

# The Reception of Edwards's *A History of the Work of Redemption* in Nineteenth-century Basutoland

Adriaan C. Neele

Yale University

University of the Free State, South Africa

*adriaan.neele@yale.edu*

## Abstract

A recently discovered manuscript by the French missionary Adolph Mabile (1836-1894) in the Morija Archives, Lesotho, remedies the lack of attention of *A History of the Work of Redemption* (*HWR* hereafter), by Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) in the nineteenth century. This manuscript found its way from colonial America to Africa through French missionary endeavors in religious educational training (Paris) and teaching (Basutoland). Edwards's original aim, and the subsequent publication of 'outlines of a body of divinity', converged in nineteenth-century France, where the *HWR* was translated in the context of *Le Réveil* and taught in the course of systematic theology at the Paris Evangelical Mission Society Mission house, exemplified by Mabile's *Dogmatique*. Moreover, the appropriation of Edwards's *HWR* in the combined context of missions and religious education was extended in Basutoland, as seen in the *Katekisma*. The outline of the catechism may be due to Mabile's classical training and acquaintance with 'universal chronology' and Scripture, but it also reflected his intimate knowledge of Edwards's work. The reception of Edwards's exposition of redemptive history in the catechism of Basutoland thus resonates in part with Mabile's *Dogmatique*—a text transmission of Edwards's *Histoire*. The transmission of this text remained the same in structure, was shortened in content and modified over time, but continued as intended by Edwards: to show 'a work that God is carrying on from the fall of man to the end of the world'.

## Keywords

Jonathan Edwards – transmission of religion – Basutoland – French missions

*Voyez le président Edwards: Nous le suivons presque entièrement dans cette recherche*—('See president Edwards: [Who] we [will] follow almost entirely in this study') thus the French missionary to Basutoland Adolphe Mabile (1836-1894) in his *Dogmatique*, a recently discovered manuscript in the Morija Archives, Lesotho.<sup>1</sup> The reference to Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) in a systematic theology of a missionary of the *Société des Missions Évangéliques chez les peuples non-chrétiens à Paris* (Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, hereafter PEMS) is puzzling, but also offers an intriguing prospect. The appraisal of Edwards in relation to missiology has gained increasing interest since the late 1980s (Minkema 2004). However, this interest has largely concentrated on the American and British world (Elsbee 1928; Kellaway 1961; Beaver 1962, 1966; Löwe 1962; Rooy 1965; Moore 1999; Nicols 2003; Marsden 2003; McDermott 2005; McFadden 2008; Davies, 1996, 2006), and on English-speaking missionaries and missionary societies such as the London Missionary Society (LMS) and Baptist Missionary Society (Payne 1941, 1943), giving primary attention to Edwards's *Humble Attempt* and the *Life of David Brainerd* (*United Prayer* 1814; *United and Extraordinary Prayer* 1815, 1816, 1820; Johnson and Lesser 2003; *An Account of the Life of Mr David Brainerd* 1798; *An Extract of the Life of the Late Rev. David Brainerd* 1768). There is little attention given to the reception of Edwards's *A History of the Work of Redemption* in the history of missions in general (except Davies, 1988; Wilson 1989; Bebbington 2003; Pigginn 2003), and the reception of Edwards's works in the history of the French missionary movement of the nineteenth century in particular. Mabile's reference to Edwards not only necessitates a reassessment of Edwards's reception in the history of mission, but may also contribute to a more-comprehensive understanding of the appropriation and transmission of Edwards's thought in mission history.

Mabile's work in Basutoland, today's Lesotho, illustrates the use of Edwards's work in an educational and mission context. In regard to the former, the reference to Edwards in Mabile's systematic theology contributed to writing a catechism in the Sesotho language modeled after Edwards's work. As for the latter, Mabile's training and teaching contributed to the transmission of Edwards's thought in a mission context.

### Edwards's HWR and Nineteenth-century Missions

Edwards's discourse on redemptive history was preached as a series of thirty sermons at Northampton between March and August 1739 (*WJE* 9,1-17).

This sermon series was a part of Edwards's strenuous remedial effort to address the spiritual backsliding of the congregation following the Connecticut Valley awakening of 1734-1735. This awakening was not only a defining but also a disruptive moment in Edwards's theological reflections. On the one hand, the revival resulted in the carefully constructed narrative *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*, published in London in 1736 and in Boston a year later. Although the publication propelled the preacher from the outskirts of the New World into a transatlantic world of revival-minded evangelicals, the reputation of the Northampton congregation declined in its pastor's eyes (*WJE* 19, 547-548; *WJE* 4, 19-25).

On the other hand, the Redemption Discourse and other theological reflections on revival defined Edwards's ministry in the years to come (Edwards 1741, 1742, 1746; Minkema, Neele, McCarthy 2012). It resulted in his abandonment of the idea of writing 'A Rational Account of the Main Doctrines of the Christian Religion Attempted', an outline of systematic theology that would include topics such as:

The being and nature of God; Of created minds, free will, etc.; Of excellency; Trinity, and God's attributes; God's decrees; necessity, contingency, etc.; Creation: the ends of it; Things made in analogy to spiritual things; Treat the fall of the angels after the fall of man; Faith, or a right believing divine truths; Faith in Christ; Free grace, [and] Justification (*WJE* 6, 396-399).

However, the goal of writing a system of theology never left him (Neele 2012; *WJE* 18, 24-29 and 546-47) and resurfaced roughly twenty years later in his letter to the Board of Trustees of the College of New Jersey:

I have had on my mind and heart (which I long ago began, not with any view to publication) a great work, which I call *A History of the Work of Redemption*, a body of divinity in an entire new method, being thrown into the form of an history, considering the affair of Christian theology. (*WJE* 16, 727)

For Edwards, redemptive history was interwoven with the 'parts of divinity' (*WJE* 16, 728). This promising *summa theologica* or 'body of divinity' was to have been grounded on the Redemption Discourse of 1739. This is also how Jonathan Edwards Jr. (1745-1801) and John Erskine (1721-1803), the first editors of the Redemption Discourse, understood and titled the discourse in the posthumous 1774 publication *A History Of the Work of Redemption containing the Outlines of a Body of Divinity, in a Method entirely new*. Finding its way to Holland via Erskine's

network of enlightened evangelicals, the treatise was translated into Dutch in 1776 and published at Utrecht, even before Edwards's *HWR* was published in 1782 in a newly founded America (Edwards 1776; Yeager 2011). The Edinburgh and Boston publication and the Dutch translation of the *HWR* were followed by many other reprints and translations (Johnson and Lesser 2003, 126-140).

