

# Theological education of nineteenth-century French Missionaries: an appropriation of the Catholicity of Classical Christian Theology

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## Abstract

The limited research on the theological education of nineteenth-century Christian missionaries, including those of the Société des Missions Evangéliques chez les peuples non-chrétiens à Paris (hereafter PEMS), is of particular interest considering the surviving, significant manuscript collections related to the missionaries – their training and teaching in Paris, France and Morija, Lesotho. This article presents the theological trajectories and historical-theological context of the PEMS missionaries together with an in-depth analysis of a recently discovered notebook of Adolphe Mabille (1836–1894); and concludes with preliminary observations of the theological education of these missionaries.

## Introduction

The contribution of nineteenth-century Christian missionaries to the enterprise of education around the world is of continuing scholarly inquiry.<sup>2</sup> Despite this interest, the inquiry into the theological education of these missionaries remains a subject for further examination considering the historical background of the theological education of missionaries and the rise of nineteenth-century missionary societies. The limited research on the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society founded in 1822 *Société des Missions Evangéliques chez les peuples non-chrétiens à Paris* (PEMS) is, therefore, of particular interest considering the surviving, significant manuscript collections related to the missionaries – their training and teaching in Paris, France and Morija, Lesotho.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the introduction of this article contains a brief survey of the theological education of missionaries since the sixteenth-century Reformation. The introduction is followed by a historical-theological context of the first and second generation of PEMS missionaries and a critical in-depth analysis of a recently discovered notebook which belonged to a second generation missionary. The article concludes with a discussion on preliminary observations regarding the theological education of these missionaries.

## Theological education of missionaries: a brief survey

Commencing with the era of the sixteenth-century Reformation, members of the Society of Jesus, including the Jesuit missionaries, established schools and universities from Canada (New France) to China.<sup>4</sup> The *Spiritual*

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<sup>2</sup> William Paton, “Alexander Duff, pioneer of missionary education (New York: George H. Doran, [1922?]); Mary Afra White, Catholic Indian missionary influence in the development of Catholic education in Montana, 1840-1903” (Saint Louis University: PhD thesis, 1940); Roy Myers Rutherford, “An examination of American study procedures for three international missionary conferences: Edinburgh, 1910, Jerusalem, 1928, Madras, 1938, with implications for missionary education in local Christian churches” (Hartford Seminary Foundation: PhD thesis, 1962); P. Hinchliff, *Calendar of Cape missionary correspondence, 1800-1850 [compiled from the archives of the London Missionary Society, the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Methodist Missionary Society]* (Pretoria, 1967); D.F. van Dyk, *African reactions to missionary education* (Fort Hare: Fort Hare University Press, 1967); David Green, *The contact between the early tribal African education and the westernized system of missionary education* (New York : Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1975); John Goulstone, “Education and London Missionary Society policy in their Cape and Bechuanaland missions from 1800 to 1925” (University of Kent at Canterbury: PhD thesis, 1987); Anders Bjornberg *Teaching and growth : Christian religious education in a local and international missionary context 1900 till the early 1930's* (Lund : Lund University Press, c1991); Roger Hayden, “Evangelical Calvinism among Eighteenth-century British Baptists with Particular reference to Bernard Foskett, Hugh and Caleb Evans and the Bristol Academy 1690-1791” (Keele University, United Kingdom, PhD Thesis, 1991); Kevin N. Chillegidem, “Traditional education of children in the Igbo family system: a challenge to the missionary/colonial educational system” (Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck: PhD thesis, 1995); Jennifer Leigh, “Invasion in writing: London Missionary Society missionaries, the civilizing mission, and the written word in early nineteenth-century southern Africa” (Queen’s University at Kingston (Canada): PhD thesis, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> This interest is further heightened by the digitalization project of the Morija Archives, Morija, Lesotho, <http://www.morija.co.ls/archives/> (accessed August 14, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> Noah Porter, *The educational systems of the Puritans and Jesuits compared. A premium essay, written for “The Society for the promotion of collegiate and theological education at the West”* (New York, M. W. Dodd, 1851); Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (1867); J.H. Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France* (New Haven: Yale University Press,

exercises of Loyola (1548) and *Plan of studies* (1598) were enormous and formative to the Jesuit's theological training.<sup>5</sup> The *Plan* accentuated the study of classical languages, in addition to the teaching of matters of faith and theology, classical literature, poetry, and philosophy – in sum, a codification of the curriculum devised by Renaissance humanists. The theological education of these missionaries was, furthermore, aligned with the theology as decreed by the Council of Trent (1545-63) expounded by the Roman Catechism (1566) and advanced by the *Sacred congregation for the propagation of the faith* (*Sacra Congregatio de propaganda fide*, 1622) and Society of Foreign Missions of Paris (*Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris*, 1658-63). The Protestant *schola publica* at Geneva (1559), on the other hand, was a form of Reformed higher education primarily for the training of pastors – among which were 'missionaries' to be sent to France and other countries in Europe, which resulted in the founding of the University of Leiden (1575), for example.<sup>6</sup>

Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676), however, following the Roman Catholic tradition, proposed the establishment of a Protestant *College for the Propagation of Faith* (*Collegia propagandae fidei*) for the training of missionaries<sup>7</sup> – a proposal that came to fruition by Antonius Walaeus (1573-1639), the founder and sole rector of the *Seminarium Indicum* (1622-1632) at Leiden University. The university seminary played a pivotal part in training clergymen who were sent to the trade areas of the seventeenth-century Dutch East India Company. The theological education, conformed to the *Synopsis of Purer Theology* (*Synopsis Purioris Theologiae*, 1625) – a first Reformed systematic theology, and co-authored by Wallaeus.<sup>8</sup> However, no indigenous students from the trade areas from Batavia to Brasil were trained – a neglect that was partially attended to in the early eighteenth century, in that theological education was provided to the Ghanese, Jacobus Elisa Johannes Capitein (1717-47) at Leiden University.<sup>9</sup> The theological curriculum reflected the teachings of Johann van den Honert (1693-1758), a representative of Reformed orthodoxy of the time, but followed Johannes Cocceius' (1603-1669) main work that expounded the doctrine of the history of redemption or covenants. Important to Cocceius' federal theology is the teaching of progressive revelation of the accomplishment of salvation in history which varied from other Reformed theologians of the time showing more interest in systematic theology and the application of redemption to sinners.<sup>10</sup>

The training of the Post-reformation missionaries, – Roman Catholic and Protestant had a shared common interest: a classical Christian theological curriculum in a university setting. This model of theological education for European missionaries also resonated in seventeenth and eighteenth-century New England affirmed by the training of missionaries, such as, John Eliot (1604-90) at Harvard College, David Brainerd's study (1717-47) at Yale College and that of Jonathan Edwards (1703-58). Both colleges at the time attested to a theological curriculum shaped by Post-reformation Reformed theology, in particular – a Protestant scholastic theology praised by Edwards, a missionary himself, in that he studied the works of Francis Turretin (1623-1687) and Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706).<sup>11</sup>

Although the theological training of Jesuit missionaries remained fairly consistent from the Council of Trent deep into the nineteenth-century with teaching curricula approved by the church, the rise of Protestant missionary societies in the late eighteen century and throughout the nineteenth century<sup>12</sup> shows a bifurcation of

1950); George E. Ganss, *Saint Ignatius' idea of a Jesuit university; a study in the history of Catholic education, including part four of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, translated from the Spanish of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, with introd. and notes* (Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1954); John Parker, *Windows into China: the Jesuits and their books, : delivered on the occasion of the fifth annual Bromsen Lecture, April 30, 1977* (Boston: Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston, 1978); John O'Malley, *The first Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); George D Gibson, "Jesuit Education of the Indians in New France, 1611 to 1658" (Berkeley: University of California, PhD, 1940); Eduardo T. Henriques, "Forming partners in mission: Sharing the Jesuit tradition in education" (Boston College, PhD, 2009).

<sup>5</sup> Ignatius of Loyola, *Exercitia spiritualia* (Rome: Antonio Bladio, 1548); Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu, *Ratio Studiorum* (Naples: Tarquinii Lonoi, 1598).

<sup>6</sup> Karin Maag, *Seminary or University? The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education 1560-1620* (Hants, UK: Scolar Press, 1995), 19, 172-185. Note, that the term "missionaries" differ somewhat from the use of the word in the nineteenth-century.

<sup>7</sup> J. van Oordt (ed.), J.A.B. Jongeneel, "Voetius' zendingstheologie, de eerste comprehensieve protestantsche zendingstheologie," in *De onbekende Voetius: Voordrachten wetenschappelijk symposium Utrecht 3 maart 1989* (Kampen: Kok, 1989). See also, "Dutch Reformed theologian and first Protestant to write a comprehensive theology of mission," <http://www.bu.edu/missiology/missionary-biography/t-u-v/voetius-gisbertus-gisbertus-voet-1589-1676/>, accessed August 14, 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Johannes Polyander à Kerckhoven, André Rivet, Antonius Walaeus, Antoine Thysius (eds.), *Synopsis purioris theologiae, disputationibus quinquaginta duabus comprehensa* (Leiden: Elsevier, 1625).

