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Exchanges in Scotland, the Netherlands, and America: The reception of the *theoretico-practica theologia* and a history of the work of redemption

ABSTRACT

This article explores the theological connections between the Netherlands, Scotland and early America, relevant to academics, translations, publications, correspondence and cross-influences. It provides representative examples of these connections, traces the development and reception of two works that crossed the Atlantic and were known in Scotland, and important for both fields of scholarship, that on Edwards and Post-reformation Reformed studies: The *theoretico-practica theologia* of Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706) and the *Work of the history of redemption* of Jonathan Edwards. The aim is to discover if any undercurrent is present before, during, and after the periods of eighteenth-century intercontinental correspondence and revivals. In particular, the question is raised whether there is a kinship present among these New England, Scottish and Dutch theologians, pastors and religious practitioners - and if so, what kind of kinship?

My friends, if your Ears be open, there are Three Things that you may hear this Day... I. To offer some Remarks concerning the Covenant in general... II. Offer some reasons of the doctrine: the great Mystery of the Covenant of Redemption, ... and III. Draw some Inferences for Application'.²

Thus wrote the eighteenth-century Scottish preacher Ralph Erskine (1685-1752), in a sermon entitled *Christ the people's covenant* - preached (1722), published in Scotland (1725, 1747), translated and published in Holland (1743), received by Jonathan Edwards in a package from Scotland (1749),³ and published at Boston (1770). This example touches on the extent of intercontinental correspondence, publications, translations, and covenant theology. More generally, it relates to two fields of scholarship: Edwards and Post-Reformation studies.

Since about 1980, both the studies on Jonathan Edwards and on the Post-Reformation era have seen a considerable increase and development.⁴ At the same time, however, while scholarship on Edwards seems to suffer from a growing lack of awareness and attention to the fact that eighteenth-century New England is somehow connected to the continental intellectual thought of the seventeenth century - an understanding that was present in the preceding

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2 Erskine, R. (1725) *Christ the people's covenant*, Edinburgh?: n.p., pp. 8, 5; *ibid.* (1770), Boston: William M'Alpine, p. 4.

3 Edwards, J., *The Works of Jonathan Edwards Online*, vol. 32, Letter B78 (Letter from Thomas Foxcroft, June 26, 1749).

4 On Edwards studies see, Minkema, K. P. (2004) 'Jonathan Edwards in the Twentieth Century', *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 47 (December), p. 662; On studies of the Post-Reformation era see, Muller, R. A. (2003) *Post-reformation Reformed Dogmatics: The Rise and Development of Reformed Orthodoxy, ca. 1520 to ca. 1725*, Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, vol. 4, pp. 479-545.

generation⁵ – scholarship on the Post-reformation Reformed period shows a tendency to focus primarily on European developments at the exclusion of early American history and theology, particular that of New England.⁶

In such broad contexts of Edwards and Post-Reformation studies, furthermore, one observes, that, on the one hand, the theologian of Northampton and Stockbridge, while residing at the frontiers of New England, was an active participant of a transatlantic community of evangelical exchanges.⁷ As such, attention has been given to Edwards and the Scottish connection, the possible influence of Edwards upon the Scottish clergy, and the other way around.⁸ The majority of these studies focus on the New England-Scotland epistolary exchanges, and the revivals, though it is recently proposed to include the Netherlands, and in particular the Dutch Great Awakening, in these appraisals.⁹ On the other hand, however, these studies lack the broader historical-theological background, and in particular, of the trajectories and continuities between the Dutch, Scottish and New England proponents of Reformed orthodoxy.

Therefore, this article, first, explores the connections between the Netherlands, Scotland and early America, relevant to academics, translations, publications, correspondence and theological cross-influences. Secondly, to provide representative examples of these connections, it traces the development and reception of two works that crossed the Atlantic and were known in Scotland, and important for both fields of scholarship, that on Edwards and Post-reformation Reformed studies: The *Theoretico-practica theologia* of Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706) and the *Work of the History of Redemption* of Jonathan Edwards. The aim is to discover if any undercurrent is present before, during, and after the periods of eighteenth-century

5 Miller, P. (1938) *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press; Morris, W. S. (1991) *The Young Jonathan Edwards. A Reconstruction*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press; rep. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2005; Elwood, D. J. (1960) *The Philosophical Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, New York: Columbia University Press; Fiering, N. (1981) *Jonathan Edwards's Moral Thought and Its British Context*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

6 Early American history and theology would fall within the divisions of the Post-reformation Reformed era proposed by Muller into early orthodoxy (c. 1565-1640), high orthodoxy (c. 1640-1725), and late orthodoxy (ca. 1725-1775). Muller, R. A. (2003), vol. 1, pp. 31-32.

7 Lesser, M. X. (2008) *Reading Jonathan Edwards: An Annotated Bibliography in Three Parts, 1729–2005*, Grand Rapids: William Eerdmans Co.

8 On the Edwards-Scotland connection, see Orr, J. (1903) 'Jonathan Edwards; His Influence in Scotland', *Congregationalist and Christian World (1901-1906)*, 88 (October), p. 467; Simonson, H. P. (1987) 'Jonathan Edwards and his Scottish Connections', *Journal of American Studies*, no. 3, vol. 21, pp. 353-376. On Edwards' influence on the Scottish clergy, see Durden, S. (1976) 'A Study of the First Evangelical Magazines, 1740–1748', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27 (July), pp. 255-275; O'Brien, S. (1986) 'A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network, 1735-1755', *The American Historical Review*, 91 (October), no. 4, 811-832. On other networks from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, see Vaudry, R. W. (2003) *Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection*, Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press. Smith, J. E. (ed.) (1950) *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 2, Religious Affections*, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 466, n. 2: 'There are some interesting parallels between the work of the Scottish evangelical ministers of the period and the activities of Jonathan Edwards in New England'.

9 On correspondence, see Mitchell, C. W. (2003) 'Jonathan Edwards's Scottish Connection', in Kling, D. W., and Sweeney, D. A. (eds.) (2003) *Jonathan Edwards at Home and Abroad: Historical Memories, Cultural Movements, Global Horizons*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, pp. 222-247. On revivals, see Fawcett, A. (1971) *The Cambuslang Revival. The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century*, London: The Banner of Truth Trust. And on the Dutch *Nadere Reformatie*, see van Lieburg, F. (2008) 'Interpreting the Dutch Great Awakening (1749-1755)', *Church History*, 77 (June), no.2, pp. 319-336, which argues that the Dutch revival both is rooted in a Dutch confessional context and connected to events in the Anglo-Saxon world.

intercontinental correspondence and revivals. In particular, is there a kinship present among these New England, Scottish and Dutch theologians, pastors and religious practitioners – and if so, what kind of kinship?

In the first part of this contribution I will thus focus on the context of the completion of the *Theoretico-practica theologia* (henceforth *TPT*), presented within the academic context of Mastricht's stay at Utrecht from 1676 to 1706: the university, colleagues, correspondence and students, particularly as they relate to Scotland and New England, as well as the reception of the *TPT*. In the second part, I place the reception of the *Work of the History of Redemption* (henceforth *HWR*) in the Dutch context of 1776, and review its structure and content in light of the *TPT*, and conclude with some final remarks.

1. THE THEORETICO-PRACTICA THEOLOGIA: CONTEXT AND RECEPTION

The University of Utrecht in the seventeenth century had grown from a humble beginning in 1636 to a prestigious and internationally acclaimed academy by the time of the death of its chancellor and chair of theology, Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676). For more than forty years Voetius had led the Academy with the motto of his inaugural address of 1636, *Scientia cum pietate conjugenda* ('science [or academics] joined with piety'). The faculty of theology was recognised throughout Europe as the apex of Protestant scholasticism and orthodoxy. Voetius' formative influence, through his *disputationis* on Reformed theology, was widely known and long-remembered, as attested in a letter of 1748 by Thomas Gillespie (1708-74) to Jonathan Edwards.¹⁰ Voetius' colleagues Johannes Hoornbeeck (1617-66) and Andreas Essenius (1618-77) have long been regarded as standing in his shadow as one of the foremost advocates of the *praxis pietatis* of Reformed theology. However, their major works were much admired internationally throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century. New England pastors such as Edwards, and physicians such as Samuel Woodward (1750-1835), read the *Summa controversiarum religionis* of Hoornbeeck, and Essenius' systematic theology, the *Compendium theologiae dogmaticum*, became the standard textbook at the divinity school of the University of Edinburgh in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and formative for a generation of Scottish divinity students, Ralph Erskine (1685-1752) and Thomas Boston (1676-1732) among them.¹¹ Essenius' appointment in 1654 at the Utrecht academy was due to Samuel Rutherford's (1600-61) turning down the chair of the faculty of theology. The senate of the university, the Reformed

10 Printed in Smith, J. E. (ed.) (1959), p. 497: '(what if I remember right *Voetius* terms *obsessio*, and one in that situation *obsessus*)'.

