

Fresh Directions in Rutherford Studies

MATTHEW VOGAN
Reformation Scotland Trust

Samuel Rutherford (1600–1661) is unquestionably one of the most vital figures in the intellectual life of early modern Scotland. His contribution to the Westminster Assembly and close engagement in debate with heterodox religious groups in England provide a powerful lens for these areas of Puritan studies. Scholarly engagement with Rutherford was, however, mostly limited to a handful of theses and articles on his political thought and spirituality until the turn of the twenty-first century.¹ No doubt this reflected the trends and interests of twentieth century studies.

The historian John Coffey, however, kindled a revival of interest in Rutherford's oeuvre in his seminal intellectual biography published in 1998, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford*. It established Rutherford in his historical context in a way that redressed the weakness of previous scholarship. This in turn prepared the way for a historical theological approach, most notably in Guy M. Richard's book, *The Supremacy of God in the Theology of Samuel Rutherford*.² A broader introduction to Rutherford's theological contribution (including ecclesiastical and political theology) followed, comprising essays from a number of scholars.³ *Reformed Orthodoxy in Scotland: Essays on Scottish Theology c.1560–c.1775* deepened the focus on Rutherford's scholastic approach

1. See John Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 273–75.

2. *The Supremacy of God in the Theology of Samuel Rutherford* (Milton Keynes: Pater-noster Press, 2008). See also San-deog Kim, "Time and Eternity: A Study in Samuel Rutherford's Theology with Reference to his Use of Scholastic Method" (PhD diss., University of Aberdeen, 2002).

3. Matthew Vogan, ed., *Samuel Rutherford: An Introduction to His Theology* (Edinburgh: Scottish Reformation Society, 2012).

and established a fuller theological context.⁴ Rutherford studies are now burgeoning (especially in relation to historical theology). This was evident at a conference in May 2018 where nine different scholars from around the world delivered papers.⁵ With greater information available in relation to archival material and access to rare books, there is significant potential for producing an edition of Rutherford's collected works.⁶ This article seeks to take account of current research and indicate further directions for future engagement.

Rutherford and Puritanism: A Bad Fit?

Rutherford's inclusion within a journal dedicated to the study of Puritanism is a debatable point. Perhaps he would not quite have bristled at being called a Puritan, but he would certainly have borne it with some resignation as a term of reproach. Puritanism is a notoriously difficult term and category to define in terms of its beginning and end points and the spectrum of views included.

Until David G. Mullan introduced the idea in his book *Scottish Puritanism, 1590–1638*, this problem was not an issue in relation to studies of seventeenth-century Scotland.⁷ Part of Mullan's intention was to elide differences on church government and demonstrate a Calvinist piety that transcended them. The comparison is obvious: English Puritans could have different doctrinal views or positions on church government yet share a similar piety. In an essay discussing the unsolved problem of Scottish Puritanism John Coffey notes that Mullan never explains this label in order to defend it as a valid category.⁸

4. Aaron Clay Denlinger, ed., *Reformed Orthodoxy in Scotland: Essays on Scottish Theology (1560–1775)* (London: T&T Clark, 2015).

5. "Rutherford Redivivus: A Conference Engaging with Samuel Rutherford's Theology and Historical Context," St Mary's College, University of St. Andrews, Scotland, May 25, 2018. See conference report by Rene Heij in *Reformatorsch Dagblad* (5/26/2018) <https://www.rd.nl/kerk-religie/professor-coffey-onderzoek-naar-rutherford-krijgt-nieuwe-impuls-1.1489882> (accessed August 30, 2018).

6. Reformation Heritage Books has commenced an edition of Rutherford's collected works. A significant number of Rutherford's works have not been reprinted since the seventeenth century, and a number of these have never been translated out of Latin. An appendix indicates the large amount of unpublished material that can be ascribed to Rutherford's pen.