It is important to note that nineteenth-century evangelical and mission-minded organizations were major disseminators of Edwards's *HWR*. The British-based Religious Tract Society (1799), for example, reprinted the *HWR* with the title *History of the work of redemption, comprising a summary of the history of the Jews up to the destruction of Jerusalem* in 1831, 1835, 1837, 1838, and several times in 1841 (Edwards 1831; Johnson and Lesser 2003, 134-35). This publication enjoyed a positive reception, though the review in *The Imperial Magazine* was more tempered:

But when he [Edwards] enters on 'the completion of the work of redemption' in a future state, the ground on which he stands appears less secure. Entering a region that is veiled by the clouds and shadows of futurity, the light by which he is guided becomes, on many subordinate particulars, somewhat dim and indistinct. (*The Imperial Magazine* 1831; Kennedy Fyfe 2000, 79)

The organizers of this tract society belonged to the same group of evangelicals that founded the London Missionary Society in 1795. The latter provided book allowances to their overseas missionaries, such as the catechist George Gogerly, who established a library with ten books in India, three of which were works by Edwards and included the *HWR* (Kling and Sweeney 2003, 279). Furthermore, the American Tract Society (1825) published and distributed between the years 1838 and 1875 over 60,000 copies of the *HWR*;<sup>2</sup> the society supported missionary printing houses such as the American Mission Press in Beirut, Syria, which published in 1868 the Arabic language version of the *HWR* (Freidinger 1923; Antakly 1976; Malick 2008). The Dutch edition, moreover, reflected the growing mission consciousness in the Dutch Republic that contributed to the founding of the *Nederlands Zendingsgenootschap* (1797).<sup>3</sup> One of the cofounders, Cornelis Brem, was a translator of many works of 'evangelical revival', including some by Edwards (Boone 1990). To illustrate another example, the Welsh edition (1829, 1830) can be situated within the rise of the Calvinist Methodist movement, contributing to the founding of the London Missionary Society (1795), as well as the Baptist mission movement. Finally, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) (1810) contributed to the Arabic edition. In summary, the reception of the *HWR*, and

in particular the translations of the *HWR*, were intimately connected to the rise of the worldwide Protestant evangelical mission movement of the early nineteenth century. In a similar way, the French edition of the *HWR* found itself in the context of *Le Réveil* movement and the PEMS.

The sermon series preached during the post-Connecticut Valley awakening was intended to bring the Northampton church back to the times of revival in doctrine and life. Edwards envisioned, moreover, the entire Redemption Discourse becoming part of a much larger project—a systematic theology in the form of a history—and his later editors promoted the printed publication as such. In spite of, or thanks to them, the work and its translations were received worldwide primarily in the context of missions but not as a work of systematic theology. However, Mabile's reference to Edwards in his *Dogmatique* in a French missionary context changed that.

### Edwards's *HWR* and Nineteenth-century French Missions

The outlook of nineteenth-century Protestant French evangelicals regarding the advancement of mission work and religious literature resonated with and resembled that of their English-speaking counterparts (Gill et al. 2009).<sup>4</sup> However, and particular to France, the Napoleon Concordat of 1801—guaranteeing religious freedom, in particular with respect to the Protestants—together with *Le Réveil* may have been a greater stimulus in France to the rise of the Protestant church, the foundings of a theological faculty at Montauban, a Protestant mission society, and a religious book enterprise.<sup>5</sup> The intellectual endeavors of French evangelicals at the time are mirrored in the library catalogue of the Protestant faculty of Montauban (Bollinger et al. 2007). The majority of this library consisted of works pertaining to biblical exegesis, church history, patristics, medieval and early modern theology, and homiletics, and included works by Augustine, the Roman Catholic polemist Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), and the covenant-history theologian Johannes Cocceius (1603-1669) (*Bibliothèque universitaire* 1890, 13-88). Furthermore, the library catalogue lists the *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* of Francis Turretin (1623-1687) and the *Theologia Christiana* of Bénédict Pictet (1655-1724), 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, Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803), and Samuel Mather (1706-1785) of New England (*Bibliothèque universitaire* 1890, 168, 170, 181). This eclectic theological landscape, as well as the establishment

of the missionary and book publishing societies, is related in particular to the reception of Edwards's thought in Basutoland.

Proponents of *Le Réveil* in France founded the PEMS in 1822 with the assistance of the LMS. Missionaries for the PEMS were trained at the Mission house in Paris, similar to the LMS, which trained their own missionaries (Parker 1914, 2009; Neele 2013). As such, the Mission house was instrumental in the formation of many French missionaries throughout the nineteenth century. Although a university setting was absent, a private and classical theological education was adhered to, including admission requirements such as the knowledge of Greek and Latin (*Assemblée Générale* 1859; Smith 1939)—a training that was lacking in the liberal and public theological faculties of the time in France (Welch 1972). After a stumbling start, the Mission house was reopened on November 1, 1856, and directed by the former missionary to Basutoland Eugène Casalis (1812-1891). Among the first five students was Adolphe Mabilie (1836-1894), who was educated in classical studies at the Paedagogium at Bâle, Switzerland. Having studied biblical Hebrew and Greek under Samuel Thomas († 1867), the former principal of the Vaudois missionary school, Mabilie had left for The Hague in 1854—a centre for the Réveil movement in Holland; traveled to England and taught there; and was admitted to the PEMS Mission House in 1856. A comprehensive approach to theological studies was followed in classical studies, biblical exegesis, dogmatics (*dogmatique*), and church history relevant for the mission field, as reported by the director, reminding the board members of the work of other missionaries such as Edwards (*Société des missions* 1857, Ms 94, H-2102). Mabilie occasionally substituted for Casalis, lecturing in systematic theology during his stay at the Mission house from 1856 to April 1859, before leaving that same year for Basutoland. Edwards's exposition of the redemptive drama through history with attention to France and Africa may have been appealing (*WJE* 9, 428; Neele 2013, 169-170) to the students at the PEMS Mission House. Edwards demonstrated deep acquaintance with the history of the church in France, attesting that 'The Protestant church of France was a great part of the glory of the Reformation. But now it is far otherwise; this church is all broken to pieces and scattered (*WJE* 9, 437; Edwards 1854, 351) . . . in some respects perhaps more than any other, has been a scene of dreadful cruelties suffered by the Protestants there.' (*WJE* 9, 428; Edwards 1854, 343)