11 For Edwards on Hoornbeeck, see Smith, J. E. (ed.) (1959), pp. 301, 471: 'magistri Menachem Rakanatensis, Sect. Bereschit, ex Midrasch Tehillim, citante Hoornebeckio contra Judæos Lib. 4. Cap. 2. p. 354' (the editor's footnote incorrectly identifies him as Anthony Hornbeck rather than Johannes Hoornbeeck). Woodward owned a copy of the second edition (1658) of Hoornbeeck (1653), *Summa controversiarum religionis: cum infidelibus, haereticis, schismaticis: id est Gentilibus, Iudaeis, Muhammedanis, Papistis, Anabaptistis, Enthusiasticis & Libertinis, Socinianis, Remonstrantibus, Lutheranis, Brownistis, Graecis* (Utrecht: Johannes à Waesberge, owned by G. Williams, 1709, Samuel Woodward 'ex dono Dr. Russell', and A. Holmes, 1817 (private collection); Woodward, a graduate of Yale, is probably the Connecticut doctor from Torrington, who served also as Speaker of the Connecticut House of Representatives. On the influence of Essenius' (1669) *Compendium theologiae dogmaticum*, Utrecht: Meinardi à Dreunen, see van Harten, P. H. (1986) *De Prediking van Ebenezer en Ralph Erskine. Evangelieverkondiging in het spanningsveld van verkiezing en belofte* ('s-Gravenhage: Boekencentrum, p. 51; and Boston, T. (1776) *Memoirs of the Life, Time, and Writings of the Reverend and Learned Thomas Boston*, Edinburgh: A. Murray, p. 19: 'A few of us, newly entered to the school of divinity, were taught for a time Riissenius's compend, in the professor's [George Campbell] chamber. Publicly in the hall he taught Essenius's compend'.

church, and city council of Utrecht, had tried, during seven months of intense correspondence between Aberdeen and Utrecht, to persuade the Scottish theologian of St. Andrews to come to the Utrecht Academy. Even the Scottish church of Rotterdam consulted with Rutherford's brother, James Rutherford, sergeant of the Scottish garrison based in Holland, in support of the request of the Academy.¹² However, Rutherford stated in a letter to the senate his surprise that the Academy invited him, as there was already an 'eminent theologian' in Utrecht, namely, Essenius. Shortly thereafter, both Voetius and Essenius passed away and Mastricht was called from the University of Duisburg, Germany, to succeed Voetius in the chair of theology.

Mastricht was not unfamiliar with the Utrecht Academy. In 1647, while he came from Cologne to be treated in Utrecht for his crippled foot,¹³ he stayed there for the study of theology under Voetius and Hoornbeeck, the latter his former pastor and catechism teacher at the Reformed and international refugee church at Cologne. Mastricht received a thorough education: didactic-dogmatic theology, which included the *loci communes* as presented in the Leiden *Synopsis purioris theologiae*; an introduction to the *Summa Theologia* of Thomas Aquinas; and an acquaintance with the scholastic *disputationes* of Voetius' Saturday morning teachings. The study programme was a result of Voetius' 1644 publication, *Exercitia et bibliotheca studiosi theologae*, a comprehensive 700-page introduction to theological literature and a five-year programme of theology. In summary, Mastricht received a scholastic methodological schooling, including the knowledge of the medieval scholastic definitions and distinctions, whereby theology must be known and practiced.¹⁴

Before his graduation in 1652 Mastricht, as commonly was done at the time, visited other universities for study, among them Leiden University, where he probably studied under the great covenant theologian Johannes Cocceius (1603-69), and at the universities of Heidelberg and Oxford. Following his graduation he returned to Germany to take up a vicariate at Xanten, Cleve, followed by a five-year pastorate in Glückstadt in the north of Germany on the Denmark border. In Glückstadt, an international transfer point between the Netherlands, Scotland, eastern Germany and the Baltic states, he finished his first major theological treatise, *De Prodromus*.¹⁵ This work shows already the contour of Mastricht's fourfold and integral approach to theology: exegesis, doctrine, elenctic and praxis. Following Glückstadt he served between 1662 and 1677 at the universities of Frankfurt an der Oder and Duisburg, respectively as professor of Hebrew, and Hebrew and philosophy. While at Frankfurt he published a method of preaching,¹⁶ which later became the introductory disputation to his major theological work, the *TPT*, and in Duisburg his major philosophical work *De Gangraena*,¹⁷ a work widely acclaimed, not only by the Reformed church and academy but also by Lutheran and Roman Catholic theologians.¹⁸ Furthermore, at

12 Kernkamp, G. W. (ed.) (1938) *Acta et Decreta Senatus Vroedschapsresolutiën en andere bescheiden betreffende de Utrechtsche Academie*, Utrecht: Broekhoff N.V., vol. 1, pp. 262-271.

13 The Dutch word for 'foot' is *voet*. The name Voetius is the Latinised form for Voet.

14 G.W. Kernkamp (1936) *De Utrechtsche Universiteit 1637-1936*, Utrecht: A. Oosterhoek's Uitgevers Maatschappij, vol. 1, p. 233; Muller, R. A. (2003) *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 110-6. Voetius, G. (1736) 'Reedenvoeringe van de Nuttigheit der Akademien en Schoolen, mitsgaders der Wetenschappen en Konsten', in le Long, I. (1736) *Hondert-Jaarige Jubel-Gedachtenisse der Academie van Utrecht*, Utrecht: M. Visch.

15 Van Mastricht, P. (1666) *Theologiae didactico-elenctico-practicæ Prodromus tribus speciminibus*, Amsterdam: Johannes van Someren.

16 Van Mastricht, P. (166?) *Methodus Concionandi*, Frankfurt an der Oder: M. Hübner.

17 Van Mastricht, P. (1677) *Novitatum Cartesianarum Gangraena, Nobiliores plerasque Corporis Theologici Partes arrodens et exedens. Seu Theologia Cartesiana detecta*, Amsterdam: Jansson.

18 See Neele, A. C. (2009) *Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706). Reformed Orthodoxy: Method and Piety*,

Duisburg he commenced in 1676 with *disputationis* on the doctrine of God, which he continued without interruption upon his arrival at the Utrecht Academy in 1677.¹⁹ In Utrecht followed a flow of publications with a wide range of theological topics, such as the nature of theology, Roman Catholic teachings, the work of redemption and the assurance of salvation.²⁰ His work, in the form of disputations, treatises and other publications culminated ultimately in 1699 in his *magnum opus*, the *Theoretico-practica theologia* – a work completed amidst his daily work with his colleagues, correspondence and students.

In 1679, while Maastricht concentrated his teaching on dogmatics, ethics, and church history, the Dutch theologian Herman Witsius (1636-1708) was appointed as professor of theology. Witsius had earned recent fame with his publication, *De œconomia fœderum Dei cum hominibus* (*On the Economy of the Covenant of God with Man*) – an influential work that attempted to reconcile the reigning orthodoxy and covenant theology. Witsius' theological works were greatly appreciated by various Scottish theologians, among them Donald Fraser of Kennoway, translator of Witsius' work *Exercitationes in Symbolum* (*On the Apostles' Creed*), and Thomas Bell of the Relief Church, who, upon advice of Edwards' major correspondent John Erskine D.D. (1720-1803), translated Witsius' *Animadversiones irenicæ* (*Considerations for peace*).²¹ In New England, it was in particular Edwards who also approvingly cited multiple works of Maastricht's colleague, including, *On the Economy of the Covenant*, the *Apostles' Creed*, and *Miscellanea Sacra*, in his writings such as 'Notes on Scriptures', the 'Miscellanies', the 'Blank Bible', and 'Subjects of Inquiry'.²²

In addition, there was for some time an ongoing scholarly correspondence between Harvard

Leiden, Boston: Brill, pp. 42-3.

19 Van Maastricht, P. (1677) *Theologiæ Theoretico-Practicæ disputatio quinta, De Existentiâ Et Cognitione Dei*, Wilhelmus Mercamp, Duisburg: Franc. Sas.; *ibid.* (1677) *De omnisufficientia Dei, pars prior Theologiæ theoretico-practicæ disputatio sexta* Theodorus Groen, Utrecht: Meinardus à Dreunen; *ibid.* (1677) *Theologiæ theoretico-practicæ disputatio septima De essentia, nominibus et attributis Dei in genere, Pars 2*, Balduinus Drywegen, Utrecht: Meinardus à Dreunen.