7. David G. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590–1638* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

8. John Coffey, "The Problem of Scottish Puritanism, 1590–1638" in Elizabethanne Boran and Crawford Gribben, eds., *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland and Scotland 1550–1700*

There is some appeal in using the term to denote a shared religious culture between the two kingdoms. It functions as a convenient shorthand (with appropriate qualifications) in the context of both England and New England. "Puritan nation" also seems the most obvious term for Margo Todd to adopt in describing the moral and religious transformation of early modern Scotland.⁹

The difficulty with the term in a Scottish context, however, is that its use is anachronistic. The term Puritan was never especially used in Scotland before 1618, whereas it was used in England from 1564. Its use after 1618 in Scotland was to identify those who opposed the Episcopalian forms of worship being introduced through the Articles of Perth. Those who resisted the changes were defending the status quo rather than seeking to change it. The Puritans in England were conversely trying to change the status quo toward a greater match with the practice in Scotland. The name fell out of use after 1638 in Scotland when the bishops and their supporters fell from power. Its use in studying the Scottish context can be confusing. To speak, for instance, of "the puritan episcopacy of Scotland" seems to be something of an oxymoron even when qualified.¹⁰ It is only fair to say, however, that Margo Todd (the author who coined the phrase) has herself discussed "The Problem of Scotland's Puritans."¹¹ She distinguishes between the application of Puritan to church reform and fervent spirituality. It is not easy, however, to provide overwhelming evidence that would suggest this was a distinction that was understood at the time. The term "puritan" may sometimes be used to refer to a strictness and diligence in religious practice but it was also used to distinguish those who opposed innovations in worship. Those who held to the former yet not the latter were a diminishing minority as events continued to polarize positions in Scotland. The most frequent term used by Rutherford and others to distinguish themselves within the Scottish Church was "best affected" or "well-affected" (e.g. Rutherford's Letters 15 and 40). This cuts across both

(Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006), 66–90, 67. See also Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions*, 18–25.

9. Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 402–12.

10. Margo Todd, "Bishops in the kirk: William Cowper of Galloway and the puritan episcopacy of Scotland" *Scottish Journal of Theology* (57:3, August 2004), 300–312.

11. Margo Todd, "The Problem of Scotland's Puritans" in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, ed. by John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 174–88.

categories advanced by Margo Todd since it denotes the degree of inclination towards Presbyterian concerns as well as piety.

English Puritans came to embrace the nickname but Scottish Presbyterians resisted this. Samuel Rutherford only used the word in reference to it as a term of abuse applied by the enemies of the Presbyterians (see Letters 11, 59 and 262).¹² In one sermon he refers to those who are afraid of being nicknamed Puritans.¹³ George Gillespie objected to the fact that “they make godly and zealous Christians to be mocked and nicknamed Puritans, except they can swallow the camel of conformity.” He makes the point that this was also the term applied to a medieval heresy:

Our consciences bear us witness how, without all reason, we are branded with the name of those ancient heretics, from whose opinions and manners, O, how far are we! And as for ourselves, notwithstanding all this we shrink not to be reproached for the cause of Christ. We know the old Waldenses before us were also named by their adversaries, Cathars or Puritans; and that, without cause, has this name been given both to them and us. But we are most sorry that such as are walking humbly with their God seeking eagerly after the means of grace and salvation, and making good conscience of all their ways, should be made odious, and that piety, humility, repentance, zeal, conscience etc. should be mocked, and all by occasion of the ceremonies.¹⁴

It can therefore seem as though the Scottish context is being arbitrarily squeezed to fit the English categories for the sake of convenience when the term Puritan is employed. Setting aside the question of referring to Rutherford as a Puritan, we can easily affirm his central importance to Puritan studies. His letters are indeed one of the key texts in the shared religious culture between England and Scotland. Rutherford’s direct engagement with the development of English Puritanism during the civil war period provides a further useful perspective.¹⁵ He is also valuable for New England

12. *Letters of Samuel Rutherford*, ed. Andrew A. Bonar (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1891) 21, 102, 485.

13. *Fourteen Communion Sermons by the Rev. Samuel Rutherford*, ed. Andrew A. Bonar (Glasgow: Charles Glass, 1877), 341.

