualified for the ministry, and in 1627 was settled in the southwestern village of Anwoth.

This charge was created under the direction of Gordon of Kenmure who had had Anwoth divided from the parish of Kirkmabreck and Kirkdale and built a Church in the town, hoping to settle John Livingston in its pulpit. For some reason, Livingston went elsewhere and Rutherford entered the new Church. His relationship with the Kenmures developed into a very intimate one. He attended the Viscount's death (1643) and later published an account of his "glorious departure" (1649). Lady Kenmure, the sister of the Marquis of Argyle who was

-CHARLES I succeeds James I as King of the nations of England and Scotland and declares war on Spain.

1626:

-MANHATTAN ISLAND purchased from the Indians for £10.

-FRANCIS BACON dies in political disgrace (for allegedly receiving bribes), six years after publishing his monumental Treatise on Scientific Method.

-SCOTLAND exports 3,000 of her most valuable commodity: mercenary soldiers, to the Continental armies. By 1631 the number is doubled; most find their way to the ranks of Sweden.

1627:

-POPE URBAN III founds the Propaganda College, with its polyglot printing press for increased efficiency in missionary work.

-JOHN RAY, whose biological work laid the groundwork for Linnaeus' scientific classifications, is born in England.

1628:

-HUGUENOT stronghold of La Rochelle falls to Richelieu's forces after Buckingham fails to relieve the city with English reinforcements.

-BUCKINGHAM assassinated, after directing foreign policy for both James I and his son.

-WILLIAM HARVEY, personal physician to the Stuarts and specialist in the physical examination of witches, publishes his epoch-making treatise, On the Motion of the Heart.

-CAREW, SUCKLING, LOVELACE and HERRICK gain fame as Cavalier poets of the English Court.

-THE PETITION OF RIGHT passes the House of Commons.

1. See Murray, pp.18-21 and Appendix, p.347.

condemned to death by the Court that sentenced Rutherford, became one of his closest correspondents and most faithful patrons. After his death in 1661, she was responsible for the support of his wife and daughter.

Few details of these years remain. He had at least one more child baptised during this time. We know little of his ministry. In 1629, he complains to a correspondent that

1629:  
 -BERNINI begins work on the half-completed St. Peter's in Rome.  
 -PEACE OF ALÈS ends the French wars of religion, by removing Huguenot military and political power but guaranteeing their religious freedom.  
 -JOHN FORBES publishes Irenicum in defense of the Perth Articles.

he is not sure of one soul converted under his labors.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the tangible results may have been, he and his parishioners became, during his nine years there, so united in spirit that when he was ultimately separated from them, it was a cause of emotional suffering on his part and public lamentation on theirs.<sup>2</sup>

The year 1630 was a particularly painful one for Rutherford. He lost both children and his wife. She died after 13 months of suffering so intense that he not only prayed for her death,<sup>3</sup>

1630:  
 -KEPLER dies, having for a decade enjoyed the deserved reputation of being the most advanced astronomer and mathematician of his age.  
 -JOHN WINTHROP receives a charter for self-government of a colony and founds, with 1,000 English immigrants, Boston, Massachusetts.

1631:  
 -MAGDEBURG sacked and rased by

1. Let 5.

2. Murray records the various petitions put before the General Assemblies of 1638-39 attempting to prevent his removal to St. Andrews. These testify to the intensity of feeling of both minister and people over the prospect of continued separation. Op.cit., pp.353-6. Rutherford's reaction is recorded in Let 287.

3. Let 8. This follows a note that "I can hardly believe her disease is ordinary, for her life is bitter to her, she sleeps none but cries like a woman travailing in birth."



but confessed that his life was so "bitter" to him that he was "not able to stand under the burden any longer."<sup>1</sup>

At the time of his wife's death, he was also suffering from an illness which prevented his working for some four months.<sup>2</sup> His widowed mother who had come to live with him during these difficult times, also died during that year. 1630 also saw his first appearance before the High Commission at Edinburgh. The charge is unknown and seems to have been of little importance, being instigated by some "profligate person" in his parish. When Archbishop Spotiswood could not attend the court, Rutherford was released without trial through the influence of one of the judges: Alexander Colville of Blair.

If 1630 was a year of personal suffering, 1634 was to prove the turning point of his career, for in it the seeds were sown which would result in his public "suffering" for the sake of non-conformity. In that year his patron, Viscount Gordon, died.

1. Let 6.

2. Ibid., p.11.

Roman Catholic forces under Tully. At the same time, work was beginning on the TAJ MAHAL in Agra.

#### 1632:

-GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS dies, in the battle in which his forces defeat Wallenstein. But Sweden continues to flourish at home and in the continental wars under the effective regency of Oxenstiern until the six-year-old Queen Christina comes of age.

-OBERAMMERGAU, delivered from the Plague, pledges to produce a passion play every ten years.

-LORD BALTIMORE receives a charter for Maryland as a New World haven for English Roman Catholics.

-VAN DYKE becomes Court Painter to Charles I. (Jan Vermeer is born in Delft, Pieter Hooch is three and Jan Steen is six years old).

#### 1633:

-JEAN-BAPTISTE LULLY, born to become the foremost French composer of the 17th Cent. and the one most responsible for the permanent success of the ballet, which appeared about this time.

-GEORGE HERBERT publishes his religious poems, The Temple, ten years after his brother, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, laid the foundation of English Deism with his De Veritate.

-WILLIAM LAUD, pledging himself to be "the chiefest support of royal authority," becomes Archbishop of Canterbury.

-CHARLES STUART, ten years after his succession to the throne, comes to Scotland to be crowned King.

comes to Scotland to be crowned King.



But the death of Bishop Lamb, in whose diocese Rutherford had labored, was to have a more direct bearing on him. Lamb was succeeded by Bishop Sydserff who shared Archbishop Laud's aggressive policy against non-conformists.<sup>1</sup> Rutherford's letters of this period are full of foreboding, as he predicts the hostilities which the King's policies will precipitate in Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

Galloway experienced this change of policy the year Bishop Sydserff was appointed. Robert Glendinning, minister of Kirkcudbright and successor of John Welsh (Knox's son-in-law), was getting too old to carry out his clerical duties and the Bishop attempted to replace him with his own appointee. (Rutherford had received calls to both this parish and one in Cramond in 1634, but had refused them). When the populace refused to stop attending Glendinning's ministry, Sydserff created a Court of Commission in Galloway and ordered the minister's

#### 1634:

-CARDINAL RICHELIEU brings Roman Catholic France into the Thirty Years War on the side of the Protestants in a drive to curb Hapsburg ambitions.  
-EDWARD COKE, Lord Chief Justice, dies after years of attempting to curb Stuart absolutism on the basis of Common Law.

#### 1635:

-LOPE DE VEGA dies as a monk, after producing over 1,500 plays. Pedro Calderón de la Barca is 35 years old.  
-ACADEMIE FRANÇAISE is founded.  
-LAMERCIER, with his Church of the Sorbonne and F. Nasart's Val-de-Grace mark the high point of Italian "classical" influence in Parisian architecture.  
-RUBENS produces the state entry for Prince Cardinal Ferdinand in Antwerp.  
-FRANCE declares war on Spain.  
-THE NEWCASTLE COAL FLEET reaches 800 in number, half bound for London and the rest for France.

1. Up to the period of Laud's appointment in 1633, Presbytery and Episcopacy had co-existed in Scotland without much overt hostility. Objectionable policies, such as the Perth Articles, had not received the wholehearted endorsement of the bishops and consequently were rarely pressed upon strenuous objectors. Although several ministers had been removed from their charges, they were resettled elsewhere in the kingdom and continued preaching. With James I's death in 1625 and Charles' appointment of Laud as Archbishop of Canterbury, this picture changed and the bishops were obliged to carry out the King's policies.

2. See especially Let 50f.

arrest, When the order was not carried out--the bailie was the minister's own son--the Bishop ordered the bailie arrested and the other magistrates confined to the town of Wigton.<sup>1</sup> Rutherford, in the meantime, was preparing his first scholarly work, PDG, in which he freely characterised and condemned as Arminian, the theology un-

-SCOTTISH PRIVY COUNCIL orders that a group of gypsies, whose month-long incarceration is proving "troublesome and a burden to the town" of Haddington, be removed: the men hanged and the women drowned.

1636:

-HARVARD COLLEGE founded in Massachusetts.

-PIERRE CORNEILLE lays the foundation of French classical drama, which will last two centuries, with the production of Le Cid.

-THE BOOK OF CANONS, promulgated in Scotland by Archbishop Laud, appears. Under it, all ministers criticising the King's authority in Church government or challenging Episcopacy, are liable to excommunication. It also reenacts the Perth Articles and demands their enforcement.

-RUTHERFORD'S PDG, published in Amsterdam and goes through two printings in the same year.

dergirding Laud's Episcopacy. Even before the publication of the book in 1636, Rutherford wrote to Lady Kenmure: "I expect our new prelate shall try my office. I hang by a thread."<sup>2</sup> His fears were justified. Immediately after the release of his book, he was summoned before Sydserff's Commission and expelled from his pulpit. The sentence was ratified by the High Commission at Edinburgh.<sup>3</sup> He was ordered to retire to Aberdeen. His sentence also included the order that he should not be allowed to preach anywhere in the Kingdom. He was the first Scottish nonconformist to be so treated, and frequently bemoans the curse of his silent Sabbaths.

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1. Let 137.

2. Ibid., p.56.

3. His official charge was preaching against the Perth Articles. But he notes that his questioning related entirely to the book, and his (typically Puritan) refusal to address the bishops with their designated titles. (Let 60). He says that the bishops would have freed him except for Sydserff's insistence that he appeal directly to the King should he be acquitted.

Aberdeen

His confinement in Aberdeen constitutes the second period of Rutherford's life.<sup>1</sup> Although it lasts only a year and a half (from Sept. 16, '36 to the signing of the National Covenant in June,

'38), it proved a milestone in his life and resulted in the famous Letters which made his name synonymous with a type of mystical piety widespread in the Britain of his period but quickly forgotten in the wave of rationalism which subsequently swept Europe.

Rutherford went to Aberdeen with an Ignatian fascination for martyrdom. Although his zeal for that role often faltered (at one point he confessed that he would gladly go to New England<sup>2</sup>), he was faithful to his determination to make his exile bring glory to Christ in spite of the restriction on his preaching.<sup>3</sup> To that end, he flooded Scotland with correspondence testifying to the spiritual blessing he was enjoying there and more than once hinting that these blessings proved the rightness of his cause.<sup>4</sup> Toward the end of his confinement, this correspondence proved to be an encumbrance in that he found that he had too many letters to answer to continue his studies and

1637:

-BEN JONSON dies, after ten years recognition as England's greatest poet.

-JOHN DURIE, under the auspices of the University of Aberdeen, continues in his efforts to write a common confession acceptable to both the Scottish Church (Episcopal) and the continental Lutherans.

-THE SERVICE BOOK, edited by Scotsmen and patterned after its English counterpart, is published in Scotland without being seen by even the majority of Scottish bishops, and provokes widespread dissention.

1. Three months after his sentencing, Rutherford's younger brother, the school master in Kirkcudbright, appeared before Sydserff's court and was forced to leave his position.

2. Let 161. Cf. Let 50.

3. Ibid., 214.

4. Ibid., 96, 131, 146, 153, 220.

devotion as he would have liked.<sup>1</sup> Beyond this, he began to gain notoriety for his own sanctity which, conflicting with his genuine desire to point to Christ, was an embarrassment to him. He is frequently found apologising for this fame and redirecting his listener to God.<sup>2</sup>

By his own testimony, Rutherford reached a degree, "a nick," in his communion with Christ at Aberdeen which was beyond anything he had previously believed possible.<sup>3</sup> It would be inappropriate to try and analyse or even discuss this Aberdeen experience. We should note, however, that Rutherford had a ready-made vocabulary for describing what happened to him there and that this type of spirituality was fairly widespread in his and other Puritan circles.

We have noted elsewhere Rutherford's use of the Song of Solomon and the classical mystics.<sup>4</sup> There is also a surprising amount of material in this same tradition available in English and Latin, which issued from the great Roman Catholic mystical

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1. Let 229,230,236.

2. Ibid., 167-8,175-6,286.

3. Ibid., 70,99,265,285. Cf.75.

This he described as the difference between reading about Christ in a book and seeing Him face to face. (Let 69).

This period was one of intense emotional excitement, and he frequently comments on the "extremes" of joy and depression which accompany his awareness of Christ's presence or absence. Let 92,97-8, 157,275. Cf.119.

4. See above, p.107, f.n.1.

It should be noted that British pietists were much less dependent upon the Medieval mystics than their continental contemporaries. The early Fathers were highly favored, however, for their aesthetic and devotional works. Those who received special emphasis were Clement of Alexandria, Chrysostom and the Cappadocians. (See Stoeffler, op.cit., p.85.) All of these were heavily quoted by Rutherford.



movement of the 16th Cent. The fact that the most widely read Spaniard in England of the 15th and early 16th Cent. was the mystic Luís de Granada, indicates the popularity of such work.<sup>1</sup> Works of Guevera and Diego de Estella were also available in English, as was the life of St. Teresa.<sup>2</sup> Francisco de Osuna's works were very popular in Britain, and went through several Latin editions from 1535 onward.

1. J.G. Underhill, Spanish Literature in Tudor England, pp. 226f.

Nine of Luís' works were translated into English between 1580 and 1638. The first of these went through four editions before 1600. In order of appearance they were:

Of Prayer and Meditation: 4 editions.

Memorial of Christian Life: 3 editions.

Spiritual and Heavenly Exercises: 2 editions (one in Edinburgh in 1600).

The Sinner's Guide: 2 editions.

A Most Fragrant Flower: 2 editions.

Six Treatises on Spiritual Doctrine with Divers Prayers and Meditations: 2 editions.

A Paradise of Prayers.

Two Devout Prayers or Meditations.

2. The Flaming Heart had gone through two English editions before Rutherford began writing: first in 1611, then subsequently in 1623 and 1642.

It is not possible to say with any certainty that Rutherford read any or all of these people, because the illustrations he uses which commonly appear in their works could just as easily have been taken from the classical sources: Bernard, Bonaventura, Gerson, the Victorines, A Kempis, etc. which were common to them both. For example, his treatments of the Queen of Sheba and Solomon (CD 291), Moses' view of the back parts of God (Let 169) and "the noon-day warmth and heat of Christ" all appear in these classical sources (e.g., see Bernard, op.cit., no. 33).

When Rutherford speaks, however, of a painful love arrow in his heart which is becoming a burning fire in his bowls (Let 73, 75, 112), we think immediately of Teresa. But there is a marked contrast between Rutherford and this Doctor of the Church in that he rejects the concept of finding Christ through any method of "interiorisation." Rather, his emphasis is quite the opposite. If God is to be found, He must draw man out of himself and into Christ. It is impossible for man to love God except in response to God's love. He writes that it is his desire to be brought into Christ's love, not to have that love enter him since "Christ is infinitely more than His love." (Let 178). Thus when he speaks of "possessing" Christ, he has in mind the ultimate act of gracious union wherein God allows Himself to be loved and therefore known and possessed by the believer. (Let 77, 112, 208, 267. Cf. 212).

Likewise the works of Luís de Leon and Alvarez de Paz were available. Beyond Spain, Francis de Sales' Treatise on the Love of God could be read in English from 1630.<sup>1</sup>

Rutherford was not limited to foreign sources for an expression of piety. There was already in Britain a very old, and in Rutherford's time particularly strong, tradition paralleling that which we find manifested in his Aberdeen letters. Ames (1633), the theologian who, after Calvin, exerts the dominant influence on 17th Cent. pietists, had already laid down the doctrinal ground rules for this piety in his Marrow of Theology (1627).<sup>2</sup> And Paul Baynes (1617), also frequently quoted by Rutherford, laid great stress on the fact that "internal union" was the essence of the Christian life.<sup>3</sup> Richard Sibbes' popularity, even in his own lifetime, shows the wide demand

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1. This list only includes some works available to Rutherford prior to his imprisonment. Others of a similar nature continue to come into the hands of the British reading public after this period. The most outstanding were perhaps:

Sandaheus, Theologica Mystica  
 Augustine, Baker (an English Benedictine), Sancta Sophia  
 Richelieu, Traité de la Perfection du Chrétien  
 Philip of the Holy Trinity, Summa Theologica Mystica

For a list of 15 other minor works also available before 1600, see Poulain, op.cit., "Bibliography." J.B. Collins' Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age lists 65 titles of mystical works published in London in the 16th Cent., pp.235-40.

2. Stoeffler discusses Ames in this respect, pp.133f. He traces the Protestant side of this tradition quite thoroughly and notes that by at least 1620, the former Puritan emphasis on casuist piety had been replaced by this more mystical type. "While the ethical note did not entirely disappear, emphasis was laid upon 'holy exercises' such as fasting, meditation, and prayer in addition to the older 'practice of piety.' The basic norm for the new piety was no longer God's Law but God's nature as revealed in Jesus Christ." Ibid., 79.

3. Trial of the Christian Estate, p.11.

for literature on this type of piety.<sup>1</sup> Francis Rous, whose metrical psalms were adopted by the Westminster Assembly and used in Scotland, published his Mystical Marriage: an Experimental Discourse of the Marriage between a Soul and her Savior, the year before Rutherford's exile and it immediately received wide circulation.<sup>2</sup> Many of Rutherford's acquaintances also demonstrate this same life style.<sup>3</sup> In fact, he openly acknowledges the superiority of the judgment of several men in spiritual matters and asks their council and criticism.<sup>4</sup>

However difficult it may be to reconcile this experimental piety with a 20th Cent. conception of writing theology, it is certainly impossible to understand Rutherford's

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1. His books: A Breathing after God  
Divine Meditations  
The Bride's Longing after her Bridegroom's  
Second Coming  
Discovery of the Near and Dear Love Between  
Christ and His Church

all reveal sentiments identical to Rutherford's. The first mentioned is the only one quoted by him.

2. This type of literature remained popular during the entire period. The works cited are merely some of those which were probably in Rutherford's hands while at Aberdeen. His contemporaries were also producing similar works. The most outstanding may be those of the Anglican Calvinist, Joseph Hall (especially his Art of Divine Meditation), and

Richard Baxter, Saint's Everlasting Rest  
 Jeremy Taylor, Holy Living (a more naturalistic approach)  
 Simeon Ashe, Living Loves between Christ and Christians  
 Edmund Calamy, The Art of Divine Meditation  
 Edward Polhill, Mystical Union; Cristus in Corde  
 Rous, Interiora Regni Dei

3. See Bonar's prefaces to Let 6, 87, 151, 179. Also Last Speech, p. 90 and Blair's Autobiography, pp. 74, 84f.

4. This is especially true of Matthew Mowat, Let 120, 239, 301, but it also applies to others. See Let 256, 285.

dogmatics, or the theology of his period, without taking into consideration the type of devotion which finds its expression in his prison epistles.

The only other aspect we need note of his stay in Aberdeen is the reception that he was given there. He mentions being "preached against" by the ministers of the city and being forced to debate his ecclesiological position in private and public with Dr. Barron, Professor of Divinity at Marichal College. Rutherford claims victory in these encounters.<sup>1</sup> While the populace avoided him at first, he seems to have gathered sufficient following to be a threat to the ministers of the city. As early as January ( $3\frac{1}{2}$  months after his arrival), he suspected that they would try to have him sent to Caithness if not out of Britain.<sup>2</sup> By the end of 1637, a warrant had been granted by the King for his transference from Aberdeen. But in the interim, Charles I's political power was so threatened that Rutherford left the city on his own authority sometime in mid June of 1638 to take his place among the leadership of the Covenanters.<sup>3</sup>

Signing of the National Covenant to the End of the Westminster Assembly: 1638-1647

Rutherford attended the Glasgow General Assembly of Nov. 1638 as a Commissioner from Kirkcudbright. Although

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1. Let 117; also 77,144. If he ever had contact with John Forbes, it is not mentioned.

2. Ibid., 80,89; cf. 154.

3. His last dated letter from Aberdeen is June 11th. Before the end of June he had preached on behalf of the Covenant in both Edinburgh and Glasgow.



the city of Edinburgh petitioned to have him as minister, he was appointed by that Assembly to take the Chair of Divinity at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews.<sup>1</sup> In Oct. of the next year, he moved into that position and at his own request, was appointed Robert Blair's colleague in the preaching ministry at St. Andrews. Five months later, he married Jean McMath. We have no biographical information about her other than the facts that she accompanied him to London, bore him seven children only one of whom survived infancy, and outlived her husband to be supported by Lady Kenmure.