<sup>9</sup> K. Prahl, *Jacobus Elisa Johannes Capitein. A critical study of an eighteenth century African* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1992; Skotaville Publishers, South Africa, 1989); David Nii Anum Kpobi (1993): *Mission in chains. the life, theology and ministry of the ex-slave Jacobus E.J. Capitein (1717-1747) with a translation of his major publications* (Boekencentrum, Zoetermeer, 1993); Grant Parker (annotated transl.), *The agony of Asar: a thesis on slavery by the former slave, Jacobus Elisa Johannes Capitein, 1717-1747* (Markus Wiener, Princeton, N.J., 2001); David Nii Anum Kpobi, *The Saga of a Slave: Jacobus Capitein of Holland and Elmina* (African Books Collective, Oxford, 2002).

<sup>10</sup> Johannes Cocceius, *Summa Doctrinae de Foedere et Testamento Dei* (Leiden : Elseviriorum, 1648); W. J. van Asselt, *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius (1603-1669)* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2001).

<sup>11</sup> Jonathan Edwards, *WJE Online* 16:217. See also *A Catalogue of the Library of Yale College in New Haven* (N[ew] London: T. Green, 1743); *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegii Harvardini* (Boston: B. Green, 1723).

<sup>12</sup> London Missionary Society, 1795; Scottish Missionary Society, 1796; Netherlands Missionary Society, 1797; Rhenish Missionary Society, 1799; American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810; Basel Mission, 1815; Berlin Missionary Society (1824).

theological education of missionaries. On the one hand, a continuation could be discerned of university-educated missionaries instilled by a theological curriculum of the German pietist and scholar, August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) appropriated by the Danish-Halle Mission (1706), the Basel Mission School (*Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft Basel*, 1815),<sup>13</sup> and the Berlin Missionary Society (*Berliner Missionsgesellschaft or Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der evangelischen Missionen unter den Heiden*, 1824) – a successor organisation to the missionary training effort of pastor, revivalist, and mission educator, Johann Jänicke (1748–1827) who had prepared missionaries for work with other missionary societies including the London Missionary Society since 1800. On the other hand, Moravian missionaries, for example, were primarily trained outside the university context and followed the guidelines of August Gottlieb Spangenberg (1704–1792) *Instruction for brothers and sisters who serve the Gospel among the heathen* (1784). The scholarly need remains, however, to examine the content and course of theological education of the Protestant missionaries of the early nineteenth century. The demanding task of detailed archival work – though increasingly more accessible as a result of digitalisation of archival material – shows promise however. The archives of the Berliner Missionary Society, for example, contains lecture plans and an unpublished manuscript, Christian Dogmatics (“*Dogmatik christliche von Inspector Wallmann, 1864*”) of Johann Christian Wallmann (1811–1865), who was the Inspector of the Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft in Barmen from 1848 to 1857.<sup>14</sup> The Morija Archives in Lesotho, to mention another example, also contains a dogmatic work – a notebook of the French protestant missionary, Adolphe Mabille (1836–1894). The Morija Archives are indisputably important to the country, culture and church of Lesotho, and indispensable for the history of modern missions – confirmed by publications of David Ambrose, Tim Couzens, V. Ellenberger, SJ. Gill, RC. Germond, JM. Mohapelo, Thomas Mofolo, EW. Smith and Ntabanyane SK. T’seuoa.<sup>15</sup> The significance of the recently found manuscript of Mabille, dated 1856 is the arranged presentation of theology that differs from the *Dogmatik* of Wallmann’s, who discussed the topics of theology, anthropology, soteriology, and eschatology. The confessional Lutheran character of this work is evident in the chapter on the doctrine of salvation treating Christology, On Grace, Use of the Means of Grace, and the *Ordo Salutis (Heilsordnung)*.<sup>16</sup> Mabille’s manuscript contains a footnote, “See president Edwards: [Who] we [will] follow almost entirely in this study,”<sup>17</sup> which may provide insight into the theological training at PEMS Mission House directed by Eugène Casalis’ (1812–1891), and is the focus of this study in particular, though only a few PEMS admission requirements are known, such as the knowledge of Latin and Greek.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Jon Miller, *Missionary Zeal and institutional control. Organizational contradictions in the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, 1828-1917* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge” Wm. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), 13–32; Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant renewal at the dawn of modern Europe* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2013), 145–270.

<sup>14</sup> See also Johannes Wallmann, “Von der Erweckung zum konfessionellen Luthertum Zum 200. Geburtstag von Missionsinspektor Johann Christian Wallmann,” *Zeitschrift fuer Theologie und Kirche*, Vol.108, No. 4, (December 2011): 431–471. Furthermore, the unpublished theological manuscript by Wilhelm Beste, Evangelische-lutherische Dogmatik nach der Augustana entwickelt von Wallmann, that draws upon the earlier work of Johann Christian Wallmann. Beste’s work is divided into sections labeled “Theologie,” “Anthropologie,” “Soteriologie,” and “Eschatologie.” Cf. Notre Dame University, Primary sources: Africa, [Südafrikanische Mission] (MSE/M 4611-1). Prof. Dolf Britz, Director of the Jonathan Edwards Centre Africa at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa is acknowledged for sharing his vast knowledge and information of the archives related to missionary work in Southern Africa.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Mofolo; *Moeti oa Bochabela* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1907); A. Boegner, *The Missionary task of the French Protestant Church* (Morija: Sesuto Book Depot, 1914); Jean Bianquis, *Les origines de la Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris, 1822-1829* (Paris: *Société des Missions Evangéliques*, 1930-35, 3 vols.); V. Ellenberger, *A century of mission work in Basutoland 1833-1933* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1938); R.C Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland* (Morija, Lesotho: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1967); J.M. Mohapelo, *From mission to church: fifty years of the work of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society and the Lesotho Evangelical Church 1933-1983* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1985); David Ambrose, *The little light of Basutoland* (Lesotho: Institute of Education, National University of Lesotho, 2001); Tim Couzens, *Murder at Morija* (Johannesburg: Random House, 2003); S.J. Gill, *ThesStory of Morija Museum and archives. celebrating 50 years of service 1956—2006* (Morija: Morija Printing Works, 2005); David Ambrose, *Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (1830-1929)* (Roma, Lesotho: House 9 Publications, 2009); Philippe Burger, François Escade, André Honegger (eds), *The Zambezi Mission 1885-1965. The spread of the Gospel in Barotseland, from the Paris Mission to the United Church of Zambia* (Paris: DEFAP, 2010); Ntabanyane S. K. T’seuoa, “The Message of Morija. A critical historical study of the Sermons (1863–1881) of the Missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society in Basutoland” (Bloemfontein: Master thesis, University of the Free State, 2011).

<sup>16</sup> *Dogmatik christliche von Inspector Wallmann, 1864*, A. Theologie, 4-66; B. Antropologie, 66-103; C. Soteriologie, 104-458 (I. Christologie, 104-177; II. Gnaden, 177-211; III. Von den Gnadenmitteln, 212-379; IV. Von gebrauch der Gnadenmitteln oder der Heilsordnung, 380-420; V. Kirche, 420-457); D. Eschatologie 458-536. For difference with Mabille’s presentation of theology see this article: *Mabille’s notebook: structure, sources and content*

<sup>17</sup> Adolphe Mabille, *Dogmatique* [1856] (Morija: Morija Archives and Museum, 2010), 147, *Voyez le président Edwards: Nous le suivons presque entièrement dans cette recherché.* The curator Mr. Stephen Gill and staff of the Morija Archives and Museum are gratefully acknowledged for their assistance during my research visits in 2010, 2011 and 2012. The Morija Printing Works, Morija, Lesotho is acknowledged for making a copy of Mabille’s notebook.

<sup>18</sup> Assemblée Générale de la Société des Missions évangéliques...5 Mai 1859 (Passy: a la Maison des Missions Evangéliques, 1859), Réglement d’Admission de la Maison des Missions de Paris, Art.3, “Le candidat doit, pour être admis: 1\* Ecrire le français avec correction et facilité, posséder les règles de la grammaire, avoir des connaissances élémentaires en arithmétique, géographie et histoire. 2\* Avoir étudié la grammaire latine jusqu’à la syntax, et la grammaire grecque jusqu’à la fin des verbes régulaires. (Adopté par la Comité sa séance du 9 janvier 1856). None of the literature listed in footnote 15 addresses the topic of the (theological) training of the

Mabille's presentation of this theology with reference to the eighteenth-century New England preacher, theologian, philosopher, revivalist, missionary to the Housatonic Indians and college president, Edwards, however, problem and prospect. With regard to the former, the question arises about the relationship, if any, between the theology of the nineteenth-century French missionaries and that of eighteenth-century Edwards. Hence, a critical, in-depth evaluation of the notebook in its historical-theological context and the analysis of the structure, sources and content may offer a window into the education of the French missionaries.