20 van Maastricht, P. (1678) *Disputationum practicarum prima de certitudine salutis ejusque natura, Johannes Kamerling*, Utrecht: Meinardus à Dreunen; *idem.* (1679) *Disputationum practicarum tertia de certitudine salutis, eique opposita præsumptione seu securitate carnali, pars prima*, David de Volder, Utrecht: Meinardus à Dreunen; *idem.*, (1680) *Ad illust. episcopi Condomensis expositionem doctrinæ, quam vocat, Catholicæ, diatribe prima de consilio auctoris*, Rutgerus van Bommel, Utrecht: Meinardus à Dreunen.

21 Witsius, H. (1681) *Exercitationes sacrae in symbolum quod apostolorum dicitur et in orationem dominicam*, Franeker: n.p., and (1677) *De œconomia fœderum Dei cum hominibus, libri quattuor*, Leeuwarden, Eelcke Symons Nauta Symons for Jacob Hagenaar. Most of these theologians belonged to the Secession churches such as the Burghers, John Brown of Witburn, John Dick, James Peddie as well as anti-Burghers such as Thomas M' Crie, and the Scottish Methodist James Hervey and John Colquhoun of the Church of Scotland. On the influence of Witsius' covenant theology in Scotland see, Van Genderen, J. (1953) *Herman Witsius, bijdrage tot de kennis der Gereformeerde theologie, s-Gravenhage: Guido de Bres, pp. 236-40.*

22 For references by Edwards to Witsius' works, see, Edwards, J., 'Notes on Scripture' no. 416, in Stein, S. J. (ed.) (1998) *Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 15, 'Notes on Scripture'*, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 466; 'Miscellanies' no. 1309, in Sweeney, D. A. (ed.) (2004) *Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 23, The 'Miscellanies'*, New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 148, 269-72; entries on Acts 16:27-28, I Cor. 14:13, and I Tim. 1:9, in Stein, S. J. (ed.) (2006), *Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 24, The 'Blank Bible'*, New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 24:981, 1056, 1125; and 'Subjects of Inquiry', in *Works of Jonathan Edwards Online*, vol. 28.

College of New England and the faculty of theology at University of Utrecht. One topic of exchange concerned the relationship of native American dialects and the Hebrew language, which Maastricht's colleague, the Christian Hebraist Johannes van Leusden (1624-99), rejected. Furthermore, Maastricht was involved in correspondence regarding a gift of Harvard College, John Eliot's 1663 edition of the Algonquin Bible. Moreover, Maastricht wrote approbations, required by Dutch Reformed church order, for the Dutch translation of works by Thomas Shepard of New England, the *Sound Believer*, and probably *The Sincere Convert*.²³

The international character of the Utrecht academy was constituted in part by the significant presence of Scottish students.²⁴ The harbour city of Rotterdam was a centre of commerce and religious communication, through the Scottish Kirk, between Scotland and Holland since the early 1700s, and served as a safe haven for Scottish exiles preceding the Glorious Revolution of 1688, among them Thomas Halyburton (1674-1712), later divinity professor at St. Andrews.²⁵ Scottish students studied at the Dutch universities at Leiden, primarily for law, and at Utrecht, principally for theology, though transfers between these academies and cooperative studies regularly occurred.

With respect to Leiden, the defence of Maastricht's student, James Hog (c. 1658-1734), a graduate of Edinburgh University, is illustrative.²⁶ He defended on 20 March 1680 a disputation about the assurance of salvation²⁷ in the presence of other Scottish students Thomas Hog, Jacob Kirton, Donald Cargill, and John Dickson, who all studied at Leiden. In addition, this defence was attended by two Reformed ministers. One of them, Jacobus Borstius (1612-80) of Rotterdam, was known for supporting the Scottish nonconformists in that city and advancing the Scottish cause by translating and publishing several Scottish works into Dutch, among them the *History of the Churches of Scotland* as well as works by Rutherford, whose *Examen Arminianismi* was printed

23 On Native American dialects and Hebrew, see Kernkamp, G. W. (ed.) (1938), vol. 2, p. 51; and on the Eliot Bible, see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 90: "Eodem die," biedt prof. Leusden de Senaat aan "biblia in Americanam linguam translata" en aan de bibliotheek der Utrechtsche Academie ten geschenke aangeboden, met deze inscriptie: "Bibliothecam celeberrimæ apud Ultrajectionos Academiæ hæc sacrorum Bibliorum versione Indica donat Crescentium Matherus, Collegii Harvardini apud Cantabrigienses in Nova Anglia præses pro tempore." Leusden zal namens de Senaat bedanken en Mather "suis conatibus properum rei Christianæ in iis oris successum" toewensen." The Dutch translations of Shepard were published as Shepard, T. (1686) *De Gezonde Geloovige*, Amsterdam: Johannes Boekholt; *ibid.* (1683) *De Ware Bekeering*, Utrecht: Willem Clerck.

24 Kernkamp, G. W. (1936), vol. 1, p. 180. Though we know that the Utrecht senate reprimanded in 1693 seventy to eighty Scottish students – approximately twenty percent of the total number of students – of not attending the Anglican Church services, the *Album Studiosorum* of 1689-1693 shows about a quarter of that number present. See also (1836) *Album studiosorum Academiae rheno-traiectinæ MDCXXXVI-MDCCCLXXXVI*, Utrecht: J. Beijers en J. van Boekhoven; du Rieu, W. N. (1875) *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavæ MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV*, The Hague: n.p.

25 Young, D. (ed.) (1825) *Memoirs of the Rev. Thomas Halyburton*, Edinburgh: W. Whyte & Co., p. 79.

26 James Hog graduated from Edinburgh University with an M. A. in 1677, and then studied theology in the Netherlands in the 1680s.

27 Van Maastricht, P. (1680) *Disputationum practicarum tertia, de certitudine salutis, eique opposita præsumptione seu securitate carnali*, pars secunda, Jacobus Hoog, Utrecht: Meinardus à Dreunen. James Hog was 'exalted' in the student records of Utrecht from Hog to (Jacobus) Hoog. He was considered as 'one of the holiest ministers in the kingdom [of England and Scotland] having published or recommended the celebrated and edifying tract of the Cromwellian age, called *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*'. Cf.

Fisher, E. (12th ed., 1726) *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, with notes by Thomas Boston, Edinburgh[?]: n.p.; rep. Seoul, New York: Westminster Publishing House, p. 344; Hog, J. (1947), *Wet en Evangelie*, trans. E. Kuyk, Amsterdam: Kuyk, p. 5.

first at Utrecht for the benefit of the Scottish students of divinity there.²⁸ The other minister was Jacobus Koelman (1632–95), a prolific theologian and translator of multiple works of Scottish theologians into Dutch, such those of the Glasgow professor of philosophy and preacher Hugh Binning (1627–53), David Dickson (1583-1662), professor of divinity of the College of Glasgow and University of Edinburgh William Guthrie (1620-1665), and also Rutherford. In addition, Koelman introduced the translations of the works of Thomas Hooker of New England to the Dutch religious public.²⁹

Another example showing that students alternated between universities is Colonel John Erskine, the grandfather of John Erskine D.D., Edwards' primary correspondent in Scotland. Colonel Erskine studied law at the Utrecht Academy in 1686-7 but also attended lectures of theology by Maastricht and visited him several times with fellow Scottish students.³⁰ He notes, for example, in his diary on 7 June 1686, 'I was a while with Professor van Maastricht: he was very kind and I do take him to have true religion'. However, most of Maastricht's Scottish students did not recall him, an exception being James Hog, who appealed to his teacher during the *Marrow* controversy.³¹

In this academic and international setting at Utrecht, replete with Scottish students and New England correspondence, Maastricht completed his life-long project, a work written over a period of thirty years. Commenced at Glückstadt and finished at Utrecht in 1699, his *magnum opus*, the *Theoretico-practica theologia*, became a major and influential work of Protestant scholastic and Reformed orthodoxy of *theoretico-practica* theology.³² He could not have envisioned the

28 For an extensive discussion on the Scottish churches in the Netherlands, see Sprunger, K. L. (1982)

Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Leiden: Brill, pp. 388-390, 431-439. And on Borstius, see van der Haar, J. ed.) (1985) 'Jacobus Bortius', in *Het Blijvende Woord*, Dordrecht: Gereformeerde Bijbelstichting,

p. 35. Rutherford, S. (1668) *Examen Arminianismi conscriptum et discipulis dictatum a doctissimo clarissimoque viro*, Utrecht: n. p. This work received the imprimatur of Voetius and Essenius. See Ryken, P. G. (1999) 'Scottish Reformed Scholasticism', in Trueman, C. R., and Clark, P. G. (eds) (1999), *Protestant Scholasticism, Essays in Reassessment*, Carlisle: Paternoster Press, p. 202.