Edwards also added encouragingly, 'The church will be revived'—something that the Protestants in France, and those attending the PEMS Mission House in particular, may have understood for their own time as attested by the expansion of the Protestant enterprise of church, mission society, theological education, and printing of religious books. Edwards's work on redemption

history, and in particular addressing missionary and mission endeavors, may have been inspiring as well. He clearly demonstrated a global interest in the propagation of the gospel, turning his attention to China, the East Indies, and South America. However, he expected the most from Africa, declaring that it would not only

be enlightened with glorious light, and delivered from all their darkness, and shall become a civil, Christian and an understanding and holy people (*WJE* 9, 472; Edwards 1854, 387-88), 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. (*WJE* 9, 480; Edwards 1854, 396)

Mabille's preaching, teaching, translating, printing, and publishing at Morija was, moreover, in essence an exceptional and exemplary working from Edwards's vision as expounded in the *HWR*, laying out a holistic vision for missionary work in which the gospel proclamation coincided with 'set[ing] up schools among them, and a printing press to print Bibles and other books for their instruction in their own language' (*WJE* 9, 435; Edwards 1854, 349).<sup>6</sup> Many of Mabille's printed and published works have been carefully preserved at the Morija Archives, Lesotho, among them the recently discovered manuscript containing the outlines of systematic theology.

Furthermore, in 1836 the founders of the missionary society became involved in establishing the *Société des Livres Religieux* for the distribution of religious publications. Works by Baxter, Bunyan, Calvin, Ryle, and Spurgeon were translated into French, published, and distributed (*Société des Livres Religieux* 1836-90). As such, the *Société* was solely responsible for the *HWR*'s French translation of 1858, *Histoire de l'oeuvre de la Redemption*, and its distribution in the French-speaking world. The French translation accords with the English edition of 1774, an edition reprinted for and by the English missionary and tract societies, but differs in a shortened title; the absence of the preface by Jonathan Edwards Jr. and an advertisement by Erskine;<sup>7</sup> and the omission of introductions, opening and transition paragraphs, and other passages.<sup>8</sup> The main distribution centers for the *Histoire de l'oeuvre de la Redemption* were found in Brussels, Geneva, London, Lyon, Paris, and Toulouse (Edwards 1854, backpage). Even more, the work was distributed in Paris at three locations, including the library at Place d' Oratoire belonging to Mr. J. Cherbuliez, a member of the congregation of Frédéric Monod (1794-1863) and secretary of the PEMS (*Société des missions*

1857, Ms 94, H-2107); and in London by Partridge and Oakey at 34 Paternoster Row, next to the main distribution depot of the *Religious Tract Society*.<sup>9</sup>

Edwards's works were not unfamiliar in early nineteenth-century France (Edwards 1823, 1838). The preface of the 1823 French translation of *Humble Attempt* (*L'union dans la prière pour la propagation de l'Évangile: abrégé d'un humble essai*) contains an introduction to Edwards's writings and demonstrates a historical awareness of the Scottish revival of the 1880s, so influential to the rise of mission work and missionary societies. The preface 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, 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! (Edwards 1823, v-vi.)

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 Mabile in a letter to his wife Adèle Casalis (1840-1923) (Smith 1939, 83; *WJE* 7, 495)—was meant to inspire missionary work. According to the preface, with the reading of Brainerd's life 'the church could get a good deal of instruction and edification... of one of the first Protestant missionaries' (Edwards 1838, 4). Moreover, Edwards's works such as the *Doctrine of Original Sin Defended* were cited in *Evangelical Magazine* (*Magasin évangélique*), and *Freedom of the Will* was familiar to Roman Catholics such as Abbé Grégoire (1750-1831) (*Magasin évangélique* 1821, 4:285; Grégoire 1829, 5:237). Furthermore, according to French biographer L.G. Michaud, William Gordon (1729-1807) translated an abridged version of Edwards's *A Treatise concerning Religious Affections* in French together with 'some sermons, and two pamphlets' (Michaud 1816, 18:133). The French familiarity with these writings thus resulted for some in 'the celebrated Edwards' (Edwards 1838, 4) while for others, such as the French historian L.M. Chaudon, Edwards was a 'savvy metaphysician but a rigid Calvinist' (Chaudon 1810, 6:172; Grégoire 1814, 1:187). In sum, the French edition of Edwards's *HWR* is closely connected to the rise of the Protestant French missionary movement of the nineteenth century, in which the founding of the missionary and religious book societies played an indispensable role. The reception of Edwards's

thought in Mabile's *Dogmatique* is therefore remarkable, and warrants further investigation.