14. George Gillespie, *A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies* (Dallas: Naphtali Press, 2013), 94.

15. For Rutherford’s views on English Puritanism see Michael Brown, “A Half Reformation: English Puritanism according to Samuel Rutherford” in Matthew Vogan ed., *Samuel Rutherford: an introduction to his theology* (Edinburgh: Scottish Reformation Society, 2012), 321–36.

Puritan studies as one who both admired and debated John Cotton and Thomas Hooker.

Fresh Directions in Researching Rutherford's Historical Context

The emergence of the New British History at the close of the twentieth century helped replace the focus on England's Civil War with the British War of Three Kingdoms. This has invited greater appreciation in recent decades of the pivotal role of Scotland's Covenanting Revolution in bringing about these events.¹⁶ A number of historians have developed the way in which the Covenanting Revolution functioned as a political movement; the most prolific amongst them are John R. Young and Laura A. M. Stewart.¹⁷ The military dimension also has not been neglected.¹⁸ Important biographies of key figures that interacted with Rutherford such as the Marquis of Argyll and Robert Baillie offer fresh perspectives on current events.¹⁹ Various studies have focussed on how the Church functioned during this time in order to uncover a deeper understanding of social history. It would be useful to compare this research in relation to the practice of church discipline and worship with Rutherford's ecclesiastical writings. Chris R. Langley's

16. John R. Young, ed., *Celtic dimensions of the British Civil Wars: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Research Centre In Scottish History University of Strathclyde* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997); John Morrill, ed., *The Scottish national covenant in its British context 1638–51* (Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh, 1990); David Stevenson, *Union, revolution and religion in 17th-century Scotland* (Variorum: Aldershot, 1997); Allan I. Macinnes, *The British Revolution, 1629–1660* (Basingstoke, 2005); David Scott, *Politics and War in the Three Stuart Kingdoms, 1637–1649* (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2004); Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-century English Political Instability in a European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Allan I. Macinnes and Jane H. Ohlmeyer eds. *The Stuart Kingdoms in the Seventeenth Century: Awkward Neighbours* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2002).

17. See Laura A. M. Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution: Covenanted Scotland, 1637–1651* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) and John R. Young, *The Scottish Parliament 1639–61: A Political and Constitutional Analysis* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1996).

18. Raymond Campbell Paterson, *A Land Afflicted: Scotland and the Covenanter Wars, 1638–1690* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998); Edward M. Furgol, *A Regimental History of the Covenanting Armies, 1639–51* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2001); Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, *Alexander Leslie and the Scottish Generals of the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

19. Allan I. Macinnes, *The British Confederate: Archibald Campbell, Marquess of Argyll, c. 1607–1661* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2011) and Alexander D. Campbell, *The Life and Works of Robert Baillie (1602–1662): Politics, Religion and Record-Keeping in the British Civil Wars* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2017).

*Worship, Civil War and Community, 1638–1660*²⁰ and Scott Spurlock's *Cromwell and Scotland: Conquest and Religion, 1650–1660* open up significant perspectives on the context Rutherford experienced.²¹

Aspects of Rutherford's life remain to be investigated further. His childhood and youth are still rather shadowy in terms of our understanding of the context, events, and relationships.²² Much of Rutherford's network of contacts and supporters in Galloway could be pieced together and explored in terms of its political and social significance.²³ The recent publication of Rutherford's Latin poems from the 1630s, translated by Dr. Jamie Reid-Baxter, also gives an intriguing view of a Covenanting pastor employing pagan and mythological vocabulary to produce accomplished neo-classical verse.²⁴ Much might be gained from an increased understanding of Rutherford's use of the Latin language and classical authors.

Rutherford's period in London is marked by more obscurity than might be expected. Our understanding of the Westminster Assembly and its context has grown considerably in the past ten years with Chad van Dixhoorn's multi-volume set of *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly 1643–1652*. Rutherford's role at the Westminster Assembly and engagement with key debates are still waiting to be developed with

20. Chris R. Langley, *Worship, Civil War and Community, 1638–1660* (Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2016) and "A Sweet Love-Token betwixt Christ and His Church": Kirk, Communion and the Search for Further Reformation, 1646–1658," in J. McCallum, ed., *Scotland's Long Reformation: New Perspectives on Scottish Religion, c. 1500–1660* (Leiden: Brill, 2016). For explorations of church discipline and the role of women, see Harriet J. Cornell, "Gender, Sex and Social Control: East Lothian, 1610–1640" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2002) and Margaret M. Belof, "The situation of women in seventeenth century Fife: as illustrated by the records of the Church courts" (PhD diss., University of St. Andrews, 1991).