### **Mabille's notebook: the immediate historical-theological context**

On November 1 1856 Casalis – the newly appointed principal of the Mission House of the PEMS, and former missionary of Basutoland, met five students in a lecture room of a residence on Rue Franklin at Passy.<sup>19</sup> Three of the five students were Swiss: Mabille, Oscar Rau, and David Frédéric Ellenberger (1835–1919) and the other two were French: François Coillard (1834–1904) and the director's son and medical student Eugène Casalis Junior. A couple of months later the director reported to the board of the PEMS that the students had been trained in classical studies, biblical exegesis, dogmatics ("dogmatique") and church history relevant to the mission field, which reminded the board members of the work of other missionaries among which were Edwards..<sup>20</sup> The comprehensive approach to theological studies at the PEMS is unmistakably reflected in Mabille's quarto-size notebook of 592-pages containing systematically arranged handwritten reflections of theology. The manuscript originated from a major historical-theological intersection of early nineteenth-century protestant theology in France: an interchange shaped by church, mission, theological education and systematic theology. A succinct and integral assessment of this multifaceted position from the perspective of students and teacher: Coillard and Casalis may suffice to place Mabille's notebook within its time.

Coillard, on the one hand, was of Huguenot decent and attended the Protestant school at Asnières-les-Bourges, a city where John Calvin (1509–1564) had once taught law – and had studied at the Preparatory School of Theology (*L'École préparatoire de théologie*) at Paris (Batignolles) since 1854. The school which opened in 1852 was one of the two preparatory schools of theology for students to be admitted to a French state faculty of theology, including the evangelical-oriented college at Montauban.<sup>21</sup> The school was directed by the Genevan pastor, Louis Boissonnas (1820–1885), who was known for his aversion to theological newness and advocated orthodox Reformed theology joined with piety. Concerning the former, the rise of Protestant liberalism and the era of Romanticism – emphasising ethics over doctrine and experience over Scriptural authority, embracing and encouraging the higher biblical criticism of the modern Biblical scholarship of Friederich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) onwards affected theological education in France. At the same time, however, a revival of evangelical religion among the Protestants of southern France and French-speaking Switzerland promoted an experiential faith and personal piety. This revival became known as *Le Réveil* – a Protestant church renewal movement throughout Switzerland, France and the Netherlands. The movement was rooted in the Society of Friends (*Société des Amis*, 1810) at Geneva and was led by the local pastor; evangelical hymn writer and convinced Calvinist, César Malan (1787–1864). The *Société* was, among others, attended by Jean-Henri Merle D'Aubigne (1794–1872), the later historian of the Protestant Reformation, and Louis Gausson (1790–1863), the author of *La Théopneustie, ou pleine inspiration des saintes écritures* – an elaborate book on the inspiration of the Scripture. These works, *contra* the liberal Protestantism of the day, may represent two of the three interests of the *Réveil* – Scripture and (salvation) history. The third aspect of the movement, spiritual experience, was embodied in two other attendees, the brothers Adolphe Monod (1802–1856) and Frédéric Monod (1794–1863) – both of them became important experiential preachers in the French Reformed church. The attendees of the *Société*, were also strongly influenced by Robert Haldane (1764–1842) who lectured from 1816 to 1818 at Geneva and Montauban on *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans*. Haldane was an exponent of the Scottish awakenings of the 1790s partially prompted when John Erskine (1720–1803) re-published in 1784. Edwards's *Humble attempt to promote explicit agreement and visible union of God's people in extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion and the advancement of Christ's Kingdom* (1747) to promote revival prayer.<sup>22</sup> Erskine was the Scottish disseminator *par excellence* of the works of Edwards with whom he maintained a trans-Atlantic epistolary exchange for nearly ten years, and continued his interest in his American friend by posthumously publishing various sermons and treatises. Haldane, was familiar with Edwards, as shown in his published

missionaries, though mentioned by E.W. Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland* (Hodder and Stoughton 1939), 78, "A rather elaborate course of studies, to the extend over three years, had been planned."

<sup>19</sup> The street annexed four years later into the sixteenth arrondissement at Paris, and the area is known in early American history as the residential place of Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) during the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783).

<sup>20</sup> *Société des missions évangéliques de Paris* (Leiden: IDC Microform Publishers, 1987), Ms 94, H-2102 / 1-300, Mf. No. 32, April 23, 1857. The reference to Edwards may also refer to John Edwards (1804–1887). Cf. John Edwards, *Reminiscences of the early life and missionary labours of the Rev John Edwards, Fifty ears a Wesleyan Missionary in South Africa* (Somerset: Grocott & Sherry, 1883; London: T. Woolmer, 1886).

<sup>21</sup> The other school was Pension Lavondès at Nîmes favoring more liberal theology.

<sup>22</sup> *The Works of Jonathan Edwards* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957–2008) vol. 5:71–72.

lectures at the *Société*.<sup>23</sup> The Scottish evangelical revival was, furthermore, the impetus to world mission and led to the establishment of the missionary societies mentioned above, including the founding of the PEMS in England. Coillard whose intellectual and spiritual formation was indebted to both Protestant orthodoxy and revival piety attended a classroom of like-minded people at the PEMS Mission House.

Casalis, on the other hand, must have been appreciative of these revival developments on his return to Paris in 1854.<sup>24</sup> Having been prepared for the ministry by the French Reformed revivalist Henri Pyt (1796-1835),<sup>25</sup> who had not only introduced him to the revival hymns of Malan but more importantly trained him in classical and “dogmatic studies” including “various authors … with very heavy Latin, closely printed on paper yellowed by time”, as he recounted later.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, he recalled resentment of the philosophy of the eighteenth-century,<sup>27</sup> and continued his interest in theology almost exclusively during his 1830-1832 studies at the Mission House under direction of Mr. Grandpierre.<sup>28</sup> Although he was acquainted with the *Catechism* (*Catéchisme ou instruction dans la religion chrétienne*, 1702) of the enlightened orthodox, Jean-Frédéric Ostervald (1663-1747),<sup>29</sup> his interest in the Latin tomes of theology was part of the intellectual endeavours of the French evangelicals at the time; a manuscript of the library catalogue of the Protestant faculty of Montauban provides insight into these endeavours.<sup>30</sup> The library mainly consisted of works pertaining to biblical exegesis,<sup>31</sup> church history,<sup>32</sup> patristic,<sup>33</sup> medieval and early modern theology,<sup>34</sup> homilies,<sup>35</sup> and also included works of Augustine,<sup>36</sup> the Roman Catholic polemist Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621),<sup>37</sup> Cocceius,<sup>38</sup> and the *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* of Francis Turretin (1623-1687) and *Theologia Christiana* of Bénédict Pictet (1655-1724)<sup>39</sup> whose works show the architecture of Post-reformation Reformed intellectual thought that included six *loci* of theology: theology proper (doctrine of God), anthropology, Christology, soteriology, ecclesiology and eschatology. Last but not least, the library contained the works of Edwards,<sup>40</sup> Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803)<sup>41</sup> and Samuel Mather (1706-1785) of New England.<sup>42</sup> One of the influential professors at the theological academy for the French evangelicals was Adolphe Monod; the pastor of Lyon had been dismissed due to a communion controversy.<sup>43</sup> Becoming a professor in 1836 he reminded the students: “to study diligent the Scripture and classical sources of theology.”<sup>44</sup> In 1847 he left for Paris serving the Reformed Church (Église Réformée, Oratoire)<sup>45</sup> but died in April 1856 six months before the re-opening of the Mission House of the PEMS. His

<sup>23</sup> Robert Haldane, *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans* (Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Co., 1874, ninth edition), 117, 206, 488, and 527. On the connection of the Reformed church in France and Scotland evangelicalism, see for example, Samuel Davidson (ed.), *The Orthodox Presbyterian Theological review and Missionary recorder* (Belfast: William McComb, 1839), no. xxiii, II:359-360.

<sup>24</sup> V. Ellenberger, *A century of mission work in Basutoland*, Edmond Ellenberger (transl.) (Morija: Sesuto Book Depot, 1938), 93. The Board of the PEMS requested in 1854 Rev. Casalis to succeed Mr. Grandpierre as director and re-open the Mission House that had been closed since 1848.

<sup>25</sup> Emile Guers, *Vie De Henri Pyt: Ministre De La Parole De Dieu* (Genève: Beroud; Paris: Librairie Protestant, 1850; reprint Nabu Press, 2012); Isabelle Olekhnovich, “Henri Pyt prédicateur du Réveil,” *Théologie Evangélique* 5:3 (2006), 287-292.

<sup>26</sup> Eugène Casalis, *Mes souvenirs* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1884), 39, “A cela s’ajoutaient de précieuses leçons d’apologétique et de dogmatique que M. Pyt tirait de son propre fonds, ou dont je devais, sous sa direction, chercher la substance dans divers auteurs. Pour cette dernière partie, j’avais souvent affaire à du latin bien lourd, imprimé en lignes bien serrées sur du papier jauni par le temps.”

<sup>27</sup> Casalis, *Mes souvenirs*, 15.

<sup>28</sup> Casalis, *Mes souvenirs*, 46, “Je ne devais y rester que deux ans et demi, les études que j’avais faites sous les soins de M. Pyt me permettant de consacrer, dès le premier jour, presque tout mon temps à la théologie.”

<sup>29</sup> *Bibliothèque universitaire, Section de théologie protestante à Montauban: catalogue* (Université de Montpellier, Montauban: Université, 1890), 171, “Osterwald, *Compendius theologia Christiana* (1754) in 8°.”

<sup>30</sup> The faculty and students would travel at the close of the century with the director of the PEMS to Lesotho. Cf. Daniel Bolliger, Marie-Christine Griffon, Hélène Cotteverte (eds.), *Histoire et richesses de la Bibliothèque de théologie protestante de Montauban* (Toulouse: S.I.C.D, 2007), 15.