### Mabile's *Dogmatique*: Structure, Content, and Sources

Mabile's *Dogmatique* is a quarto-sized manuscript notebook of 592 pages in which the author consistently places the pagination in the top right corner of each page. The document also contains the word 'dogmatique' accompanied by a number placed on the right and bottom of some pages.<sup>10</sup> The opening chapter commences with page one, but is identified as 'dogmatique 52,' and concludes with 'dogmatique 88' on page 577. Moreover, each of the *dogmatiques* is fifteen to seventeen pages in length, which may indicate the length of each lecture since each takes about 50 minutes to read. The inference can thus be made that these thirty-six extant lectures collectively comprises an extended semester, commencing in November 1856 and ending the following June, amounting to a partial presentation of systematic theology.<sup>11</sup>

Mabile's *Dogmatique* actually outlines a Protestant theology consisting of topics usually found in seventeenth-century reformed theology, divided into three main sections: 'On Election' (*De L'Élection*) (Mabile 1856, 1-146), 'On the Work of the Redemption' (*De L'Œvre de la Rédemption*) (Mabile 1856, 146-574), and 'On the Church' (*De L'Église*) (Mabile 1856, 574-92). Moreover, the middle section of over four hundred pages covers topics such as 'Calling and Faith,' 'Grace,' and 'Justification'—topics that were also identified by Edwards in "A Rational Account." These sections, along with those on the doctrines of adoption and sanctification (Mabile 1856, 381-405, *De la Vocation et de la Foi*; 405-416, *La Grâce*; 416-492, *De la Foi*; 492-553, [*De la*] *Justification*; 533-535, *De l'adoption*; 553-574, *De la Sanctification*) were arranged by the missionary to Basutoland under the heading *The personal application of redemption* (*Des effets personnels de la Redemption*), and understood by the author as the application of Christ's redemptive benefits, which commences on earth by grace and consummates in heaven in glory (Mabile 1856, 381). In sum, only two of the six loci of the Reformed *systema* are presented in the *Dogmatique*: soteriology and, succinctly, ecclesiology (Mabile 1856, 574-580 ("De L'Église"), 581-588 ("Des membres de l'église"), and 589-592 ("De l'unité de l'église").

Furthermore, the notebook reveals a wide-ranging array of sources, and an extensive exegetical use of Scripture. Concerning the former, Mabile referred to more than fifty different authors and publications from various theological traditions. In regard to the latter, references are made to the 'docteurs de Rome',

Franciscans Dominicans, and Jesuits; Post-Reformation Lutherans such as Caspar Brochmand (1585-1652) and George Calixt (1586-1656); and Wesleyans, Socinians, Arminians, and Remonstrants. Most noted are 'Pelagians' and semi-Pelagians ('ancient and modern') (Mabille 1856, 13, 21, 22, 112, 434, 443).<sup>12</sup> Mabille also refers to various ecumenical councils such as that at Laodicea (363-364); Vienne (1311-12), which Mabille mistakenly wrote as Bienne—a reminder of his home country; Constance (1414-1418); Trent (1545-1563); and the Reformed Synod of Dordrecht (1618-19) (Mabille 1856, 406). Authors to which Mabille refers include 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), an English defender of Roman Catholicism Thomas Stapleton (1535-1598), and a representative of Reformed orthodoxy Francis Turretin (1623-1687).

A comment is in order on Augustine, Calvin, and Turretin to illustrate Mabille's use of theological sources and the missionary's theological orientation. First, Augustine is the leading and most positively referenced author (22 percent of the citations). Moreover, 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) (Mabille 1856, 90, 108, 410, 412, 414, 468, 587). Second, 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*) (Mabille 1856, 91, 442). Mabille's references to the bishop of Cartago and the pastor of Geneva are found in the section discussing the doctrine of election. The missionary to Basutoland's orientation of this doctrine stands unmistakably in an Augustinian-Calvinist theological trajectory. Third, Mabille gave prominence to Turretin in discussing the doctrine of justification. Following the opening sentences of the chapter on justification, he approvingly quotes a Latin phrase that he attributed to Martin Luther. Justification, Luther states, was 'the article by which the church stands or falls; For other Christians, it is the basis of Christianity, the principal bulwark of the Christian religion (*Articulus stantis, & cadentis Ecclesiae; Christianorum peculium, Christianismi basis, religionis Christianae propugnaculum*)'.

However, the informed reader observes immediately that Mabille cited verbatim, if only in part, from Turretin's *Institute of Elenctic Theology* (*Institutio Theologiae Elencticae*) (Mabille 1856, 492; Turretin 1688, 691).<sup>13</sup> Moreover,

Mabille exactly follows Turretin in structure and theological content in eight of the ten *quaestiones* in the chapter *On Justification*, excluding the last two questions on the time and assurance of this doctrine.<sup>14</sup> This exposition of 55 pages (10 percent of the entire notebook) includes identical primary source references as found in Turretin's *Institutio* on the same doctrine. On the one hand, this finding may temper any possible enthusiasm about the many and various sources Mabille employed, leading to a more modest but noteworthy remark: Turretin's work is characterized by opposing Roman Catholic teaching, especially that of Bellarmine, who Mabille nonetheless also cites prominently, especially his work *On Justification (De Justificatione)* (Mabille 1856, 22, 114, 115, 481, 482, 494, 508, 515, 537, 565, 567, 581 (Bellarmine); 428, 437, 481, 482, 515, 537, 565 (*De Justificatione*)).<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, Turretin's work mediated sources of the Patristic and Medieval era—a distinct feature of many *systema* of the Post-Reformation Reformed period (Polyander et al. 1625; Ames 1642; Maccovius 1650; Maresius 1656; Essenius 1669; Oomius 1676; Hoornbeeck 1680; Cloppenburgh 1684; Maastricht 1699; Pictet 1696, 1711). On the other hand, Turretin's work may have been instrumental in the training of PEMS missionaries for the purpose of Christian apologetics. Taking all these factors together, we can say that Mabille's *Dogmatique* relies on patristic, medieval, Roman Catholic, and Protestant theology, with an orientation to Augustine and attention to the doctrine of justification—a theological subject reappraised during the era of the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation, dexterously defended from the Roman Catholic side by Bellarmine. This attention can be explained in part by the position of nineteenth-century Protestantism in France within a profoundly Roman Catholic society, which renounced what they saw as the pronounced predestinarianism of Reformed theology (Muller 2003, 63-5).

Finally, all these source references, whether via Turretin's *Institutio* or not, are found outside of the section of Mabille's notebook titled *On the Work of Redemption (De L'Œvre de la Rédemption)*. In 235 pages—40 percent of the entire *Dogmatique*—the author does not refer to any other author, with one exception: Edwards of eighteenth-century New England (Mabille 1856, 147-381).