21. Scott Spurlock, *Cromwell and Scotland: Conquest and Religion, 1650–1660* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007).

22. The only contribution to build on Coffey's biography is Matthew Vogan, "Samuel Rutherford's Experience and Doctrine of Conversion," in *Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal*, 5 (2015), 35–62. The following was completed before it could take account of Coffey. Kingsley Rendell, *Samuel Rutherford: A New Biography of the Man and His Ministry* (Fearn, Ross-shire, UK: Christian Focus, 2003).

23. Michael S. Griggs made a start with this analysis in "Yours in his sweet Lord Jesus": The Letters of Samuel Rutherford as Evidence of his Practical Politics" (MLitt Diss., University of Glasgow, 2013).

24. Such poetry was by no means an exception among Covenanting ministers. See Rutherford's poems at <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/rutherford/> (accessed August 30, 2018). Dr. Jamie Reid-Baxter gave a paper on "Rutherford's Latin Poetry" at the St. Andrews Conference.

greater context in the light of recent scholarship.²⁵ His engagement with the exploding London print culture might be a fruitful field for someone with an interest in understanding the reasons for selecting certain printers and booksellers. Rutherford expended significant time engaging in the Protester-Resolutioner dispute of the 1650s, but his contribution remains to be examined, along with his views of the Cromwellian regime.²⁶ He maintained a very close relationship with James Guthrie during this period and further understanding of Guthrie in his context might assist in better understanding Rutherford's views during this time.

Fresh Directions in Researching Rutherford's Theology

A fresh appreciation for Post-Reformation theology and the scholastic method means that the time is ripe for exploring Rutherford's theology in its international context.²⁷ The translation and publication of his Latin theological treatises will be key to this endeavor. Most important will be the translation of *Examen Arminianismi* which functions as a systematic theology textbook.²⁸ It would be helpful, for instance, to compare his theology with that of his friend Voetius or others like William Ames.²⁹ This would also open the way for further exploration of his debate with theologians of the Saumur school as well as Strang, Owen, and Baxter, or the Aberdeen Doctors. It would be useful to understand what elements of the medieval tradition form part of Rutherford's theology by focusing on continuity with individuals such as Aquinas, Bradwardine, and Bernard of Clairvaux.

Aza Goudriaan and Simon Burton have already engaged with more metaphysical aspects of Rutherford's theology.³⁰ Rob Sturdy's PhD

25. See, for instance, Hunter Powell, *The Crisis of British Protestantism: Church Power in the Puritan Revolution, 1638–44* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

26. See Spurlock (above) and Kyle David Holfelder, *Factionalism in the kirk during the Cromwellian invasion and occupation of Scotland 1650 to 1660* (PhD Diss., University of Edinburgh, 1999).

27. See volumes such as Mark Jones and Michael A. G. Haykin, eds., *Drawn Into Controversie: Reformed Theological Diversity And Debates Within Seventeenth-Century British Puritanism* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).

28. The translation from Latin is being completed by Dr. David Noe (Calvin College) under contract to Reformation Heritage Books.

29. See Andreas Johannes Beck, *Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676): Sein Theologieverständnis und seine Gotteslehre*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), and Aza Goudriaan, *Reformed Orthodoxy and Philosophy, 1625–1750: Gisbertus Voetius, Petrus van Mastricht, and Anthonius Driessen* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