1638:

JAPAN: Jesuit priests accused of political intrigue and 17,000 adherents and clergy executed in a mass persecution, which marks the end of a Christian witness in that country until the mid 19th Cent. -NEW SWEDEN colonised in the Philadelphia/Wilmington area of the Delaware River, only to be lost to the Dutch in 1655 and then to the English in 1664.

-NATIONAL COVENANT signed in Edinburgh.

-GENERAL ASSEMBLY meets in Glasgow in Nov. Called by Charles and dissolved by his commissioner, it continues "illegally" under the leadership of Henderson, abolishing the 28-year experiment in Episcopal government, removing the Perth Articles, the Book of Canons and the Service Book, deposing the bishops and excommunicating five of them. David Dickson expounds the theme of federal Calvinism to this assembly.

1639:

-JEAN RACINE, "Jansenist" tragedian, is born.

-SPAIN loses control of the Atlantic and the DUTCH become the acknowledged masters of the seas when Tromp defeats the Spanish fleet off the Kent coast in the Battle of Downs.

#### BRITAIN

-CHARLES I advances on Scotland and is met by the Covenanter army under A. Leslie, a former field marshal under Gustavus Adolphus. Charles sues for peace and the First Bishops' War ends with the Pacification of Berwick, after no real military engagement.

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1. This was so much against his will that he even prepared a paper on the illegality of a procedure which would wrest a minister from his Church when both he and the congregation objected. R. Blair was also directed to St. Andrews. Likewise, he and his congregation in Ayr objected to the procedure.

Rutherford's college was part of one of the well-known universities of his period. It had been founded by Archbishop Beaton in 1532 and reorganised by Melville in 1579. The latter was then principal until his arrest in 1607. Robert Howie succeeded him in this capacity until Rutherford filled the position on his return from the Westminster Assembly.

In 1640, Rutherford was impeached by Simpson of Bathgate for encouraging and defending private "housemeetings" for worship and the expounding of Scripture.<sup>1</sup>

This case ultimately reached the General Assembly where Rutherford,, Blair, Livingston and Dickson opposed Henderson who condemned such practices. Rutherford's party was defeated.<sup>2</sup>

Much time between 1639 and 1643 seems to have been devoted not only to teaching but also to the preparation of books which began to appear en masse after 1644.<sup>3</sup>

In Feb. of 1641, his daughter Catherine was baptised;

in June of '42, a son John. In the latter year, he received a call from the Church of West Calder which he would have taken

1640:

-SPAIN: Revolts in the Spanish Netherlands, in Spanish Italy, civil war in Aragon, Portugal's unilateral declaration of independence after only 60 years of a united crown and the loss of the Atlantic Fleet signal the collapse of an empire.

-NICOLAS POUSSIN is invited to the French court of Louis XIII.

-NORTH AMERICA and the WEST INDIES mark the absorption of over 70,000 immigrants from a Britain verging on civil war.

-CHARLES I marches toward Scotland, initiating the second ill-fated Bishops' War.

-SCOTTISH ARMY under Leslie invades England and in 14 days, captures Newcastle and Durham.

-LONG PARLIAMENT called because of Scottish demand for English Parliamentary ratification of the peace treaty with Charles.

1641: BRITAIN

-IRISH REBELLION.

-STAFFORD executed in England.

-CHARLES visits Edinburgh in a bid for support against the Long Parliament.

1642:

-MAZARIN succeeds Richelieu as chief minister to Louis XIII.

-GALILEO dies in Italy several years after recanting his Copernican views before the Italian Inquisition.

-ISAAC NEWTON is born in England.

1. See Aiton, Life of Henderson, pp.434f.

2. These meetings had been common especially in Ireland during the suppressions which preceded the Scottish rebellion. It is interesting to note that Rutherford should adopt this position against the stricter Presbyterian party, of which he was later to become leader. The fact that he nowhere speaks about private meetings in his later books may indicate that he never changed his views on the subject.

3. His first book on ecclesiological polity, PP, was published in 1642.

except that the General Assembly obliged him to keep his chair at St. Mary's. In Aug. of 1643, he was appointed by that Assembly to be a Commissioner at the Westminster Assembly. In November, he and R. Baillie reached London by sea and took their seats in the Jerusalem Chamber along with Henderson, G. Gillespie and Lord Maitland.<sup>1</sup> Before arriving, he wrote with great enthusiasm about his participation in this "foundation-laying" Assembly.<sup>2</sup> However, after seeing that Presbyterianism was not universally embraced and in fact openly opposed in some quarters, he became quickly

-CHARLES I, in January, tries personally to arrest Parliamentary leaders and fails. In August, civil war is declared.

1643:

-THE ORTHODOX CONFESSION of the Eastern Church is published. It was not available in Britain until 1662.

-LOUIS XIV succeeds to the French throne under the regency of Anne of Austria.

#### BRITAIN

-LONG PARLIAMENT, in the face of Royalist victories, asks Scotland for aid. The Solemn League and Covenant is signed, in which Scotland pledged to support Parliament militarily in exchange for the (implied) imposition of Presbyterianism in England and Ireland. THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY called to implement this. John Pym, the leader of the Long Parliament, dies.

1644:

-ANTONIO STRADIVARIOUS begins making violins which become featured instruments in the works of contemporary composers CORELLI and VIVALDI.

-DESCARTES published his Principles of Philosophy which, within a decade, challenged the Thomism of Suarez and gave rise to a new era of philosophical, religious speculation which in England will contribute to the Latitudinarian Movement of the Cambridge Platonists, injecting a refreshingly moderate note into the theological bitterness of the age, but also prophesying the end of the long reign of religious dogma.

1. Gillespie had been tutor to the Kenmure family and an early friend of Rutherford's (Let 144, 253, 324). Henderson was also, in spite of their argument over private meetings, an intimate friend and frequent correspondent prior to London (Let 115). R. Douglas, who was nominated but never participated, was also a close friend. (Let 113). There is no record of correspondence between Maitland or the other two elders: John, Earl of Cassilis and Archibald Johnston of Warriston and Rutherford. These last mentioned were appointed but never attended. The burden of the Scot's Commission lay on Henderson, Rutherford, Gillespie and Baillie. Warriston was later tried for treason by the same court that condemned Rutherford and ultimately executed. Maitland eventually joined the Stuart party.

2. Let 306.



disillusioned with the "world of heretics" who circulated freely in London.<sup>1</sup> By the end of his stay, he was referring to London as a "prison" and looking with longing to the

1. Let 308-9.

While fiercely opposed to their polity, Rutherford speaks highly of many Independents. He mentions Thomas Goodwin and Jeremiah Borrows specifically. It is interesting that one of these men was among the several who wrote lengthy treatises on the Holy Spirit during this period:

Goodwin, The Work of the Holy Ghost in our Salvation, 1645.

others were:

William Bradshaw, A Discovery of the Holy Ghost, 1649.

Alexander Charnichael, The Power of the Holy Ghost in the Hearts of the Faithful, 1689.

Peter Sterry, The Spirit's Conviction of Sin, 1645.

Thomas Cole, Of Regeneration, 1689.

Laurens Groenewout, De Werking Des H.Geests.

Henry Hickman, The Believers Duty Toward the Spirit and the Spirit's Office Toward Believers, 1665.

John Owen, On the Holy Spirit; the first five of one integrated ten-book work appeared in 1676 and the rest were issued individually in subsequent years.

William Clagett, On the Operations of the Holy Spirit: A Confutation of Some Part of Dr.Owen's Book, 1677.

John Humphrey, Peaceable Disquisitions(in defense of Owen), 1678.

William Clagett, Answer to Humphrey, 1680.

John Owen's work, On the Holy Spirit, deserves special note. It is the most extensive work on the Holy Spirit in the western Church and, if one agrees with Rutherford's basic viewpoint, certainly the best ever penned by an English-speaking theologian.

Clagett's work against Owen is interesting because it puts in bold relief the difference between the Owen/Rutherford tradition and that which has generally dominated western theology. Clagett denies the possibility of the Spirit's personal activity in or upon the believer. After Christ, the Spirit only works by created graces(pp.56f., 175f.). More significantly, he refuses to speak of any operation of the Spirit outside of the mind of man. The Spirit's office consists in linking man(epistemologically) to the revelation of Christ(pp.61f.). Not only does this form of subordinationism undermine the Person and work of the Spirit, but it also militates against a proper appreciation of God's power and reality in creation prior to or after Christ. It once again drives a wedge between nature and grace.

Several books appeared on the Holy Ghost after 1700 which were largely concerned with the Unitarian Controversy. James Hogg, John Hurion and John Skepp were among those who wrote in defense of the Spirit's deity and personality. Owen's work also covers this area.



"golden days" of internment at Aberdeen.<sup>1</sup> Unlike the other three Commissioners, Rutherford was never allowed to visit Scotland during his residence in the South. Although his wife and two children accompanied him to London, personal tragedy continued to follow him: they ~~both~~ suffered prolonged illnesses and though they had a third child (Robert) in July, '43, all three had died by 1645.

#### Literary Output of the Period

The year after he settled in London, two of his books appeared: Due Right of Presbyteries (DR) and his more famous, Lex Rex (LR). The first was a reply to Richard Mather's work against the Presbyterian views espoused by Thomas Herle.<sup>2</sup> The pro-

-ROGER WILLIAMS is granted a charter based on religious toleration for his colony in Rhode Island. Roman Catholics, Jews, infidels and atheists are still excluded but it remains an unprecedented step for 17th Cent. Europe.

#### BRITAIN

-LONG PARLIAMENT, controlled by Presbyterians, passes laws against "blasphemy" and "heresy" resulting in the persecution of Episcopalians and Independents, proving that the Establishment had no monopoly on intolerance.

-THE CIVIL WAR: Leslie invades England for the third time, joins forces with Cromwell, and defeats the Royalists at Marston Moor. Meanwhile, in Scotland, Montrose organises a Royalist force of Highlanders and Irish, and with the main Covenanting armies diverted in England, begins the conquest of the North winning victories first at Perth, then at Aberdeen, Inverlochy, Dundee and finally in 1645, occupying Glasgow. However, he is never able to aid the beleaguered Charles in England and when Leslie returns to Scotland, Montrose is easily routed.

#### 1645:

-TURKS attack Crete, but are repulsed by the Venetian Fleet which retains control of the Mediterranean in spite of Barbary pirates and the Ottomans.

#### BRITAIN

-JOHN BIDDEL, one of England's first Unitarians, arrested for his Twelve Arguments Against the Trinity.

-LONG PARLIAMENT witnesses the execution of Archbishop Laud.

-CIVIL WAR: Parliament unites its military effort in the formation of the New Model Army, the first ever to be issued a standard uniform: red jackets.

cess of reply and counter-reply continued with Mather's A Reply to Mr. Samuel Rutherford (1647) and another by Rutherford in

1. Let 308, 288.

2. A Brotherly Answer to Mr. Herle, London, 1644.

1658: A Survey of Mr.T.Hooker's Church Discipline (SCD), which incorporates a further "answer to Mather." The most outstanding feature of these books is their redundancy and the fantastic amount of scholarship involved in each.

Lex Rex: The Law and the Prince, follows in the established tradition of theological argumentation for a particular form of civil government.<sup>1</sup> It gained for Rutherford the reputation of being one of the greatest English-speaking political theorists

1646:

-FATHER BREBOEUF, leader of Jesuit missions in North America, is killed by Iriquois.  
-RICHARD CRASHAW, "Anglican" religious poet become Roman Catholic, publishes Steps to the Temple in Paris.  
-CHARLES I surrenders to the Scottish army.

1647: BRITAIN

-GEORGE FOX begins preaching about the "inner light."  
-CHARLES I, after refusing to guarantee the establishment of Presbyterianism, is delivered to parliamentary forces by the Scottish Army.  
-SCOTLAND: Members of Parliament sign the Engagement, promising aid to Charles who, after having been surrendered to the English, offered the Scots a promise of three years imposed Presbyterianism in exchange for his rescue. The result is more civil confusion and the raising of an army under the Duke of Hamilton to invade England. In its first encounter with Cromwell in the following summer, this force is demolished.

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1. While most erudite theologians, especially after the Reformation, made reference to politics in the course of their writing (see LR 132f. where Rutherford lists 36 sources commenting on I Sam.8:11), there were also many who devoted entire works to the subject. It would be impossible to list them all here; the most significant names are:

Aquinas	Grotius
Barclay (Scot)	James VI (Scot)
Bellarmino	Mariana
Blackwood (Scot)	Salamonius
Bodin	Suarez
Buchanan (Scot)	Symmons
Covarrubias (natural law)	Tolosanus
Fern	Vasquez
Garcia	Winzetus (Scot)

All these wrote prior to Rutherford's LR. See Appendix II for specific titles of the above and twenty other minor works used extensively in LR.

of his generation. Developing in a more systematic and scholarly fashion the presuppositions of Buchanan, Rutherford draws the conclusion that monarchs rule under God only with the consent of the people. On the restoration of Charles II, this book was condemned, publicly burned and Rutherford convicted of treason.

The year 1645 yielded his first devotional work: The Trial and Triumph of Faith(TT).<sup>1</sup> 1646 saw the publication of The Divine Right of Church Government and Excommunication (GE), which was different from his other works on Church polity in that it was written, as the title suggests, against the Erastians. As it deals with more critical issues than his others and also contains a defense of his polity against Independents, it is probably the one work most representative of his ecclesiastical thought.<sup>2</sup> In 1647, another devotional work,

1. By devotional must be understood: a practical interpretation of all aspects of a particular doctrinal problem (in this case, persevering faith). In places, these works contain expressions of profound personal piety. In other areas, they manifest theological argumentation at its most intricate level. The age was so keenly aware theologically that very few, if any, would have found this combination inappropriate.

2. That Rutherford had gained popular recognition in this field is testified to by his inclusion in a sonnet by Milton(of 1645). It is included here as a commentary on the atmosphere which pervaded the 17th Cent. debates on the Church.

"On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament"

"Because you have thrown off your Prelate Lord,  
And with stiff vows renounced his Liturgy,  
To seize the widowed whore Plurality  
From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorred,  
Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword  
To force our consciences, that Christ set free,  
And rule us with a Classic Hierarchy,  
Taught ye by mere A.S. and Rutherford?

Men whose life, learning, faith and pure intent,  
Would have been held in high esteem with Paul,  
Must now be named and printed heretics  
By shallow Edwards and Scotch What-d'ye-call!  
But we do hope to find out all your tricks,  
Your plots and packing, worse than those of Trent,  
That so the Parliament  
May with their wholesome and preventive shears  
Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears,  
And succour our just fears,  
When they shall read this clearly in your charge:  
New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large."

(as taken from Grosart, p.207)

Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himself (CD) appeared.

In November of 1647 Rutherford was allowed to leave London and the Westminster Assembly. Gillespie had returned home in August. Rutherford, the last of the Scottish Commission, was required to be present until the completion of the Larger Catechism.<sup>1</sup> With his withdrawal, Scottish participation in the Westminster Assembly officially ended. He was given a letter from it to the Scottish General Assembly which, among other things, wished to "restore him with ample testimony of his learning, godliness, faithfulness and diligence."<sup>2</sup>

Rutherford's Last Years:  
1648-1661.

After the death of Henderson (1646) and Gillespie (1648), Rutherford was considered as one of the most eminent clerical and intellectual leaders of Scotland.

It is probably because of the responsibility he felt in this role that he refused, in 1648, the offer by the University of Har-dewyrk to fill the Chair

of Divinity and Hebrew.

1648:

- PEACE OF WESTPHALIA ends the Thirty Years War with the religious partition of northern Europe.
- RUSSIA extends her boundaries to the Pacific, reaching the height of an exploration beyond the Urals begun 100 years earlier by the Stroganoffs.
- JOHN COMENIUS, linguist and educationalist, after failing to reform the English school system, becomes the last bishop of the Moravian Brethren.
- "Judge" GEORGE JEFFRYS (Lord Chancellor in 1685) is born in England.
- SCOTLAND, after the defeat of "Engagement" forces, the anti-Royalist Duke of Argyle gains control of Scottish politics and the Act of Classes passes Parliament. This kept "Engagement" personnel from holding political and ecclesiastical office.

1. The Solemn League and Covenant had been understood to oblige the Scottish Commissioners to be present and assisting in the deliberation of a "directory of worship, confession of faith, form of Church government and catechism." The Larger Catechism, the last of these to be dealt with, was completed in Oct. of '47. As early as one year before, Rutherford, Baillie and Gillespie (Henderson left in May) had petitioned Scotland for the seventh time to be allowed to leave; but they were required to stay on. See Gilmour, pp.166-7.

2. Gilmour, p.167.



Following shortly after this invitation, the University of Edinburgh petitioned the General Assembly for his services.<sup>1</sup> While refusing to permit his transfer, the Assembly did acknowledge his usefulness by promoting him to the principal's office of the New College, St. Andrews. Two years later, he was also appointed Rector of that University. Although these last two positions were largely nominal, they must have added to his load as Professor of Divinity, Pastor and writer. In May of 1648, a daughter Agnes, the only child to survive him, was baptised. Also in that year, his Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist(SA) and Survey of Antinomianism(AS) was published in one volume. In these, he attempts to trace the rise of the Antinomian sects of his period in Britain. As a history, the books are not

1649:

-MARYLAND colony passes the Toleration Act extending liberty of conscience to all but Socinians. The denial of the Trinity was still a capital crime.

#### ENGLAND

-CHARLES I executed and the House of Lords abolished, marking the end of a long-standing monarchy.

-LEVELERS, an army movement for land reform and universal male suffrage, have their leaders imprisoned, marking the end of an experiment in democracy that never materialised.

-JOHN MILTON, after several anti-Episcopal tracts, becomes Latin Secretary of the Commonwealth.

1650:

-DESCARTES, having begun the exposure of the essential dualism of western thought, dies in the Swedish court of Queen Christiana.

-CALDERÓN, Spanish playwright, takes Franciscan Orders.

-WILLIAM II of ORANGE, on the eve of his coronation as monarch, dies and the Netherlands remain a republic under the DeWitt oligarchy. William III is born posthumously to the House of Orange.

-BROTHER LAWRENCE, former soldier and author of the Practice of the Presence of God, enters a Carmelite monastery in Paris as a lay brother.

#### BRITAIN

-CHARLES II, after failing to conquer Scotland with an army under Montrose, conquers it with deception, signing the covenants and promising to establish Presbyterianism in exchange for the throne and for an army to fight the English.

-CROMWELL, one month later, surprises and takes Dunbar which is immediately put under siege by 33,000 Scots. Cromwell defeats this force with his 12,000 (taking 10,000 prisoners) and the New Model Army occupies Edinburgh.

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1. Let 325 refers to this offer and Rutherford's hope that he would not be forced to accept it.

very successful, since he was without adequate sources of continental Anabaptist piety. It is valuable, however, as a criticism of contemporaries to whose writings he refers at length. And it provides an excellent foil for his pneumatological development. It yields the best example of his refusal to abandon what he considered biblical teaching even when the defense of it implied a tedious clarification to distinguish his presentation from his opponents,' whose practical expression frequently differed very little from his own.

The Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience (PLC) of 1649 was a defense of the position adopted by the Scottish Commissioners against the Westminster Assembly's willingness to allow freedom of worship to non-Presbyterians. It incorporates their formal protest to the Assembly.<sup>1</sup> The basic argument is that such a policy was against the conditions of the Solemn League and Covenant, which his delegation understood to be a promise on the part of the Long Parliament to adopt the Scottish form of Church government for all of Britain.

1651 was a momentous year in Rutherford's life. In it he published Disputatio Scholastica de Divine Providentia (DDP): a defense of the Reformed doctrine of the eternal decree. It is no doubt in the light of

1651:

BRITAIN

-CHARLES II crowned King of Scotland in January.

-SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT rescinds the Act of Classes, as resistance mounts against the English civil war.

-GENERAL MONK, meanwhile, captures Stirling and Dundee, and Cromwell, after taking Perth, turns South to meet and defeat Charles at Worcester in September.