### Mabille's *Dogmatique* and Edwards's *HWR*

A closer examination of *De L'Œvre de la Rédemption*, the part of the notebook that precedes *Des effets personnels de la Redemption* (Mabille 1856, 381)<sup>16</sup> reveals a division of three major parts dealing with the history of the work of redemption. These parts or periods are titled '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' (Mabille 1856, 163-381)—mirroring Edwards's major dispensations. This chronological presentation of the redemptive drama is further subdivided with the first period into six epochs, addressing divine redemptive activity—'From the fall to the flood', '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' (Mabille 1856, 165-246). The second period, focusing on Christ's life on earth, contains a contemporary practical application encouraging readers to trust in Christ for salvation, in addition to a historic-doctrinal exposition of the centrality of Christ's salvific work (Mabille 1856, 252-288).<sup>17</sup> In the third period the author moves from the time of Christ, through the Constantinian era, the sixteenth-century Reformation, and into the 'present state', concluding with an eschatological dimension dealing with the future millennium and Kingdom of God. (Mabille 1856, 288-351). This tripartite outline of redemptive history, treated at length in Mabille's *Dogmatique*, corresponds identically with the French edition of Edwards's *A History of the Work of Redemption*.

As noted before, Edwards's original treatment was an ambitious series of sermons, preached in 1739, that cast a broad vision of salvific history. The history of redemption, according to Edwards, was organized in distinct phases from the fall of Adam to the final judgment. Here Edwards, though unique in his time, nevertheless resonated with earlier figures within seventeenth-century Reformed orthodoxy, such as Turretin and Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706), whose works we know Edwards admired (*WJE* 16, 217).<sup>18</sup> For example, Turretin expounded the administrations of the covenant of grace in his *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* from Adam to Abraham, 'the first age', then Abraham to Moses, followed by the era of Moses to Christ (Turretin 1688 2:239, 240, 243, 245).<sup>19</sup> In his *Redemptive Discourse*, Edwards may have followed Mastricht more than Turretin since the German-Dutch theologian offered a detailed account of the dispensations of the covenant of grace (*De Dispensatione Foederis Gratiae*), divided into three major sections from the dispensation under the patriarchs and Moses to Christ, ending 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 (Mastricht 1699, 866, 875, 879) followed by discussion of the progress and regress of this covenant during the period from Moses to David, from David to the Babylonian captivity (Mastricht 1699, 908), and then to the coming of Christ. In the section on the dispensation of Christ, the largest part, 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, continuing and expanding the narrative (Mastricht 1699, 906, 918, 1051). Mastricht's view on theology and history, or the development of the covenant of grace is thus based on the work of redemption. He notes that the exposition of the dispensation of redemptive history rests on and extends the discussion of the personal appropriation of the work of redemption (Mastricht 1699, 389). In other words, for Mastricht the work of redemption has two intertwined dimensions—historical and personal—an understanding Edwards adhered to in his major treatise on the subject, and which Mabile followed as well. Mabile's use of Edwards's *HWR* shows, moreover, that both Edwards and Mabile were appreciative of Turretin's work and paid attention to salvation history (Kling and Sweeney 2003, 21).<sup>20</sup>

The architecture of the dispensations of redemptive history, as found in Mabile's *Dogmatique*, rests on Edwards's exposition of the history of the work of redemption, an exposition that is rooted in the Reformed orthodoxy of the seventeenth century but was also foundational for Mabile's first catechism for the Basutos in the nineteenth century.

### Mabile's *Dogmatique* and *Katakisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*

Upon his arrival at Morija, Lesotho, in 1860, Mabile was appointed by the missionaries to succeed Thomas Arbousset (1810-1877), who with Casalis belonged to the first generation of French Protestant missionaries in Basutoland (Smith 1939, 99). These missionaries had not only learned the Sesotho language since 1833, but also taught the Basutos to read and write their own language. Their next step was to compile and translate a *Catechism of the Language of Basuto* in 1839 (*Katekismaniane* 1839). These developments led to the translation of the first and second catechisms of Isaac Watts (1674-1748) by Arbousset in the mid-1840s (*Katekhisma ea Pele* 1845; *Katekhisma ea Boberi* 1846).<sup>21</sup> In particular, Arbousset stressed the need to attend catechism classes and the teaching of Scripture 'as they were mediated by the missionaries'. In the Catechism, for example, he inquires of a Basuto: 'Why, Mokhano do you never come to catechism? Several people have been brought there by you. Aren't you like the bell that call everyone to prayer, but without ever taking part in it yourself?' (Gill et al. 2009, 51)

Mabile continues to stress the importance of catechetical teaching, but in contrast to French translations of Watts's writings, in 1865 Mabile wrote the first catechism in the vernacular Basuto language, titled *Katekhisma ea Lipolelo tsa Bibe* (*Catechism of Sayings of the Bible*) and published by the PEMS at Strasbourg (*Katekhisma ea Lipolelo* 1865). This catechism became

the cornerstone of religious instruction in Basutoland. Once he had made his printing press operational Mabile reprinted it in five editions between 1875 and 1896, as *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibebe* (*Catechism of the Tidings of the Bible*).<sup>22</sup> This influential catechism, written in a question-and-answer format, was divided into chronological periods: 'The first 1656 years, to the deluge' (Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba* 1875, 3) 'From the time of the flood to the calling of Abraham', 'Abraham to Moses', 'Exodus to [David] Salomon', 'David to Babylonian Captivity', 'Babylonian Captivity to Christ', 'Christ', 'Christ after resurrection', and 'To the end of the world' (Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba*, 45). In fact, the structure of the catechism closely follows Mabile's outline of redemptive history (*De L'Œvre de la Rédemption*) as found in his *Dogmatique*.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the content of the catechism also resonates with Mabile's work, though in some cases it follows Edwards's exposition of redemptive history, appropriated for a Basuto context. For example, chapter 2 of the *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibebe* reads:

- What did Noah do after he had disembarked the ark? He build God an altar and thanked Him by sacrificing cows as burnt offering;
- Did God bless Noah? Yes, God, full of grace, accepted Noah's sacrifice and gave him authority over everything on earth;
- Did Noah's descendants hold on to God? No, they turned against God...;
- What did they try to do? They came together to build a city and high tower...;
- How did God preserve true religion on earth? God chose for himself a nation...;
- Who was the father of that nation? It is Abraham who was born in [the land of] Chaldees...<sup>24</sup>

This narrative trajectory from the deluge to the calling of Abraham, again in question-and-answer format, is briefly identified in Mabile's *Dogmatique*, but follows a similar order and detail as found in Edwards's *Histoire*.<sup>25</sup> Therefore we cannot automatically conclude that the missionary's systematic theology was solely responsible for the content of the catechism. Chapter 5 of *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibebe*,<sup>26</sup> for example, on the period from David to the Babylonian captivity, articulates the decline of religion, the rise of idolatry, and the warnings of the prophets. Although these notions are found in Mabile's *Dogmatique* and Edwards's *Histoire*, here there is less dependence on either one.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, examination of Mabile's *Katekisma* shows that the author may have actually relied more on the French edition of Edwards's discourse on

redemptive history in writing the first catechism in the Sesotho language than his own work.

### Conclusion

Mabille's *Dogmatique*, a manuscript recently discovered in Lesotho, sheds light on religious education in Basutoland, and the reception, translation, and appropriation of Edwards's *HWR* in a nineteenth-century French missionary context. Edwards's Redemption Discourse (1739) was published as a 'body of divinity' (1788), translated into French (1854), and appropriated in a systematic theology (1856) and Sesotho catechism (1875). Preached as a sermon series with the aim of awakening New England's congregation of Northampton to the times of revival, it was first published in Edinburgh, Scotland, with the hope that it would 'assist in studying with greater pleasure and advantage the historical and prophetic books of scripture; and excite to a conversation becoming the gospel' (Edwards 1774, preface, Feb. 25, 1773 by Jonathan Edwards Jr.). The work then found its way from America to Africa through French missionary endeavors in religious educational training (Paris) and teaching (Basutoland).

Edwards's original aim, and the subsequent publication of 'outlines of a body of divinity' converged in nineteenth-century France, where the *HWR* was translated in the context of *Le Réveil* and taught in the course of systematic theology at the PEMS Mission house, exemplified by Mabille's *Dogmatique*. Moreover, the appropriation of Edwards's *HWR* in the combined context of missions and religious education was extended in Basutoland, as seen in the *Katekisma*. The outline of the catechism may be due to Mabille's classical training and acquaintance with 'universal chronology' and Scripture, but it also reflects his intimate knowledge of Edwards's work. The reception of Edwards's exposition of redemptive history in the catechism of Basutoland thus resonates in part with Mabille's *Dogmatique*—a text transmission of Edwards's *Histoire*. The transmission of this text remained the same in structure, was shortened in content and modified over time, but continued as intended by Edwards: to show 'a work that God is carrying on from the fall of man to the end of the world' (*WJE* 9, 119; Edwards 1774; Edwards 1854; Mabille 1856; Mabille 1875).

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## Notes

- 1 Adolphe Mabile, *Dogmatique* [1856] (Morija: Morija Archives and Museum, 2010), 147. Kenneth P. Minkema, Executive Director of the Jonathan Edwards Center at Yale University is gratefully acknowledged for editorial suggestions, and Ntabanyane S. K. Tseuo, professor of church history at Morija Theological Seminary, Lesotho for assisting in the Sesotho—English translations.
- 2 The American Tract Society was rooted in the New York Tract Society (1812), the New England Tract Society (1814) and the London-based Religious Tract Society.
- 3 The Dutch literal translation of the *HWR*'s title conveys the systematic theological nature of the work: '[A] History of the Work of Redemption: Containing the Sketches of a Composition of Theology, in a complete new order.'
- 4 Stephen J. Gill correctly observes, 'the story of the French Evangelical missionaries and their work in Lesotho can be told from a number of different perspectives. For example, one can portray the evolution of the church in Europe, how a spiritual re-awakening swept through these church at the beginning of the 19th century, strengthening their awareness of the need to make disciples at home and in all nations... Alternatively, one can focus on how

Moshoshoe the Great, after creating a fledgling nation . . . sought 'teachers of peace' in order to strengthen himself.'

- 5 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 Gaussen (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 the 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 whom became important preachers in the French Reformed church. The attendees of the *Société*, were, moreover, 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 1790's prompted in part 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. 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 of his American friend by posthumously publishing various sermons and treatises. Haldane, then, was familiar with Edwards, as attested in his published lectures at the *Société*.
- 6 Upon Mabilles's arrival in 1860 at Morija, he continued to serve as what he essentially was, a *moruti*—a teacher attending to theological education of the Basutos, which included, among many things, producing a catechism and a translation of the Bible and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* into Sesoto, compelling the first English-Sesoto dictionary, and commencing the publication of a newspaper, *The Little Light of Lesotho* (*Leselinyana la Lesotho*).
- 7 Note translations of error and correction, such as Edwards, *A history of the work of redemption*, 90, "... and as Pharez, brother of Christ's ancestors . . ." Cf. Edwards, *Histoire de l'oeuvre de la Redemption*, 107, "... que Pharès, frère de l'aïeul de Christ . . ." Cf. WJE 9:205, "... and as Pharez, another of Christ's ancestors . . .;" Edwards, *A history of the work of redemption*, 109, "waxed and weaned like the moon." Cf. Edwards, *Histoire de l'oeuvre de la Redemption*, 118, "crut et diminua comme elle;" Edwards, *A history of the work of redemption*, 143, "six hundred . . ." Cf. Edwards, *Histoire de l'oeuvre de la Redemption*, 171, "six cent ans." Cf. WJE 9:265, "six hundred year."
- 8 Omitted in Edwards, *Histoire de l'oeuvre de la Redemption* but present in Edwards, *A history of the work of redemption* (Edinburgh: Printed for W. Gray; London: J. Buckland, G. Keith, 1774), 1–15 (General Introduction); 16, "My first talk . . . were preparatory to it;" 37, "I proceed now . . . redemption for his people;" 46, "I proceed now to show . . . extending to Moses;" 61, "I proceed to the fourth period . . . this also;" 88, "I come now to the fifth period . . . through this period also;" 94, "We have no certain account of the time . . . by an induction of particulars;" 114, "I have taken notice . . . reign of Solomon;" 122, "I come now to the last period . . . through