29 Binning, H. (1678) *Etteylke gronden van de christelycke religie, klaerlyck geopent, en sonderling tot de practijck gebracht*, trans. Jacobus Koelman, Vlissingen: Abraham van Laren, and Amsterdam: Mercy Brouwning; *ibid.* (1680) *De ware gemeenschap met God en de geloovigen*, Vlissingen: Abraham van Laren; *ibid.* (1695) *Des zondaars heyligdom, of: ontdekking van de heerlijke privilegiën, aangeboden aan de boetvaardige en gelovige, onder 't Evangelium, in veertig predikatiën over Rom. VIII. vers 1-15*, trans. Jacobus Koelman, Utrecht: Wed. van Willem Klerck. On Koelman, see Krull, A. F. (1901) *Jacobus Koelman. Eene Kerkhistorische Studie*, Sneek: J. Campen. On Dickson, see Dikson, D. (1686) *Het Euangelium van Mattheus, kortelyk verklaart*, trans. Jacobus Koelman, Utrecht: W. Clerck. On Guthrie, see Guthrie, W. (1672) *Des Christens Groot Interest*, trans. Jacobus Koelman, Vlissingen: Abraham van Laren. And on Rutherford, see Rutherford, S. (1674) *De brieven van Samuel Rhetorfort*, trans. Jacobus Koelman, Vlissingen: Abraham van Laren; *ibid.* (1687) *De laatste brieven van Samuel Rhetorfort*, trans. Jacobus Koelman, Amsterdam: Johannes Boekholt. Koelma's translations of Hooker included Hooker, T. (1678) *De Waare Ziels-Vernedering, en Heilzame Wanhoop*, trans. Jacobus Koelman, Amsterdam: J. Wasteliërs; *ibid.* (1681) *De arme twijfelende Christen, genadert to Christus*, Amsterdam: J. Wasteliërs.

30 Macleod, W. (ed.) (1893) *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock*, Edinburgh: University Press for the Scottish Historical Society, pp. 192; 184 (April 6, 1686): 'I was seeing professor Van Maastricht, with Mr. Melvel and Pardiven. He gave a large testimony of the church of Scotland, particular to the church discipline, affirming to be the purest that has been since the apostles days; p. 219, (January 4, 1687): 'I was seeing Professor Van Maastricht who was most civil and kind to me, and useful company'.

31 A Scottish ecclesiastical dispute occasioned by Hog's republication, upon the recommendation of Thomas Boston, in 1718 of *The Marrow of Modern Divinity* by Edwards Fisher.

32 Van Maastricht, P. (1699) *Theoretico-practica theologia: qua, per singula capita theologica, pars*

favourable reception of his *TPT* throughout Europe, and that the work particularly would be recognised and approvingly cited by eighteenth-century theologians in Scotland and even New England.

Edwards, 'America's theologian', wrote in 1746 to his student and colleague Joseph Bellamy (1719-90): 'But take Mastricht for divinity in general, doctrine, practice and controversy; or as a universal system of divinity; and it is much better than Turretin or any other book in the world, excepting the Bible, in my opinion'.³³ Though this quote may be the most cited but least explained appraisal of Mastricht in Edwards scholarship, one has to realise that Edwards reiterated a common understanding among the New England theologians. Take, for instance, the generous praise of Cotton Mather (1663-1728) in his *Manuductio ad Ministerium*: 'But after all there is nothing that I can with so much Plerophorie Recommend unto you, as a Mastricht, his *Theologia Theoretico-practica*... I know not that the Sun has ever shone upon an Humane Composure that is equal to it'. Mather had written an earlier and grandiose opinion on the *TPT* to a Dutch merchant at Albany, New York: 'The world has never yet seen so valuable a system of divinity... 'Tis orthodox, 'tis concise, 'tis complete. In one word it is everything'.³⁴

Mather's commendation of Mastricht's *TPT* was echoed from Boston into the valleys of New England, throughout the eighteenth century and later, by Benjamin Colman (1673-1747), Joseph Secombe (1706-60), the anonymous editor of the only English translation of a chapter from the *TPT*, entitled *On Regeneration*, and Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803).³⁵ Mastricht's work of theology was probably used by Bellamy,³⁶ and extensively read. Edwards' 'Account Book' records that he lent the work repeatedly, and Edward Amasa Park (1808-1900), at the close of the nineteenth century, notes that Jonathan Edwards Jr. (1745-1801) read the *TPT* seven times.³⁷ Edwards, Sr.,

exegetica, dogmatica, elenchica et practica, perpetua successione conjugantur; accedunt historia ecclesiastica, plena quidem, sed compendiosa, idea theologiae moralis, hypotyposis theologiae asceticae etc proin opus quasi novum. Ed. nova, priori multo emendatior et plus quam tertia parte auctior; Utrecht: Thomas Appels.

33 For this letter, along with two other relevant letters by Edwards to Bellamy on 11 June 1747 and 9 Jan. 1749, see Claghorn, G. S. (ed.) (1998) *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 16, Letters and Personal Writings*, New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 216-7, 223, 266.

34 Mather, C. (1726) *Manuductio ad Ministerium. Directions for a candidate of the ministry: Wherein, first, a right foundation is laid for his future improvement; and, then, rules are offered for such a management of his academical & preparatory studies; and thereupon, for such a conduct after his appearance in the world; as may render him a skilful and useful minister of the Gospel*, Boston: Thomas Hancock, p. 85; Silverman, K. (1971) *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, p. 306.

35 Colman, B. (1736) *A Dissertation on the Image of God wherein Man was created*, Boston: S. Kneeland and T. Green, pp. 27, 28; Hopkins, S. (1793) *The system of doctrines: contained in divine revelation, explained and defended: showing their consistence and connection with each other: to which is added, A treatise on the millennium*, Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, p. 769; Secombe, J. (1742) *Some Occasional Thoughts on the Influence of the Spirit with Seasonable Cautions against Mistakes and Abuses*, Boston: S. Kneeland and T. Green, the title page of which has the epigram: 'oportet intelligentem, phantasmata speculari. Van Mastricht'; van Mastricht, P. (n.d. [1770?]) *A Treatise on Regeneration. Extracted from his System of Divinity, called Theologia theoretico-practica; and faithfully translated into English; With an APPENDIX containing Extracts from many celebrated Divines of the reformed Church, upon the same Subject*, New Haven: Thomas and Samuel Green, p. v.

36 Bellamy, J. (1853) *The Works of Joseph Bellamy, D.D.* Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, vol. 1, p. xiv, n. *. Tyron Edwards (1809-1894) notes that Edwards, Sr. lent a copy of Mastricht's work to Bellamy. See Haykin, M. A. G. (ed.) (2007) *A Sweet Flame. Piety in the Letters of Jonathan Edwards*, Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, p. 85, n. 2.

37 Thuesen, P. J. (ed.) (2008), *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 26, Catalogues of Reading*, New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 339, 340; Park, E. A. (1852) 'New England Theology', *Bibliotheca*

however, referring in his 'Catalogue' of Reading to the *TPT* as a 'Body of Divinity',³⁸ frequently concurs throughout his corpus with the *TPT*. These connections, as I have argued elsewhere,³⁹ are related to an Edwardsean understanding of the covenant of grace.

In respect to Scotland, the 'Marrowmen', such as Ralph Erskine (1685-1752) and John Brown of Haddington (1722-1787), were favourable towards Mastricht's thought on the doctrine of the covenant, probably influenced by Mastricht's student James Hog – a Scottish interest that continued even into the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ The influence of Mastricht upon Ralph Erskine's intellectual thought is significant. In his theological debate with James Robe on the question, 'Is an imaginary idea of Christ's human body helpful to faith or is it idolatrous?',⁴¹ Erskine wrote an extensive treatise entitled *Faith no Fancy*. In it he relies profoundly on three Dutch philosophers to demonstrate his epistemology, namely, Mastricht's colleague at Utrecht, Gerard de Vries; his Leiden colleague Adriaan Heereboord, whose book on logic was used in Edwards' days at Yale College; and the 'learned' Mastricht, both the *TPT* and *De Gangraena*.⁴² More explicit is Erskine's theological thought, as explicated in his sermons, with a strong emphasis on the covenant, such as *Christ the people's covenant*, a sermon published in Scotland, Holland and New England. In this communion sermon, Erskine, like Mastricht, moves from the biblical text explication to the formulation of doctrine, followed by a practical application. Though such sermon structure is not that unusual in the Reformed theological trajectory, Erskine espouses a view similar to Mastricht's rather unique, in the context of 17th-century Reformed dogmatics, exposition of the work of redemption, the covenant of grace, both throughout history and with an application for

Sacra, 9 (January), pp. 170-220. See also Sweeney, D. A., and Guelzo, A. C. (eds) (2006) *The New England Theology: From Jonathan Edwards to Edwards Amasa Park*, Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, p. 261.

38 Thuesen (ed.) (2008), p. 152.

39 Neele, A. C. (2009) *Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706). Reformed Orthodoxy: Method and Piety*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, pp. 316-20.