<sup>31</sup> *Bibliothèque universitaire*, 13-87. Daniel Bolliger, Marie-Christine Griffon, Hélène Cotteverte (eds.), *Histoire et richesses de la Bibliothèque de théologie protestante de Montauban* (Toulouse: S.I.C.D, 2007), 77, “La théologie forme plus de la moitié (57%) des collection dans le catalogue de 1890.”

<sup>32</sup> *Bibliothèque universitaire*, 88.

<sup>33</sup> For example, *Bibliothèque universitaire*, 115-123. Listing of works of Augustine, Clement, Grégoire de Nazianze, Eusebius, Irenaeus, and Tertullian.

<sup>34</sup> *Bibliothèque universitaire*, 110-123 (Patristic), 125-131 (Medieval), 131-162 (Early Modern).

<sup>35</sup> *Bibliothèque universitaire*, 194-203.

<sup>36</sup> *Bibliothèque universitaire*, 203.

<sup>37</sup> *Bibliothèque universitaire*, 88, “Bellarmine, *De Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (1617).”

<sup>38</sup> *Bibliothèque universitaire*, 168, “Cocceius, *Opera Omnia theologica* (Amsterdam, 1675) 9 v. in f.”

<sup>39</sup> *Bibliothèque universitaire*, 172. See for other works of Turretin, 238.

<sup>40</sup> *Bibliothèque universitaire*, 168, “Edwards, *Christian doctrine of original sin* (Glasgow, 1819).”

<sup>41</sup> *Bibliothèque universitaire*, 170, “Hopkins, *Doctrine of the two covenants* (London n.d.), in 12.”

<sup>42</sup> *Bibliothèque universitaire*, 181, “Mather (Samuel), A vindication of the Holy Bible (London, 1723).

<sup>43</sup> Adolphe Monod, *Living in the hope of glory*, Constance K. Walker (trans. and ed.) (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2002), xvii-xx; Adolphe Monod, *Pourquoi je demeure dans l'église établie* (Paris: Librairie Protestante, 1849). Cf. Ibid., *Waarom ik in de Gevestigede Kerk Blif* (transl., R.D. Kwint) (Ede: Uitgeverij F. Hardeman, 2000), 20-34.

<sup>44</sup> Adolphe Monod, *Séance publique de la Faculté de théologie protestante de Montauban, tenue le 11 novembre 1841* (Montauban: Lapie-Fontanel, 1841).

<sup>45</sup> Adolphe Monod, *Les Adieux d'Adolphe Monod à ses Amis et à l'Église* (Paris: C. Meyrueis et cie., 1857)

brother, Frédéric, preacher and pastor at Paris, and secretary of the PEMS<sup>46</sup> became a leading churchman of the newly constituted Union of Free Evangelical Churches (*L'Union des Églises Évangéliques Libres*) of 1848: the revival in France brought unity and division. Amid the development of revival, mission, and the Reformed church in France, the life and thoughts of Casalis and Coillard, were theologically, shaped by Reformed orthodoxy, but joined with contemporary evangelical piety purported by *Le Réveil* movement.

The PEMS, director and students are, therefore, part of the transcontinental evangelical network of the nineteenth-century Protestantism, in particular *Le Réveil* – not unfamiliar to Mabille. With a background in classical studies at the Paedagogium at Bâle, Switzerland, Mabille studied biblical Hebrew and Greek under the former principal of the Vaudois missionary school and scholarly pastor, Samuel Thomas (†1867), but left for The Hague in 1854 – a centre for the Réveil movement in Holland, travelled to England and was admitted to the Mission House in 1856. The multifaceted meeting points of the lecture room of the PEMS Mission House late in 1856, therefore, constitute the immediate historical-theological context of Mabille's *dogmatique*.

### Mabille's notebook: structure, sources and content

The provenance of Mabille's notebook is still undetermined. On the one hand Casalis did teach systematic theology, and Mabille's notebook may reflect such teaching. On the other hand, Couzens suggests that Mabille occasionally filled in for Casalis in lecturing. "He [Mabille] was," Couzens asserted, "strong in classical languages, though a trifle weak, it seems, in Theology."<sup>47</sup> Therefore, the notebook may also reflect Mabille's own lectures – though it is to be seen that his theology was "trifle weak."

With reference to the structure of the notebook, each section or chapter contains a title heading in capital letters and a sub-title followed by clearly marked multi-level subheadings and numbered paragraphs leading the reader through the theological topic. Mabille's manuscript subsequently includes the following main sections: On Election (*De L'Élection*);<sup>48</sup> On the Work of the Redemption (*De L'Œuvre de la Rédemption*);<sup>49</sup> and On the Church (*De L'Église*).<sup>50</sup> The middle section comprises 400 pages covering topics such as, "Calling,"<sup>51</sup> "Grace,"<sup>52</sup> "Faith,"<sup>53</sup> "Justification," including the doctrine of adoption,<sup>54</sup> and "Sanctification."<sup>55</sup> One instantly observes the contours and outline of classic Reformed theology. Concerning the topics presented as "work of redemption," Mabille understood the arrangement of theological topics as a logical sequencing of the order of salvation – the redemptive benefits of Christ appropriated to the believer by the Holy Spirit.<sup>56</sup> As such this concept is recognised as the *ordo salutis*, which was assumed by post-reformation Lutheran theologians such as Johann F. Buddeus (1667-1729)<sup>57</sup> and was widely adopted in post-reformation Reformed theology, but contrasted with the seventeenth-century soteriology of Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609) in which, among other things, election was conditioned by a person's faith or non-faith.

A closer look at the structure of Mabille's *Dogmatique* reveals three aspects and concerns (1) the internal structure of a chapter, (2) the opening chapter (*De L'Élection*), and (3) discussion of the doctrine of salvation.

### Internal structure

Concerning the internal chapter structure, many chapters are structured around specific questions the construction of which reminds you of (medieval) scholastic questions (*quaestiones*). A distinguishing mark of (medieval) scholasticism was its adoption of a common method of inquiry: the method of discovering and defending philosophical or theological truth by means of Aristotelian logic or dialectic. The dialectic method involved three basic steps: posing a question, arguments for and against answers proposed by earlier authorities, and a logically warranted conclusion. The *quæstio* method, also called disputations (*disputationes*), was employed to stimulate the student's critical thinking. This sophisticated approach to the theological discourse does not only unite Mabille's reflections of theology with the method of theological inquiry of Post-Reformation thinkers, such as Turretin and other Protestant scholastics,<sup>58</sup> but also with medieval intellectuals

<sup>46</sup> Société des missions évangéliques de Paris, Ms 94, H-2107 / 43, Mf. No. 26.

<sup>47</sup> Tim Couzens, *Murder at Morija* (Johannesburg: Random House, 2003), 113.

<sup>48</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 1-146.

<sup>49</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 146-574.

<sup>50</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 574-592.

<sup>51</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 381-405, *De la Vocation et de la Foi*.

<sup>52</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 405-416, *La Grâce*.

<sup>53</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 416-492, *De la Foi*.

<sup>54</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 492-553, [De la] Justification; 533-535., *De l'adoption*.

<sup>55</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 553-574, *De la Sanctification*.

<sup>56</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 331, *Des Bienfaits de Christ*. "Les bienfaits personnels de la Rédemption commencement ici-bas par la grace, et consommerons dan le ciel par la gloire. Le premier de ces bienfaits est la vocation..."

<sup>57</sup> Johann Franz Buddeus, *Institutiones Theologiae Dogmaticae* (Frankfurt, 1741), 33, 60.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics. The rise and development of Reformed Orthodoxy, ca. 1520 to ca. 1725*, 4 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), I:121-22.

such as Aquinas, and Scotus. Furthermore, the published form of disputations gave rise to the literary genre of the *questio disputata*; and a collection of such disputations was called the Summa – the precursor of the systematic handbook of theology or *dogmatique*. Mabille’s notebook can thus be characterised as the method of theology (*methodus theologiae*) and is, therefore, placed in a long-standing trajectory of the development of the system (*systema*) of theology.

### On election

The opening chapter on the doctrine of election may underscore a possibly central and overarching dogma theory of Reformed theology. The nineteenth-century German dogmatician, Heinrich Heppe (1820-1879), among others, typified Reformed orthodoxy as a predestinarian system in essence; and, is therefore, different from Calvin’s thought – a position recently reappraised and contested by scholars such as Richard A. Muller, and others.<sup>59</sup> Mabille’s meticulous written notebook provides some direction to this issue, however.

Although the pagination of the notebook is consistently placed in the top right corner throughout the entire manuscript, the document also contains the word “dogmatique” accompanied by a number placed at the bottom of some pages.<sup>60</sup> The opening chapter, then, commences with page one but also indicates “dogmatique 52”, since the notebook concludes with “dogmatique 88” which can be found on page 577. The question, whether the notebook is only a part of the systematic theology that is presented, arises, specifically when the length of the interval of 15 to 17 pages between the “dogmatiques” is taken into consideration. It may point to the length of the lectures – each of ca. 50 minutes. The inference can be made, that the 33 extant lectures comprise an extended semester, commencing in November 1856 and ending in June the following year. This assumption is underscored by Mabille’s pattern of handwriting which is fairly consistent apart from the breakpoints of intervals which coincide with a slight change in the colour of the ink, the slope of the letters and the spacing between the letters. The preliminary conclusion, then, seems to justify the other topics of theology such as the doctrine of God, humanity and Christ may have preceded the discussion on the doctrine of election.