30. Aza Goudriaan, "Samuel Rutherford on the Divine Origin of Possibility and Impossibility" in Aaron Clay Denlinger, ed., *Reformed Orthodoxy in Scotland: Essays on*

research (Evangelische Theologische Faculteit, Leuven) is similarly on “Freedom from Fatalism in Samuel Rutherford’s Scholastic Disputation on Divine Providence.” Aspects of sanctification, antinomianism and the law are a key focus for Sam Poon (Highland Theological College, PhD) and Robert McCurley (Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, MTh). A number of recent publications have explored this area in relation to the Westminster Assembly.³¹ Martin Bakker (University of St. Andrews, PhD) is exploring Rutherford’s doctrine of assurance. Another study has compared his covenant theology with that of John Brown of Haddington.³² There remains significant potential for investigating Rutherford’s theology in areas of current interest, such as the obedience of Christ, lapsarian issues, providence, hypothetical universalism, and pneumatology.³³ The translation of the *Examen* would open up most of the theological loci for comparison with other Post-Reformation dogmatists.

Apart from preaching, Rutherford’s ecclesiology and practical theology have been comparatively neglected since William Campbell’s 1937 thesis.³⁴ Even Rutherford’s views on the sacraments have been virtually

Scottish Theology (1560–1775) (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 141–56. Simon Burton has also researched “Samuel Rutherford and the Metaphysics of Morality” (unpublished invited conference paper, Leverhulme workshop, Scottish Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century Scotland and France, St. Andrews, December 2013), “Necessity, Contingency and Freedom in Samuel Rutherford: Investigations of the Scottish Influence on Seventeenth-Century Scottish Reformed Scholasticism” (unpublished invited conference paper, Leverhulme workshop, Scottish Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century Scotland and France, Clermont-Ferrand, June 2012), and “The Philosophical Significance and Influence of Scottish Reformed Scholasticism” (unpublished invited conference paper, Function, Form and Funding: What are Universities for — and who should pay for them? St. Andrews, August 2012).

31. Whitney Gamble, *Christ and the Law: Antinomianism at the Westminster Assembly* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2018); Steven J Casselli, *Divine Rule Maintained: Anthony Burgess, Covenant Theology, and the Place of the Law in Reformed Scholasticism* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2016); and Youngchun Cho, *Anthony Tuckney (1599–1670): Theologian of the Westminster Assembly* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2017); David R. Como, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in pre-Civil War England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

32. Israel José Guerrero Leiva recently completed an MTh at Edinburgh Theological Seminary.

33. For lapsarian issues, see Guy M. Richard, “Samuel Rutherford’s Supralapsarianism Revealed: A Key to the Lapsarian Position of the Westminster Confession of Faith?” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 59 (2006): 27–44 and Richard’s book *The Supremacy of God*.

34. One ecclesiological study is Sherman Isbell, “Introduction to Samuel Rutherford’s *The Due Right of Presbyteries*,” in Matthew Vogan, ed., *Samuel Rutherford: An Introduction to*

uninvestigated. Sang Hyuck Ahn has recently explored the controversy with Thomas Hooker at the doctoral level.³⁵ Mark Koller (PhD, Puritan Reformed Theological Seminary) is completing research on Rutherford's voluminous contributions to the field of church government. Rutherford set out to provide a full and direct refutation of the ideas of Thomas Erasmus on church government. Recent studies could assist a fuller appreciation of this interaction.³⁶ I delivered a paper at the St. Andrews Conference on Rutherford's elaboration of the concept of scandal in relation to matters of church practice and government. Rutherford also wrote various manuscripts in the area of church government which remain both unpublished and unresearched (see appendix).

Rutherford's approach to pastoral work could easily be illuminated through his letters, sermons, and other evidence, perhaps in light of current interest in pastor-theologians. His approach to exegesis and hermeneutics might be inferred from a study across his treatises and sermons, in particular his abilities with Hebrew might be assessed in the light of the historical context.³⁷ There is no extensive, close study of the Scottish use of the Song of Solomon (centering on Rutherford) equivalent to the study by Elizabeth Clarke.³⁸ Those interested in this area could, however, build on the work that Guy Richard has opened up in the area.³⁹ Recent emphasis on emotions during the early modern period could be used as the background for considering Rutherford's piety.⁴⁰ Recent studies in relation to the letters

His Theology (Edinburgh: Scottish Reformation Society, 2012), 213–28. For preaching, see Matthew Vogan, "Samuel Rutherford and the Theology and Practice of Preaching," in *Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal*, 1 (2011): 13–37. Further access to unpublished sermons should open further possibilities. Roy McDaniel has an unpublished paper titled "The Humanity of Christ in the Preaching of Samuel Rutherford."