40 On the Marrowmen, see Macleod, J. (1974) *Scottish Theology. In relation to Church History*, Edinburgh: Knox Press, p. 152. On Erskine, see Erskine, E. (1805) *Faith no fancy, or, A treatise of mental images: discovering the vain philosophy and vile divinity of a late pamphlet entitled [sic] Mr. Robe's fourth letter to Mr. Fisher; and showing that an imaginary idea of Christ as man (when supposed to belong to saving faith, whether in its act or object), imports nothing but ignorance, atheism, idolatry, great falsehood, and gross delusion*, Philadelphia: William M'Culloch, p. 31; Kennedy, J. (1979) *The Days of the Fathers in Ross-shire*, Inverness: Christian Focus Publications, p. 134: 'They [the Ross-shire fathers] had no difficulty in regarding the Sacrament of the Supper, as intended by the Lord, specially to seal something other and higher than that which is specially sealed by baptism. They called it, with Mastricht, 'sacramentum nutritionis'; and van Valen, L. J. (1982) *Gelijk de Dauw van Hermon*, Zwijndrecht: Het Anker, tweede druk, p. 476. On John Brown, see Brown, J. (2002) *The Systematic Theology*, introduced by Joel R. Beeke and Randall J. Pederson, Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, p. [j]. On Hog, see Hog, J. (c. 1710) *Aenmerking over de werking des H. Geests, en het onderscheyd tusschen de wet en 't evangelium, sijnde het korte sommier van sommige huys-oeffeningen over Gal. 3: 2*, trans. Jan Claus, n.p.; Lachman, D. C. (1988) *The Marrow Controversy*, Edinburgh: Rutherford House, pp. 125, 126. On the continuity of the covenant theology in Scotland, see Henderson, G. D. (1955) 'The Idea of the Covenant in Scotland', *The Evangelical Quarterly*, vol. 27, pp. 2-14, the central argument of which is that the term 'covenant' is a keyword for Scottish theological thought, both individually and communally.

41 La Shell, J. (1985) 'Imaginary Ideas of Christ: A Scottish-American Debate', Ph. D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, p. 109.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 149. For Edwards and Heereboord, see Anderson, W. A. (1970) *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 6, Scientific and Philosophical Writings*, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 13. For Erskine's use of Mastricht, see Erskine, R. (1805), pp. 240-41.

the believer.⁴³ Erskine exhorts that the God of the covenant is not forgetting Scotland throughout history, in particular the people of Dunfermline, 'with a view to the sealing of the covenant'.⁴⁴ Moreover, Erskine, like Mastricht, understands the sacrament of holy communion as a covenant renewal.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the reception of the TPT in Scotland attests that the Dutch theologians, among them Mastricht, exerted considerable influence on Scottish theology. As one scholar of Scottish religious history has noted, 'Covenant theology which had been imported from Holland, and was destined to occupy a prominent place in the orthodox school in Scotland'.⁴⁶ Thus far, we have seen that the context of the development of Mastricht's TPT shows continuing interaction with Scotland and New England, in correspondence, and among colleagues and students. Its reception was more positive in New England than in Scotland. Though Mastricht's work was acknowledged by three generations of eighteenth-century theologians and pastors in New England, it is in scholarship 'often mentioned but rarely explored'.⁴⁷

Mastricht's *magnum opus* consists of two parts: the first part comprises eight books, which could be described as systematic theology, or as Mastricht states, addressing the nature of faith.⁴⁸ The second major section concerns the character of obedience, presented as an outline of moral theology and *theologia ascetica*. These two parts, that of faith and obedience, reflect Mastricht's defining theology as the 'art of living to God', and in turn consist of two aspects: how one is made spiritually alive and, being alive, how one lives unto God (*Deo vivere*).⁴⁹ In regard to systematic theology, Mastricht appears to follow the division of the six Reformed *loci* of theology, with these significant differences: first, faith is not discussed in the context of soteriology but as a commencement of the discussion of theology proper. Secondly, each *locus* is presented in four parts: exegesis, doctrine, polemic and *praxis*. The formulation of doctrine and practice is a result of and is guarded, for Mastricht, by the exegesis of Scripture. Thirdly, and contrary to what one may expect of a Post-reformation Reformed *systema*, the work lacks a chapter entitled 'eschatology'; instead, the last chapter is called *De dispensatione foederis gratiae* ('On the dispensations of the covenant of grace'). This chapter consists of a grand narrative from the creation account to Mastricht's own time, and attests to a broad international and up-to-date interest in historical, philosophical, and theological publications.

Mastricht moves in four major sections from the dispensation under the patriarchs and

43 On Reformed sermon structure, see See, for example, Kimnach, W. H. (1992) *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 10, Sermons and Discourses, 1723-1729*, New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 28-36. For Mastricht on the work of redemption, see *TPT*, bk. V.1 (believer), and bk. VIII (history).

44 Erskine, R. (1725, 1770), p. 4: '[God] commends [Christ] for an able Saviour, that will through his work . . . not [be] forgetting Scotland'. See *TPT*, bk. VII.5, pp. 829-845; and Erskine, R. (1725, 1770), p. 4:

[There] is a company of people meeting in *Dunfermline*, about a communion-table'. See also pp. 15, 26.

45 Erskine, R. (1725, 1770), p. 56: 'consider, that you have a good claim and right to this covenant . . . you are welcome to it'.

46 Story, R. H. (ed.) (1890?), *The Church of Scotland, Past and Present*, London: William Mackenzie, p. 216.

47 Minkema, K. P. (ed.) (1997) *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 14, Sermons and Discourses, 1723-1729*, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 45: 'The influence of these two authors [Mastricht and Turretin] on JE is often mentioned but rarely explored. Their works included Turretin's *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* (3 vols., Geneva, 1680-83) and van Mastricht's *Theoretico-Practica Theologia* (Utrecht, 16[99])'.

48 *TPT*, Prologus, 1102: 'Fidei naturam, octo libris hactenus expeditimus'.

49 *Ibid.*, bk. I.1.i, p. 1: 'Theologia . . . est doctrina deo vivendi per Christum'. The definition of theology as bene vivendi is, according to Sprunger, the kernel of theology influenced by Peter Ramus (1515-1572).

Sprunger, K. L. (1966) 'Ames, Ramus, and the Method of Puritan Theology', *Harvard Theological Review*, 59 (April), pp. 148-51. On the trajectory of this definition, see Muller (2003), vol. 1, pp. 154-8.

Moses to Christ and ends with a treatment on 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.⁵⁰ In the second section, he enlarges the discussion by including sacred and world history as well as the progress and regress of this covenant during the period of Moses to David; David to the Babylonian captivity;⁵¹ and the latter to the coming of Christ. The third section, the dispensation of Christ, is the largest of the chapter, in which Mastricht 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 and continuing expanding narrative.⁵² However, in each section he notes explicitly the propagation or progress, renovation or renewal of the covenant of grace throughout the ages,⁵³ whereby his exposition of the dispensation of Christ coincide with an analysis of the Apocalypse chapter six and the dispensation of eternity with an exposition of the Apocalypse chapter seven to eleven. In particular, this section of Mastricht's exposition of the dispensations of the covenant of grace differed with a work of one of his students, Moses Lowman (c. 1680-1752), whose work *Paraphrase and Notes on the Revelation* became one of Edwards' major sources for both his 'Notes on the Apocalypse' and *An Humble Attempt*.⁵⁴

Mastricht's view on theology and history, or the development of the covenant of grace, is based on the work of redemption. He notes that the exposition of the dispensation of the covenant rests upon and extends his discussion of the application of the work of redemption, as expounded in the preceding book five, based on Genesis 3:15.⁵⁵

One should note, however, that the presentation of church history throughout several dispensations was not uncommon in Post-reformation Reformed theology, as seen in Frederick Spanheim (1632-1701), Mastricht's colleague at University, whose *Historica Ecclesiastica* Mastricht praises.⁵⁶ Further, to present the history of the church in relation to the covenant of grace was worked out to a great extent by Johannes Cocceius,⁵⁷ Mastricht's former teacher at Leiden University. In addition, the exposition of the Apocalypse in relation to church history

50 *TPT*, bk. VIII.1.xi, p. 866, 'Primum ergo, epochae patriarchalis curriculum...'; *ibid.*, xx, p. 875:

'Secundò hîc consideranda venit series Patriarcharum, [note] sub quâ Ecclesia fuit per hoc curriculum. In hac primus est Noachus'; *ibid.*, xxii, p. 879: 'Tertium curriculum periodi patriarchalis, [note] profuit ab Abrahamo ad Mosis nativitate'.

51 For example, *ibid.*, bk. VIII.2.xxvi, p. 908: 'Secundum ergo epochae Mosaicae curriculum, à Davide pergit usque ad captivitatem babilonicam'.