-LONG PARLIAMENT passes the Navigation Act aimed at Dutch shipping, precipitating a war between the

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1. PLC 266f.

this book that MacPherson, after surveying the spectrum of Scottish Divines from Knox to Rollock, Forbes, Boyd and others, declares that:

"Samuel Rutherford, although not the best writer, was probably the most versatile genius and the most subtle and adroit controversialist in the list of our Scottish theologians."<sup>1</sup> On the basis of DDP, Rutherford was elected to the Chair of Divinity at the University of Utrecht and a formal invitation was twice extended to him. He hesitated some six months before finally deciding to stay in the quickly deteriorating Scottish situation.

only two republican, Protestant countries in Europe, proving that whether in France or England, economics are more important than religion.

-THOMAS HOBBS, acting as tutor to the exiled Charles Stuart, watches the ceremony of the 13-year-old Louis XIV's majority in Paris. Hobbes' Leviathan is published in this year. The essay On Human Nature appeared the year before.

1652:

-BERNINI completes "The Ecstasy of Saint Teresa."

-BORROMINI is created Knight of the Order of Christ for his development of the joyous Rococo style which will decorate the Churches of Austria and Bohemia.

-MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY, by its 23rd year, absorbs 40,000 colonists and opens a public library in Boston.

-SCOTLAND is united to the Commonwealth, has trade barriers removed, is granted religious toleration, is exposed to the novelty of a stable, incorrupt government and resists every act of Cromwellian tyranny.

1653:

-POPE INNOCENT X issues a Bull condemning the Jansenists.

-DE WITT becomes Grand Pensionary of Holland.

-CROMWELL becomes Lord Protector of England. The country receives

1. Op.cit., p.42.

He then goes on to group Rutherford's works according to:  
Practical and experimental religion(TT,CD,CLO,ILG,Let)  
Polemic theology(PDG,SA,AS,DDP,EA)  
Political(LR)

"In all these writings, Rutherford displays an amazing amount and variety of reading. He is equally at home among the early Church Fathers, the medieval Schoolmen, the Reformers of Germany, France and England, the Romish Doctors, the great Anglican Divines. Arguments elaborated in great Latin folios are often referred to in a single line, while the exact reference is given in the margin...He writes with the easy familiarity of thorough and long acquaintance. His quotations and references are evidently made at first hand, and none are borrowed from earlier controversialists. His learning was also quite up-to-date. He shows familiar acquaintance with the writings of contemporaries like Salmasius, Forbes of Corse, Richard Hooker of that time and class which make it evident that his scholarship was not merely antiquarian." Ibid., p.46. (See Appendix II for a complete list of sources quoted by Rutherford.



Seven months after Charles II's coronation at Scone (where Rutherford addressed him on the duty of kings) the Scottish Church was placed in a situation somewhat similar to that it had faced in 1600. Once again a Stuart monarch, attempting to consolidate political power, was precipitating a crisis in ecclesiastical affairs. In 1650, Charles II had incorporated into his service those who fought for his father in the "Engagement." This act resulted in a resolution to the General Assembly declaring void the law (Act of Classes) which kept these Royalists from holding Church and political office. Rutherford, no doubt, saw in this resolution

its first, if short-lived, written constitution: the Instrument of Government.

-ROBERT LEIGHTON, later (after reorganisation) Bishop of Dunblane and Archbishop of Glasgow, becomes Principal of Edinburgh University. The son of a persecuted non-conformist (see Rutherford's Let 289 to A. Leighton) and brother of a Roman Catholic, he was destined to prove that it was possible to be an Episcopalian, a Calvinist and a mystic in 17th Cent. Britain without being a bigot (except with reference to papal authority).

#### 1654:

-SWEDEN'S Queen Christiana, the most enlightened woman of her period, is forced to abdicate, having become a Roman Catholic. She then begins a life of dissipation which leads to her being a pensionary of Pope Innocent XI by the time of her death in 1689.

-CHARLES X becomes King of Sweden and declares war on Denmark and Poland. His country will remain the dominant land power in northern Europe until the height of Louis XIV's reign.

-ENGLAND makes peace with the Dutch.

#### 1655:

-JOSEPE RIBERA, one of Caravaggio's most outstanding disciples of chiaroscuro, dies in Italy. The Frenchman Georges de la Tour died in 1652.

-THE WALDENSIANS are nearly exterminated, as Irish troops (having fled from Cromwell) under Louis XIV ravage the Vaudois Valleys.

1. Although he was no supporter of the Commonwealth idea, Rutherford probably continued to hope for the success of the Solemn League and Covenant. That treaty did not forbid the rule of Stuart monarchy (or the Scots would never have signed it). It did oblige both parties, however, to the suppression of those dissidents who refused to support the principles of religion and parliamentary government implied in it.

While Rutherford's concept of limited monarchy left him in little favour with someone like Charles II, it is important to note that he did support the Scottish struggle on behalf of Charles (see Let 327-34). But this support was not allowed to override the moral and ecclesiastical issues at stake in the Resolution of 1651.



two problems. First, it was in direct contradiction with the treaty with England.<sup>1</sup>

More importantly: to allow the King's men authority on the basis of civil expediency would prove a repetition of the error of 1660 which resulted in the overthrow of Presbytery and the Bishops Wars. When the resolution passed the Assembly, Rutherford and 21 others presented a protest challenging the body's authority as a Church judicatory. The resulting crisis of opinion nearly divided the Church. Although Rutherford sponsored a compromise at the next Assembly, it was defeated and by 1653 feelings were so embittered that Cromwell forbade meetings of the Scottish General Assembly.

Although Rutherford never retracted his views, which later proved correct, he made several unsuccessful attempts to bring about a healing between the combatants.<sup>1</sup> His last years were overshadowed by the scars of this

-CROMWELL's forces capture Jamaica from Spain, and England enters the slave trade on a competitive basis with the Dutch.

1656:

-SPINOZA, already at work on his Theological and Political Tracts, is "excommunicated" from the Jewish synagogue of Amsterdam for heresies ranging from the denial of immortality to his formulation of the nature of the Divine Being.

-REMBRANDT, unable to sell his introspective (called "morbid") portrayals of biblical themes, declares bankruptcy in Protestant Holland.

-RUBENS, in nearby Flanders, reaches the height of his career and enjoys the highest honors that the Roman Catholic art world can bestow.

-THE COMMONWEALTH enters an alliance with France against Spain.

-EDMUND HALLEY, English astronomer, is born.

1657:

-CROMWELL dies, aged 59.

1659:

-MOLIERE produces Les Precieuses Ridicules and is established as the leading French dramatist.

-J. BOSSUET settles in Paris soon to be recognised as one of the most outstanding religious politicians and man of letters of the second half of his century. He is largely responsible for the removal of the Quietist and Jansenist "threats" to the Church.

-A. SCARLATTI born to "create the language of classical music" through his operas.

-H. PURCELL appointed organist at Westminster Abbey.

-BOYLE discovers the elasticity of air.

-RICHARD CROMWELL abdicates, and the Long Parliament is recalled.

1. Let 355, 364.

continuing division.<sup>1</sup>

We know little of these last years. His last child, a daughter Margaret, was born early in 1655. There had been a son Samuel in 1651, but both died in infancy. Three more books appeared: The Covenant of Life Opened(CLO), a work of practical divinity on the eternal promise of grace made by God to his people in Christ; A Survey of T.Hooker's Church Discipline(SCD), the last of his works against the Independents; Influences of the Life of Grace(ILG), his treatise on the Holy Spirit.<sup>2</sup>

1660:

-D.BUXTEHUDE becomes organist of St.Mary's, Halsingor. Schütz, Pachelbel and the Spaniard Victoria were also composing during this period.  
 -DANIEL DE FOE is born.  
 -JOHN BUNYAN is sentenced to 12 years in Bedford jail for illegal preaching.  
 -CHRISTOPHER WREN becomes professor of astronomy at Oxford.  
 -CHRISTIAN HUYGENS, without the promised financial reward, is honored by the Royal Society for his invention of a clock accurate enough to compute longitude on oceanic voyages.  
 -CHARLES II, under the aegis of General Monk, is unconditionally restored to the English throne.  
 -SCOTLAND celebrates her regained independence.  
 -JAMES SHARP sent to London to guarantee the rights of the Scottish Presbyterians in the Court of Charles.

# 1. Let 336, 347.

In 332 he notes that "The passengers(on Christ's poor ship) are so sea-sick of a high fever that they use abusive names of one another," and that the real cross is not physical suffering but when redeemed hate redeemed.

By 1656 the situation was still so full of enmity that both sides appealed to the "usurper" Cromwell for arbitration. Although he, as might be expected, favored Rutherford's party, there was no satisfactory result ensuing. Rutherford was, during this time, estranged from several old friends: Dickson, Baillie and Blair. He was reconciled to Blair before his death and Dickson later admitted, after the Restoration, that Rutherford was the "right prophet." Murray covers this period in detail, op.cit., p.261.

# 2. Two other major works appeared after his death. These were his Letters and Examen Arminianismi(EA). The latter was a collection of lecture notes proceeding through the basic points of Reformed theology and demonstrating how the Arminian position affected the interpretation of each. Both were edited by his former student Robert McWard.

Several collections of sermons appeared much later. Except for the two earliest: Christ's Napkin and Christ and the Doves Heavenly Salutation, the authorship of these is extremely doubtful. Their style is foreign to Rutherford, and claiming dates prior to 1640(some conflict with known biographical data) they often present a form of Covenant theology much more developed than anything hinted at in CLO written 20 years later.

The Letters have seen at least 25 editions, including Dutch and German translations. See Bonar, op.cit., Vol.II,p.452.

In the spring of 1660, Charles II was restored. In the fall, the Committee of Estates declared Rutherford's Lex Rex to be treasonable material and ordered all copies surrendered and burned by the public hangman.

Since the Marquis of Argyll had been arrested in July, Rutherford was Charles II's only significant political opponent still at large in the northern realm.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, Rutherford was summoned to appear before the Committee of Estates to answer charges regarding Lex Rex. Since he was by then bed-ridden and could not attend, he was tried in absentia. The result was obvious. He was deposed of his ministry, of his offices in the

University, and ordered confined to his house to be tried for treason by the next (the so-called "drunken") parliament with

1661:

- AHMED KIUPRILI inherits the office of Chief Minister to the Sultan of Turkey and begins to lay plans for an attack on Vienna 20 years later.
- LE CHATEAU DE VERSAILLES begins to undergo drastic alterations to make it into a royal residence.
- COLBERT reforms the French treasury.
- LEEUEWENHOEK perfects his microscope and observes red corpuscles and spermatozoa.

#### BRITAIN

- SAVOY CONFERENCE heralds the end of Presbyterian political influence in England.
- EPISCOPACY reestablished in Scotland. All ministers appointed since 1649 must resign their charges and receive them again with Episcopal approval.
- JAMES SHARP made Archbishop of St. Andrews.
- PRESBYTERIAN resistance, in the form of private covenants, begins to mount in the Southwest of Scotland.

1662:

- ENGLAND sells Dunkerque to the French as an expression of Anglo (Charles II)-French (Louis XIV) solidarity.

1666:

- LEIBNITZ becomes Professor at Altdorf.
- THE GREAT FIRE of London.

1667:

- NEWTON publishes his binomial theorem.
- WILLIAM PENN becomes a Quaker.
- JONATHAN SWIFT is born in Dublin.
- JOSEPH GLANVILLE marks the end of an era with the publication of A Philosophical Consideration of Witches and Witchcraft. The book tries, against rising popular opinion, to prove that the denial of the influence of the demonic is the first step toward atheism.

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1. Warrenton was in Europe. Others of eminence who had signed the National Covenant were dead or in jail.



his co-defendants, Argyle and Guthrie.<sup>1</sup> Rutherford retorted that he had "a higher summons" which he must obey. He died in his bed, no doubt more than ready to leave the world and consummate his oft-tasted union with Christ.

"I have no knowledge to take up the Lord in all His strange ways, and passages of deep and unsearchable providences. For the Lord is before me and I am so in the mist that I cannot follow Him; He is behind me, and following at the heels, and I am not aware of Him; He is above me, but His glory so dazzleth my twilight of short knowledge, that I cannot look up to Him. He is upon my right hand, and I see Him not; He is upon my left hand, and within me, and goeth and cometh, and His going and coming are a dream to me; He is round about me and compasseth all my goings, and still I have Him to seek. He is every way higher, and deeper and broader than the shallow and low handbreath of my short and dim light can take up; and therefore, I would that my heart could be silent, and sit down in the learnedly-ignorant wondering at the Lord, whom men and angels cannot comprehend. I know that the noon-day light of the highest angels who see Him face to face seeth not the borders of His infiniteness. They apprehend God near at hand; but they cannot comprehend Him. And therefore, it is my happiness to look afar off, and to come near to the Lord's back parts and to light my dark candle at His brightness and to have leave to sit and content myself with a traveler's light without the clear vision of an enjoyer. I would seek no more till I were in my country than a little watering, ...and small ravishing smiles of the fairest face of a revealed and believed-on Godhead." (Let 169)

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1. Argyle was decapitated in May, Guthrie was hung in June. Rutherford died March 20th.



## APPENDIX II

INDEX TO AUTHORS CITED BY SAMUEL RUTHERFORDPrefatory Notes

The entries in this index are designed to reveal the following:

1. The names of individual authors cited by Samuel Rutherford along with pseudonyms or variant spellings used by him.
2. Particular works of these authors incorporating the abbreviations most common to Rutherford. The notation of only one or two works of a particular man does not indicate that these are the only works with which Rutherford is familiar, as he often cites an author without reference to any work, yet by the context, intimate knowledge of particular passages is shown.
3. A minimum of biographical information (when available) showing:
  - a. date of death
  - b. country of primary activity
  - c. ecclesiastical tradition
    1. Roman Catholics are listed by ecclesiastical position or Order when known.
    2. continental Protestants as: Reformed, Lutheran, etc.
    3. British Protestants of the Rutherford period are noted in terms of religious distinctions then current: Nonconformist, Independent, Anglican, etc.
  - d. scope of writing: theological, legal, etc. The terms polemicist and apologist have been distinguished, the former referring to debates within the Church.
  - e. The sign \* preceding a man's name indicates contributions to theology or piety of a pneumatological significance.

Note: Because of Rutherford's somewhat redundant and pedantic style, it would not be feasible to list all references to frequently quoted authors. Thus only the most characteristic citations of major authors are made.

- Abbot, George  
1633, Eng, theol, exeg, Arch-  
bishop Canterbury;  
Questiones sex.; De inter-  
cis just.  
Aberdeen doctors  
early 17thC publications.  
Abulen(Alphonse) de Tostat  
1455, Sp, expositor;  
OT Comm.  
Acontius, Jacques  
1580, It(RC), writer on Tri-  
nity;  
Stratagematibus Satanae in  
relig negotio.  
Acosta, Jose de  
1600, Sp(SJ), philos, theol,  
New World chronicler;  
De procuranda indorum salute.  
Adolphe, d'Essen  
1439, Ger, Benedict;  
Meditations.  
Adrian  
De lavibus; De poenitent.  
\*Ainsworth, Henry  
1622, Eng, nonconform, Rabbinic  
& OT exeg;  
OT Comm; Animaduevs.  
Alberic, of Monte Casino  
1105, It, Benedict;  
In chronicon casinense.  
\*Albertus Magnus  
1280, Ger, Dominic, Aquinas'  
teacher;  
Comm on Lombard.  
Alesius, Alexander  
1565, Scot, Luth theol, exeg;  
NT Comm.  
Alfonso X, King of Castille  
1284, Sp, some pious & relig  
works;  
Pamphlet on Church gov't.  
Aliacensis  
On the Sacraments.  
Allen, William (Alanus)  
1594, Eng(RC), founder Eng  
college at Douai;  
De sacrifice massae; NT  
Comm.  
Almain, Jacques  
1515, Fr, polem, Church Gov't;  
NT Comm; Moralum; De potest  
eccles.  
Alphonse de Castro  
1558, Sp, exeg, polem;  
Tit vota; Adv haerisies.
- TT161.  
DS15ff.  
LR256; DR88, 236; GE  
28, 59, 152; PLC302;  
SCD466.  
PLC326, 342.  
DR204b.  
DR19.  
DR19, 44-5, 275, 379c;  
GE121, 204; DS19; DDP  
266.  
LR37, 48; DR40, 292, 313;  
ILG105; 286; EA130.  
DR234.  
GE162, 191; DS19; DDP  
276, 397; PP19, 43, 92,  
101.  
GE191; DDP73, 276; SCD  
378.  
CI0154, 211, 306, 335,  
363.  
DR212b.  
DR275; SCD378.  
PP4, 21, 159; LR244;  
DR45, 203, 332c; DDP  
325; SCD265, 378.  
DR88, 235; GE162, 204;  
DDP325, 397.

- Alsted, Jean Henry  
1638, Dutch, Reformed theol,  
polemicist;  
Comm on Cant.
- Altissiodorensis
- Alvarez, Diego  
1631, Sp, Domin, Thomist;  
Respons; De auxil div gra.
- \*Ambrose  
397, Milan, Exeg, moral theol,  
ascetic;  
De Abraham; De paenitentia;  
De officis; NT Comm; OT Comm;  
Vevere Deo; De sacram; De  
paradiso.
- Ames, William(Ammes, Amesius)  
1633, Eng, nonconformist,  
moral theol;  
Fresh suit; NT Comm; Contr  
Bellarm; De constu; Medul;  
Antisydalibus.
- Ammonius, Hermia  
5thC, comm on Aristotle;  
Comm on physics.
- Amyrald, Moise  
1664, Fr, Protest;  
Echantillon de doctr de  
Calvin.
- Anastasis, Martin  
1664, Fr, Benedic;  
Quest sac Scrip.
- André de Castellana  
1644, Sp (SJ).
- Andreae, Johan Valentin  
1654, Luth theol, chemist,  
astrol.
- Angelerio(Gregory)  
1662, It, RC theol;  
De praeparatione.
- Annat, François  
1670, Fr (SJ), Confess Louis  
14, writer anti Jansens;  
De scientia media.
- Anselm  
1109, Archbishop of Canterbury;  
Monolog; De concord; Comm NT;  
Proposals.
- Ansenius(Abp. of Monembasia)  
1534;  
Scholia in septem.
- DR313.
- EA62.  
PDG16,114,142,  
363,491;DDP60;  
ILG331.  
PP5,8,18,21,29,  
69,86,258,289;  
LR242,337;DR10,  
19,27,81,89,100,  
155,171,202-3,  
254b,305b,354c;  
379c,449c;GE134,  
185,189,215,329;  
PLC59,136,288;DDP  
51,105,290;SCD  
279,407,515.  
PP8,14,31,34,55,  
63,96;DR105,200,  
227b,253b;DS22;  
CD421;PLC19,338;  
SCD64,380,396,428;  
ILG436;EA32.  
DDP105,397.
- CD367,425b;CL0121;  
ILG351.
- DR19.
- DDP325;GE204;DS19.
- TT148.
- GE121,205;DS19.
- DDP160-188.
- PDG140;DR19,172,  
193,379c,423c;DDP  
290,314,526;CLO  
23.  
PP92.

- Antigonus(Carystius)  
1619;  
Historiarum miarbilium.  
Antonius, Andreas  
1320, Sp, Francisc scholast,  
Scotis exp;  
Exps in libros metaphysic.  
Antonius, Marcus  
Probable de Dominis "apostate"  
Bishop of Spalatro;  
De rep eccles.  
\*Aphrodisaeus, Alex  
2nd cent Neoplatonic commentator on  
Aristotle  
Faeus de facto.  
Aquila, Piere d.  
1370, It, theol of Scotus  
school;  
OT Comm.  
\*Aquinas  
1274, Dominic;  
Summa theo; NT Comm; De  
Poter; Contr Gent; On  
relig wars.  
Archer, Jn.  
1650? Eng Puritan minister;  
Comfor for Believers.  
Archinto, Phil.  
1544, It, RC theolog;  
NT Comm; Oratio de Nova  
Christiani.  
Arcudis, Pierre  
1633, It, polem, theol;  
Apologia.  
Aretius  
1574, Swiss, Protest theol,  
Bibl comm, scient;  
NT Comm.  
Arias Montano, Benito  
1598, Sp, orientalist, exeg;  
OT Comm.  
Aristotle  
322 BC, Gr;  
On interpret; Nico ethics;  
Physics; Metaph; Rhetor;  
Poster analyt; Ramus; De  
Sophist.
- LR130.  
PDG100.  
PP2,159;LR42,398;  
DR45,47,275,279,  
355c.  
DDP101.  
TT136; CLO300.  
PDG3,5,114,141,  
320,345,491;PP  
4,86,251,258;DR  
19,27,44-5,81  
134;GE77,80,134,  
204,200b,227b,307c,  
362c;DS3,13,18;  
SA326;PLC4,299,  
315;DDP1,21,51,  
99,218,222,242,  
314;cat98.  
CD26;As54,158.  
CLO253-266.  
DR186.  
PP86.  
PP85;LR345,347;  
TT189;DDP221,SCD  
8.  
PDG1,2,99;PP42,  
46,63;LR2,79,87,  
374,398;DR389;  
GE82,329;SA46;PLC  
intro,1,349;CLO  
126;SCD72,242,249;  
DDP1,90,101,105,  
548,558;ILG100;EA  
86,370,496.