35. Sang Hyuck Ahn, "Covenant in Conflict: The Controversy over the Church Covenant between Samuel Rutherford and Thomas Hooker" (PhD Diss., Calvin College, 2011).

36. See Colin Gunnoe, *Thomas Erasmus and the Palatinate. A Renaissance Physician in the Second Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

37. See Stephen G. Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1660): Authors, Books, and the Transmission of Jewish Learning* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

38. Elizabeth Clarke, *Politics, Religion and the Song of Songs in Seventeenth-Century England* (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

39. Guy M. Richard, "Clavis Cantici: A 'Key' to the Reformation in Early Modern Scotland?," in *Reformed Orthodoxy in Scotland: Essays on Scottish Theology 1560–1775*, ed. Aaron Clay Denlinger (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 157–173.

40. See Susan Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2016).

provide a platform for a fuller exploration of the piety that they exude.⁴¹ Much could also be gained from a deeper understanding of the reception and popularity of Rutherford's letters during the early modern period.

Fresh Directions in Researching Rutherford's Political Thought

Rutherford's *Lex, Rex* has been a constant source of interest, but it takes significant appreciation of these matters and Aristotelian thought to draw out his full conclusions.⁴² At the St. Andrews Conference, Rob Sturdy indicated the way in which a failure to understand such philosophical categories of thought in relation to concepts such as necessity can lead to mistaken conclusions in relation to *Lex, Rex*. It can also yield intriguing possibilities, however, such as Nevada Levi de Lapp's study of Rutherford's use of the David and Goliath narrative.⁴³ Much could be done to locate Rutherford's political theology within his wider theological concerns, the chapter on the Civil Magistrate from the *Examen Arminianismi* would be a good place to start.⁴⁴ Other studies trace the lineage of Rutherford's theory of resistance back to the Reformation.⁴⁵

41. See Paul Tonks, "Scottish Presbyterian Piety: Samuel Rutherford and the Literature of Civil War-era Puritanism," *Memes* 17 (2007), 127–39; Alison Searle, "The Biblical and Imaginative Interiority of Samuel Rutherford," *The Dalhousie Review*, 85 (2005), 307–20; and Robert Arnold, "Was Samuel Rutherford a Mystic?" *Puritan Reformed Journal* 2, no. 1 (Jan 2010), 182–96.

See also John Coffey, "Letters by Samuel Rutherford (1600–1661)" in Kelly M. Kopic and Randall C. Gleason, eds., *The Devoted Life: an Invitation to the Puritan Classics* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 92–107; and Hans Meier, "Love, law and lucre: images in Rutherford's letters," in M. Arn and H. Wirtjes, eds., *Historical and Editorial Studies in Medieval and Early Modern English for John Gerritson* (Groningen: Walters-Noordhoff, 1985), 77–96.

42. The following gives something of a brief introduction to Rutherford's political theory: W. D. J. McKay, "Samuel Rutherford on Civil Government" in Matthew Vogan, ed., *Samuel Rutherford: an Introduction to His Theology* (Edinburgh: Scottish Reformation Society, 2012), 253–64.

43. Nevada Levi De Lapp, "Wielding Goliath's Sword: 16th and 17th Century Reformed Political Readings of the David Story" (PhD. Diss., Texas Christian University, 2012).

44. See Guy M. Richard, "Samuel Rutherford: Of the Civil Magistrate," translation with introduction of chapter 19 of *Examen Arminianismi* [Utrecht, 1668], *The Confessional Presbyterian* 4 (2008), 270–76.