- this period;" 130, "Thus I have taken notice...on in particulars;" 171, "First, I would consider...for us;" 194, "The third distribution...in them;" 218-19, "Not but that there...before him;" 244, "In showing how the success...church tribulation and travail end;" 255: "To show how...Christ's coming to judgment;" 265: "Inference. From what has been said...several ways;" 269: "... and the destruction of Satan's visible kingdom on earth...;" 283: "Thus having gone through...to the destruction of Antichrist, I come now;" 298: "Thus I have mentioned...in the world," and 315: "It has already been shown...to the present time."
- 9 The distributors in Genève, London and Toulouse are also the distributors for other evangelical literature such as, Jean Calvin, *Daniel le prophète, exposé dans une suite de leçons pour une école du dimanche* (Genève: Beroud et S. Guers; Toulouse: Delhorbe; Londres: Partridge and Oakey).
- 10 Mabile, *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).
- 11 This assumption is underscored by Mabile's pattern of handwriting, which is fairly consistent, though breakpoints between lectures coincide with a slight change of ink color and change of the slope of the letters and spacing between letters.
- 12 Mabile, *Dogmatique 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).
- 13 François Turretin, *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* (Geneva: Samuelem De Tournes, 1688), XVI.1 (De Justificatione), 691, 'Luthero dicitur *Articulus stantis, & cadentis Ecclesiae*; alii Christianorum peculium, & Christianismi basis non abs re vocatur, praecipuümque Religionis Christianae propugnaculum, quo adulterato vel subverso impossibile est puritatem doctrinae in aliis locis retinere.' Cf. Mabile, *Dogmatique*, 492.
- 14 Mabile, *Dogmatique*, 493, 1<sup>re</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; Mabile, *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. *Institutio*, XVI.5, 720, An remissione peccatorum consistat...; *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>me</sup> question, Est-ce-la foi seule qui justifie. Cf. *Institutio*, XVI.8, 738, An sola fides justificet.
- 15 The references to Bellarmine count approximately for fifteen-percent of all references.
- 16 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*.

- 17 This part is entitled by Mabile as “epoch” instead of “period.” The application is primarily  
found in the paragraph entitled *Quelques observations dur cette 2<sup>e</sup> période* (286-288).
- 18 *WJE* 16, 217, ‘They [Mastricht and Turretin] are both excellent. Turretin is on polemical  
divinity; on the Five Points, and all other controversial points; and is much larger in  
these than Mastricht; and is better for one that desires only to be thoroughly versed in  
controversies.’
- 19 Edwards may have oriented his outline of redemptive history more to Mastricht who pro-  
vide a more detailed account than Turretin.
- 20 McClymond points out that Edwards’s sermons on redemptive history falls within the  
‘genre of the Christian “universal chronicle,” as exemplified by such books as Augustine’s  
*City of God* and Bishop Bosuet’s *Discourse on Universal History* (1681).’
- 21 The American Mission Press at Beirut also translated Watt’s first catechism in 1854.
- 22 *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*le (Moriija: Kathiso ea A. Mabile, 1875, 1884, 1885, 1895, and  
1896). The following catechisms have been published in the Sesotho language *Catechism  
of the Language of Basuto* (Cape Town, 1839); *First Catechism Isaac Watts*, and *Names of  
the Bible* (Cape Town, 1845); *Second Catechism Isaac Watts* (Cape Town, 1846); *Catechism  
of Sayings of the Bible* [Note: *HWR* structure, 1st ed.] (Strasbourg, 1865); *Catechism of the  
Teaching of Christianity* (Moriija, 1869); *Catechism of the Teaching of Christianity* (Moriija,  
1872 reprint 2000); *Religion of Christianity* (Moriija, 1873); *Catechism of the Teaching of  
Christianity* (Paris, 1875, print 5500); *Catechism of the Tidings of the Bible* [Note: *HWR*  
structure, 2nd ed.] (Moriija, 1875); *Catechism of the Duties of the Christian* (Paris, 1877);  
*Religion of Christianity* (Moriija, 1878, 2nd edition); *Catechism of the Teachings of Religion  
of Christianity* (Moriija, 1878); *Catechism of the Tidings of the Bible* [Note: *HWR* structure,  
3rd ed.] (Moriija, 1884); *Catechism of the Tidings of the Bible* [Note: *HWR* structure, 4th ed.]  
(Moriija 1885); *Little Catechism of the Teachings of the Bible* (Moriija, 1875); *Catechism of the  
teachings of Religion of Christianity* (Moriija, 1897, 6th ed.); *Catechism of the teachings of  
Religion of Christianity* (Moriija, 1899, 7th ed.). In addition, the 1896 edition of *Katekisma  
ea Litaba tsa Bibe*le is published as *Katekismanyane ea Litaba tsa Bibe*le (*Little catechism of  
the tidings of the Bible*). Note that between 1846 and 1865, no catechism was published due  
to the limited finances of the PEMS and to the Boer-Basuto wars of 1858 and early 1865.
- 23 Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*le (Moria: Khahiso ea A. Mabile, 1875), 3: “Go thlōga  
pōpong ea lefatše isa morallong oa metsi, ki lilemo tse 1656.” Cf. Mabile, *Dogmatique*,  
165-175 (I<sup>re</sup> Epoque. *De la chute au Déluge*); Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*le, 10:  
“Go thlōga nakong ea morallo, go isa pitsong ea Abraham, ki lilemo tse 430.” Cf. Mabile,  
*Dogmatique*, 175-181 (11<sup>e</sup> Epoque. *Du Déluge à l’appel d’Abraham*); Mabile, *Katekisma ea  
Litaba tsa Bibe*le, 13: “Go thlōga isa pitsong ea Abraham, go fitlela go tsueng ga Iseraela  
Egepteng, ki lilemo tse 430.” Cf. Mabile, *Dogmatique*, 181-190 (11<sup>e</sup> Epoque. *D’Abraham  
à Moïse*); Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*le, 18: “Go thlōga ha Baiseraele ba tsuile  
Egepet eng, go fitla lefung la Salomone, ki lilemo tse 500.” Cf. Mabile, *Dogmatique*, 191-  
209 (IV<sup>e</sup> Epoque. *De Moïse à David*); Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*le, 26: “Go  
thlōga lefung la Salomone go isa motla Baiseraele ba isoang Babylona ki lilemo tse 400.”  
Cf. Mabile, *Dogmatique*, 209-229 (V<sup>e</sup> Epoque. *De David à captivité de Babylone*); Mabile,  
*Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*le, 29: “Go thlōga motla Bayode ba isoang Babylona go isa  
go tsualoeng ga Yesu Kreste, ki lilemo tse 580.” Cf. Mabile, *Dogmatique*, 229-246 (VI<sup>e</sup> et  
dernière Epoque. *De la captivité de Babylone à la venue du Christ*).

