

The concluding reflections of the book are in a way the most engaging. Bartlett draws comparisons and contrasts between saints and martyrs in Christianity and various religious traditions. “The functional equivalences between polytheistic pagan religion and the cult of the saints were many” (p. 614)—a theme taken up by David Hume, who, prefiguring Nietzsche perhaps, considered Christian saints rather wimpish alongside heroic pagan deities. The Christian cult of the saints has been “adaptable and malleable,” and “it is only the Protestants of Europe and their overseas descendants who have ever really turned their backs on the saints” (p. 637). Bartlett does not reflect on whether this is a good or a bad thing, but simply concludes that saints “have shaped the lives and imaginations of millions, and still do.” True, but the sad reality is that these practices have kept those millions in the thrall of superstition, false religion, and the ignorance of God and, as Karl Barth would have said, in the grip of idolatrous natural religion. Only where the five *solas* of the Reformation have held sway has there been the freedom to meet God as he met us, in the man Christ Jesus.

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Martin I. Klauber, ed. *The Theology of the French Reformed Churches: From Henri IV to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*. Reformation Historical-Theological Studies. Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2014. Pp. viii + 414.\*

The contributors to this collection of essays, with a few European exceptions, come largely from a North American Reformed background, and the seminal influence of the re-evaluation of post-Reformation scholasticism by Richard A. Muller is much in evidence in this volume. Edited by Martin I. Klauber of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, it is valuable for anyone interested in Reformed theology in the 17th century, particularly in France and in Europe at large.

Since there is little published and accessible material in English on the subject, this work is a boon for those interested in the development of Reformed theology in France in the century after Calvin. The contributions cover the period of the accession of Henri of Navarre to the French

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throne, upon his conversion to Catholicism in 1589. This event heralded the end of the bloody wars of religion in France and the promulgation of an edict of tolerance for the French Huguenots (1598), an edict that was repealed by Louis XIV almost a century later in 1685. During that time, Protestants enjoyed restricted but diminishing liberties, followed by growing civil oppression.

This collection is, by the selection of subjects, very obviously oriented in the direction of the interests of historical theologians in the First world. This is a pity, because one of the main interests of the period in the present global situation, where oppression is the experience of many Christians, is how the French Reformed reacted to the tightening straightjacket of royal Roman Catholic authoritarianism, persecution, imprisonment, banishment, and martyrdom. What did they think about it, write about it, and do about it? An article on this subject would surely have been welcome. What was the political theory of the French Reformed, and did they not push their royalism and submission to civil authority to unacceptable limits? Were they obsessed by Pontifical authority in such a way that the French king avoided active opposition on their part, which occasioned the Catholic dictum of the time: “soumis comme un Huguenot” (submissive like a Huguenot)?

The warnings of the great Agrippa d’Aubigné addressed earlier to the French churches went by the board, and so during the Fronde at the time of Mazarin and the minority of Louis XIV, they were the most faithful supporters of the Bourbon monarchy. Later, Jean Claude in his *Les plaintes des protestants, Cruellement opprimez dans le Royaume de France* (1686) was the great defender of the persecuted Huguenots, but was his biblical defense not blunted because he was drawn into the waters of moderation and tolerance by his collaboration with Richard Simon and Pierre Bayle (*De la Tolérance*, 1686), who were among the first luminaries of free thinking?

That said, the value of this work is that it allows those who do not read Latin and/or French to become acquainted with the history and writings of theologians who are generally little known by comparison with their Puritan contemporaries. For those with special theological interest, at several points it provides a useful analysis of one of the major controversies in continental Reformed theology, focusing on the prolific writings of Moïse Amyraut, which occupy almost three pages in the select bibliography.

The book is divided into two parts, the first historical, with six articles, and the second with fifteen studies of theologians and issues in the French churches. As might be expected, there is some overlap between the two sections and a little repetition of some historical details (for example, in the article on Pierre Jurieu), which could have been edited out.