However helpful this initial observation might be, it does not assist in appraising the essence of Mabille’s notes on the doctrine of election. Seventeenth-century Reformed orthodoxy on this theological subject deviated from Calvin’s teaching after all as suggested by the German neo-orthodox theologians mentioned above. Accordingly, in Calvin’s successor Theodore Beza (1519-1605) was found a leaning to argue a supralapsarian view of double predestination (election and reprobation). Mabille’s *Dogmatique* evidently exhibit awareness of these theological distinctions and differences.

The chapter on the doctrine of election commences with an exposition from Scriptures on the various words used concerning the topic, such as predestination, foreknowledge, election and [eternal] plan.<sup>61</sup> The classical education of teacher and student excels through this exposition which is strongly supported by a discerning use of original languages of Scripture.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, Casalis and Mabille were trained in Reformed theology which is confirmed in the notebook not only by the various *quaestiones*, but also by an extensive treatment of infra and supralapsarism – a primary Post-reformation speculative distinction. The former, Mabille noted, understand the object of the decree of predestination, humanity, as not yet created and fallen but merely as to be created. Instead of providing a more detailed discussion on this speculative theological distinction, Mabille noted: “I just say that election and predestination must be regarded after the fall ...” whereby “after the fall” (*après la chute*) is firmly underlined in the manuscript, and is supported by the author with four reasons from Scripture, in particular of the Epistle to the Romans.<sup>63</sup> This infralapsarian position, then, differs from the suggested diversion of Post-reformed theology of Calvin – and it is Calvin and Augustine who are cited by Mabille in this chapter.<sup>64</sup>

Further examination of source references such as Augustine and Calvin, employed in Mabille’s *Dogmatique* is prompted by two motives. First and foremost, it assists our understanding of the intellectual trajectories that may have contributed to the French missionary study of systematic theology. Secondly, such

<sup>59</sup> Heinrich Heppe, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche Deutschland* (Elberfeld: Friederichs, 1860) I:669-706. See for a broader discussion on the issue, Richard A. Muller, *After Calvin. Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 63-80.

<sup>60</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, “Dogmatique 52” (page 1), Ibid., 53 (17), 54 (33), [...], 56 (65), 57 (81), 58 (97), 59 (113), 60 (129), 61 (145), 62 (161), 63 (177), 64 (193), 65 (209), 66 (225), 67 (241), 68 (257), 69 (273), 70 (289), 71 (305), 72 (312), 73 (337), 74 (353), 75 (369), 76 (385), 77 (401), 78 (417), 79 (433), 80 (449), 81 (465), 82 (481), 83 (497), 84 (513), 85 (529), 86 (545), 87 (561), and 88 (577).

<sup>61</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 10, 11, *Etude des 4 principales expressions employées par l’Ecriture au sujet de l’Election*, 1. de prédestination...2. de préconnaissance...3. d’élection...4. de dessein ou conseil....

<sup>62</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 10-18.

<sup>63</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 20, “je ne crois pas devoir entrer ici dans ces distinctions et je me contente de dire que l’election et la prédestination doivent être considérées après la chute pour les raisons suivantes...1. (Jean xv.19)...3. (Romains ix.21)...4. (Romains ix.22, 23).”

<sup>64</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 6, “Nous donnerons avec plaisir ces deux precepts dans le beau langage de Calvin. voici ce qu’il dit en son livre *De etern. Predest.* (p.978). [Cf. Jean Calvin, *De la prédestination éternelle de Dieu* (Geneve: Jean Crispin, 1552).]

understanding may provide an assessment of the character of the formulated theology, which is foundational to early nineteenth-century missionaries.

Mabille's notebook, furthermore, reveals a wide-ranging array of its sources, including an extensive exegetical use of Scripture. The latter, as argued earlier in this article, must not be interpreted as proof texts to an established doctrine, but standing in a firm exegetical tradition whereby doctrine arises from a careful analysis of Scripture.<sup>65</sup> Concerning the former, Mabille referred to more than 50 different authors and publications from various theological traditions. A closer look shows the distribution of these references throughout the notebook whereby 60% is found in paragraphs in which questions are discussed. Secondly, authors such as Ambrose (ca. 340-397), Anselm (1033-1109), the Jansenist Antoine Arnauld (1612-1694), Augustine, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), Cyprian († 258), Prosper d'Aquitaine (c. 390-c. 455), the English defender of Roman Catholicism Thomas Stapleton (1535-1598), and Turretin are cited frequently. In fact, the leading author is Augustine (22% of citations). The cited works of Augustine include: *On admonition and grace (De correptione et gratia, 7x)*, *On the gift of perseverance (De dono perseverantiae, 1x)*, *On the grace of Christ and on original sin, contra Pelagius (De Gratia Christi et de Peccato Originali, contra Pelagium, 2x)*, and *On the predestination of the saints (De praedestinatione sanctorum, 2x)*.<sup>66</sup> Prominently but less favourably cited is Bellarmine and his work *On Justification (De Justificatione)*,<sup>67</sup> which accounts for approximately 15% of all references, and primarily found in Mabille's notes on the doctrine of justification. There are only three references to Calvin; one to the Latin-edition of the *Institution of Christian religion* and two citations of the treatise *Concerning the eternal predestination of God (De aeterna Dei praedestinatione)*.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, the notebook displays a wide knowledge of various theological traditions and movements such as references to the "docteurs de Rome," Franciscans, Dominicans, Post-reformation Lutherans, such as Caspar Brochmand (1585-1652), George Calixt (1586-1656), Jesuits, Weslyans, Socinians, Arminians, Remonstrant, and most noted are "Pelagians" (*les Pélagiens*), and semi-Pelagians ("ancient and modern").<sup>69</sup> In addition, mention is made of the various ecumenical councils, such as Laodicea (363-364), Vienne (1311-12), which Mabille mistakenly wrote as Bienne – a reminder of his home country,<sup>70</sup> Constance (1414-1418), Trent (1545-1563), and the Reformed Synod of Dordrecht (1618-19).

The *Dogmatique* attests to Patristic, Medieval, Roman Catholic and Protestant theology with an orientation to Augustine, and specific attention to the doctrine of justification – a theological subject reappraised during the era of the sixteenth-century Reformation, which Roman Catholic understanding was dexterously defended by Bellarmine. The attention, then, differs from the allegedly central predestinarian theory of Reformed theology, and could be explained to the position of nineteenth-century Protestantism in France within a profoundly Roman Catholic society, as well as the Huguenot descent of some students of the PEMS and its director, Casalis.

Of greater importance, is the writer's quotation of the Latin phrase which Mabille attributed to Martin Luther in the chapter on justification.

[T]he article by which the church stands or falls; For other Christians, it [justification] is the basis of Christianity, the principal bulwark of the Christian religion (*Articulus stantis, & cadentis Ecclesiae; Christianorum peculum, Christianismi basis, religionis Christianae propugnaculum*)

However, the informed reader observes immediately that Mabille cited verbatim but partially from Turretin's *Institute of Elenctic Theology (Institutio Theologiae Elencticae)*.<sup>71</sup> Mabille subsequently followed in structure and theological content Turretin exactly in eight of the ten *quaestiones* in the chapter *On justification*, excluding the two last questions on the time and certainty or assurance of this doctrine.<sup>72</sup> The exposition of 55 pages or

<sup>65</sup> Adriaan C. Neele, *Petrus van Maastricht (1630-1706): Reformed Orthodoxy: Method and Piety* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 141-170.

<sup>66</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 90, 108, 414 (2x), 468, 587 (*De correptione et gratia*); 90 (*De dono perseverantiae*); 410, 412 (*De Gratia Christi...*); 414 (*De praedestinatione sanctorum*).

<sup>67</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 22, 114, 115, 481, 482, 494, 508, 515, 537, 565, 567, 581 (Bellarmine); 428, 437, 481, 482, 515, 537, 565 (*De Justificatione*).

<sup>68</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 442 (2x, *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione*); 91 (*Inst. lib. II, ch. 22*).

<sup>69</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 13, 406, 428, 431, 432, 481, 495, 497, 508, 511, 515, 526, 531, 536, 542, 547, 581 (docteurs de Rome); 22 (Franciscans, Dominicans), 24 (Brochmand); 23 (Calixt); 112, 506, 562, 565 (Jesuits); 565, 569 (Weslyans); 434, 435, 450, 511, 515, 536, 562 (Socinians); 589 (Arminians); 443, 536 (Remonstrants); 14, 21, 23, 34, 108, 109, 111, 114, 415, 450, 562, 565 (Pélagiens, semi-Pelagians).

<sup>70</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 406, "Dans le Concile des Bienne (sous Clément V)..."