- Arminius  
 1609, Dutch, Protest;  
 Remonst in Scrip;Diabolos;  
 Epists;In coll com Franci  
 Junius;De sacerdat;Private  
 disps;Public disps.  
 Arnisaens(Henningus)  
 1635;  
 De autorit princip.  
 Arnobius  
 320, Africa, contr heresies;  
 Contr Gent.  
 Arriaga,Rodrique de  
 1606, Sp(SJ);  
 Curs philo.  
 Arrubal, Peter  
 1608, Sp(SJ);  
 Comm on Summa.  
 \*Athanasius  
 373, Africa, theol, apolog;  
 Psalms;Incarn;Contr Arian;  
 Contr pagans;Creed;Letters;  
 De fide;Orations;Sermons;Contr  
 heresies;Unum esse Christum.  
 \*Augustin of Hippo  
 430, Africa, theol, exeg, apolog;  
 72 of 126 works listed in New  
 Cath Encyclop.  
 241b,266b,305c,346c,  
 379c,395c,403c,449c;  
 21,143,179,185,189ff,  
 CD25,448;SA2,28,328;  
 59,60,99,111,141,248,  
 334,338,397,405,63b;  
 190,220,237,314,341,  
 336;SCD9,40,64,65,  
 503,518,520;EA76,220,  
 Augustin of Ancona(Triumphus)  
 1328, Fr, August philos;  
 Summa de eccles potest.  
 Aventinus, Johannes Thurmayr  
 1534, Ger, humanist histor;  
 Annals ducum Boiariae.  
 Azor, Juan  
 1603, Sp(SJ), moral theol;  
 Instit moral.  
 PDG6,21,34,325;PP  
 146;LR222;DR107,268;  
 GE602;CD435;DDP7,79,  
 95,204;CL019,247,303,  
 327;SCD43,365;ILG355;  
 EA54,506.  
 LR48,75,110,167,257.  
 GE184;EA374.  
 DDP16,400ff.  
 DDP16,24.  
 PDG140,433;PP18,21,  
 219;LR7,37;DR235,  
 443,223b,353c,465c;  
 GE173,182,187,189,  
 205;CL0336;SCD516,  
 17;EA63.  
 PDG5,139-40,406,416,  
 469,475-6,490-2,541;  
 PP5,8,19,34,69,80,85,  
 91,146-7,242,258;LR  
 35,37,48,242,320,352;  
 DR10,19,20,27,89,99,  
 174,185-6,275,277,  
 281-2,286-7,426,193b,  
 351c,354c,359-60c,  
 TT131,151;GE Title p,  
 329,547;DS13,19,55;  
 AS21,63,87;PLC54-56,  
 299,302,308,326-7,  
 DDP3,42,52-3,99,106,  
 397,218b;CL043,146,  
 227,265,346,407,416,  
 317,358.  
 GE602.  
 DR233,340c.  
 DR204,341c;GE163.

- Beacon, F.  
Catechism; Simplicities;  
Defense.
- Baillie, Robert  
1662, Scot Presby, principal  
Glasgow Univ;  
Dissuasive vindicated.
- Baldus, De Ubaldis  
1400, It, lawyer, cannonist;  
Usus Feudorum.
- Ball, John  
1381, Eng, Benedic(excommuni-  
cated), leader Eng Peasants  
Revolt;  
Ans to cannon.
- Bancroft, Richard  
1628?, Eng, nonconform, eccles  
and polemic writer;  
Sermon Pauli Crucein.
- \*Bannez, Dominico (Banez; Baynes)  
1604, Sp, Domin scholast, 20  
years confessor St.Teresa,  
begin of disputes on grace:  
anti Molina;  
Summa de St.Thomas;De Tryall.
- Barclay,William  
1606,Scot, works on civil and  
Church govt;  
Monarchia Romani.
- Baron, Robert(Barnes)  
1530, Eng RC, theol.  
Lives of Popes St.Peter to  
AlexII; OT Comm; Cant.
- Barrow,Issic.  
1669, Eng, Episcop, theol,  
mathmetic;  
Discourse on the Church.
- Bartholomaeus, Coloniensis  
late 15thC;  
Dialogus mythol.
- Bartoli,Daniello  
1685, It(SJ);  
Hist of SJ:ascet,sci,philo.
- \*Basil  
379.  
Hexaameron; Spirit Sanct;  
De fedi; Moralia; Comm Isca;  
Contr Eunomius; Letters;  
Homelies.
- \*Baxter, Richard  
1691, Eng, nonconformist;  
Infant bap; Confession;  
New remedying law of grace.
- Baynes, Paul  
1647?,Eng, nonconform, NT comm  
& Church govt;  
The diocesan tryall; OT & NT  
Comm.
- SA49,57,183.
- DDP288;SCD38,168,  
504.
- LR197-8.
- DR253b,266b;SCD  
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- DR424c.
- PDG142,200,362,  
491;PP83,258;DR  
27,43;GE98;DS13;  
PLC315,DDP11,75,  
356,380;EA62,626.
- LR5,55,75,212.
- GE531,595,602;  
DDP32;SCD426;ILG  
169; PP19.
- SCD63;PP23,43,92,  
101.
- LR113.
- LR139;GE207;SCD503.
- 18,21,86  
PP10,69,122,219;  
LR7,242,320;DR12,  
19,27,193,281,  
426,379c;GE21,69,  
98,189,647;DDP107,  
290;EA229.  
CLO82,117;SCD95;  
ILG40,87,97,137,  
346,356,349.
- PDG226,PP12,14,  
34,63,72;DR7;DDP  
Pre;CLO308;SCD  
279,416.

- Beda, Noël  
1539, Fr, theol, fac de Paris;  
NT Comm.
- Bede(Venerable)  
735, Eng, monk  
Eccl Hist.
- Becanus, Martin  
1624, Ger(SJ), theol, polem,  
comm on Suarez, anti Protest;  
Summa theolo Scholast;  
Contraversia potestate;  
Opuscul de Praed Calvani;  
De analog; Virtutibus theol.
- Bellarmino, Robert  
1621, Sp(SJ);  
Controversies; De ecclesia;  
De pontific; Omnes Psalmos:  
ascet works; De arte bene mor;  
Gratia Dei; De justific; De  
Sant Relig; De amiss; De  
larcis; De sacra.
- \* Bernard  
1153, Fr;  
Sermon in Cantica; Letters.
- Bertrand, Pierre  
1349, Fr, Cardinal, polem, canon-  
ist;  
De origine jurisdic.
- Best, Paul  
Churches plea against Paget.
- Beza  
1605, Fr, Geneva;  
Annotated NT; De aete praed;  
Notis eccles; Haereticis;  
Presby & excommunic; Contr  
Erastum; De presby; Contr  
Castellian.
- Biel, Gabriel  
1495, Ger, scholast nominal  
theol;  
Lectures; Comm in Canticles.
- Bilson, Thomas  
1616, Eng, Bishop of Winchester,  
Caroline divine;  
Perpetual govt; NT Comm.
- PP10,30,242;LR  
133,242,55;DR7,  
19,426,305b.  
SCD418.
- PDG6,425;PP14;  
LR6,48,55;DR227b;  
GE137;DDP226,284;  
PLC363;EA36.
- PDG418,491;PP1,19,43,  
146,224;LR17,\*35,  
414;DR4,15,88,  
185,232,316c;SA  
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CD469;SA326;PLC  
363;DDP11;CLO127,  
160,209;SCD29,  
165;ILG334;EA16,  
18,50,375,408,659.  
PDG491;DR171,186,  
193;DS34;CLO307;  
SCD227,503;ILG308.
- LR9,GE602.
- PP4;DR165,223;PLC  
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CD25,496;PLC282,  
291,326,336;DDP  
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215;CLO86,109,166,  
201;SCD61,170,180,  
227,229,265,400,  
440;ILG334;EA32,  
736.  
DR212b;SCD496.
- PP86,220;DR55,142,  
148,253b;GE13;SCD  
102,207;

- Binius, Severin  
1641, Ger, edit of conciliar texts;  
Concilia generalia et provincialia; Theo de repub.
- Bishop, William  
1624, Eng, Bishop of Chalcedon Warwickshire;  
Refor Catho.
- Blackwood, Adam  
1613, Scot, theol jurist;  
De vinculo.
- Blandus, Rubellius Plautus  
93, It, Stoic philos, decad;
- Bodin, Jean  
1596, Fr, polit philos;  
De la république.
- Boethius  
524, It;  
Consolation of philos.
- Bonaventura  
1274, Fr, Francisc schoolman;  
OT & NT Comm; Distinctions.
- Bonifacius III  
607, It Pope;
- Bowles, Edward  
1658?, Eng nonconform;  
Manifest Truths.
- Boyd(Boidius) of Trochrig  
1623, Scot, theol;  
Eph Comm.
- Bradward, Thomas  
1349, Eng, theol, Archbish Canterbury;  
De causa Dei contr Pelag.
- Brentius, Johann(Brenz)  
1570, Ger, Luth reform, comm, sermons, Luth theol;  
Sermon; NT Comm.
- Bridges  
Loyall convert.
- Brightman, Thomas  
1644?, Eng, Bib comm:prophet;  
Comm in Cantica; Expos upon the Rev.
- Brown, Robert  
1633, Eng, indep, groundwork for Eng congregationalism.
- Brutus, Junius(Crell Johann)  
1631, Dutch refor;  
Pro relig lib.
- Bucer  
1551, Ger, reform;  
Comm; Hier sophron.
- Buchanan, George  
1582, Scot, humanist;  
Baptistes; De jure regni a pud Scotus; De discip eccl;  
Theol scolast.
- DR185,232b.
- GE53.
- LR48.
- GE188.
- PP86;LR2,82,133.
- LR82,361,449;  
DDP1,102,357.
- PDG4,37,141,491;DR44,47;  
GE191;DDP3,263,380;SCD378;ILG334;EA358.  
GE595.
- SA263.
- CLO204;SCD416.
- PP215;PDG142,347;DDP Pre,11,32,99,550;CLO23;ILG161.  
LR133;SCD61.
- LR456.
- PPA3,242;DR83;  
SCD227.
- SA343.
- LR95,175,178.
- PP a1,5,19,34,79,80,86,91;LR273;DR100,340b,423c;GE447;SCD248.  
PP1,2,69,86;LR91,133,178,449;DR3,132,203b;DS18;SA326;DDP Pref;SCD265,277.



- Calvin...  
 Bude, Guillaume  
 1540, Fr, humanist, Greek scholar;  
 Ot & NT Comm; Epist. CLO272.  
 Bullinger, Heinrich  
 1575;  
 Helvetic confess; Comm on Mat. PP8,49;DR12,80-1,  
 100-1,262,272;GE  
 636;CD522;SA4;AS  
 79,183,196;PLC38,  
 217,334;DDP50;SCD  
 7,61,163,381;ILG  
 186.  
 GE96.  
 Burges(Alphonse de Burgos)  
 1570, Sp, Benedict;  
 Rejoyner. SCD245,269.  
 Burroughs, Jeremiah  
 1659?, Eng nonconform, comment;  
 Can Ans to 7 Dissent Brethren.  
 Burton, Henry  
 1643, Eng, independ;  
 Conform deformity. SA intro;SCD497.  
 Buxtor, Johannes  
 1629; Eng, independ;  
 Lexicon Hebr rabb. GE345;DDP221.  
 Canisius, Peter(St.)  
 1597, Dutch (SJ), Latin  
 Cabezudo, Didacus Nuño  
 1614, Sp, Domin, comm on  
 Aquinas, 4 works anti Molina,  
 death aged 16; by a SJ.  
 De auxillis divine gratiae. DDP51.  
 Caetani, Benedetto  
 1235, It, Pope Boniface VIII;  
 Tract 37; Unam sanctam. PP210,252.  
 Cajetan, Tommaso de vico  
 1534, It, Domin Thomist theol,  
 great exeg; praestantiss.  
 Cap Comm OT, NT; Verbo pracepti  
 transgresso. In schoolman,  
 most celebrated Theoliat of  
 N.A.  
 Comm on sentences of P.  
 Lombard;  
 Cartwright, Thomas  
 1603, Eng, nonconform, po- 33,11  
 221;C  
 Calderwood, David  
 1678, Scot, histor polem;  
 Alter of Damascus.  
 \*Calvin, John  
 1564;Fr,Reform theol,exeg,polem;  
 Institutes; Providentia of  
 God; Eternal predest; Adv lib;  
 Catech; On justific; "On Ber-  
 nard;" Epistles. PDG5;PP2,5,14,34,  
 69,86,96,105,108;  
 LR13,35,48,132,178,  
 242,256-7,273,314,  
 352;DR7,12,17,27,55,  
 81,100,105,113,130,  
 132,236,262,272,287,  
 428,430,200b,203b,  
 221b,215b,224b,241b,  
 275b,286b,340b,343c,  
 379c,411c;GE51,172,  
 203,236,360,447,560;  
 DS22,45;CD25,251-2,  
 1641; Cursus Theologicus.

- Calvin...  
 CD322,324-5,428,501-5;SA2,4,6,8,219,224,311;AS45,54,63,66,84,157,161;PLC59,216,238,315,326,336,359,368,281,293,302;DDP50,103,110,130,189,191,201,213-14,216,226,358ff,481;CLO64,86,106,109,121,154,166,177,308,312,336-7;SCD7,49,61,63,116,145,148,150,163,170,229,265,288,346,381,400;ILG60,67,207,286;EA72.  
 PDG220,306;PP105;DR224b;GE236;DDP342;CLO363;SCD265;EA19.
- Cameron, John  
 1625, Scot, theol;  
 De triplici Dei; De eccles; Comm on Matt.
- Canne, John  
 1655?, Eng, independ;  
 Necessity of separa.
- Canisius, Peter(St.)  
 1597, Dutch (SJ), influ of Ger mystics and Nikolaus Van Esche and first edition of Tauler, first book ever pub by a SJ, Patristic sources, known for catechisms;  
 De beata virgine.
- Capello, Marc-Anton  
 1625, It, Francisc, ecclesiol & polem with Protest;  
 Adversus praetensum.
- Capreolus, Jn  
 1444, Fr, Domin schoolman, most celebrated Thomist of M.A.  
 Comm on sentences of P. Lombard;
- Cartwright, Thomas  
 1603, Eng, nonconform, polem;  
 Adv Harrinson; Against Whytgifte; Anti Rhemists.
- \*Carthusias(Denis the Carthusian)  
 1471, Belg, Carth theol, mystic;  
 NT Comm.
- Cassaubon, Isaac  
 1614, Fr, Protest, classic scholar, ed works of Athanasius;  
 Ep ad Cardin:"first summa of spirit theol in the West".
- Caspensis, Lodovicus (Capuchian)  
 1641: Cursus Theologicus.
- CD322,324-5,428,501-5;SA2,4,6,8,219,224,311;AS45,54,63,66,84,157,161;PLC59,216,238,315,326,336,359,368,281,293,302;DDP50,103,110,130,189,191,201,213-14,216,226,358ff,481;CLO64,86,106,109,121,154,166,177,308,312,336-7;SCD7,49,61,63,116,145,148,150,163,170,229,265,288,346,381,400;ILG60,67,207,286;EA72.  
 PDG220,306;PP105;DR224b;GE236;DDP342;CLO363;SCD265;EA19.
- PP92,138;DR282,377c;  
 SCD14,45.
- GE179.
- GE173.
- PDG142;DDP218,314,528.
- PP1,86,176;DR55,83,110,287;PLC338;DDP221;CLO85.
- LR314,352;SCD8.
- EA7.
- DS85;PLC364.

- Cassanaeus, Bartholomaeus(Chassonius)LR133.  
1580?, Ger;  
Catalogus gloriae mundi.
- \*Cassian, John PDG456;DRA3;GE215;  
435, monastic; writer of de- EA494.  
votional ascetic using Basil,  
Jerome, Athanasius;  
Collations; De incarnat.
- Castalio, Josephus PP79,85;PLC143,281,  
640?, Sp; 396.  
Adv Calvinum.
- Castellio, Sebastian DR130.  
1563, Fr, Protest humanist,  
Biblic scholar;  
OT, NT Comm.
- Castro, Alphonse de SA326.  
1558, Sp(SJ), theol;  
Adv her.
- Catharinus, Ambrosius(Lancelot EA626.  
Politi)  
1553, It, Dominic, influ Bañez  
& Suarez; lawyer, theol at Trent;  
Apology contra Soto.
- Cato, Elder CL0267;SCD407.  
Presumed author of Disticha Cat;  
Disticha.
- Cawdrey, Daniel SCD101.  
1658, Eng, nonconform theol,  
Presby polem;  
Inconsistencie of indep.
- Cedrenus, George PP122.  
early 12thc Byzant chronicler;  
Synopsis istorion.
- Celestine I DR280.  
432, It, Pope, Council of Ephes  
anti Nestorius;  
Epistle 6.
- Chamier, Daniel PP67;DR55;DDP100,  
1650?, Fr, Reformed; 197;SCD46,480.  
Panstras; NT Comm.
- Chemnitius, Martin PP34,86;DR100,288,  
1586, Ger, Luth; 280b;DS58;CD25;SCD  
Repetitio sanae doct de vera 150,277,415;TT148.  
praesentia; Exam concili Tri-  
dent; De eccles.
- Childley, Kathern PP58;DR(195)197.  
Americ, independ;  
Against Jonathan Edwards.
- Chillingworth, William EA24.  
1644, Eng, Anglican;  
De fide Protestant.
- Chrysostom, Jn PDG1,362,491;PP1,  
407, Constantinople; 5,7,10,19,21,30,  
NT Comm; Homelies; De sacer. 69,79,80,258;LR242,  
269,349,352;DR10,  
19,27,155,158,168,  
171-2,202,282,286,  
426,443,458,469,471,  
303b,305b,360c,449c;  
GE70,98,134,137,185,

- Chrysostom...  
 GE189, 215, 238; SA27;  
 PLC326, 364; DDP3, 51,  
 110, 288, 426; CL0102;  
 SCD145, 150, 265, 516;  
 PLC216.
- Chytraeus, David (Kochhaffe)  
 1600, Ger, Luth theol, exeg,  
 educat, histor;  
 OT Comm.  
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius  
 43BC;  
 De divinatione.  
 Clement of Alexandria  
 3rdC;  
 Stromata; Hypotyposes;  
 Epistle 3.  
 \*Cloppenburgius, Johannes  
 1656?, Ger, Reform theol,  
 polem;  
 Gangraena theol Anabapt.  
 Coachman  
 City of Stone.  
 Cobbet, Thomas  
 1654, Mass., US, independ;  
 On covenant; On baptism.  
 Cocceius, Johannes  
 1669, Dutch theol;  
 Summa doct de foedere et  
 Testamentis Dei.  
 Collier, Thomas  
 1665?, Eng, nonconform theol;  
 Marrow of Christianity.  
 \*Collinges, Jn  
 1678, Eng nonconform;  
 Vindiciae ministerii evang.  
 Complutenses  
 Profs of philoat Carmelite  
 college of St. Cyril at Alcala  
 de Henares; compiled encyclo  
 of Thom phil.  
 Collegium Complut philo.  
 Coninck, Aegid de  
 1633, Fr(SJ), moral theol;  
 De moralitate.  
 Conrad of Gelnhausen  
 1390, conciliarist & theol;  
 Opera omnia.  
 Contarini, Gasparo  
 1542, It, reform cardinal,  
 statesman, theol;  
 De officio episcopi.  
 Conymbrienses  
 Comm on Phy of Aristotle.  
 Cordoba, Antonio de  
 1578, Sp, Francisc moral theol;  
 Summa casuum.
- LR361; DDP363; CLO  
 275.  
 PP18; LR133, 242; DR  
 193, 307c, 353c; DDP  
 104.  
 PLC338.  
 DR276, 250b.  
 CL0117.  
 DR236.  
 SA43.  
 SCD328.  
 DDP101.  
 PLC300.  
 GE204; PLC59.  
 SCD265.  
 PDG65; DDP48.  
 DR44; GE90, 121, 204-5.