This period was a time of crisis for the French Reformed, one from which they never really recovered. In spite of the limited toleration permitted by the Edict of Nantes, from that point on, it was a case of the progressive strangulation of Reformed church life in France. It is estimated that by the time of the Revocation not only tens of thousands of Huguenots had left France by emigration, but also some 600 pastors. Others recanted publicly, either really or superficially. In the following century, the free-thinking of the Enlightenment did its work on the remnant, the result being that just before the Revolution there were only 472 churches left (by comparison with over 1,200 churches estimated to have been planted by 1570) with diminished congregations in restricted Protestant enclaves and a mere 180 pastors, a good number of whom had by then followed the philosophers and espoused deism. Calvinism had been lost to France; it has never been restored in an ecclesiastical sense and even today is restricted to the witness of isolated individuals.

The historical articles deal with the growth of the Reformed churches in the latter part of the 16th century, the influence of Beza, the Reformed synods during the time of limited tolerance, the reception of the Synod of Dort, and the increasing hardship of church life under the rigor implemented by Louis XIV. It needs underlining that between the assassination of Henri IV at the hands of a Catholic extremist in 1610 and the Revolution in 1789, a mere four Bourbon kings reigned, and their power became ever greater, until it began slipping away prior to 1789. There was a durable continuity of sapping and repressive policies that undermined the Huguenots. This fact is often not sufficiently appreciated, both with regard to the politics of exclusion the Protestants suffered and the ways in which they reacted to them. What was happening at the time in England and Holland did not help either, and Louis XIV must have trembled at the thought of the fate of Charles I or the federalism developing in Holland. A focused chapter on this subject would have been useful, together with a discussion of how the Huguenots interpreted their persecution theologically.

The theological studies, written by specialists of the period, are both detailed and well documented. The reader will find in-depth presentations of the main figures of the period—the Scot John Cameron, Moïse Amyraut, Pierre du Moulin, Jean Daillé, André Rivet, Charles Drelincourt, Claude Pajon, Jean Claude, and Pierre Jurieu. There is a nice balance maintained between theological questions and homiletic and pastoral considerations. Rather surprising is the absence of any in-depth discussion concerning the influence of the Genevan school with the Turretini, the uncle Bénédicte (1588–1631) and nephew François (1623–1687) and Jean Diodati

(1576–1649), who translated the Bible into Italian. Another absent Genevan influence is that of Benedict Pictet, who wrote a three volume theology (1696) and an influential two volume work on Christian ethics (1692).

The main theological issue at the time was obviously the condemnation of Arminianism and the fear on the part of du Moulin, Rivet and their ilk that Amyraldianism, developed from the “universalism” of Cameron, who had enormous influence on his students, was a half-way house to synergism. Du Moulin wrote pointedly about the Arminians (“apes of the Pelagians”), and chapter 9 on his *Anatomy of Arminianism* (1619) reveals his qualities as a theologian and polemicist.

The opponents of Amyraut feared that his two stage view of the divine decree of salvation, with Christ dying hypothetically for all and subsequently being received through faith by those who believed the gospel, would inevitably collapse into Arminian prescience and the limitation of divine sovereignty in salvation. They considered that this was plowing a different furrow from that of Dort, particularly its third canon, which had been accepted by the Synod of Alais, with du Moulin as moderator, in 1620. However, the theology taught at Saumur by Amyraut, La Place, and Capel, in the line of Cameron, retained its attraction throughout this period, and was never formally condemned by a synod of the church as heresy. Richard A. Muller, in his article on Amyraut, points out that his thought “although hardly a reprise of Calvin, arguably fell within the confessional boundaries set by the Canons of Dort” (p. 198). Unfortunately, Amyraut, no mean theologian, is generally only remembered in this context.

Another controversy, later than that surrounding the Saumur theology but not unrelated to it, concerned the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion and centered round the ideas of Claude Pajon (pp. 299–306). Pajon published little, but his ideas circulated widely and were much discussed, generating two rounds of controversy from 1665–1667 and 1676–1685. He went further than Amyraut, who proposed that if the Spirit works immediately on the intellect in conversion, he operates only mediately on the will, since his work passes through the intellect. Pajon seems to have denied an immediate operation of the Spirit on both the intellect and the will. His opponents, who included such influential figures as Jean Claude and Pierre Jurieu, deemed that Pajon’s teaching implied difficulties not only with relation to man’s natural sinfulness but also with regard to providential *concursum* in conversion. Pajon was never condemned of heresy and avoided charges by directing his energies latterly toward replying to the able Jansenist Pierre Nicole’s work *Legitimate Arguments against the Calvinists* (1671).