- 24 Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*, 10-13: "Go thlōga nakong ea morallo, go isa pitsong ea Abraham, ki lilemo tse 430." Cf. Mabile, *Dogmatique*, 175-181 (11<sup>e</sup> Epoque. *Du Déluge à l'appel d'Abraham*) and Edwards, *Histoire*, 42-53 (Chapitre II. *Du Déluge à la vocation d'Abraham*).
- 25 Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*, 10: "Na Noe o ents'e'ng gobane a tsue arekeng? A gagela Yehova aletare, 'me a lebōga ka go mo tlagisetsa setlabele sa likomō [What did Noah do after he had disembarked the ark? He build God an altar and thanked Him by sacrificing cows as burnt offering]. Cf. Edwards, *Histoire*, 47, and WJE 9: 152: "... when Noah moved out of the ark... building an altar to the Lord and offering a sacrifice of every clean beast and every fowl;" Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*, 10: "Na Molimo o tlogonolo falitse Noe na? E, Molimo a thletseng mogau o amōgetse setlabele sa tebōgo ea Noe, 'me oa mo nēa borēna golimo ga lintho tsotle tsa lefatše [Did God bless Noah? Yes God, full of grace, accepted Noah's sacrifice and gave him authority over everything on earth]. Cf. Edwards, *Histoire*, 47, and WJE 9: 152: "And here we have an account, that of his accepting this sacrificing. And thereupon [God] blessed Noah... [and] gives him... a new power of dominion over the creatures...;" Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*, 11: "Ba kile ba rata go etsa'ng na? Ba ratile go kopana ha'mogo go gaga motse o mogolō le tora e phagameng... [What did they try to do? They came together to build a city and high tower...]. Cf. Edwards, *Histoire*, 49: "En arrêtant la construction de la ville et la tour de Babel," and WJE 9:153: "God's disappointing the design of building the city and tower of Babel;" Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*, 12: "Borapeli ba 'nete Molimo o bo bōlōkile yang lefatšeng? Molimo o ikhēthetse sechaba gore se bōlōke melao ea oona... [How did God preserve true religion on earth? God chose for himself a nation...]. Cf. Edwards, *Histoire*, 54, and WJE 9:158: "God therefore saw it necessary in order to the upholding of the true religion in the world that there should be a family separated from the rest of the world;" Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*, 12: "Ntat'a sechaba seo ki mang? Ki Abraham a neg a tsuolloe nageng ea Kaldea [Who was the father of that nation? It is Abraham who was born in [the land of] Chaldees]. Cf. Edwards, *Histoire*, 54, and WJE 9:158: "And therefore God saw it to be time to call Abraham, the person in whose family he intended to uphold the true religion... that his posterity might there remain a people separate from all the rest of the world... The land of Chaldees that Abraham was called..." Note that the following question of the catechism: "Na lithlōgōlō tsa Noe li ne li tiisetse go Molimo na? Chē, tsa ikhantšetsa Molimo [Did Noah's descendents hold on to God? No, they turned against God. Cf. Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*, 11] is neither present in Mabile's *Dogmatique* nor in Edwards's *Histoire*.
- 26 Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*, 26: "Go thlōga lefung la Salomone go isa motla Baiseraele ba isoang Babylona ki lilemo tse 400." Cf. Mabile, *Dogmatique*, 209-229 (v<sup>e</sup> Epoque. *De David à captivité de Babylone*).
- 27 Only four out of the fifteen questions and answers in chapter five related to Mabile's *Dogmatique* and Edwards's *Histoire*. Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibe*, 26: "Yeroboame, morēna oa Iseraele, o kile a etsa bobē bofē? A etsa litšuantšō tse peli mamamane, gore Baiseraele ba khumame pel's tsona, yualeka ha bontat'a bona ba ne ba entsē pel'a Thaba ea Sinai [What wrong did Jeroboam do? He made two portraits of idols for the Israelites to worship, just as their fathers had done at mount Sinai]. Cf. Edwards, *Histoire*,

126, and *WJE* 9: 224-225; Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibebe*, 27, “Na Molimo o kile oa etsa'ng go ntša Baiseraele bobeng boo ba bona? Molimo oa 'na oa rōma baprofeta go ba khalemela le go ba telisa bohedene, empa ba gana go uthlua [What did God do to take the Israelites out of this bad situation? God sent the prophets to warn the, and turn them against their heathen ways but they refused to listen]. Cf. Edwards, *Histoire*, 141-142, and *WJE* 9:238; Mabile, *Katekisma ea Litaba tsa Bibebe*, 28, “Moprofeta ea fetisiteng ba bang ka go bōlela go thla ga Yesu Kreste, ki mang? Ki Esaia . . . (Esaia 53) [Who is the prophet that emphazied the coming of Jesus Christ more than others? It was Isaiah . . . (Is.53)]. Cf. Edwards, *Histoire*, 144, and *WJE* 9:239.