- Cornelius a Lapide  
GE28;LR13,132,178,  
256-7,349,352,380;  
DR171,359,426;PLC  
302;CLO312;SCD8,469.  
GE602;DDP46.
- Cornick, Aegid(Cornutus Annaeus)  
68, Stoic philos;  
Theologiae Graecae compend.
- Cornwell, Francis  
A descript of spirit temple:  
1646.
- Corvinus, Antonius  
1553, Ger, Luth theol;  
Contr Molin; Dupl ad pisca;  
Contr Bogern; Contr Tilen;  
Epistle ad Wallaibros;  
Contr Armini.
- Coster, Francois  
1600?, Fr;  
Sommaire contro.
- \*Cotton, Jn  
1652, Americ Purit;  
Keys to kingdom; Way of the  
Churches in N.Eng; Way of the  
Congreg Church cleared; Model  
of Ch and civil power; Expos  
of Canticles.
- Covarrubias y Leyva, Diego de  
1577, Sp, Bishop, jurist,  
theol, exponent of natural  
law as basis of liberty;  
Opera omnia.
- Crabrera(Crabbe, Pierre)  
1554, Fr, Francisc;  
Concilia omnia.
- Crakanthorp, Richard  
1624, Eng, Anglic polem;  
Defensio ecc Anglicanae.
- Crell, John  
1633, Ger, Socin theol, exeg;  
Omnia opera exegetica; Adv  
Grotium; Antinomian prop.
- Cretensis, Elias  
PP122.
- Crisp, Tobias  
1643, Eng, Anglic theol, anti-  
nom;  
Sermons: Christ alone exalted.
- Cromwell, Oliver  
1658, Eng, reformed;  
Letter to house of commons:  
1645.
- Cumel, Franciscus(Zumel)  
1600?, Sp, Domin, anti Molina;  
Disputes.
- Curial, Jean Alphonse  
1609, Sp(SJ?);  
Controversiae in diversa.
- AS81.
- PDG22,25,58,205,  
327;CD418;DDP79,  
374;CLO56,126;SCD  
43,363;ILG355;EA  
232,455,PP146;DR  
268,263b.  
DR232,283.
- DR292,313;GE236,560;  
CD583;SA177;SCD106.
- LR65,266,340.
- DDP51,54.
- SCD306.
- SCD292.
- Sermon Commons32;  
TT56,170;CD104,319,  
471;SA all work;AS  
81;PLC14;CLO344.  
SA250;PLC396;CLO  
117.
- DDP11,314;SCD352;  
ILG334,364.
- DDP16,51,275;CLO  
127;ILG334,356.

- Curtius, Rufus(Quintus)  
1650?, Dutch, histor;  
Historia Alexandri Magni.  
LR48;SA51.
- Cusanus(Nicholas of Cusa)(Khrypffs)  
1464, Ger, Bishop, Cardin, eccl  
polit, philos, theol, mathem;  
De concordantia. SCD265.
- Cyril of Alexandria  
444, N.Africa;  
Homelies; Acts of Synod of  
Ephesus; Glaphyra Gent; Comm  
OT,NT; Epistles. PP8,10,21,30,34,80;  
LR35ff,242;DR19,  
193,281,303b;TT  
189;GE21,69,185;  
PLC54;CLO330;EA  
229,361.
- Cyril of Jerusalem  
387, Asia Minor;  
Mystagogical Catecheses; De  
statu homi. DR223b;PLC59;DDP  
107,289;CLO330.
- Cyprian  
258, Carthage;  
De metria; Epistles; NT Comm;  
De pasto. PP5,8,18,21,34,69,  
85-6,91,213;LR370;  
DR19,55,100,171,  
174,186,201-2,379c;  
GE98,125,182;CLO336;  
SCD150,226-7,265,  
286,504,520-1.
- Daneus,Lambert  
1595, Fr, Reformed jurist,  
theol; PP5,67,86;PLC216;  
SCD277.
- Dathenus, Peter  
1560?, Ger, Calvinist;  
Ep ad Bullinger. GE635.
- Davenant, John  
1641, Eng, Bishop of Salisbury,  
theol; PP257;DR27,223b;  
PLC66;CLO183,232,  
236.
- Decius, Philippus  
1536, Fr(RC), lawyer;  
Consilia. CLO267; GE209.
- \*Dell, William  
1652?, Eng, nonconform, polem,  
theol, "antinomian;"  
Uniformity examined; Enthusias  
reform; SA31+all work,153,  
257.
- Demosthenes  
322BC, Gr, statesman, orat. PDG433;CLO253.
- Denne, Henry  
1646, Eng, nonconform, "anti-  
nom", polem; TT106,169;CD403,422,  
512;SA2,38;AS4,175.
- Man of sin; Doctr of Jn Bapt;  
Drag net; Sick man & minister.
- Diabolos  
Dutch, on Virgin Mary;  
Tract:1457. DDP7.
- Diaconus, Petrus  
De incarnat & grat. PDG140;DDP7.

- Didoclavious, Edwardus (Calderwood, David or Philadelphus, Hieronym) 1650, Scot, Reformed, histor, polem;  
Altar Damascenum. DR142,148,171;GE 171;SCD227.
- \*Didymus the Blind LR37,242.  
399, Alexandr, theol, exeg;  
On Ps.
- Diodati, Giovanni LR9,35,37;DR355, 430;PLC216;CLO 312,330;SCD8,51, 61,107,170,400; ILG286,348.  
1649, It+Switz, Reform theol, Bible transl: It, Fr; Annots on Ps. CLO267.
- Diogenes of Oenoanda  
2ndC, Gr, epicur.
- Dionysius of Alexandria PP18.  
265, Bishop, disciple of Origen;
- Dogmatica.
- \*Dionysius(pseudo: the Areopagite) DDP74,278,460.  
5th-6thC, neoplaton, Christ mystic;  
De divi nomin.
- Dixon, David (Dickson) GE27;CLO324-25;SCD 64: Let 110,119.  
1660?, Scot, Presby, Univ Glasgow;  
Analytical expos of Hebrews;  
On Ps; Therap sacra.
- Domingo, De Soto PP63,159;LR4,234, 398;DR127,186,275;  
1560, Sp, Dominic theol; GE204;PLC300;DDP 12;SCD480;ILG334.  
De natura et gratia; De instit; De justif. LR234; SA all work.
- Donellus, Hugo  
1589, Ger, jurist;  
Opera priora; 1589.
- Dorotheus of Antioch DR442.  
362?, orientalist, exeg;  
Synopsis de vita, morte prop apos et discip Domini.
- Downname, George PP86.  
1640, Eng, Bishop of Derry, theol, polem;  
Comm.
- Driedo, Jean PDG200;PP159;GE123, 204;DDP248,400.  
1550?, Fr(SJ);  
De gratia et liber; De libertate Christiana; De concordia liberi arbitri.
- Duacenesius, Fr. Silvius(see Silevias)
- Dunam GE125;SCD440.  
Conc in Apoc.
- Durand, Nicolas PP159;DR212b;PLC 4,135;SCD462.  
1561, Fr, Chevalier de Ville-gagnon;  
On relig wars.
- Durandus, of Saint-Pourcian PDG37,141,344;DR 355c;GE3,205;DS19; PLC315;DDP2.  
1334, Fr, Dominic, scholast philos, theol, nomin;  
Sentences; Syllabus ration.

- Duval, Jean(Bernard of St.Theresa)  
 1669, Fr, Discalc Carmelite,  
 Bishop, preacher, orient langu  
 expert;  
 Delegibus; Tract on Charity;  
 Tr on human will; Tr on grat.  
 PP11;DR27,43,45;  
 GE98;DS18;PLC364;  
 CL0127.
- Eaton, John  
 Eng, independ;  
 The honey-combe of free  
 justif:1642.  
 TT147;CDintro A.3,  
 103,295,500,503;AS  
 24.
- Eck, Johan  
 1543, Ger(RC);  
 Collat; Enchirid.  
 GE77,181.
- Elizabeth I  
 1603, Eng;  
 Abjuration of familists:1580  
 (by 10 Lords of Privi Council).  
 DR416;SA354.
- Elutherius  
 pseud;  
 The Scrip Bishop.  
 DR233.
- Emanuel, de Incarnation(?)  
 Comm on Matt.  
 PP86.
- English Divines  
 Annots on NT.  
 CL0312;SCD170,400.
- Epimenides  
 Cretan 6thC BC, poet;  
 SA51.
- Epicures  
 270 BC, Gr philos.  
 GE416.
- Epiphanius of Constantia  
 402, monk, Athanasian;  
 Panarion; Contra Collyri-  
 dianos.  
 PP34;LR7,320;DR  
 171,193,355;GE34,  
 182;PLC299;DDP104.
- Episcopus, Simon  
 1643, Dutch, Remonstr;  
 Confessio; De justific;  
 Apologia.  
 PDG52;PP108,197;  
 DR105,107,212b,263b,  
 275b,343c;DDP100;  
 CL064;ILG355.
- Erasmus, Desirerius  
 1536, humanist patristic scho-  
 lar;  
 PP86,150;DR11,360c;  
 PLC143;CL0272.
- Adages; Enchiridion militis  
 Christ; Colloques; NT trans.
- Erastius, Thomas  
 1583, Ger, Reformed, Erastian-  
 ism: state controlled Church;  
 Theses.  
 GE238,254.
- Essevius, Andre  
 Triumph Crucis; De satisfacti  
 Christi.  
 CL0323.
- Estius, Gulielmus  
 1613, Fr(RC) theol, exeg;  
 Quattuor libri sentent Petri  
 Lombardi; In omnes beati  
 Pauli.  
 PDG37,142,362,491;  
 LR9,352;DR171;GE130;  
 DDP200;CL0127,160;  
 SCD286,400;EA15.



- Eugenius IV, Pope  
1447, It, August monk, ne-  
gotiations with Byz Church;  
Decree forma Sacerdotin.
- Eusebius of Caesarea  
339, histor, exeg, Arian;  
OT Comm; Praepar Evengel  
(15 books); Ep ad Constant.
- Euthymius, Zigabenus  
12thC Byz, theol, exeg;  
OT Comm.
- Evagrius, Scholasticus  
6thC Byz, histor;  
Eccles hist.
- Ezra, Abraham Ben Me'ir Ibn  
OT Comm:1563.
- Faber, Peter(Fèvre, Lefèvre)  
1546; Fr(SJ);  
In Pat.
- Faculty of Univ Paris  
16th & 17thC SJ publications;  
De propno.
- Fairfax, Thomas of Cameron  
1671, Eng, Purit;  
Proposals of Amyr.
- Fansenius  
Concord evang.
- Fasolus, Jérôme  
1639, Fr(SJ);  
Comm on Sum of Thomas.
- \*Faustus of Riez  
495?, semi Pelag monk, wrote  
on H.Sp;  
De gratia Dei.
- Faye, Barthelemy(Faius)  
1553, Ger;  
On canon law.
- Fenner, Dudley  
1590?, Eng nonconform, minist,  
practic theol;logician, exeg;  
Defence of Godlie minist;  
Sacra theol.
- \*Fenner, William  
1647?, Eng, nonconform,  
practic theol;  
Wilful impenitency.
- Ferme, Charles  
A Logic Analys of Ep to Romans.
- Ferne, Henry  
1644, Eng, Bishop of Chester,  
polem;
- Ferus(Wild, Jean)  
1554, Ger, Francisc, exeg,  
contr de Soto;  
OT Comm.
- DR282;306c.
- PP18,19,229;LR37,  
48;DR19,172,443,303b;  
GE179,184;PLC305;  
DDP50,104,356;CLO  
335;SCD92,227,407.  
LR242;DR19.
- PP229.
- TT36;CLO306.
- DDP396.
- PP53.
- PLC177,193.
- GE137.
- DDP16,29,46;EA24.
- PDG456,475.
- CL0121.
- PP293;DR451c.
- ILG86,343.
- CL0121.
- LR24,75,314,345.
- PLC304;DDP224;SCD  
265.

- \*Ferrariensis, Francesco Silvestri  
1528, Fr, Dominic, wrote much  
on Aristotle, Thomas, ecclesiol,  
metaph, Confessor of Mantua;  
mystic, wrote on Mantua's mystic  
theol;  
Comm on Summa contr Gent of  
Thomas.
- Field, Richard  
1610?, Eng, Dean of Glou-  
cester;  
Of the Church(5 books).  
Firmilian of Caesarea  
268, Asia Min, Bishop;  
Ep ad Cyprian.
- Firmin, Giles  
1670?, Eng, nonconform;  
Separation examined.
- Flacius, Matthias Illycrius(M.  
Vlachich)  
1575, Ger, Luth histor, polem;  
Centurators of Magdeb; Glos-  
sary of NT; Veritates.
- Florus of Lyon  
860, Fr, August, histor, exeg,  
Canon law;
- Fonseca, Peter Da  
1599, Port(SJ);  
Comm metaph Aristot.
- Forbs, Jn of Corse  
1645, Scot, Epis;  
Comm Ireneaus.
- Forerius, Franciscus  
Fr(RC);  
OT Comm:1570.
- Fox, John  
1587, Eng, nonconform;  
Monuments of Martyrs.
- Francis de Ariba  
Theol spes.
- \*Fulgentius of Ruspe  
533, Afric monk, theol, anti  
Pelag, Arian; Opera omnia.
- Fulk, William  
1584, Eng, nonconform, polem;  
Anti SJ of Rhemes' Bible.
- Gabellus, George  
Editorial note in Zanchez;  
Comm on II Thes.
- Gabriel de Saint-Vincent  
1671, It, philos, theol;  
Disp.
- PDG142;GE204;DDP  
110,248.
- PP220,288;DR82,281;  
GE147.
- SCD260.
- SCD334.
- DR231-2;CLO154;  
SCD503.
- LR361.
- PDG6,12,30,65,134,  
188,330;DDP28.
- GE537,649;DS36.
- TT136.
- PP242;LR371;DR98;  
SCD514.
- PP216;DDP28.
- PDG140,456;DR10;  
DDP110,290;ILG  
Pref,330.
- PP34,242;DR55;CLO  
85,160;SCD51.
- GE360.
- DR45;DS19;DDP12,42,  
325.

- Galenus, Mathieu  
1573, Fr(RC), prof of theol  
at Douie, many works: cate-  
chisms & polemic;  
De usupart.
- Gamaches, Philippe de  
1625, Fr(RC);  
Comm on Summa theol; Comm  
on NT; On rel wars.
- Garcia(Fortunius)  
De ultima fine juris canon  
civil:1549.
- Gastius, Joanne  
1561?, Swiss Reformed;  
De Anabapt...erroribus.
- Gataker, Thomas  
1659?, Eng, nonconform, polem;  
Shadows without substance;  
God's eye on Israel.
- Gee, Edward  
1653, Eng, nonconform, polem;  
Treats of Prayer.
- Gelasius I  
496, It, Pope, statesman;  
Letters: ad Philip; ad  
Cernutius.
- Gellius, Aulus  
130, It, Latin histor;  
Noctes Atticae.
- Génébrad, Gilbert  
1597, Fr, exeg, Hebraist,  
patristics, dogmat & moral  
theol;  
OT Comms.
- Gerhard, Johann  
1637, Ger, Luth theol, philos;  
De eccles; Aristot polit; De  
Reform.
- \*Gerson, Jean  
1429, Fr theol, spirit writer,  
66 spirit works+ on mysticism;  
Spirit alphab; Natura + gra;  
De eccles; Tracts; Conscenta.
- \*Gibieuf, Guillaume  
1650, Fr, Carmel, philos, theol,  
mystic, pre-Jansen mystic work:  
The grandures of the most blessed  
Virgin;  
De libertate Dei et creature.
- Gillespie, George  
1648, Scot, Presby;  
Miscell guest.
- Gisenius, Johann  
1618, Ger, Luth;  
Dissert de eccles potiss.
- Gomarus, Franciscus  
1641, Dutch Reformed;  
De divin praedest.
- DDP300.
- DS55;PLC136,299-300,  
302,315,326;DDP24,  
220,284;ILG356,CLO127.
- LR332.
- DR288.
- AS67,96.
- ILG207.
- DR202.
- GE647.
- GE187,531;SCD92.
- LR418;DR19,31,82;  
SCD415.
- PDG351;PP2,4,86,  
159;LR133,244;DR  
203,279,305b;GE206;  
DDP325;SCD265,278;  
EA17,136,646,708.  
DDP54.
- SCD37,328,473.
- Ge171.
- GE447;CLO200.

- \*Goodwin, Thomas  
1680, Eng, independ;  
Support of faith; Pref to  
Treatise of Keys; Tract  
Anglican.  
PLC56,64,126,191,  
198,281,349,353;SA  
171,177;CLO322;SCE  
309;EA136.
- Gratian  
12thC Camaldolese monk;  
Concordia discord canon.  
PP29;DR266b;GE121.
- Greenham, Richard  
17thC, Eng, nonconform, prea-  
cher at Wethersfield, polem;  
Apologie unto Bishop of Ely.  
LR364; Let.
- Gregory I(Magnus)  
604, Pope;  
Epistles; Moralia; Homilies  
Gosp; Homils Ezek; Homils  
Cantic; Dialog.  
PP2;GE69,185,189,  
468;TT151;PLC4,22;  
DDP3,263,397;EA75,  
347.
- \*Gregory Nazianzus  
390, "The theologian";  
Epistles; Sermons+orations;  
Contr Appolinar; On ungodly  
Pastors.  
PP19,42;DR19,27,89,  
185,279,282,223b,345c,  
351c,355c;GE187;PLC  
60;SCD intro,407,512.
- \*Gregory, Nyssa  
394, philos, mystic, theol;  
Homils OT; Laud Basil; Orat  
de nativity; Orat de S.Ste-  
phano; De anima et resurect;  
Patra vita Christis.  
PP242,251;DR99,443;  
GE187;DDP104,110;  
SCD515.
- Gregory de Valencia  
1603, Sp(SJ) theol, exeg, polem;  
De auxill; De rebus fidei.  
LR234,242;DR15,27,  
212b,336c,354c;GE  
96,141,165,206;DS  
19;DDP3,11;SCD29,  
463;ILG334;EA375.  
DR15,231-2;DS2;PLC  
363.
- Gretser, Jakob  
1625, Ger(SJ), theol, polem,  
patrist scholar, philologist,  
playwrite;  
Lutherus Staurophilus; Mysta  
Salmuriensis.
- Grevinchovinus, Nikolaas  
1620, Dutch, Reform theol;  
Dissert...contr Ames.  
PDG15,57,132,417,  
457,484;DR105,263b;  
CD469;DDP101,103.
- Grotius, Hugo  
1645, Dutch, jurist, statesm,  
armin, exiled;  
De jure belli ac pacis libri  
tres.  
LR75,87,264;GE128.
- Gualther, Sebastiano  
Fr,(RC);  
Comm Is.  
DR113,241b;GE236,SA  
1,68;PLC216,282,293;  
CLO330;SCD8,61,163,  
381,503.
- Guicciardini, Francesco  
1540, It, histor;  
Histor Italia.  
LSC15.
- Gulielmus Appollonii  
Pseud for unknown Dutch author  
of mid 17thC;  
Jus majest circa sacra...1642.  
DR394c.