One of the most engaging chapters (ch. 14) for those who are interested in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Puritan theology is by Michael Haykin on the seal of the Spirit, describing Jean Claude's sermon on Ephesians 4:30 and Huguenot pneumatology. Claude, the influential pastor at Charenton near Paris (the largest Reformed church in France with up to 15,000 members and 4 pastors at one point), who also clashed with Nicole and Bossuet, had already written on the sin against the Holy Spirit. His sermon on "The Glorious Seal of God" reveals the richness of Huguenot preaching. Claude presented the seal of the Spirit as the sign of *royal* (surely not insignificant in the light of our remarks above!) belonging and distinguished between grieving, quenching, resisting, and outraging the Spirit (p. 332). He concluded: "Let us live in this age soberly, righteously, and piously by waiting for the most blessed day and the glorious appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ. Let us remember that we have been sealed for this great day of our redemption. Enjoy the honour of this seal until finally God enables us to enjoy the promise that he confirms to us. ... [Then] the flesh will follow the Spirit into the eternal paradise ..." (p. 333). No wonder Claude was one of the influential preachers of his day, an equal of Bossuet.

The question that does not find an answer in this collection concerns to what extent the various internal polemics, that rumbled on throughout the period, weakened the Protestant churches' witness and took them away from the concrete political problems facing them in France, which were double—the continued opposition from renascent Romanism and its eloquent defenders on the one hand, and the authoritarianism of the king on the other. Why did the French churches develop no form of resistance other than a passive respect for the monarchy before the disastrous Camisard uprisings in the Cévennes in the early 18th century? Why was no oppositional theory developed in France as was the case of Samuel Rutherford in Scotland or Louis Althusius of Holland in his *Politica*, advocating that a tyrant can be dethroned and even put to death? This was not new, and there were also French precedents. The "Monarchomaques" (p. 140) had contested the absolute power of monarchy, referring to the final section of Calvin's *Institutes* and Beza's *Right of Magistrates* for their ideas about a just and active opposition to tyranny. Was the French Reformed church too much in the slipstream of the Protestant nobility, and were its theologians too tied to what seemed acceptable and desirable to their noble leaders and protectors?

Perhaps the fact that France in the 17th century was hardly unified linguistically, since the majority of the population was illiterate and conversed in patois dialects, often incomprehensible outside their immediate locality,

also held back the growth of the Reformed church and limited it to the more educated, the nobility, or the growing middle commercial and professional classes. Whether it was the theological disputes, the growing oppression of the king, or broadly speaking the class limitation of the Reformed faith, the question remains, and it is a fascinating one, as to why the numbers of the Reformed diminished rather than increased during this century, in the context of limited tolerance. It seems to be the case that in France during this period the “commoners and peasants neither knew much about its [Catholic Church’s] doctrines nor participated in official religious events” (p. 142) and that religious identity was weak. The Catholic Church engaged in activities to rectify this, and the likes of Pierre de Bérulle and François de Sales worked to educate the population. Were there any comparable efforts on the part of the Reformed churches to “enlarge their tent”?

Beyond the tragedy recounted in these pages, is it not also indicative of the plight of the Reformed faith in France that the only contribution to this volume written by a French scholar is the historical piece by Marianne Carbonnier-Burkard, who teaches at an institution that is hardly a friend of confessional Calvinism? French theologians and historians today show scant attention to Calvin’s theology or to that of his successors and are rarely interested in questions that go beyond the historical plight of the Huguenots and their struggle for freedom of conscience. It would be a great thing if this volume were to inspire some younger scholars in France to dig into their largely unexplored theological patrimony.

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Adrian Chastain Weimer. *Martyrs’ Mirror: Persecution and Holiness in Early New England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. x + 218.

This monograph is a careful study of the impact of martyrdom on New England Protestants in the seventeenth century. The idea of martyrdom from the early Christian saints through the sixteenth-century persecution of Queen Mary helped to form a historical and more specifically apocalyptic framework that influenced the perception of early New Englanders, as they understood their context and purpose. Weimer argues that the idea of martyrdom, along with other apocalyptic features, shaped many of the significant interactions between New England Congregationalists and other Protestant groups in the colonies.