45. David W. Hall, "Calvin's Ideas Emigrate to Scotland and Great Britain: *Lex Rex* ("Law is King");" in *The Genevan Reformation and the American Founding* (New York: Lexington, 2003), 229–84. Andries Raath and Shaun De Freitas, "From Heinrich Bullinger to Samuel Rutherford: The Impact of Reformation Zurich on Seventeenth-Century Scottish Political Theory," in Emidio Campi and Peter Opitz, eds., *Heinrich Bullinger: Life, Thought,*

Andries Raath and Shaun de Freitas have written a great deal on Rutherford's political theory during the past two decades.⁴⁶ One article relates to the more complicated area of Rutherford's views of toleration and religious freedom, which others have also addressed.⁴⁷ In an age of pluralism this is an area that requires careful understanding so that we do not transpose our views about politics onto the past or assume that the only alternative to unlimited toleration was outright persecution. *A Free Disputation Against Pretended Liberty of Conscience* awaits a fuller close reading and analysis against the historical context.⁴⁸ With equal controversy, Rutherford has been drawn into the historic justification for the right to bear arms.⁴⁹ Resistance is of course a perennially popular theme in studies of *Lex, Rex*.⁵⁰ Calum Wright has also recently drawn a wider canvas against

Influence: Zurich, Aug. 25–29, 2004 International Congress Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575) (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Zurich, 2007), 2:853–79.

46. Shaun De Freitas, "Samuel Rutherford on Law and Covenant: The Impact of Theologico-political Federalism on Constitutional Theory" (MLaw Thesis, University of the Free State [South Africa], 2003); Andries Raath and Shaun De Freitas, "Samuel Rutherford's theologico-political federalism and early American Society," *Journal for Christian Scholarship* 48 (2012): 1–42; Andries Raath and Shaun De Freitas, "A reply to John Coffey's analysis of Samuel Rutherford's theology and political theory," *Journal for Christian Scholarship* 51 (2015), 69–84; Andries Raath and Shaun De Freitas, "Theologically United and Divided: The Political Covenantalism of Samuel Rutherford and John Milton," *Westminster Theological Journal*, November (2005); Andries Raath and Shaun De Freitas, "Samuel Rutherford and the Neo-Thomists. Juristic Corporation Theory and Natural Law Arguments in *Lex, Rex*," *Journal for Christian Scholarship* 51, no. 2 (2015), 27–53; Andries Raath and Shaun De Freitas, "Samuel Rutherford's contribution to Reformed Republicanism," *Journal for Christian scholarship* 51, no. 1 (2015), 93–115; Andries Raath and Shaun De Freitas, "Reformation Britain, the Political Dimension of the Covenant, and the Contribution of the Scots," *Journal for Christian Scholarship* 40 (2004), 117–47; Shaun De Freitas, "Samuel Rutherford and the Soteriological Implications of the Office of Magistracy in the Covenanted Christian Community," *Journal for Christian Scholarship* 43 (2007), 31–50.

47. Andries Raath and Shaun De Freitas, "Samuel Rutherford and the protection of religious freedom in early seventeenth-century Scotland," *Westminster Theological Journal* 78 (2016), 231–48. See also Crawford Gribben, "Samuel Rutherford and liberty of conscience," *Westminster Theological Journal* 71 (2009), 355–73; and Paul Helm, "Rutherford and the Limits of Toleration," in *Tolerance and Truth: The Spirit of the Age or the Spirit of God?*, ed. Angus Morrison (Edinburgh: Rutherford House, 2007), 57–74.

48. Samuel Rutherford, *A Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience* (London, 1649; reprinted in 1651).

49. David B. Kopel, "The Scottish and English Religious Roots of the American Right to Arms: Buchanan, Rutherford, Locke, Sidney, and the Duty to Overthrow Tyranny," *Bridges* 12, nos. 3/4 (Fall/Winter, 2005), 291.