- Hales, Alexander of  
1245, Eng, Francisc, scholas-  
tic philos, theol, teacher of  
Bonavent, influ by Ansalm, Ber-  
nard, August.
- Hall, Edmund  
17thC, Eng, nonconform(inde-  
pend);  
Remonstrance to Parl:1657.
- Hamond, Dr. Henry  
1660, Eng, Anglic, practical  
theol;  
Conscience.
- Harding  
Peter's suprem.
- Harnish, Mathaeus  
NT Comm.
- Hart, Jn  
1660?, Eng, nonconform; ed  
a concord of Script;  
Letter to D.Roinald.
- Haymo, of Halberstadt  
853, Fr, bishop, theol, exeg;  
NT Comm.
- Hegesippus  
180, Asia Min, eccles writer;  
quoted from Eusebius Hist of  
Ch.
- Henriquez(Henricus)  
1608, Sp(SJ)1552, Domin 1594,  
SJ moral theol, teacher of  
Suarez+Greg Valencia, anti Mo-  
lina;  
Theol moral summa; De pontif.
- Herostratus  
On Eph Diana Temp.
- \*Hilary of Poitiers  
367, Fr, Bishop, theol, Gr  
Patrist scholar, hymn writer;  
De Trinit; NT Comm; Contr  
Auxentum; Contr Arrian; Epist  
ad August.
- Hincmar of Reims  
882, Fr, Archbishop, canonist,  
theol;  
Copus remonum.
- \*Hippolitus of Rome  
236, Asia Min, eccles writer,  
commentat;  
Syntagma.
- Hobson, Paul  
Sermon.
- Hollanshed  
History of kings.
- Homer  
700 BC, Gr;
- Hommius, Festus  
1650?, Dutch Reformed;  
70 disputs anti Bellermin.
- PDG200.
- PP A.4(pref).
- PLC8.
- DR46,316c.
- GE360.
- GE24.
- PP242;DR19,81,200b.
- DR231.
- PDG348;DR47,212b,  
451c;GE163;PLC4;DDP  
110.
- PP76.
- PDG88;PP34;LR320;  
DR19,282,471,423c,  
449c;DDP51;CLO360;  
SCD150,407;ILG pref,  
367.
- GE181.
- LR400.
- SA238.
- LR449.
- GE329;DDP101.
- DDP356.

- Hooker, Richard  
1600, Eng, Anglic theol;  
Eccles polit; Anti Paget-  
ans; Resp ad Tav supplic;  
De disciplina. PP33,210;GE10;DS36;  
SCD472;EA24,108.
- Hooker, Thomas  
1647, Eng(U.S.), independ,  
founder of Connecticut;  
Survey Ch discipline. CL0129;SCD(devoted  
to refut of Hooker's  
Survey).
- Horantius, Franciscus  
Locorum Catholicorum(anti  
Calvin):1564. GE37.
- Hormisda  
523, It, Pope, Ch lawyer,  
theol;  
Letter 45. DR280.
- Hosius Stanislaus  
1579, Polish(RC), leading  
Cathol of Counter Reform;  
Conf polemica. DR15;EA659.
- Hospinianus, Rodolphus  
1627, Ger, Ref, polem;  
De origine; De orig templis. GE181,184.
- Hottomanus(François)  
1589?, Ger, on civil law;  
De jure regni Galli; De  
jure Antig, illust. PP45;LR130,178,398.
- How, Samuel  
Sufficiency Sp's teaching. SA48.
- Hudson, Samuel  
1660?, Eng, Presby;  
A vindic of essence +unity  
of visib Ch. anti R.Hooker. SCD303,514.
- Hugo, Cardina(of Saint-Cher)  
1263, Fr, Dominic, Biblic  
scholar, theol, reform Carme-  
lites;  
Postillae. DDP37,42;PP79,85;LR  
13,35,133,242,314,349,  
352;DR19,171-2,428,  
430.
- \*Hugo de St. Victor  
1141, Fr, philos, theol, mys-  
tic writer;  
Tom 2; NT Comm; Sentent; De  
sacrament. DR19;DDP290,314;EA  
468.
- Hurtado de Mendosa  
1651, Sp(SJ), philos, theol;  
OT Comm; Disputs ad metaphys. LR13,133;DDP373,475.
- Huss, Jn  
1415, Czech Reform;  
Citing Confess Waldenses. PP19;SCD314.
- Hutchison, Mrs.  
1652?, Massachus, independ,  
leader of Enthusiast sect;  
Pamphlets. SA43ff,151ff.
- Hyperius, Andreas  
1564, Ger, Reform, moral theol,  
exeg, dogmat, disciple of Bucer:  
"held position between Luther &  
Calvin"(RC Ency 9,186);  
OT,NT Comms. PP86;CL0121.

- Iarchi, R.Solomon  
OT Comm. DR282b.
- Iavins(Peter of Corbeil)  
12thC, Fr(RC), Univ of Paris  
teacher of Innocent III;  
Apol rescrip pro lib eccles. GE560.
- Ignatious,  
110, Asia Min, theol, martyr;  
Ep Philadels; Ad Trullanos;  
Ad Ephesians. PP18,69;DR469;SCD  
419.
- Illyricus, Thomas  
1528, Yugoslav, Francisc theol,  
polem;  
Cath testi. SA1.
- Innocent III, Pope  
1216, It, 4th Lat Council,  
Children's crusade, high pt  
of mediev papal influ;  
NT Comm; De verbe excom. DR127,275,281;SCD  
163.
- Innocent IV, Pope  
1254, It, canonist, theol,  
polit;  
De sacrem. DR186.
- \*Irenaeus  
202, Asia Min(Fr), Father,  
theol;  
Adv heres. PP17,69;LR352;DR  
19,55,185,193,186,  
282,426,303b;GE134,  
181;SA163;PLC59,  
299;DDP380,526.  
PP46;DR231.
- Isidore of Pelusium  
449, Asia Min, monk, theol;  
Epis ad Pelusiota, Cels.
- Isidore of Seville  
636, Sp, Archbishop, theol,  
encyclop;  
De su bon. DDP281.
- Jackson, T  
1640, Eng, Caroline Divine,  
president Corpus Christi,  
former Purit;  
De divine essent; De provident;  
On the Creed. PDG1,33,136;GE106,  
121;DDP117,138.
- Jacob, Henry  
Govt by free consent. PP5.
- Jacobius de Graphiis  
Decisio. GE163.
- James, I  
1625, Scot, King of Gr Britain;  
Bas'likon doron to Prince  
Henry. LR448;SA343.
- Janson, Cornelius(Elder)  
1576, Flemish, Bishop, exeg;  
Concordia evang; OT,NT Comm;  
Annots. LR256-7;DR237,340b,  
GE206.

- \*Janson, Cornelius Otto  
1638, Flemish, August"Janse-  
nist," theol, Bishop;  
Augustinus.  
DDP50;ILG362,366ff.
- Jerome  
420, It, theol, exeg;  
OT,NT Comm; Epists 3,53,  
85,89,125,151, ad August,  
Evagrim, Nepotian,Algasiam,  
Eusebium, Golar(t),Neoplat,  
adv Helvid, Vigilant,Luciker;  
Chron on yr 366; Comm 3 Tri.  
PDG140,191;PP al pref,  
1,18,21,37,85,91,201,  
258;LR7,35ff,48,132,  
242,347,352;DR10,19,  
27,266b,286,355,426,  
305b,351c;GE Title  
page,21,69,98,184;  
328ff,531,633;CD34;  
PLC228,289,314;DDP  
288,397;CLO102,201,  
335-6;SCD150,170,  
227,407,462,480;ILG  
330.  
PP19.
- Jerome of Prague  
1416,pre-Huss, preacher, theol,  
martyr.
- Jesuits of Rheims  
early 17thC, faculty of Univ  
of Reims, annotated Bible;  
NT Comm.  
PP1ff.
- Jewell, John Bap  
1571, Eng, Bishop of Salis-  
bury, Anglic apolog;  
Anti Harding.  
GE182;PLC349;EA54.
- \*Joachim of Flore  
1202, It, Cisterc, mystic,  
theol;  
Magna vis verbi.  
CLO201.
- John of Damascene  
750, Asia Min, Byz theol;  
Panano; Expos de fid orth.  
PDG140;PP122;DR351c;  
GE179,185,190;PLC  
326;DDP289.  
DDP85.
- John de Rada  
1617, Sp, Francisc, major work  
on St.Thomas+Duns Scotus;  
Contra Gamero.
- John de Turrecremata  
1480, Ger(RC);  
De eccles; NT Comm: Gal.  
DR15.
- Johnson, Francis  
1608, Eng, independ;  
Treatise of Ch of Eng.  
PP13;DR17.
- Josephus  
101, Asia Min, Jewish histor;  
Antiquit de bellum Judae.  
LR256,319,349;DR  
237;GE316;SA51;PLC  
283;DDP104.  
PLC306.
- Jovius, Paulus  
1552, It(RC), histor;  
Julius, Pope III  
1555, It;  
Bull 1551; Sessions of Trent.  
PP229;DR316c.
- Junius, Fran  
1602, Fr, Reform theol, exeg,  
Bible transl;  
Anti Bernard; Beller de Conci;  
PP7,13,49,71,77,79,  
86,92,234;LR35,132,  
349;DR55,105,113,111,  
134,201,287;GE209,



- Junius...  
 OT,NT Comm; Toml Disp  
 theol; Petition to Kg  
 James; Anim adv; De eccles.  
 Justin Martyr  
 165, Asia Min, Christ platon  
 philos, apolog;  
 Novell 12; Digest p2.
- GE482;DS58;PLC314,  
 216,293;DDP51,224;  
 SCD120,265.
- LR110,361.
- Keckerman, Bartholomew  
 1608, Ger, Reform theol,  
 "scholastic;"  
 System theo; Polit.
- PP45,67.
- Knox, John  
 1572, Scot, Reform theol,  
 polem;  
 Hist of Scotland.
- LR269.
- Krantz, Albertus  
 1517, Ger;  
 Eccl hist; Metropol.
- DR204.
- Lactantius(Lucius Caelius Firm)  
 320, N.Africa, apolog;  
 Divin institut.
- DR231,353;GE182;  
 PLC50,52,315.
- Laertius, Diogenes  
 3rdC, Gr, wrote hist of Gr  
 philos in 10 vols;  
 Hist of Gr:Plato.
- LR266;GE647.
- Lampadius  
 1620?, Ger, Gr+Lat scholar,  
 wrote a life of Athanasius;  
 Mellisic hist.
- DR233.
- Laud, William  
 1645, Eng, Archbishop Canter-  
 bury;  
 Contra fisherum.
- EA16.
- Laurence, Henry  
 1652, Eng, nonconform, Lord  
 Presidt of Cromwell's council,  
 polem;  
 A plea for use of Gosp or-  
 dinances...baptism.
- SCD328.
- \*Lavater, Ludwig  
 1570, Ger, Reform, exeg;  
 De spectris; OT Comm.
- LR12,13,256-7.
- Ledesma, Pedro de  
 1616, Sp, Dominic, Thomist  
 theol;  
 De div grat auxiliis.
- SCD352;DDP263,286ff.
- Leigh, Edward  
 1657, Eng, of Magdalen Hall,  
 Oxford, Bible scholar, exeg;  
 Critica sacra OT,NT.
- GE338;CD306;CLO  
 321;SCD286;ILG282.

- Lérins, Vincent of(Lyrinens)  
450, Fr, monk, theol;  
Adv haeresies. DR224b,317c;DDP107;  
EA16,230.
- Leo I  
461, It, "The Great," theol;  
Epists 63,77; Sermon7,10. PDG140;DR19,281;GE  
191;DDP200.
- Leo XI  
1605, It, Pope;  
Citat Bellar de Part. DR99.
- Leontius of Byzantium  
543, Byz monk, theol, apolog;  
Dialog 5 cont Judaeus. GE190.
- Lesley, Henry  
1649, Eng, Anglic polem;  
Auth of Ch. DS7.
- Lessius, Leonard  
1623, Dutch(SJ), theol, Mo-  
linist;  
Theses theol; De gratia  
efficaci; De praed; PDG57,65,135,425;  
DDP16,89,192.
- Levi ben Gershon  
1552, Ger, Rabbi, exeg, transl  
Aristot;  
OT Comm. LR361;TT32.
- Leyden Professors  
16th+17thC theol polemic  
works;  
Synop purit theo; Synop  
purit dis; Cens conf. PP125;DR3,132,287,  
275b;GE560;PLC293;  
SCD265;CLO166.
- Libelli(probable pseud)  
De jur magistrat. LR128.
- Lindsey, David  
1621?, Scot, Anglic Bishop of  
Brechin; Edinburgh;  
Defence of Perth art of Aug  
1618. GE156;DS36.
- Lipsius, Justus(Joost Lips)  
1606, Dutch(RC), Luth, Calvin,  
RC(in this order),humanist,  
philos, histor, latinist;  
De Constantia...stoica. GE447;DDP100-1.
- Livius, Titus(Livy)  
17, It, Roman histor, biogra;  
Histor 1.4. PP46;CLO319.
- Lockyer, Nicholas  
1646, Scot, Reform prof of  
theol at St. Andrews;  
Christ's commun. SCD89.
- Lodov a Dola  
Disp quadripa de concursu  
Dei. DDP23,191.
- Lombard, Peter  
1160, Fr, theol, exeg;  
Summa sentem; OT Comm. PDG5;PP29;DDP263,  
275;SCD462.
- London Ministers  
17thC nonconform, Presby  
documents, mostly polem;  
Vindic of Presby govt+  
ministry. SCD328.

- Lorca, Pierre de  
1612, Sp Cisterc, theol;  
Comm Summ St. Thomas.
- Lorinus, Joannes  
1622?, Ger, exeg;  
OT, NT comm.
- \*Louis de Granada  
1589, Sp Dominic, mystic,  
moral theol, "most widely read  
Spaniard in 16th-17thC Bri-  
tain" (Underhill, Span Lit in  
the Eng of the Tudors);
- \*Loyola, Ignatius de  
1556, Sp(SJ), founder SJ,  
General of his order, spirit  
writer;  
Cat Jesuit.
- Lucian of Antioch  
312, theol, exeg, founder of  
school of Antioch.
- \*Lugo, Juan de  
1660, Sp(SJ), Cardinal, moral  
theol;  
De incarn; De sacrament; De  
virtute fidei.
- Luther, Martin  
1546, Ger;  
Opera omnia; OT Comm; Ser-  
mon; Eucharist; Letter to  
Guttill (reprinted in full);  
On August.
- Lyndsay (see Lindsey)
- Lyria, Nicholas of  
1349, Fr Friar, minor theol,  
exeg;  
OT, NT Comm.
- Maeratus, Ludovicus  
1633?, Fr(RC), theol;  
Disput in summa theol(3  
vols).
- Magdebury Centuries, by Matthias  
Flacius Illyricus, Ger, 1571,  
Luth polem, histor;  
History Trent.
- \*Magnus, Albertus  
1280, Ger, Dominic theol,  
philos, scient, teacher of  
Aquinas;  
NT Comm; Summa theol 1270.
- Major, Jn  
1550, Scot, philos, theol,  
teacher of Calvin;  
NT Comm; Distinctions.
- DR362c.
- LR9, 35, 242, 273; DR55,  
359, 392, 426, 443; GE62;  
DDP201; CL0160; SCD229,  
469.  
SA327; DDP27.
- GE213.
- GE329.
- PLC364; DR182, 212b;  
GE145, 148; DDP314.
- PP5; LR48, 273; DR428,  
306c; GE265; SA69-80,  
88, 99, 101, 311; AS25,  
95, 96; SCD8, 163.
- PP85; LR13, 35, 132,  
139, 242, 273, 349, 352;  
DR19, 171, 426, 443; SA  
326; DDP200; SCD8.
- DDP205, 224.
- LR133; DR236; S<sup>CD</sup>344,  
503.
- DR242; DDP325; ILG334;
- PP3, 21; LR448; PLC4,  
136, 364; DDP12, 325.

- Malderus, Jn  
1633, Dutch(RC), Bishop of  
Antwerp, theol;  
De virtutibus theo..ad  
Thomae.
- Maldonatus, John  
1583, Sp(SJ), exeg, theol;  
Comm on Gospels.
- Marcellus, Henricus  
Oratio funeb Ottonis:1653.
- Marianus, Juan de  
1624, Sp(SJ), histor, exeg,  
early exponent of tyrannicide;  
Derege et regis institut.
- \*Marlorat, Augustin  
1570, Fr, Reform exeg, theol;  
OT,NT Comm; Anti Anabapt;  
On Calvin in Lk.
- Marshall, Steven  
1655, Eng, nonconform, moderate  
Presby polem;  
Let 7.
- Marsilius of Padua  
1342, It, polit philos;  
Defens pacis.
- Martinez de Ripalda  
1635, Sp(SJ), philos, theol;  
De ente supernat; Hyspolhes?.
- Martyr, Justin  
165, Asia Min, philos, apolog;  
NT Comm.
- Martyr, Peter  
1562, It, Reform theol, exeg;  
OT,NT Comm; On schism; Loci  
communes.
- Martyr, Vigilius  
405, It, Bishop of Trent, theol;  
Opera omnia.
- Masius, Andreas  
1573, Dutch(RC), exeg, orienta-  
list;  
OT Comm.
- Mather, Richard  
1650, New Eng, indendent;  
Ans to Mr. Herle; Reply to  
Mr. Rutherford.
- \*Maximus, St.(The Confessor)  
662, Asia Min, Byz theol,  
ascet writer;  
Opera omnia.
- Medina, Juan  
1546, Sp(RC), moral theol,  
accused of Luth views on justi-  
fic;  
In titulum..de jejuniis.
- Medina, Miguel de  
1578, Sp, Francisc Observant,  
theol, polem, imprisoned for  
defence of Wild(Ferus);  
De salutare paenitentia.
- LR234,332;GE41,67.
- PP92;DR12,89,237;  
SCD265.
- CL0253.
- LR178;EA625.
- PP20,86,150;LR35,48,  
273,314,352;DR12,81,  
200b,241b,272;GE360;  
PLC293;DDP355,360;CL0  
330;SCD7,61,170.  
LR82;CL088.
- ILG334.
- CD470;DDP50;CL0127;  
ILG330ff;EA465.
- DR193;PLC99.
- LR13,132,178,349;DR  
55,80-1,100,204,200b;  
GE51,86,447,560;DDP  
189;CL0121;SCD65,116,  
265,400,409.  
DR226b.
- PLC302,304;DDP396.
- DR315,410.
- CL0323.
- EA204,206.
- GE204,206;PLC300.



- Mediolanensis, Dionysious  
355, Ger, martyr cited by  
Eusebius. LR7.
- Meisnerus, Balschaser  
1624?, Ger Luth, exeg, theol;  
Collegii de sacrament disp. PDG57;DDP200,298.
- Melanchthon, Philipp  
1560, Ger, Luth, humanist, theol, PP19;DR430;GE447;PLC  
Reformer; 216.
- OT Comm; De sacrament.
- Menander  
290 BC, Gr poet. SA51.
- Menchaca, Vazquez de  
1569, Sp(RC), polit writer; GE209.  
Quest illust.
- Mendoza, Peralta croi Velasco  
Hurtado de LR13,133;DDP24.
- 1662, Sp exeg;  
Comm Samuel.
- Menochius, Giovanni Stefano  
1655, It(SJ), exeg; PLC304;SCD265.  
OT Comm;
- Meratius Lodov (?)  
Tract Arian; De bonitate;  
Malitua; NT Comm; De fide. DR307c;GE215;DR227;  
ILG Pref;EA137.
- Mercerus, Joannes  
1560, Ger, exeg, orientalist; LR256-7;PLC313.  
OT Comm.
- Meyger, Johannes(Meyer)  
1485, Ger, Dominic exeg; DR81,241b;PLC336;CLO  
NT,OT Comm. 323.
- Michael de Medina(Carcanus)  
Sermonarium triplicat 1476. DDP290.
- Micron M. Martyn  
1563, Dutch Reform, catechist; SA56.  
Anti Nicholas.
- Mirandu, Giovanni Pico della(Marana) LR167;DDP100,110.  
1494, It, humanist philos;  
Contra Astrologam.
- Molina, Luis de  
1600, Sp(SJ), theol, proponent PDG6,30,37,57,425;LR2,  
of "scientia media;" 4,398;GE329;DDP11;CLO  
127.
- Concordia liberi; De justica  
et jure; Comm in Thomae.
- \*Molinae(Du Moulin, Pierre the Elder) DR232;GE171,328;DDP  
1658, Fr, Reformed theol, po- 133.  
lem;
- De provid; De novitate Papisme.
- Montanus, Arias  
1595, Sp(RC), orientalist, exeg, PP85;CLO201.  
ed Antwerp Polygl Bib;  
OT,NT Comm.
- Moor, Thomas  
1535, Eng(RC), St., lawyer, CD376ff,425b.  
theol;  
The universality of grace.