52 On theology, for example, see *ibid.*, bk. VIII.2.xxv, p. 906: 'Contemplati sumus statum Theologiae & Religionis'; on history, *ibid.*, bk. VIII.3.xliii, p. 1051: 'Quartum impetum in Theologiam reformatam, faciunt Iesuitae, ut iam de universo papismo seu Antichristianismo'; and on Roman Catholi theology, *ibid.*, bk. VIII.2.xxvii, p. 918: 'De quibus videri potest Greg. Nazianzenus Orat. Cont. Iulianum, & Virgilius Aeneid. XI. item Plinius lib. VII. cap. 2'.

53 On the progress and renewal of the covenant, see, for example, *ibid.*, bk. VIII.3.xxi, p. 962: 'Quantum ad Statum Ecclesiae, sub hac aetate; occurrunt penes eam (1) Propagatio Ecclesiae, talis ac tanta'; and *ibid.*, bk. VIII.2.xvii, p. 896, 'Primum ergo foedus, apud Sinai renovatum'.

54 Stein, S. J. (ed.) (1977), *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 5, Apocalyptic Writings*, New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 55-59. Lowman studied theology under Mastricht in 1698.

55 *TPT*, bk. V.1.i, p. 389: 'Foedus gratiae pandemus in prima promissione, protoplastis peccatoribus . . . quae prostat Gen. III. 15'.

56 *Ibid.*, praefatio; Spanhemii, F. (1689) *Summa historiae ecclesiasticae. A christo nato ad seculum XVI inchoatum. Praemittitur doctrina temporum, cum oratione de christianismo degenerare*, Leiden: Johannes Verbessel.

57 Cocceius, J (1665) *Summa Theologiae, Summa Doctrinae de Foedere et Testamento Dei*, Geneva: Sumptibus Samuelis Chouët; on the structure of Cocceius' covenant theology, see van Asselt, W. (2001) *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius (1603-1669)*, Leiden: Brill.

was also done by Maastricht's contemporary Wilhelmus à Brakel (1635-1711).⁵⁸ However, Maastricht stood apart in his time, in that he merged the history of the church and the covenant of grace with sacred and world history concurrently and in concert with the exposition on the Apocalypse:⁵⁹ an approach of which he writes, 'I had planned for long... a great work about the adventures of the Church'.⁶⁰

In summary, Maastricht's work contained a fairly strong and rather unique notion of the covenant of grace throughout history. This theological notion was a part of his overall system of *theoretico-practica* theology, whereby history was understood as theology. This Latin tome was translated into Dutch in 1749, prefaced by Cornelis van der Kemp (1702-72), pastor and professor of theology at Rotterdam: 'Here, the major parts of theology are brought together in a manner not seen before; why this book is called a universal system of divinity; 'tis called a treasure, a storehouse... for the perfection of the theologian'.⁶¹

2. THE HISTORY OF THE WORK OF REDEMPTION: CONTEXT AND RECEPTION

The entire translation of Maastricht's work took place between 1749 and 1753, which context is a part of the reception of the Dutch translation and publication in 1776 of Edwards' work, *The History of the Work of Redemption*.

First, the publication of Maastricht's work was accompanied in the period from 1740 to 1760 – corresponding to the New England and Scottish revivals – with translations of various Scottish authors such as Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, Thomas Halyburton, Josiah Smith, and Edwards' correspondent, James Robe (1688-1753).⁶²

Secondly, in addition to the publishers, three other persons were involved in this translation enterprise: Hugh Kennedy (1698–1764), the pastor of the Scottish church at Rotterdam, whose publications were critically received by Edwards; the translator Mr. Jan Ross, assumed to be a member of the Scottish church at Rotterdam; and the pastor and philosopher-theologian at Woubrugge, Alexander Comrie (1706-74), a Scot by birth, having as his catechism teacher Ralph Erskine and Thomas Boston (1676-1732), whose major works he translated into Dutch.⁶³ One

58 à Brakel, W. (1700) *Logike latreia, dat is, Redelyke godtsdienst, in welken de goddelyke waerheden des Genadeverbonds worden verklaert, tegen partyen beschermt, en tot de practyke aengedrongen. Als mede de bedeeelingen des verbonds in het O.T., ende in het N.T. ende de ontmoetingen der kerke in het N.T., vertoont in eene verklaringe der Openbaringe van Johannes*, Rotterdam: Reynier van Doesburgh.

59 *TPT*, praefatio: 'Adspersa est libro octavo, de dispensatione foederis gratiae per omnia Ecclesiae secula, historia Ecclesiastica, plena quidem'.

60 *Ibid.*: 'Occeperam dudum quasi pro commentario, in brevioris prioris editionis epitomen, opus satis copiosum de *Fatis Ecclesiae*'.

61 Van Maastricht, P. (1749-53) *Beschouwende en praktikale godgeleerdheit: waarin, door alle de godgeleerde hoofdstukken henen, het bybelverklarende, leerstellige, wederleggende, en praktikale deel door eenen onafgebroken schakel, onderscheidenlyk samengevoegt, voorgesteld word; hierby komt een volledig kort-begrip der kerklyke geschiedenis, een vertoog der zedelyke, en een schets der plichtvermenende godgeleerdheit, enz.; in het Latyn beschreven; naar den laatsten druk in het Nederduitsch vertaalt, benevens de lykrede van den vermaarden hoogleeraar Henricus Pontanus, over het afsterven van den hoogwaardigen aetheur; met eene voorrede van den heer Cornelius van der Kemp*, 4 vols., Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt; Utrecht: Jan Jacob van Poolsum, vol. 1, preface, p. 3.

62 The bibliography of translations of just these few authors is extensive, but instructive, and has not hitherto been fully enumerated. See the Appendix to the essay.

63 Kennedy, H. (1752) *A short account of the rise and continuing progress of a remarkable work of grace in the United Netherlands. In several letters from the Reverend Mr Hugh Kennedy ... to some of his correspondents in Scotland and at London. In the epistle to the reader, there are some seasonable observations*, London: printed for John Lewis; *ibid.* (1743) *A discourse concerning the nature, author,*

thing these publications have in common: a particular attention to the covenant of grace. In particular, the communion sermons aimed for a personal, and sometimes national, 'covenant renewal'.⁶⁴

Thirdly, these publications and Maastricht's translated works were widely read during the time of the Dutch Great Awakening, and in the same period approvingly cited by Edwards of Northampton,⁶⁵ whose account of David Brainerd appeared in 1756 in the Dutch language, also translated by Jan Ross but published at Utrecht.⁶⁶ The probable reason for this location of publication was the presence of Gisbertus Bonnet (1723-1803), the second successor of Maastricht at the University of Utrecht and correspondent of John Erskine, D. D., of Scotland.⁶⁷ At the very least, Bonnet was instrumental in another publication of Edwards, the *History of the Work of Redemption* in 1776, the structure and content of which does not deviate that much from Maastricht's discussion of the dispensations of the covenant of grace.

The *HWR* originated in 1739 as a series of sermons—or, more accurately, a single sermon delivered on thirty consecutive 'preaching occasions'. After Edwards' death, the sermon manuscripts remained for a while in the custody of Joseph Bellamy, who eventually passed them on to Jonathan Edwards, Jr. He transcribed them and sent them to John Erskine, D. D., in Scotland, where they were tailored into a 'continuing treatise' and published in Edinburgh for W. Gray in 1774.⁶⁸ John F. Wilson remarks, 'Erskine may never have known how relatively

means and manner of conversion. Prefixed to the Dutch translation of A faithful narrative of the extraordinary work of the spirit of God at Kilsyth, Written by J. Robe, Edinburgh: R. Fleming and A. Alison.

On Ross, see Nemansky, P. (1992) 'Jan Ross. Een achttiende-eeuwse vertaler van Engelse piëtische lectuur', *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, vol. 16, no. 1 (voorjaar), pp. 43-53; *Geschiedenis van de Schotse Kerk te Rotterdam*, doopboek <http://www.scotsintchurch.com/sicarchives/INDEX>, accessed March 16, 2009; J. van Valen, personal communication, 14 March 2009. For Thomas Boston, see the Appendix to this essay. On Comrie, see Honig, A.G. (1892, 1991) *Alexander Comrie*, Utrecht: H. Honig; rep. Leiden: Groen en Zn.

64 See the Appendix to this article.

65 For references to Boston, see Claghorn, G. S. (ed.) (1998), pp. 235, 20:461; Stein, S. J. (ed.) (2006), p. 460; "Controversies" Notebook, in *Works of Jonathan Edwards Online* vol. 27, p. 44. To Ebenezer Erskine, see Smith, J. E. (ed.) (1959), p. 72; Hall, D. D. (ed.) (1994) *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 12, Ecclesiastical Writings*, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 330. To Ralph Erskine, Goen, C. C. (ed.) (1972), *Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 4, The Great Awakening*, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 538; Hall, D. D. (ed.) (1994), p. 330; Claghorn, G. S. (ed.) (1998), p. 662. To Thomas Halyburton, Chamberlain, A. (ed.) (2000), *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 18, The "Miscellanies", 601-832*, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 90. And to James Robe, Goen, C. C. (ed.) (1972), p. 535; Claghorn, G. S. (ed.) (1998), p. 105.