<sup>71</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 492. Cf. Francis Turretin, *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* (Geneva: Samuelem De Tournes, 1688), XVI.1 (De Justificatione), 691, "Lutherus dicitur *Articulus stantis, & cadentis Ecclesiae*; aliis Christianorum peculum, & Christianismi basis non abs re vocatur, praecipuumque Religionis Christianae propugnaculum, quo adulterato vel subverso impossibile est puritatem doctrinae in aliis locis retinere."

<sup>72</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 493, 1<sup>e</sup> question, Du sens du mot Justifier. Cf. Turretin, *Institutio*, XVI.1, 691, An verbum Justificandi; *Dogmatique*, 503, 2<sup>e</sup> question, La cause de la justification. Cf. *Institutio*, XVI.2, 695, An causa Justificatione; *Dogmatique*, 511, 3<sup>e</sup> question. De la justice imputée de Jésus-Christ. Cf. *Institutio*, XVI.3, 705, An Justitia & Obedientia Christi nobis imputata; Mabille,

10% of the entire notebook, furthermore, include identical primary source references found in Turretin's *Institutio* and section on the same doctrine. On the one hand, the finding may temper any possible enthusiasm about the various sources Mabille utilised and lead to a more modest but noteworthy remark: Turretin's work is characterised by opposing Roman Catholic teaching, polemically against Bellarmine, and mediated sources theology of the Patristic and Medieval era – a distinct feature of many *systema* of the Post-reformation Reformed period.<sup>73</sup> On the other hand, Turretin's work may have been instrumental in the training of the PEMS missionaries for Christian apologetics. Finally, however, all these source references, *via* Turretin's *Institutio* or not, are found outside the section of Mabille's notebook, *On the work of Redemption* (*De L'Œvre de la Rédemption*). In the 234-page treatment of this teaching, 40% of the entire *Dogmatique*, Mabille does not refer to any primary source, with one exception: Edwards of eighteenth-century New England.<sup>74</sup>

While not apparent in his lifetime, Edwards's expectant view of the eschaton, though not accepted commonly, served for the commencement of the modern missions movement.<sup>75</sup> In 1784, English pastors Andrew Fuller (1754–1815) and William Carey (1761–1834) gained access to *A humble attempt* and read it carefully in the task of taking the gospel to the ends of the earth. As McClymond and McDermott note: "Carey used the *Humble attempt* to discount the contention that certain prophecies had to be fulfilled before the heathen could be converted."<sup>76</sup> Combined with Edwards's *Life of David Brainerd* (1749) and *Freedom of the will*, Fuller and Carey found in Edwards a "grandfather" of modern missions. From those in England and America who read Edwards came the London Missionary Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, the Scottish Missionary Society, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Less known is that Edwards was not unfamiliar in early nineteenth-century France. The preface of the 1823 French translation of *Humble Attempt* (*L'union dans la prière pour la propagation de l'Evangile: abrégé d'un humble essai*) contains an introduction to his writings and asserts a historical awareness of the Scottish revival of the 1880s, influential to the rise of mission work and missionary societies, but also stated:

Thus the plan of union in prayer, so strongly recommended by President Edwards is pretty much adopted by the Christian world. But there are probably too many reasons to awaken among the faithful zeal for this important duty of prayer, and, to this end, the editor choosing the most essential parts of the Essay of Edwards, the reduced to one dimension, it would hope, will reach a greater number of readers. Happy if these pages could engage millions of Christians in France to unite to present to God fervent prayers for the propagation of the Gospel and mission success!<sup>77</sup>

If this publication aimed at the promotion of revival, another translation of Edwards's work in 1838, *The life of David Brainerd* (*Quelques réflexions sur la vie du missionnaire Brainerd*) – cited by Mabille in a letter to his wife, Adèle Casalis (1840–1923),<sup>78</sup> may have aimed for a result of revival: missionary work. Brainerd, according

<sup>73</sup> *Dogmatique*, 522, 4<sup>e</sup> question, La justification consiste-t-elle seulement dans la rémission des péchés. Cf. *Institutio*, XVI.4, 716, An Justificatio consistat tantum in remissione peccatorum; *Dogmatique*, 525, 5<sup>e</sup> question, la rémission des péchés consiste-t-elle... Cf. Cf. *Institutio*, XVI.5, 720, An remissione peccatorum consit...; *Dogmatique*, 533, 6<sup>e</sup> question, De L'adoption. Cf. *Institutio*, XVI.5, 727, Quit sit adoptio quae nobis in justificatione datur; *Dogmatique*, 535, 7<sup>e</sup> question. De la justification par la foi. Cf. *Institutio*, XVI.7, 731, An fides nos justificet propriè & per se; *Dogmatique*, 546, 8<sup>ème</sup> question, Est-ce-la la foi seule qui justifie. Cf. *Institutio*, XVI.8, 738, An sola fides justificet.

<sup>74</sup> See for example, J. Polyander, A. Rivetus, A. Walaeus, A. Thysius, *Synopsis purioris theologiae* (Leiden: J. & D. Elsevier, 1625); Samuel Maresius, *Collegium Theologicum sive Systema Breve Universæ Theologie* (Groningen: Franciscus Bronchorstius, 1656); Johannes Maccovius, *Loci communes theologici* (Franeker: Johannes Arcerius, 1650); Franciscus Burmannus, *Synopsis Theologiae & speciatim Oeconomia Fœderum Dei* (Utrecht: C. J. Noenardus, 1671); Simon Oomius, *Institutiones Theologiae Practicæ* (Samuel Haringhouk, 1676); Johannes Hoornbeek, *Theologiae practicæ* (Frankfurt: Ernst Claudium Bailliar, 1680); Johannes Cloppenburgh, *Theologica Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam: Gerardus Borstius, 1684); William Ames, *Marrow of Sacred Divinity* (London: Edwards Griffin, 1642); Andreas Essenius, *Compendium theologiae dogmaticum* (Utrecht: Meinardus à Dreunen, 1669); Petrus van Mastricht, *Theoretico-practica theologia: qua, per capita theologica, pars dogmatica, elenchitica et practica, perpetua sumbibasei conjugantur; praecedunt in usum operis, paraleipomena, seu sceloton de optima concionandi methodo* (Utrecht: Thomae Appels, 1699); Bénédict Pictet, *Theologia Christiana, ex puris ss. literarum fontibus hausta in usum non eorum modo, qui ss. theologiae operam navant, sed & omnium qui deum & res divinas cognoscendi flagrant desiderio* (Geneva: Cramer et Perachon, 1696); Ibid., *Medulla theologiae christiana didacticæ et elenchiticae*, Genève, 1711See also Eugène de Budé, *Vie de Bénédict Pictet, théologien Genevois, 1655-1724* (Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1874); Olivier Fatio "Bénédict Pictet plus humain", *C'est la faute à Voltaire, c'est la faute à Rousseau* (Genève: Droz, 1997).

<sup>75</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 147–381.

<sup>76</sup> In this paragraph is followed, Jason Duesing, *Seven Summits Worth Climbing in Church History*, <http://www.theologicalmatters.com/index.php/2013/04/11/seven-summits-worth-climbing-in-church-history-jonathan-edwards>, accessed August 14, 2013.

<sup>77</sup> Michael J. McClymond and Gerald R. McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 565.

<sup>78</sup> Jonathan Edwards, *L'union dans la prière pour la propagation de l'Evangile: abrégé d'un humble essai* (Paris: H. Servier, Libraire, Rue de l'Oratoire no. 6, 1823).

<sup>79</sup> Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, 83, "as Brainerd says somewhere, we shall never think it enough to live at the rate of ordinary Christians." Cf. WJE 7:495, "don't think it enough to live at the rate of common Christians!"

to the preface, “ought to be an example followed by the evangelical churches.”<sup>79</sup> Other works of Edwards, such as the *Doctrine of original sin defended*, cited in *Evangelical Magazine (Magasin évangélique)*, and *Freedom of the will* – familiar to Roman Catholics such as Abbé Grégoire (1750-1831) were known.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, according to French biographer L.G. Michaud, William Gordon (1729-1807) translated an abridge version of Edwards’s *Religious affections* in French together with “some sermons, and two pamphlets.”<sup>81</sup> The French familiarity with these writings was for some “the celebrated Edwards,”<sup>82</sup> and for others, such as the French historian, L.M Chaudon, Northampton’s pastor was a “Savvy metaphysician but a rigid Calvinist” (Savant métaphysicien, mais rigide calviniste) whose thought on the doctrine of necessity – worked out Samuel Hopkins – was as heretical.<sup>83</sup>

### **Doctrine of salvation**

Although Mabille may have been familiar with Edwards’s works, the major section on soteriology of the *Dogmatique*, the discussion on the so-called *ordo salutis*, is preceded by an extensive discussion on the history of the work of redemption. God is committed, “to deliver out of the fallen human race a people to himself to the praise of his glory by his grace in Christ. Mabille, wrote: “we have to see what he had to do, in time, to accomplish this deliverance”.<sup>84</sup> Here, he underlined “dans le temps,” and noted distinguished marked times or periods throughout the redemptive history. It is at this point that Mabille placed the footnote to refer to Edwards: “See president Edwards: [Who] we [will] follow almost entirely in this study.” The question wherein was Edwards followed? arises. Did the footnote only refer to the text sentence, or did it refer to the paragraph or even a larger section?