- Morton, Thomas  
1630?, Eng, sucessively Bishop  
of Chester, Lichfield & Coventry  
and Durham;  
Apologia Catholica; Defence of  
Ceremonies; Grand impost; A  
Cath appeal for Protests.  
PP38;DR82,200b,259b,  
315c,351c;GE96;SCD265.
- Munsterus, Sebastian  
1552, Ger, Luth Hebraist, geogr,  
astron;  
Comm.  
DR55.
- Murcia de la Llana(Francisco)  
1617, Sp philos.  
Selecta de ratione termin.  
SCD72.
- Musculus, Wolfgang  
1563, Ger Reform, exeg, Patrist  
scholar;  
OT,NT Comm.  
PP8,19,67,85,91,112;  
LR35,48;DR10,113;GE  
51,236;SA311;PLC293;  
CLO330;SCD7,163.
- Natalis, Comes  
1568, It;  
Mytholog.  
DDP102.
- Navarrus(Aspilcueta, Martin)  
1586, Sp, Dominic, canonist,  
moral theol;  
Enchirid; De penitent.  
PP159;LR48;DR44,275,  
279ff;GE121,204,215,  
468;DS13;PLC299;DDP  
54,85.
- Navarrete, Baltassar  
1592, Sp Dominic;  
Controver in Thomae.  
DDP54,85.
- \*Nemesius of Emesa  
400, Asia Min, psycholo theol,  
Byz Bishop;  
De nat homin.  
DDP107.
- Nicephorus  
1359, Asia Min, Byz histor;  
Histor Roman.  
PP229;DR232;GE179,184,  
190;PLC305;SCD226.
- Nicholas, Henry  
1575?, Ger, Antinom;  
Epist to 2 Daughters of War-  
wick; Evangel regni; Exhort;  
Prophet of the Sp of love.  
CD324,465;SA55,183,169,  
219;AS45ff.
- Nicolaides, Theophilus(pseud Va-  
lentin Schmalz) see"S."  
1622, Dutch Socin;  
Defensio...de eccles+minist;  
Refut Tract de eccles; Minist;  
Defence Soc; Tract demissum;  
Inst.  
DR31ff,107,200,275b,  
344c;SCD291,293;EA  
708.
- Nicolaius I  
822, Pope, It;  
Epistles.  
PP293;DR202.
- Nilus of Ancyra  
430, Asia Min, Abbot, apolog,  
ascet writer.  
PP29.
- Novellus, Jacob  
Tract defension:1584.  
LR337.

- Nye, Philip  
1660?, Eng, independt;  
Introductio to Treatise of Keys  
by Cotton; Sermon before  
Parl 1643. SA177;PLC274;SCD309.
- Occam(Ockham, William of)  
1347, Eng, Francisc,"sound  
schoolman"(S.Ruth), philos,  
theol;  
Opera omnia. PP3,6,49,86;LR244;DR  
45,212b,223b,251,305b,  
DDP328;SCD265,378.
- Oecolampadius, Johannes  
1531, Swiss Reform, theol,  
exeg;  
Epist; Comm Is. DR259b;SCD8.
- Oecumenius  
16thC, Gr, Bishop of Tricca,  
exeg;  
NT Comm. PP80,122;DR81,193,426,  
476;SA28;SCD145.
- Onuphrius ie Panvino, Onofrio  
1568, It, August, histor;  
Hist; Vita Papa. DR233;GE595.
- Optatus of Milevis  
400, Asia Min, Bishop, theol,  
polem;  
Contra Parmenianum Donat;  
Comm Matt. PP21;LR7;DR282;PLC  
334;SCD409.
- \*Origen  
254, Gr, speculative theol;  
Epistles;OT,NT homilies;  
Contra Celsum; De haeres;  
De peccat. PP18,21,34,69,127;  
LR37;DR89,193,202,  
232,449c,460c,462,  
305b,379c;GE21,182;  
DS55;SA296;PLC61,99;  
DDP288-9,396;SCD92,  
265.  
LR48.
- Orosius, Paul  
418?, Sp histor;  
Historiarum adv paganos. LR133,349;SA68.
- Osiander, Andreas  
1552, Ger, Luth theol, exeg;  
Epitome hist eccles; OT Comm;  
Jn of Rebuff. PP230;DR31ff,107,200,  
288,263b,280b;PLC292,  
340,343;DDP263.
- Ostorodi, Christoph  
1611, Ger, Socin;  
Unterrichtung von den vorn-  
emsten.. DDP539,548.
- Oviedo, Francisco de  
1651, Sp(SJ), theol, philos;  
Integer cursus philos; Metaph. PDG317.
- Oxoniensis, Gul.  
Vindicat grat.
- Paget, John  
1650?, Eng, nonconform;  
Defence of Ch govt(Presby). DR35,191b.

- Pagnino, Santes  
1541, Fr, Luth, orientalist,  
exeg;  
OT Comm. TT34;CD34;PLC313;DDP  
221;CLO201.
- Palladius SA338.  
De haeresibus temp.
- Paludanus, Amandus PP159;GE130.  
?, Disputatio Rom Eccles:  
1611.
- Pamelius, Jacobus(Jacques de LR371.  
Joigny)  
1587, Fr(RC), liturgist, Pa-  
trist scholar;  
On Tertullian.
- Panormitan,(Tudeschis, Nicolaus de) DR346c.  
1445, It, Archbishop, canonist;  
De election.
- Pareus, David PP14,49,69,77,85-6,  
1615?, Ger, Reform, exeg, theol; 96,251;LR352;DR10,12,  
OT,NT Comm; Explicat Heidelb 17,55,80ff,100ff,221b,  
Cat; Operum theo; De potest 287,193b;GE103,236,  
eccles;Quaest contro theo; 541,560;PLC58,336;DDP  
Haereticorum contra fidem; 50,200,217;SCD49,64,  
On passive obed; On excommun. 150,170,265,400;ILG  
186.
- Parisian Doctors PP23,86;DR333c.  
14th+15thC, Univ of Paris theol  
papers;  
De polit eccles.
- Parisiensis, Gul. DR212b;EA62.  
Tract de fide.
- Parker, Robert PP8,14,33,78;DR7,83,  
1650?, Eng, nonconform polem; 98,110,287;SCD266.  
De polit eccles.
- Parsonius, Robert(Persons) DR236.  
1610, Eng(SJ), diplom, polem;  
Ans to Coke.
- Pelagius, PDG456;DR280.  
418, Britain, theol;  
Expositiones...Paul; Epist ad  
Demetriadem.
- Pellicanus, Conradus LR133;DR81;SCD170.  
1556, Ger Reform, exeg;  
OT,NT Comm.
- Pemble, William SA37.  
1627?, Eng, theol, exeg,  
geogr;  
On union of Word + Sp.
- Pennottus, Gabriel DDP73,95.  
Dissert cont Propugnacul lib  
humanae:1624(Rome).
- Penry, John SA343.  
1595?, Eng, independt polem;
- Pererius, Bened. DDP311;EA708.  
1610, Sp(SJ), exeg;  
OT Comm.



- \*Perkins, William  
1602, Eng, nonconform theol,  
Christ's College Cambridge;  
De praedest;NT Comm; 13  
pricipis of relig;  
Pesantius, Alexander  
1606, It, theol;  
Comm in univers theol  
St. Thomae; Tract eccles.  
Petrarch, Francesco  
1374, It, Poet.  
Petrus de Alliaco  
1420, Fr, Cardinal, theol,  
exeg, scient, Ch lawyer;  
Comm Lombardi; OT,NT Comm.  
Petrus de Arubal  
Toml; par dis 29.  
Petrus de Monte  
1433, It, canonist, Ch di-  
plomat;  
Monarchia council.  
Pedro de Soto  
1563, Sp, Dominic;  
Def cath conf adv J.Brentii.  
Pezel, Christoph  
1618, Ger Reform, polem, histor;  
Apologia evang.  
Philostratus  
245 BC, Gr;  
Vita Appollonii tyanei.  
Picerium  
On Aquinas.  
Piccolhomineus(Piccolomini, Aless.)  
1578, It, Archbishop Sienna,  
classic scholar, scient, poet;  
Arist's Physics.  
Pighius, Albert(Pigge)  
1541, Netherlds(RC), polem,  
theol;  
Hierarch eccles assertio.  
Pignet  
Comm Apocalyp.  
Pilchdorssius(Petrus de Pilchdorf)  
Liber contra sectam Waldensium:  
1618.  
\*Pineda, Juan de  
1637, Sp(SJ), exeg;  
OT Comm.  
Pirerius, Carthusius  
Dis 3; OT,NT Comm.  
Piscator, Johann  
1625, Ger, Reform theol, exeg;  
OT,NT Comm; Apologia disput;  
Collect cum Vorstius; De eccles;  
Ad amic;  
Pius II  
1464, It, Pope;  
Ep 228.
- PP77,242;DR100,200;  
CD506;PLC336;DDP80,  
82;Let 364.  
DDP63,73;80,82.  
DR dedica2.  
PP2,21;DDP325.  
DDP224,539.  
DR346c.  
DR282;DS19.  
LR133.  
DR469;CL0335.  
PDG491.  
DDP100,102.  
DR322c;EA708.  
SCD170.  
DR231.  
PLC314.  
LR48,352;CL0127.  
PDG222;PP71,86,96;  
LR352,359;DR3,105,215b;  
GE236,329;TT51;CD496;  
PLC282,314,336;DDP80,  
215;CL0312,330;SCD49,  
150,170,265,400.  
DR232.

- Plato  
347 BC, Gr;  
Dialogue 3; Polit; De repub.  
Plessaeus(Mornay, Philippe; Duplessis-Mornay)  
1623, Fr, Huguenot theol, polem, politic;  
Mysterium iniquitatis.  
Pliny the Elder  
79 AD, Roman philos, statesman; Nat hist.  
Plutarch  
120 AD, Gr, biogr;  
De capienda ex hostib; Scylla;  
In apotheq; De liber educand, moral, de facto; Aegid; De profectu virtutum.  
Polanus, Amandus  
1612?, Ger, Reform theol, exeg; OT Comm; Syntagma theol.  
Polonus, Marlinus(Martin of Truppau)  
1278, Poland, Dominic, histor, Archbishop of Gnesen.  
Polyander a Kerckhoven, Johannes  
1640, Dutch Reform, exeg, theol; Synopsis purioris theo; Censura in confess; Disp contr Socina.  
Polybius  
118 BC, Gr histor; Historiarum.  
Polycarp  
155?, Asia Min, Bishop of Smyrna;  
Pomeranus(Johann Bugenhagen)  
1558, Ger Luth, theol, exeg; NT Comm.  
Pontanus, Romanus Ludovicus  
1437, It(RC), canonist, exeg; Singularia.  
Poppius, Edwardus  
1625, Dutch Remonstr; Antwoordet der Contra Remon.  
Porphyre  
301?, Gr, Neoplat, influ Christian trinitarian thought via Synesius of Cyrene, Ambrose+ August;  
Isaq c. de Propno.  
Potter, Christopher  
1634, Eng nonconform, Dean of Worcester;  
Want of Charitie.  
\*Preston, John  
1630, Eng nonconform, minist of Emmanuel College Cambridge;  
Sermon:Pray continually; De Mortific; OT Comm.  
Primasius of Hadrumentum  
553, Asia Min, Bishop, theol; NT Comm.
- PP46,63;LR4,87;GE329;DDP102;Let 7.  
DR232.  
DR462,469.  
PDG132;PP46,63;LR79,232;GE239;DDP101;CLO 272-74.  
PDG362;PP86;LR197-8;DS58.  
PP229.  
DR203b;DDP325.  
LR172.  
PP17.  
DR81,124;SCD61.  
DDP101.  
DR105;CLO172.  
PP53.  
DR223b;EA15,58.  
CLO151,267;ILG145.  
PP242;DR12.

- Procopius of Caesarea  
562, Gr, histor;  
Historia Arcana.
- Procopius of Gaza  
528, Africa, exeg;  
OT Comm.
- Professors of Leyden (Polyandrum,  
Rivetum, Walaeum, Thysium, etc.)  
Early 17thC tracts against Re-  
monstrants;  
In synop purier; Theol disp.
- Prosper of Aquitaine  
455, It, theol;  
Ad Vincent; De vocatione  
Gentium; Contr Collatorem;  
Pro August; Ad Ruffinum.
- Prueckmannus, Fredericus  
Tractatus 1605.
- Prynne, William  
1649, Eng, independt;  
Truth triumph; Vindic of 4  
serious questions.
- Puiol, Bernardus  
De ador disp.
- Rainerus, Jacob Leodienses de  
Lüttich  
1229, Ger, Benedict, histor;  
Annales... Germainiae his.
- \*Randall, Giles  
Theol Germanica mystic divin  
edited by GR 1648.
- Randall, John  
1630?, Eng, nonconform;  
Sermons, Popish tractes.
- Raphael de la Torres  
Sum theol, rel.
- Raynauds, Théophile  
1663, Fr(SJ), theol, opera  
1665 20 vol.  
Naturales; Nova liberta;  
Displina moralis.
- Rebuffus, Petrus  
1557, Fr(RC), lawyer;  
Tract de incongruae.
- Reinerus, Sacconus  
1262, It, Dominic lawyer;  
Contra Waldenses.
- Reynold  
De idolovaturia.
- Reynold, Edward  
1660?, Eng, Bishop of Norwich,  
exeg, theol;  
NT Comm.
- DR353c.
- LR35ff; GE98.
- PP69.
- PDG140, 456; PP146;  
DR185; DDP218, 298; ILG  
Pref, 365-7; EA360, 362.
- LR185, 234.
- LR371; GE24, 43, 514.
- GE167.
- DR231.
- SA56-7.
- CD342; AS53, 175.
- GE83, 89, 163.
- DDP44-5, 358.
- LR133.
- DR236.
- PP14; DR253b.
- SCD440.

- \*Rhegiensis, Faustus  
550, Britain, monk, Bishop,  
theol, semi Pelagian;  
De gratia Dei.  
Rhemes Jesuits  
16thC Annotated Bible;  
Eph.  
Ribera, Francisco de  
1591, Sp(SJ), exeg, confessor  
+ 1st biogra of St. Teresa;  
OT Comm.  
Richardson, Samuel  
1656, Eng nonconform, Bapt  
minist, polem;  
Necessity of toleration:1647.  
Richardus ?  
Rispolis, Mat.  
De praedest.  
Rivetus, Andreas(Verbaeus)  
1643, Ger(SJ), theol, exeg;  
(Vapol)Ep ad Balsacum ed  
1644; Cath orthodox; Contr  
Tract; OT,NT Comm.  
Robert, Lord of Brooke  
Discourse of Episcopacy.  
Robinson, John  
1639, Eng independt, polem,  
Pastor of Eng Ch of Leyden;  
Justific of separa anti  
Bernard,R; Anti Yates.  
Rodericus de Arriaga  
Tract de fede.  
\*Rogers, Daniel  
1640?, Eng nonconform;  
David's cost  
Practical catech :1637.  
Naaman the Syrian.  
Roinaldus, Joannes  
De idolatria Ece Rome.  
Rollock, Robert  
1608, Scot Reform, exeg, theol,  
Princip Univ Edinb;  
Ad Presby eccles; NT Comm.  
Romanus, Clemens(Clement I)  
101, It, Pope.  
Rossen  
De pol rep.  
Rubio  
Quanto de jud.  
Ruffensis, Jo.  
De potest Papae 1.2.  
Rufinus, Tyrannius  
410, Asia Min, monk, theol,  
translator;  
Comm in symbolum Apos; Eccles  
hist.
- CL0183.  
DDP200;SCD165.  
DDP50.  
PLC345.  
DR45,47,275,340b;DS  
19;PLC315;DDP12,263.  
DDP12,219,356.  
PP49,86,131;LR8,132,  
359,366;GE601,622;  
PLC368;DDP1,72,102,  
288;SCD120;ILG Pref;  
EA55.  
DS54.  
PP10,23,83,248;DR3;  
SCD38.  
SCD412.  
Let 364.  
GE156.  
PP80;LR197-8,352;DR  
12,237;AS66;DDP230;  
CL019.  
DR232,379c.  
LR133.  
DR460c;  
LR75.  
PP18,229;LR371;DR172,  
204,351c;PLC59,305;DDP  
101,266;SCD516.



- Ruiz de Montoya(Didacus)  
1630, Sp(SJ), theol;  
Comm...sancti Thomae; Comm  
ac de vita Dei.
- \*Rupertus, Tuitiensis  
1129, Ger, Benedict, Abbot of  
St.Heribert,Deutz, exeg, theol;  
OT Comm.
- Rutgersium, Guiriand  
Insitut metaphysic 1610.
- \*Rutherford, Samuel  
1660, Scot, Reform theol, po-  
lem, spirit+polit writer;  
Lex Rex; Pauls Presbyt; Due  
right of Presby.
- Ruvio, Antonius  
1568, Sp, humanist, theol;  
Comm in Aristotelis.
- Sa. Emmanuel(Manoel)  
1596, Portug(SJ), theol,exeg;  
Aphorismi confess.
- Sabellius  
250, Asia Min;  
Incipit prologus in libro  
S.Athanas.
- Sadeel(Antoine La Roche de Chan-  
dieu)  
1592?, Fr, Reform theol,exeg;
- Salamonius, Marcus  
16thC, It, polit writer;  
De principatu 1554.
- Salas, Juan de  
1612, Sp(SJ), theol, lawyer;  
Comm in secundam sec.Thomae.
- Salcobrigiensis, Henric.  
Becano-baculo(on Anglic Ch  
gov't).
- Salmasius, Claudius  
1653, Fr Huguenot, classic  
scholar, polit writer.
- Salmeron, Alfonso  
1585, Sp(SJ), theol, exeg;  
NT Comm.
- \*Salonius  
451, Fr, exeg;  
Epist.
- Saltmarsh, John  
1648, Eng independt, polem,  
Rector of Hesterton, prophet;  
Letter to Parl; Sparkles of  
glory; Shadows flee away; Free  
grace.
- Sancheiz, Thomas  
1610, Sp(SJ);  
De sancto matrimonii.
- Sanchez  
OT,NT Comm;On SJ; Cordubinis.
- CD314;DDP11,12,40,  
54,76,99;CL0127;SCD  
349.
- DDP222.
- ADG3.
- DR22;GE434;DDP116;  
CL0131;SCD287,328.
- DDP363;SCD72.
- SCD489.
- GE188.
- PP14,67.
- LR116,237,337,361.
- GE213.
- DR418c.
- GE89,633.
- LR352;DR155,158,171,  
359,426,442;GE191;  
CL0127;SCD411.  
DDP331.
- CD A.3,242;SA:written  
in refutation of Salt;  
50,201,209,242ff,271;  
AS5;PLC353.
- LR198;DDP285.
- LR12,13;DR430;GE121;  
DS2,13.

- Sanctius, Gasparus  
17thC exeg;  
OT Comm 1619.  
DR204,443;PLC314;  
SCD8.
- Sanderson, Robert  
1647?, Eng, Anglic, Bishop of  
Lincoln, polem;  
Sermon Anglic; Sermon Rom.  
GE106;DS36;EA119.
- Sanderus, Nicholas  
1581, Eng(RC), polem,"Catholic  
agent" NCE historian;  
De visibili monarchia eccles.  
GE41.
- Saravia, Hadrianus  
1625? Eng, Anglic, exeg, theol;  
In Parker.  
PP45.
- Sarcerius, Erasmus  
1555, Ger, Reform theol,exeg;  
NT Comm.  
DR80-1;SCD61.
- Schindler, Valentin  
1580?, Fr(RC), prof Hebrew Univ  
Paris;  
Heb lexicon.  
DR10.
- Schlighintingus, Jonas  
Ex praelectione.  
SCD292.
- Schlusserburg, Comradus  
1560?, Ger, Reform polem;  
Hereticorum catalogus; Theo  
Calvinistarum.  
SA60,68,81.
- Schmalz, Valentin(Smalcius)  
1619?, Dutch Socinian, polem,  
theol;  
De divinitate Jesu Christi;  
Refut M.Smigleccii;Refut The-  
sium Graweri; De eccles;  
Contr Frantz.  
PP230;DR107,137,263b,  
213b,344c;PLC292,340,  
343;DDP263;CLO127;SCD  
72,292;EA93.
- Scioppius, Kaspar  
polem, scient;  
Pro auctoritate eccles.  
SCD489.
- Scotus, John Duns  
1308, Scot, Francisc theol;  
Opus oxoniense; Nat+gra;  
Justif & jure; Metaphys;  
Quaest disp.  
PDG16,142,349,491;DR  
19,186,224b,307c,362c,  
377c;GE121;DS44;DDP  
260,325,486,491;SCD  
462;EA120,232,626,  
646.  
PLC293.
- Scultetus, Abraham  
1624, Ger, Reform theol;  
OT Comm.  
DR12.
- Sedulius,  
5thC, Gr poet, theol, wrote  
theol in verse;  
Paschal carmen.
- Seneca  
65 AD, It, stoic, brother of  
Gallio of Acts 18;  
Traqu in hypoly; De beneficiis;  
Epis.  
PDG Ded.4a;ADG3;PPal;  
DDP101,103,112;CLO  
267,275.
- Serrarius, Nicholas  
1609, Ger(SJ), exeg, histor;  
OT Comm.  
LR13,133;PLC304.