66 Edwards, J. (1756) *Historisch verhaal van het godvruchtig leven en den zaligen dood, van den eerwaarden heer David Brainerd, onlangs bedienaar des evangeliums en leeraar eener gemeente van christen indianen, te Nieuw-Jersey, alles getrokken uit zyn eigen dag-register, en andere byzondere schriften, welke tot zyn eigen gebruik waren opgesteld*, trans. Jan Ross, preface by G. v. Schuylenborgh, Utrecht: Jan Jacob van Poolsum.

67 This is another major network, not only between Scotland and the Netherlands, but between Utrecht and the Middle Colonies. G. v. Schuylenborgh was pastor near Utrecht, and was involved in translations of some works of Edwards and, during his study of theology at Utrecht University, provided lodging for Johannes Frelinghuysen, son of Theodorus Frelinghuysen, who was introduced by Schuylenborgh to his wife to be, Dina van den Bergh, who joined him to Newark. On Dina van den Bergh, see House, R. and Coakly, J. (eds) (1999) *Patterns and Portraits: Women in the History of the Reformed Church in America*, Grand Rapids: William Eerdmans, pp. 33-51.

68 Wilson, J. F. (ed.) (1989) *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 9, A History of the Work of Redemption*, New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 21-6.

unfinished and incomplete some sections of the Redemption Discourse actually were' – a remark that may also apply for the Dutch edition. Erskine, after acquiring the Dutch language for his correspondence, had in turn sent a copy to Bonnet at Utrecht,⁶⁹ where it was almost immediately translated by Engelbert Nooteboom into Dutch and published by the university printer Abraham van Paddenburg in 1776, prior to the first American edition of 1786. But more notably, the Dutch interest in New England theology continued in the eighteenth century after Edwards' death.

Edwards's sermons two to twelve, like Mastricht's first two major sections on the dispensation of the covenant of grace, moves from the fall to Noah to Abraham to Moses to David to the Babylonian captivity to the coming of Christ.⁷⁰ Here, not only in structure but also in content Edwards was firmly within his theological tradition by commencing the covenant of grace with Genesis 3:15, the *proto evangelium*. Mastricht not only begins with this text but he used it also as the Scriptural foundation for his entire exposition of the preceding chapter on *De Foedere Gratia*.⁷¹ Mastricht comments, although the 'form or the name is not yet present', this text contains 'all the material and essential parts of the covenant of grace'.⁷² Likewise, according to Edwards, Christ began his mediatorial work as soon as mankind fell, and the 'gospel was first revealed on earth, in these words, Genesis 3:15'.⁷³ Edwards calls this 'the first revelation of the covenant of grace'.⁷⁴ an echo of Mastricht, when he writes, 'immediately after the fall [was] established a covenant of grace'.⁷⁵

The next major section of Edwards' work, sermons fourteen to twenty-four focuses on Christ's incarnation to his own time: Mastricht collectively treats this period in his discussion on the dispensation under Christ. Both *TPT* and *HWR* show similarities in content about the time of Christ till the Protestant Reformation. Illustrative is the discussion on the Reformation, where both Mastricht and Edwards note the Roman Catholic opposition, specifically but not limited to the Council of Trent,⁷⁶ as well as wars⁷⁷ and persecutions.⁷⁸ Furthermore, both identify the rise of the Socinians and Arminians as hostile to Reformed teachings.⁷⁹ On the other hand, the success of the gospel shows for Mastricht and Edwards a reformation in doctrine and worship.⁸⁰

Finally, Mastricht has a separate discussion on the time to come, *de dispensatione sub aeternitate*, an application of the work of redemptive history that addresses the continuation of

69 Wellwood, H. M. (1818) *Account of the Life and Writings of John Erskine D.D.*, Edinburgh: George Ramsay & Co., p. 315: 'He had, for many years, carried on a correspondence with learned men on the Continent, with Professor Bonnet of Utrecht'.

70 Wilson, J. F. (ed.) (1989), pp. 532-3.

71 *TPT*, bk. V.1.i, pp. 389-409.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 389: 'Foedus gratiae pandemus in prima promissione, protoplastis peccatoribus . . . quae prostat Gen. III. 15'.

73 Wilson, J. F. (ed.) (1989), p. 132.

74 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

75 *TPT*, bk. V.1.i, p. 389: 'immediatè post violationem foederis operum'.

76 *Ibid.*, bk. VIII.3. xl, pp. 1048-9: 'Reformanda papalis, eadem fuit, quae aetatis nisi quod capita eius antichristiana . . . per Concilium Tridentinum'; Wilson, J. F. (ed.) (1989), pp. 424-5.

77 *TPT*, bk. VIII.3.xxxix, p. 1046: 'illinc quidem armis & atrocissimis persecutionibus'; Wilson, J. F. (ed.) (1989), p. 426.

78 *TPT*, bk. VIII.3.xliv, p. 1078: 'Agmen ciaudant persecutiones, indeque nata martyria, quae non minus quam schismata obstiterunt propagationi Ecclesiae'; Wilson, J. F. (ed.) (1989), p. 427.

79 *TPT*, bk. VIII.3.xliii, p. 1051: '*Tertium* impetum in Theologiam Reformatam fecerunt *Sociniani*'; *ibid.*, p. 1052, '*Sextum* insultum in Theologiam Reformatam, faciunt *Arminiani*'; Wilson, J. F. (ed.) (1989), p. 431.

80 *TPT*, bk. VIII.3.xl, p. 1045: 'institutaque Reformatione ad verbum Dei, doctrina ab erroribus, cultus ab idololatria & superstitione, regimen ecclesiasticum, à tyrannide Papali, vindicata fuerun'; Wilson, J. F. (ed.) (1989), pp. 432-3.

earth, heaven and hell.⁸¹ Edwards' sermons twenty-seven to thirty address also the eternal state of the church. More precisely, the seven steps pertaining to the last things, as formulated in the last four sermons of Edwards' redemption discourse, are similar to the seven steps Mastricht formulated in his chapter on the eternal dispensation.⁸² Coinciding with Mastricht's discussion of these seven steps, Mastricht provides an exposition of the seven trumpets of Revelation 8-11. On the seventh trumpet, for example, he comments that this woe is to the peace and happiness of the church and to the destruction of its enemies.⁸³ Edwards' understanding of this last trumpet in sermon twenty-four seems closer to Mastricht's understanding than to the exposition on the same by Mastricht's student Lowman.⁸⁴

Thus, Edwards, like Mastricht, divides the history of redemption into major sections, of which each is divided into dispensations, periods and *epochas*, though both understand these differentiations in the history of redemption as belonging to the same covenant of grace, which is the golden thread throughout the *HWR*, as it is in Mastricht's chapter on the dispensations of the covenant of grace. So central is this theological concept to Edwards' work that it is suggested⁸⁵ that one could almost substitute the title of, 'A History of Covenant of Grace' for *HWR*, as, *de historiae foederis gratiae*, an echo of Mastricht's *TPT* preface.

The Dutch readership, then, was not that unfamiliar with the structure and content of Edwards' work. For them, there was a continuity of theological thought, in particular, that of covenant theology. Antecedents were readily found in Mastricht's work, as well as in the immediate context of Edwards' Dutch edition of the Redemption Discourse.

Therefore, I conclude with three observations. First, the reading of Edwards' *HWR* should not be limited to the historical-theological context of England or New England, but should consider Mastricht's *TPT* as its background. As this major work was influential in the formation of eighteenth-century Scottish covenant theology, so the parallels in structure and content between book eight of the *TPT* and *HWR* may point to a marked influence. For Mastricht, the covenant of grace and eschatology are inseparable – a trajectory found in the redemption sermons of Edwards. Actually, for both Mastricht and Edwards, the progressive development of

81 Harry Stout examines the relationship between history and revival in Edwards' theology, and traces Edwards' tripartite discussion of history – the history of redemption on earth and the related history of heaven and hell – in Stein, S. J. (ed.) (2007) *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Edwards*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 125-43.

82 *Edwards*:

- (1) Christ's glorious appearance
- (2) The last trumpet & destruction of Antichrist
- (3) The church will be caught up
- (4) The righteousness of the church & judgment
- (5) Judgment of the righteous and wicked

Mastricht:

- Christ's glorious return
- Destruction of the Antichrist
- Resurrection of the dead
- The last judgment
- The acquittal of the church & condemnation of others
- Handing over the Kingdom & the end of ages
- Eternal life

(7) World on fire and eternal life
83 *TPT*, bk. VIII.4.iv-vii, pp. 1094-5.