A closer look at this section of the notebook reveals that the 204 pages preceding the treatment of *Des effets personnels de la Redemption*,<sup>85</sup> are divided into three major parts dealing with the history of the work of redemption, namely “From the fall to the incarnation of Christ;” “The time of Christ’s humiliation;” and “From Christ’s resurrection to the end of the world.”<sup>86</sup> This is a chronological presentation of the redemptive drama; the first period is subdivided into six epochs or periods which deal with divine redemptive activity during the time: “From the fall to the flood;” the first epoch, followed by “From the flood to the calling of Abraham;” “From the calling of Abraham to Moses;” “From Moses to David;” “From David to the Babylonian captivity;” and “From the Babylonian captivity to the coming of Christ.”<sup>87</sup> The second part concerning the era of Christ’s humiliation contains, besides a historic-doctrinal exposition of the centrality of Christ’s salvific work, a contemporary practical application which encourages the readers to trust in Christ for salvation.<sup>88</sup> In the third period the author moves from the time of Christ and Constantine to the era of the sixteenth-century Reformation and the “present state”, and concludes with an eschatological dimension which deals with the future Millennium and Kingdom of God.<sup>89</sup> The three-partite and its sub-parts of redemptive history, treated at length in Mabille’s *Dogmatique*, correspond identically with Edwards’s *A history of the work of redemption* – a posthumously publication by John Erskine in Edinburgh in 1774. This major treatise resulted from an ambitious series of 30 sermons, preached in 1739, casting a broad vision of salvific history. Human history from Adam’s fall to the final judgment was organised into distinct phases. Here, Edwards, though certainly unique in his time, may have relied on others before him, such as Cocceius and Mastricht – the latter partially presented theology in the form

<sup>79</sup> Jonathan Edwards, *Quelques réflexions sur la vie du missionnaire Brainerd* (Lausanne: M. Ducloux, 1838), 4.

<sup>80</sup> *Magasin évangélique* (Geneve: Emile Guers fils, 1821) 4:285; Henri-Baptiste Grégoire, *Histoire des sectes religieuses* (Paris: Baudouin Frères éditeurs, 1829) 5: 237

<sup>81</sup> Joseph Fr. Michaud, Louis Gabriel Michaud, *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne...* (Paris: L.G. Michaud, 1816) 18:133

<sup>82</sup> Jonathan Edwards, *Quelques réflexions sur la vie du missionnaire Brainerd*, 4.

<sup>83</sup> Louis M. Chaudon et al. (eds.), *Dictionnaire universel, historique, critique et bibliographique ...*(Paris: De Mame Frères, 1810), VI:172. See also, Henri Grégoire, *Histoire des sectes religieuses: qui, depuis le commencement du ...*(Paris: np, 1814), I:87 ff.

<sup>84</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 146, “...de sa volonté à la louange de la gloire de sa grce: il nous reste à voir ce qu'il a du faire, dans le temps, pour accomplir cette délivrance.”

<sup>85</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 381. The page contains the following title (sub) headings, *Des effets personnels de la Redemption; Des Bienfaits de Christ; De la vocation et de la foi.*

<sup>86</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 163-251 (*Depuis la chute de l’homme jusqu'à l’incarnation de Jésus-Christ*), 251-288 (*De l’incarnation du Christ à sa résurrection*), 288-381 (*De la résurrection de Christ jusqu’à la consummation du siècle*).

<sup>87</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 165-175 (I<sup>e</sup> Epoque. *De la chute au Déluge*), 175-181 (II<sup>e</sup> Epoque. *Du Déluge à l’appel d’Abraham*), 181-190 (III<sup>e</sup> Epoque. *D’Abraham à Moïse*), 191-209 (IV<sup>e</sup> Epoque. *De Moïse à David*), 209-229 (V<sup>e</sup> Epoque. *De David à captivité de Babylone*), 229-246 (VI<sup>e</sup> et dernière Epoque. *De la captivité de Babylone à la venue du Christ*)

<sup>88</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 252-288. This part is entitled by Mabille as “epoch” instead of “period.” The application is primarily found in the paragraph titled *Quelques observations sur cette 2<sup>e</sup> période* (286-288).

<sup>89</sup> Mabille, *Dogmatique*, 288-381, 302-308 (1<sup>e</sup> Époque. *De la résurrection de Christ à la destruction de Jérusalem*), 309-315 (2<sup>e</sup> Époque. *De la destruction de Jérusalem au règne de Constantin*), 315-317 (3<sup>e</sup> Époque. *De Constantin au commencement de l’Antichrist ou de l’homme de péché*), 317-323 (4<sup>e</sup> Époque. *De l’Antichrist à la Réformation*), 323-328 (5<sup>e</sup> Époque. *De la Réformation jusqu'à nos jours*), 328-337 (6<sup>e</sup> Époque. *Du temps présent à la ruine de l’Antichrist*), 337-344 (7<sup>e</sup> et dernière Époque. *Depuis l'avènement de Jésus-Christ jusqu'à la fin*), 344-351 (*Du Millénium*), 352-359 (*Du Royaume de Christ*), 366-381 (*Les derniers jugements de Dieu*).

of a historical narrative that corresponded with Edwards's outline of redemptive history.<sup>90</sup> Contrary to what one may expect of a Post-reformation Reformed *systema*, Maastricht's work lacks a chapter entitled “eschatology”; instead, the last chapter is on the dispensations of the covenant of grace (*De Dispensatione Foederis Gratiae*) – a grand narrative from the creation accounts to the author's own time. Maastricht moves in three major sections from the dispensation under the patriarchs and Moses to Christ ending with a treatment of the dispensation of eternity. In the first section, he is concerned with the propagation, theology and heresies of the covenant of grace in the era from Adam to Noah to Abraham to Moses,<sup>91</sup> followed by the discussion on the progress and regress of this covenant during the period of Moses to David; David to the Babylonian captivity;<sup>92</sup> and the latter to the coming of Christ. In the largest part of the section on the dispensation of Christ, Maastricht blends theology, sacred and world history, typology and shadows, confessions and creeds, heresies, persecutions, schisms, the rise and fall of the antichrist, and Roman Catholic and Islamic theology into one continuing expanding narrative.<sup>93</sup> Maastricht's view on theology and history, or the development of the covenant of grace, is based on the work of redemption. He noted that the exposition of the dispensation of redemptive history rests on and extends the discussion of the personal appropriation of the work of redemption.<sup>94</sup> In other words, the work of redemption, for Maastricht, has two intertwined dimensions: historical and personal – an understanding Edwards adhered to in his major treatise on the subject Mabille also followed.

Edwards's interest in Post-reformation Reformed theology is best exemplified in a letter of 1742 to a ministerial colleague, Joseph Bellamy:

As to the books you speak of: Maastricht is sometimes in one volume, a very thick, large quarto; sometimes in two quarto volumes. I believe it could not be had new under eight or ten pounds. Turretin is in three volumes in quarto, and would probably be about the same price. They are both excellent. Turretin is on polemical divinity; on the Five Points, and all other controversial points; and is much larger in these than Maastricht; and is better for one that desires only to be thoroughly versed in controversies. But take Maastricht for divinity in general, doctrine, practice, and controversy; or as an universal system of divinity and it is much better than Turretin or any other book in the world, excepting the Bible, in my opinion.<sup>95</sup>

Thus Mabille's use of Edwards *HWR* coincided that both were appreciative of Turretin, and paid attention to a form of salvation history as proposed by Maastricht.

Furthermore, Edwards's exposition of the redemptive drama through history might have been appealing to the students at the PEMS Mission House. Edwards showed deep acquaintance with the history of the church in France attesting that:

The Protestant church of France was great part of the glory of the Reformation. But now it is far otherwise; this church is all broken to pieces and scattered,<sup>96</sup>... in some respects perhaps more than any other, has been a scene of dreadful cruelties suffered by the Protestants there.<sup>97</sup>

However, Edwards added, “the church will be revived” – something that the Protestants in France, and those attending the PEMS Mission House in particular, may have understood in their time since the Concordat of 1802, the rise of the Protestant church, and the founding of a Protestant mission society, theological faculty and religious book enterprise. In addition, Edwards's work on the redemption history, and particularly the section which concerns missionary and mission endeavours, might also have been inspiring. He clearly demonstrated a global interest in the propagation of the gospel considering his attention to China, East Indies, and South America. However, he expected of Africa not only to:

<sup>90</sup> Petrus van Maastricht, *Theoretico-practica theologia. Qua, per singula capita theologica, pars exegetica, dogmatica, elenchica & practica, perpetua successione conjugantur*. (Utrecht: Thomas Appels, 1699) VIII: 863-1102.

<sup>91</sup> Maastricht, *Theoretico-practica theologia*, VIII.1.xi, 66, ‘Primum ergo, epochae patriarchalis curriculum...; Ibid., xx, 875: ‘Secundò hīc consideranda venit series Patriarcharum, [note] sub quā Ecclesia fuit per hoc curriculum. In hac primus est Noachus’; Ibid., xxii, 879: ‘Tertium curriculum periodi patriarchalis, profluit ab Abraham ad Mosis nativitate’.

<sup>92</sup> Maastricht, *Theoretico-practica theologia*, VIII.2.xxvi, 908: ‘Secundum ergo epochae Mosaicae curriculum, à Davide pergit usque ad captivitatem babilonicam’.