- Servetus, Michael LR91.  
1553, Sp(RC), anti-Trinitarian  
theol, physician, scient;  
De regno Christi; De Trin.
- Sextus DDP218.  
3rdC, Gr, moralist;  
Sentences.
- Shaafman, Andr.(Schanfman) PDG201,220;DDP201.  
De predest.
- Sibbaldus, James DDP461.  
1635?, Scot, Episcop, Prof  
Aberdeen;  
Concione anglicana.
- \*Sibbes, Richard CL0155.  
1638, Eng nonconform, Cath  
Hall Oxford, Mystic, exeg;  
Sacred meditat;Breathing  
after God; Bride's long-  
ing; Work of the Sp.
- Sibrandus, Leo O Pream PP49,96;DDP583.  
Ger, 1578;  
Anti Bernard; Brethren of  
separa:Petition to Kg James;  
Luberd de servat adv; Faustum  
socimin.
- Siculus(Silvester Leontinus Sigona) LR109.  
1553, It(RC), theol;  
Marty sancto.
- Sigonius, Carolus DR233,236;SCD466.  
1580?, It, histor;  
De rep Hebraeorum; De rep  
Judaeorum; De reg Italie.
- Silvius, Aeneas(Pius II,Pope) PP19,38;LR217;DR231,  
1464,It,humanist, histor; 340c;SCD227,265.  
Epist;Hist Bohem.
- Silvius, Francis(Du Bois) DS12;PLC364;DDP204;ILG  
1649, Belg(RC) theol; Pref.  
Apud marcum Wyon.
- Simancas, Jacob PLC326.  
1569, Sp,Bishop of Badajoz,  
polit writer;
- Simon PP86.  
NT Comm.
- Sirenus, Julius DDP363,366.  
16thC;  
De providentia:1563.
- Slatius, Henricus DR230,267b;GE579.  
1619, Dutch Remonstr;  
Fur praedestinatus.
- Sleidanus, Johannes LR371;DR233,340c.  
1556, Ger, Luth histor;  
Histor.
- Smising, Theodorus ILG362.  
Disputationum theolog T.S...  
subtilis doctoris Scoti  
Dutch 1627.
- Smith PP9  
Anti Richard Bernard:independt.

- Socinius, Faustus  
1604, It, remembered for Christ-  
ological errors; Unitarian  
Opera omnia 1656: De justific;  
Adv J.Pal; Adv Ement; De  
offic hom Christi; De papist;  
Exter eccles; Tract de eccles  
Rom; Racovian Catech.  
PDG37;PP108,230;GE522;  
PLC292,340;DDP580;CLO  
127,172,247,258,282;  
SCD292.
- Socrates  
399 BC, Gr.  
Plato's Apology; Xonophon's  
Symposium.  
PP18,229;DR281.
- Solomon, Rabbi (Ben Isaac) 1105  
OT Comm.  
CLO306.
- Soto, Dominico de  
1560, Sp, Dominic theol;  
De justit; De nat+gra; De  
inst.  
PP63,159;LR4,234;398;  
DR186,275;GE204;PLC  
300;DDP12;SCD480;ILG  
334.
- Sozomen, Salaminus Hermias  
450, Gr, Christian histor;  
Tri part his.  
PP229;DR171;GE184,  
192;SCD226.
- Spalato, Marc Antonio de Dominis  
1624, It(SJ), "ecclesiastic,  
scientist & apostate" NRCE,  
burned for views on Ch gov't;  
De repub eccles.  
PDG465ff.
- Spanheimius, Fredrich d.A.  
1649, Ger Reform, theol, father  
of Fredrich d.J. 1701.  
CLO122.
- Speed, John  
1629, Eng, histor, exeg;  
Hist of Gr Brit.  
LR75.
- Stapleton, Thomas  
1598, Eng(SJ), theol, polem;  
Opera omnia 1620; Author eccles;  
Princip fide;Antidota Apostol;  
Tres Thomae mori.  
LR55;DR426,340b;GE56,  
209;PLC363-4;DDP12,  
250;CLO160;SCD346.
- Stephanus(Thesaurus)  
Pope;  
OT,NT Comm; In suma Bulla 5.  
DR12,279;CLO253;SCD  
229.
- Stewart, Adam  
1645, Scot Presby, polem;  
Ans to Goodwin.  
PLC293.
- Strabo, Walafrid  
849, Fr, Abbot, Carolingian poet,  
theol, exeg, scient;  
Liber de exerdiis.  
DR462;DS55.
- Strackius, Theodorus(pseud;Heresbach  
Conrad)  
1576, Ger, humanist, histor;  
Hist Anabapt.  
PLC327.
- Strafford, Anthony  
1615?, Eng;  
Meditations & revolutions moral,  
divine, polit.  
LR256.
- Strangius, Joannes  
1663?, Dutch Reform theol;  
De voluntate et actionibus Dei.  
ILG Pref.



- \*Suarez, Francisco  
 1617, Sp(SJ), theol, lawyer;  
 opera 24 vol;  
 Opera omnia; Opera de relig;  
 Difen fidei; juris naturae;  
 Metaphysic; Sum.comment;  
 Tractatus; Ot,NT Comm; Necesse  
 sit gratiae; Auxil Deo.  
 PP252;LR2,416;PDG5,  
 10,16,37,113,142,221,  
 320,345,347;DR15,27,  
 43,45,281-2;GE98,137,  
 190,204,206;CD210;  
 PLC291,299,302,326,  
 363-4;DDP3,11,99,224;  
 CL027,127;SCD352,480;  
 ILG334;EA38.  
 LR130,197-8,361;PLC  
 54.
- Suetonius  
 140, It, Roman biogra;  
 His duodecim Caesares.  
 Sutlivius(Sutcliffe, Matthew)  
 1604, Eng,Anglic theol, polem;  
 NT Comm.  
 PP86.
- Sylvester I  
 335, It,Pope.  
 GE121,179.
- Sylvius, Francis (Du Bois)  
 1649, Belg(RC), theol;  
 Comm on Summa; Enchyrid theo;  
 Apud marcum Wyon.  
 DR44,280;GE205;DS12,  
 13;PLC364;DDP204;ILG  
 Pref.
- Symmons, Edward  
 1649, Eng, Anglic;  
 Loyal subjects belief.  
 LR68,75.
- Symson, Patrick  
 17thC, Scot, Presby(of Perth);  
 Hist of first 10 persecu-  
 tions...with treatise on no-  
 velties of Popish religion  
 1613-16.  
 GE180,187,191;SCD503.
- Tacitus, Cornelius  
 115, It, Roman histor;  
 Historium.  
 LR Pref,79,362;DR  
 354c.
- Tannerus, Adam  
 1632, Austria(SJ), theol, polem;  
 Diptra fidei; Theolog scholast;  
 Relig wars; On angels.  
 LR4;DR361c;GE59,77;  
 PLC4,135,315,327,364;  
 SCD412.
- Tartaretus, Petrus  
 1509, Fr(RC), Scotist scholar,  
 theol;  
 Questiones morales.  
 GE215.
- Tayler, Jer.  
 1667, Eng, Anglic Bishop, theol,  
 polem, devotional writer;  
 Liberty of prophesying.  
 AS101;PLC314,370.
- Tertullian  
 220, Africa, theol, apolog;  
 exeg;  
 OT,NT Comm; Apology; De prae-  
 scriptione heretic; Adv Mar-  
 cion; Adv Praxeian; De anima;  
 De virginibus velandis; De  
 spectaculis; Adv Hermagen;  
 De resurr carnis; De pudicitia;  
 De scapulam; Res bona.  
 PP5,14,18,34,69;LR  
 352,371;DR99,185,  
 201,204,269,286,353c,  
 449c;GE98;DS13,55;SA  
 2;PLC50,59,315;DDP  
 288-9;CL0141;SCD419.

- Theganus, Chorepiscopus Trevirensis DR234.  
16thC, Fr;  
De gestis Dom Lod. imper of hist  
Francorum:1588.
- Themistocles CLO272.  
449 BC, Gr, statesman, soldier;  
Spurious epis. pub 1626.
- \*Theodoret of Cyrus PDG140;PP8,19,69,  
466, Antioch, apolog, theol, 229;LR35,139,242,  
exeg; 273,345,371;DR202-3,  
OT,NT Comm; Hist eccles; De PLC305;CLO146;SCD92,  
provid; Epistles; Contr Eunom. 514;ILG422.
- Theophylactus of Achrida PDG140;PP49,69,90,  
1108, Bulgaria, Archbish, exeg; 108,122;LR269;DR19,  
OT,NT Comm; 81,172,193,282,303b,  
305b,360c;GE233;SA  
28;PLC288;DDP289;  
SCD279;EA347.  
DR233,236.
- Thuanus(Jacques Auguste de Thou)  
1617, Fr(RC);  
Historia sui temporis.
- Tilenus, Daniel(Elintus Abraham) PDG475;PP69,75,96,  
1611?, Ger/Fr, Reform theol, 125;DR2,132,215b.  
polem;  
Amica collat cum Cameron;  
Syntag tripert disp theo;  
Anti R. Bernard;
- Titlemen, Franz DDP51.  
1537, Belg, Observant, exeg;  
NT Comm.
- Toletus, Franciscus de PDG491;PP8,133;LR  
1596, Sp(SJ), Cardinal, theol, 352,413;DR12,237,  
exeg(first predest by foreseen 281,340b;DDP290.  
merit);  
OT,NT Comm; On Aquinas.
- Tolosanus(Pierre Gregoire) PP67;LR116,129,133,  
1617, Fr(RC), lawyer; 234.  
De rep; Hist polit.
- Tomson, Wm. DR315,410.  
17thC, Eng independt, polem,  
wrote anti S.Rutherf;  
Ans to Mr. Thomas Herle.
- Tookerus, William DR425c.  
1604?, Eng, Dean of Lichfield;  
Charisma Donum Sanat.
- Tossanus(Peter or Daniel Toussain), PP86;LR133.  
Paul  
1573, Ger, Reform exeg;  
NT Comm.
- Tostatus, Alonzo LR48,132;PLC303;DDP  
1455, Sp, Bishop of Avila, 224,266.  
theol, exeg;  
OT Comm.
- Town, Robert TT23,114;CD intro A.3,  
17thC, Eng, nonconform; 572;SA1,38,56,209;AS  
Assert of grace ans to Dr. 5,81;PLC111,359.  
Taylor 1644; Vindiciae evan-  
geli, ans to S.R's Tryall &  
triumph of faith:1654.

- Travers, Walter  
1583, Eng nonconform;  
Defence of eccles discip.  
Trelcatius, Lucias  
Catalogus insignium; Libor  
ex Bibl:1607; A brief insti-  
tution of places of divinity  
anti Bellarm...Eng text by  
Gaven:1610.  
Tremellius, Joannes Immanuel  
1580, Ger, Reform exeg, pro-  
duced with Junius Latin OT;  
OT, NT Comm; Syra transl NT.  
Triglandius, Jacobus (the Elder)  
1654, Dutch Reform theol, philos;  
De civi eccles potest diss.  
Trigosio, Petrus  
1593, Sp(SJ) theol;  
Bonavent Summa theol.  
Triport  
Hist.  
Trostius, Martinus  
17thC, Ger, Hebraist, exeg;  
NT Syriack with notations;  
1621.  
Turnovius, Joannes  
17thC;  
Prospheones doct theo:1608.  
Turrecremata, John de  
1468, Sp, Cardinal, theol;  
Summa de eccles.  
Turrianus (Luis de Torres)  
1655, Sp(SJ), theol;  
Disp in Thomas: de fide; De  
eccles.  
Twisse, William  
1645, Eng nonconform;  
Contr Jackson; Vind grat  
contr Armini; Opera tribus  
distincta; Catechetical expos.  
Tyndal, William  
1536, Eng, Reform polem, transl.  
PP8, 293.  
PP49, 96; DR2; DDP191;  
CL0166; SCD415.  
PP85; LR132; CL0255;  
SCD265.  
GE509, 558, 632; DDP  
356.  
PDG141.  
SCD226.  
CL0255.  
PLC213.  
DR275, 282, 336c, 377c.  
SCD415.  
PDG13, 80, 137, 139; AS73;  
DDP Pref, 58, 80ff; ILG  
Pref, 430.  
PLC217.  
LR139, 234; CL0323.  
PP5, 14, 86, 96, 237; DR  
55; DDP191.  
DR236.
- Ulpianus, Domitius  
16thC, Ger theol;  
Institutionum reliquiae 1567.  
Ursinus, Zacharias  
1583, Ger, Reform theol;  
Catechism for Kirke of Edinb;  
Corpus doctrinae orthod.  
Ussher, James  
1656, Irish, Bishop, theol, exeg;  
De ch. eccles.

- \*Valdés, Juan de  
1541, Sp(RC), humanist, theol,  
Reformer;  
Divine considerations.  
SA38,164.
- Valek, Alardas  
De vivendis Christianorum.  
PLC59.
- Valentia, Gregory de  
1603, Sp(SJ), theol, polem;  
De rebus fidei; Comm theol  
Thom.  
PDG37,57,320; DR45;  
PLC300,364; CLO323.
- Valla, Lorenzo  
1457, It, humanist, philos, exeg;  
Adnotationes in NT.  
CLO272.
- Varro, Marcus Terentius  
27 BC, It, histor, philos;  
Apud Gellium.  
DDP102.
- Vasquez, Gabriel  
1604, Sp(SJ), theol;  
Collat Thomae & Scoti; Opus-  
cula moralia; Opera omnia:9  
vols(1620).  
PDG6,12,29,37,320;  
PP6,65,92,146; LR3,  
130; DR186,212b; GE  
111,190; DS13; PLC4;  
CLO127; ILG331.
- Vatables, François  
1547, Fr, Hebraist;  
OT Comm.  
LR256-7,345; TT136,209;  
GE51,236,455; PLC303,  
314; SCD8.
- Vaticanus(Castalio?)  
Contra Calvin; NT Comm.  
PLC148,281-3;396.
- Vedelius, Nicolaus  
17thC, Ger, Reform theol, polem;  
De Arcanis Arminianismi.  
PLC114.
- Vega, Andreas de  
1549, Sp, Franciscan Observant,  
theol;  
De justific, gratia, fide...;  
Trident decreti de just expo &  
def.  
DR282; DDP12,266; ILG  
334.
- Venator, Adolphus  
In declaral sua; Adv Dracenos.  
GE522; SCD293.
- \*Victorinus of Pettau  
303, It, Bishop, exeg; Neo-plat  
NT Comm:Apocalypse.  
PP63,86.
- Vigorius, Simon(the Younger)  
1613, Fr(RC), histor.  
PP86.
- Viguerius, Joannes  
Insti ad natur & Christianam  
philosophiam.  
DDP325; ILG334; EA646.
- Viretus, Pierre  
1571, Fr, Reform theol, exeg;  
NT Comm; Instruct Chrestienne.  
PP5; SCD277.
- Virgill, Polydore  
1555, It(RC), histor;  
Anglica historia.  
GE143.
- Vives, Juan Luis  
1540, Sp, humanist scholar, philos,  
social reform;  
Comm in Augustine's Civi Dei.  
GE144.
- Voetius, Gijsbert  
1644, Dutch Reform theol, polem;  
Select disp theol; Tract de  
fundament; Sue media.  
PP111,131; DDP Pref,  
141,143; EA7.



- Volaterramus, Jacob  
1516, It, humanist histor;  
Lombardica historia. DR186, 232-3, 471.
- Volkeliuſ, Joannes  
1630?, Dutch Socin theol, polem;  
De vera relig. PLC340, 343; DDP577;  
SCD291.
- Vorstiuſ, Konraduſ  
1622, Dutch, Armin theol, polem;  
Amica duplicat ad Piſcator;  
Tract theol de Deo; Epist; De  
praed. PDG135, 209; DR105;  
DDP79, 190; CL0240.
- Vullichiuſ, Jodocuſ  
NT Comm. DR272.
- Walaeuſ, Antoniuſ  
1639, Dutch Reform theol, philos,  
polem;  
Disput theol decima; Contr Cor-  
vin; NT Comm. PDG39, 82; PP124, 172,  
183; DR215b; GE329; 447;  
SCD46, 265.
- Waldenſ, Thomaſ(pſeud)  
17thC, Brit, author;  
Doct fidei. SCD227.
- Waldello  
Conſideration. SA319.
- Waldinguſ, Peter  
De incar diſ Domino Chriſte. GE602.
- Wecheli, Andreae(Audomaruſ Talaeuſ)  
16thC, exeg; DDP141.
- Weemeſ, John  
1632, Eng nonconform, theol, exeg;  
Ceremon Law in Moſeſ; Judic Law  
in Moſeſ; The Chriſtian Synag. DR17, 46, 191b; GE171;  
PLC305; SCD466.
- Welſh, John  
1602, Scot, Reform miniſter at  
Ayr;  
Letter of 1605. GE537; SA intro.
- Wendelin, Marcuſ Frederik  
1652, Ger, Reform theol, ſcient,  
philos;  
Chriſt theol. SCD265, 414.
- Whitaker, William  
1595, Eng, Anglic theol, polem;  
Contra Pontifice; Articuli de  
praedest; De eccleſ; De author  
Script. PP2, 14, 86, 96, 131; DR  
12, 20, 55, 200, 287, 340b;  
DS58; PLC368; SCD120,  
227; EA72.
- White, Francis  
1630, Eng, Biſhop of Ely, polem;  
Way of Church; Againſt Fiſher. PP63; GE171.
- Whitgift, John  
1574?, Eng, Archbiſhop of Canterb. DR100.
- Wiclif, John  
1384, Eng, reformer;  
Tract contra monarch. PP19; DR20.
- Widdowſ, Giles  
Eng, Anglic;  
The lawleſſe kneeleſſe ſchiſ-  
matic Purit:1630. GE111.

- Willet, Andrew  
1607?, Eng nonconform, exeg,  
polem;  
Syn Papismi; OT Comm.  
Williams  
Vindic regum.  
Winthorpe, John  
1649, Mass. independt, Gover-  
nor of Mass;  
Rise, reign & ruine of Anti-  
nom.  
Winzetus, Ninian  
1592, Scot(RC), polem;  
Flagellum sect...adv Buchann.  
Wolfius  
OT Comm; Lect moral.  
Wood, James  
1654, Scot, Reform Presby, polem;  
Little stone tried & found  
counterfeit.
- Xenophon  
355 BC, Gr histor;  
Cyropaedia; De repub.  
Zabarella, Francesco  
1417, It, Bishop, canonist;  
De raectione; De schism.  
Zanchius, Hieronymus  
1590, It, Reform theol, exeg;  
OT, NT Comm; Opera: 8 vols(1613);  
De eccles.  
Zepperus, Wilhelm  
1607, Ger, Reform theol;  
Politia eccles.  
Zoannettus, Franciscus  
16thC;  
Opera omnia 1600; Tract univer-  
si juris tom 6:1584.  
Zonaras, John  
1160?, Gr, Histor, canonist;  
Les histoires et chron; Canon  
de sanc virg.  
Zonat, L.  
Tract defens.  
Zosimus  
418, Gr, Pope;  
Epist.  
Zwingli, Huldrych  
1531, Swiss, Reform theol, states-  
man;  
OT, NT Comm; De provid.
- PP34; LR133; DR200,  
203b; SCD265, 346.  
LR222; PLC132, 326.  
SA171ff.  
LR235, 272.  
DR411c; DS90.  
SCD89.  
PP63; LR110; SA51.  
DR342c; EA408, 708.  
PDG363; PP14, 49; LR349;  
DR204, 374c; GE103, 327,  
360; DDP191; SCD415, 450.  
PP49, 226; DR121.  
LR167.  
PP19, 122; DR203.  
LR338.  
DR280.  
PP5, 210; DR12, 55, 200b,  
295b; DDP248, 258; SCD  
8.

Note: the above index does not include confessions, documents etc. cited. Authors cited without reference to specific works who are otherwise unknown have not been listed.

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