84 On the last trumpet see, *ibid.*, bk. VIII.4.ii, p. 1092: 'Exsecutionem, sub buccinatione septem Angelorum, Penes quam narratur. . . .'; Wilson, J. F. (ed.) (1989), p. 496,502: 'that the last trumpet shall sound, and the dead raised, and the living changed'; See also Minkema, K. P. (ed.) (1994), p. 523, and Edwards' comments on Lowman, Wilson, J. F. (ed.) (1989), p. 252.

85 Bogue, C. W. (1975) *Jonathan Edwards and the Covenant of Grace*, Cherry Hill, NJ: Mack Publishing, p. 117.

the covenant of grace in history is teleological. The covenant of grace, according to Mastricht, is being directed toward an end or shaped by a purpose: the teleos of creation or the divine glory in the eternal dispensation. It may be, therefore, that the positive reception of the *TPT* in New England was a consistent presence in the development of New England theological thought. On the other hand, the reception of the *HWR* in Holland is not that surprising – which leads me to the next observation. Secondly, the exchanges between New England, Scotland and Holland took place between people of different denominational affiliations. Nevertheless, there was a latently present kinship, a theological kinship: that of covenant theology. Thirdly, as this essay suggests, the interaction between scholarship on Edwards and Post-reformation studies can open new ways of approaching the continuities and trajectories of historical and theological thought.

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- opus quasi novum*. Ed. nova, priori multo emendatior et plus quam tertia parte auctior, Utrecht: Thomas Appels.
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APPENDIX

A chronological bibliography of Dutch translations of religious works by Scottish authors, 1740-67

Thomas Boston

- (1741) *Eene beschouwing van het verbondt der genade, uit de heilige gedenkschriften: Waar in de onderhandelende personen, die dat verbondt hebben aangegaan, hoe en Twanneer het gemaakt zy, deszelfs deelen, zoo wel voorwaardelyk als beloovende, en de bestiering van het zelve, ieder afzonderlyk overwoogen worden*, trans. Alexander Comrie, preface by Hugh Kennedy, Leiden: Johannes Hasebroek; Amsterdam: Nicolaas Byl.
- (1742) *Des menschen natuur in deszelfs vier-voudige staat: Van eerste opregtigheit, geheele bederving, begonne herstelling, en voltrokke gelukzaligheid of ellende. Vertoond in verscheyde praktikale redenvoeringen*, trans. Abel van Keulen, en voltrokke Cornelius van Velzen, Leiden: Johannes Hasebroek, Amsterdam: Nicolaas Byl.
- (1752) *De kleine catechismus der kerken Jesu Christi in Engelandt Schotlandt en Yrlandt*, trans. Jan Ros, preface by Alexander Comrie, Groningen: Laurens Groenewolt.

Ebenezer Erskin

- (1754) *Godts naam verheerlykt in Christus, De zuchtingen der geloovigen onder hare beswaringen, De verhooging der geloovigen, en De koning gebonden op de galeryen*, trans. Jan Ross, preface by Theodorus van der Groe, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.

Ralph Erskine

- (1740) *De kragt der zonde, en hoe de wet de kragt is van dezelve, geopent en ontfouwt in verscheide predikation, gepredikt te Kinglassy den 31. July; als ook te Orwel den 7 en 8 Augustus 1727*, trans. Jan Ross, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.
- (1740) *De overeenstemminge der goddelyke eigenschappen, doorstralende in het werk der*

verlossinge, en in het zaligen van zondaren door Christus Jezus, zynde eene leerrede, gepredikt te Dunfermline den 29 September 1723, trans. Jan Ross, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.

(1740) *Het sterven aan de wet, en het leven naar het euangelium. Of Het sterven aan wettische gerechtigheit, en het leven volgens eene euangelische heiligkeit*, trans. Jan Ross, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.

(1742) *De zwangere belofte, en hare vrucht; of De kinderen der belofte voortgebracht en beschreven*, trans. Jan Ross, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.

(1743) *De groote vrage van den evangeliecatechismus: zynde de inhoud van verscheide predikationen over Matth. XXII: 42: En de predikatie van de Samaritaansche vrouwe aan de lieden van de stadt*, trans. Jan Ross, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.

(1743) *De verzekeringe des geloofs verklaart en toegepast: zynde de inhoud van verscheide predikationen over Hebr. X:19-22*, trans. Jan Ross, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.

(1746) *De gelukkige en groote vergaderinge der volkeren tot Schilo: zynde een verhandeling over Gen. XLIX: 10 voorgesteld in verscheide predikationen, op avondmaals-tyden, te Kinglassie, te Airth, en te Carnock*, trans. Jan Ross, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci

(1747) *Blyde boodtschap in zware tyden, over psalm XLVI*, trans. Jan Ross, preface by Theodorus van der Groe, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci; *ibid.* (1750) *Christus het verbondt des volks*, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.

(1752) *De trapwyze overwinninge, of de hemel allengkens gewonnen... een belovende en volbrengende Godt, de riviere des levens: voorgesteld, in verscheide predikationen, by gelegenheit van het H. Avondmaal*, trans. Jan Ross, preface by Theodorus van der Groe, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.

(1758) *Gevoelige tegenwoordigheit, over Gen. XXXV: 13. Kameren van veiligheid, in tyden van gevaar, over Jez. XXVI: 20, 21*, trans. Jan Ross, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.

(1758) *De groote bazuine des Evangeliums, over Jez. XXVII:13*, trans. Jan Ross, preface Theodorus van der Groe, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.

(1761) *Pleit-reden des geloofs op Godts woordt en verbond: Alles voorgesteld in verscheide predikationen, by de bediening des H. Avondmaals*, trans. Jan Ross, preface by Georgius Hogendorp, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.

(1762) *De wet van Godts huis*, trans. Jan Ross, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.

1763) *Den zondaar verheugd in Gods heiligdom, onder het geloovig gebruik maken van Christus, als de ware geestelyke spyzen der zielen: Zynde den inhoud van 10 uitmuntende leer-redenen, meest op Avondmaals tyden gedaan*, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Pieter Holsteyn.

(1767) *De bron van alle zegeningen, of Het grote schathuis geopent : beneffens de gevende liefde van Christus, en de aannemende eigenschap des geloofs. Zynde den inhoud van twee verhandelingen, de eerste over 2 Cor. V. 18. De tweede over Gal. II. 20*, trans. Jan Ross, Utrecht: J. van Schoonhoven, S. de Waal, G. van den Brink, Jzn.

Thomas Halyburton

(1745) *Gedenk-schriften, in zig behelzende het leven, de bekeeringe, en merkwaardige gevallen van... Begrepen in vier deelen. Waar by gevoegt is, een verhaal van zyn laatste woorden*, Rotterdam: by Hendrik van Pelt en Adrianus Douci.

(1747) *Het groot aanbelang der zaligheit: begrepen in drie deelen: in zich behelzende I. Eene ontdekkinge van des menschen staat en toestandt van nature, II. Des menschen herstellinge door het geloove in Christus, III. Des christens plicht*, voorrede Hugh Kennedy, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.

James Robe

(1743) *Geloofwaardig en kort verhaal van 't heerlyke werk Godts, geopenbaart in de overtuiging en bekeeringe van een groot getal zielen in de gemeente van Cambuslang, en in andere plaatsen van Schotlandt*, voorrede Hugh Kennedy, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, en Adrianus Douci.

(1743) *Nader en uitvoeriger verhaal van 't heerlyke en uitmuntende werk Godts; gewrogt in de bekeeringe van veele zielen in verscheidene gemeintens van Schotlandt, inzonderheit tot Kilsyth*, preface Hugh Kennedy, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, en Adrianus Douci.

(1743) [*Tweede*] *Nader en uitvoeriger verhaal van 't heerlyke en uitmuntende werk Godts, gewrogt in de bekeeringe van veele zielen in verscheidene gemeintens van Schotlandt, inzonderheit tot Kilsyth*, preface by Hugh Kennedy, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, en Adrianus Douci.

(1744) *Derde stukje of Vervolg wegens het Nader en uitvoeriger verhaal van 't heerlyke en uitmuntende werk Godts, gewrogt in de bekeeringe van veele zielen in verscheide gemeintens van Schotlandt, inzonderheit tot Kilsyth*, preface by Hugh Kennedy, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, en Adrianus Douci.

John Smith

(1751) *De uitmuntende levenswyze en predikdienst van den zeer vermaarden euangelie-prediker en reiziger George Whitefield: onpartydig voorgesteld en naar het leven afgemaakt in eene leerreden over Job XXXII. 17. Mitsgaders eenige geestelyke oeffeningen en bevindelyke aantekeningen van jufvrouw Ross, op den weg naar den hemel*, Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt, Adrianus Douci.

KEY WORDS

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TREFWOORDE

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