<sup>93</sup> Maastricht, *Theoretico-practica theologia*, VIII.2.xxv, 906 (on theology), “Contemplati sumus statum Theologiae & Religionis”; Ibid., VIII.3.xliii, 1051 (on history), “Quartum impetum in Theologiam reformatam, faciunt Jesuitae, ut iam de universo papismo seu Antichristianismo”; Ibid., VIII.2.xxvii, 918 (on Roman Catholic theology), “De quibus videri potest Greg. Nazianzenus Orat. Cont. Iulianum, & Virgilii Aeneid. XI. item Plinius lib. VII. cap. 2.”

<sup>94</sup> Maastricht, *Theoretico-practica theologia*, V.1.i, 389, “Foedus gratiae pandemus in prima promissione, protoplastis peccatoribus... quae prostat Gen. III. 15.”

<sup>95</sup> WJE 16:217.

<sup>96</sup> WJE 9:437. Cf. Jonathan Edwards, *Histoire de l'oeuvre de la Redemption* (Toulouse: Société des Livres Religieux, 1854), chapitre V, De la Réformation a nos jours, 351.

<sup>97</sup> WJE 9:428. Cf. Edwards, *Histoire de l'oeuvre de la Redemption*, chapitre V, De la Réformation a nos jours, 343.

be enlightened with glorious light, and delivered from all their darkness, and shall become a civil, Christian and an understanding and holy people,<sup>98</sup>

– and in that order, but also

shall be full of light and knowledge. Great knowledge shall prevail everywhere. It may be hoped that then many of [them] will be divines, and that excellent books will be published in Africa – and not only very learned men, but others that are more ordinary men, shall then be very knowing in religion.<sup>99</sup>

Last not but least, Edwards laid out a holistic vision for missionary work of which the gospel proclamation coincide with:

set[ing] up schools among them, and a printing press to print Bibles and other books for their instruction in their own language.<sup>100</sup>

Mabille, however, would exceptionally and exemplarily work out Edwards's vision at Morija.

The inquiry how Edwards's important work became an integral part of the thought of Mabille's *Dogmatique* may be answered in two ways: first, the *Société des Livres Religieux* at Toulouse, which was part of the evangelical network of *Le Réveil* and nineteenth-century French Protestantism, and publisher of many evangelical works including the Anglican JC Ryle (1816-1900), the Baptist preacher, C.H. Spurgeon (1834-1892), and re-publisher of Bénédict Pictet works.<sup>101</sup> In 1854 this religious book society released a translation of Edwards's work, *Histoire de l'œuvre de la Rédemption*.<sup>102</sup> It was distributed in Paris at three locations, including the library of Mr. J Cherbuliez at Place d' Oratoire – a member of Frédéric Monod's congregation.<sup>103</sup> Secondly, Mabille and/or Casalis must have been familiar with the English edition of Edwards's work on redemption history as the notebook, at times, renders a French translation of the English work rather than following a French edition.

In conclusion, Mabille's presentation of systematic theology was positioned in a long-standing theological trajectory, though he merged seventeenth-century Reformed orthodoxy with eighteenth-century theology of a New England revivalist, Edwards. This combined content of theology can hardly be called “trifle weak”.

On Mabille's arrival at Morija in 1860, he continued what he was, a *moruti* – a teacher,<sup>104</sup> attending to theological education of the Basuto's, which included, among many things, producing a catechism, a translation of the Bible and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's progress* into Sesuto, and the publication of *The little light of Lesotho (Leselinyana la Lesotho)*.<sup>105</sup> Besides the Scripture, his theological training at the PEMS Mission House was foundational for this enterprise, as reflected in the notebook – a *Dogmatique*. On the other hand, the notebook

<sup>98</sup> WJE 9:472. Cf. Edwards, *Histoire de l'œuvre de la Redemption*, chapitre VII, Du temps présent à la chute d'antechrist, 387-388.

<sup>99</sup> WJE 9:480. Cf. Edwards, *Histoire de l'œuvre de la Redemption*, chapitre VIII, Succès de la rédemption, 396.

<sup>100</sup> WJE 9:435. Cf. Edwards, *Histoire de l'œuvre de la Redemption*, chapitre V, De la Reformation à nos jours, 349.

<sup>101</sup> The Société de Livres Religieux at Toulouse translated and published many English works, among them, Richard Baxter, *La Voix de Dieu qui appelle les pécheurs à la repentance et à la conversion*, 1835; Bénédict Pictet, *Prières pour tous les jours de la semaine et sur divers sujets*, 1857, 1863, 1868; John Charles Ryle, *Le Froment et la paille*, 1851; César Malan, *Les Braves et honnêtes petits garçons*, 1851; Ibid, *La Mort du fils ainé*, 1856; Jean-Frédéric Lobstein, *Tableaux évangéliques, dix méditations familiaires sur l'ordre de la grâce*, 1851; Henri Pyt, *La Loi établie par les principes et par les conséquences de la foi ; deux sermons sur Rom. III, 10*, 1853; Jonathan Edwards, *Histoire de l'œuvre de la Rédemption*, 1854; J. d'Espine, *Philosophie du plan du salut*, 1854; Adoniram Judson, *La Prédication sur le chemin, épisode de la vie d'un missionnaire*, 1855; Adolphe Monod, *Lucile, ou la Lecture de la Bible*, 1855; Ibid, *Pouvez-vous mourir tranquille ?*, 1855; Charles Haddon Spurgeon, *M'aimes-tu ? Sermon*, 1855; Philip Doddridge, *Les Commencemens et les progrès de la vraie piété*, 1859; Abraham Capadose, *Conversion de M. le docteur Capadose, israélite portugais*, 1859; Jean-Henri Merle d'Aubigné, *Le Réveil de l'Église contemporaine et les objections qu'on lui oppose, discours prononcé dans la séance d'ouverture de l'école de théologie*, le 3 Octobre 1859; Charles Hodge, *Pardon et sainteté*, 1862; Thomas Wilcox, *Le Miel découlant du rocher, qui est Christ, ou Briève exhortation adressée aux saints et aux pécheurs*, 1862 [trans; Honey out of the Rock]; John Bunyan, *Voyage du chrétien vers l'éternité bienheureuse : où l'on voit représentées sous diverses images les différents états, les progrès et l'heureuse fin d'une âme chrétienne qui cherche Dieu en Jésus-Christ*, 1866, reprint 1870, translated into Sesotho); Horatius Bonar, *Suivez l'agneau, ou Quelques conseils aux nouveaux convertis*, 1868. Noticeable is the rise of (re)prints of the works of Spurgeon in 1860's and John Calvin in the 1890's. See also, Jean-Yves Carluer, “Les enjeux culturels de l'évangélisation protestante au XIXe siècle. Les trois âges de la Société des Livres Religieux de Toulouse (1820-1891),” *Théologie évangélique* vol. 6, n° 3 (2007), 203-228; Ibid, “Un grand éditeur protestant du XIXe siècle: la Société des Livres Religieux de Toulouse,” *Annales du Midi*, (Octobre, 2004), 473-494; André Encrevé, “Protestants français au milieu du XIXe siècle, Genève,” *Labor et Fides* (1986); Alice W, *Histoire du Réveil, 1790-1849* (Paris: Les Bergers et les Mages, 1977).

<sup>102</sup> Jonathan Edwards, *Histoire de l'œuvre de la Redemption* (Toulouse: Société des Livres Religieux, 1854).

<sup>103</sup> See for the distribution at Lyon, Genève, London and Paris, Edwards, *Histoire de l'œuvre de la Redemption*, back page.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, 119.

<sup>105</sup> Ellenberger, *A Century of Mision Work in Basutoland*, 117.

shows the catholicity of theology rooted in Augustine, advanced by transatlantic and transcontinental theological thought, merging Reformed and revival theology which originates from seventeenth-century Post-reformation theology; eighteenth-century New England Congregationalism; and early nineteenth-century Scottish Presbyterianism and French Protestantism woven together as an ecumenical and evangelical theological enterprise by a son of the Swiss Free church, Mabille.

The examination of the notebook, offers a window into the theological intellectual formation of the French missionaries at the PEMS Mission House of the mid-nineteenth century. Although a university setting was absent, a classical and private theological education was adhered to – a training which lacked the liberal and public theological faculties of the time.<sup>106</sup> The initial attempt of uncovering a primary source at the Morija Archives, furthermore, may offer new venues for further studies including a more detailed comparison of Mabille's text of the *Dogmatique* and Edwards's *History of the Work of Redemption* work published in English and French, as literal transcription variances, paraphrasing, and interpreting Edwards's work have been noted. Finally, the reception of the eclectic, classical Christian theology appropriated in Mabille's *Dogmatique* is a study of continuity and discontinuity of the theological formation of the missionaries and their work in Basutoland. In conclusion, further research concerning the context and content of systematic theology in the training of nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries, such as attested by Wallmann's *Dogmatik* and Mabille's *Dogmatique* may advance the understanding of the enterprise of education of these Christian missionaries and the transmission and reception of theological education on the mission field.

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<sup>106</sup> Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the nineteenth-century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 1, “a general history of nineteenth-century Protestant theology has not yet appeared.”

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