50. See David Field, "Put not your trust in princes: Samuel Rutherford, the four

which to understand Rutherford's political thought, while Peter Herz has explored the theological aspects of establishing the rule of law.⁵¹ Natural law theory and jurisprudence have enjoyed a greater degree of attention in recent years.⁵² There will be ways in which Rutherford's use of natural law can be developed beyond the focus of John L. Marshall's thesis, using wider studies published within the last two decades.⁵³

Conclusion

A fifty-six foot granite obelisk stands as a monument to Rutherford on the Boreland hill above the parish of Anwoth. Erected in 1842, its inscription focuses on Rutherford's "distinguished public labours in the cause of civil and religious liberty." Shattered into fragments by lightning in 1847, it was rebuilt within the years following. In recent years the top courses of the monument began to come loose and drone footage showed that the monument was in imminent danger of collapse. A fundraising initiative gained the support necessary to make the monument safe in 2017, with restoration work being completed in 2018. This restoration project is a useful metaphor for the state of Rutherford studies. For many years, Rutherford has

causes, and the limitation of resistance" in Stephen Clark (ed.) *Tales of Two Cities: Christianity and Politics* (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2005), 83–151 and Ryan McAnnally-Linz, "Resistance and Romans 13 in Samuel Rutherford's *Lex, Rex*" *Scottish Journal of Theology* 66 (2013), 140–58.

51. Calum Wright, "Conflicts of Conscience: English and Scottish Political Thought, 1637–1653" (PhD Diss., Birkbeck University, 2018); Peter J. Herz, "Covenant to Constitutionalism: Rule of Law as a Theological Ideal in Reformed Scotland" (PhD Diss., Southern Illinois University, 2001).

52. Stephen John Grabill, *Rediscovering the Natural Law in Reformed Theological Ethics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006). John Witte, *The Reformation of Rights. Law, Religion, and Human Rights in Early Modern Calvinism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

53. John L. Marshall, "Law and the Covenant: The Place of Natural Law in the Covenantal Framework of Samuel Rutherford's *Lex Rex*" (PhD Diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1995); Simon J. G. Burton, "Samuel Rutherford's Euthyphro Dilemma: A Reformed Perspective on the Scholastic Natural Law Tradition," in Aaron Clay Denlinger, ed., *Reformed Orthodoxy in Scotland: Essays on Scottish Theology (1560–1775)* (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 123–39; Peter Judson Richards, "The Law Written in Their Hearts?: Rutherford and Locke on Nature, Government and Resistance," *Journal of Law and Religion* 18, no. 1 (2002–2003):151–89; Raath and De Freitas, "Juristic corporation theory and natural law arguments in *Lex, Rex*"; Andreas Raath, "The Transformation of Reformed Natural Law Doctrine in Samuel Rutherford's *Lex, Rex*" *Koers* 80, no. 4 (2015). On the relationship between Rutherford and Locke see Robert Arnold, "Was Samuel Rutherford A Source For John Locke's Political Theories?" *Global Journal of Classical Theology* 7, no. 1 (February, 2009), 1–24.

been largely neglected by scholars. Much of the study available was from the nineteenth century and, while solid and painstaking in its way, it reflected the predilections of the time. Some aspects were passed over—almost in silence—while others were understood through Victorian notions of liberty and progress. Now, however, there is hope of both momentum and a critical mass of scholars working on Samuel Rutherford in order to assess his significance against a historical context which is engaging considerable academic interest.⁵⁴ This can only be abundantly fruitful for the study of Puritanism and post-Reformation historical theology.

54. Dr. John Coffey drew this comparison in his conference paper at St. Andrews (May, 2018).

Appendix: Rutherford's Unpublished Works

1. Latin notes of lectures given by Rutherford in 1654. National Library: 16475, small volume. There are brief notes on matters such as *de necessitate, de autoritate and de dignitas scripturae*. These are notes from lectures on Scripture similar to those recorded in 1648 (below) but much more concise. Guy Richard draws from both in a discussion of Rutherford's theology of Scripture in *The Supremacy of God*, 51.
2. "Dictates of praelectiones." Dictates of prelections on the Holy Scriptures, from the lectures of Samuel Rutherford (Latin), taken down by William Tullideph (1648, started November 20) St. Andrews University Library: BS 540 R8. 10 (188 pages). Includes an index of topics and questions discussed, and indices of texts discussed and points raised.
3. Treatise on the nature of obedience to a usurped power and on the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion. Edinburgh University Library: La. Ill. 69 number 5 folio 9. http://archives.collections.ed.ac.uk/repositories/2/archival_objects/15789
4. Portions of a discourse on Ephesians 1:4 signed by Samuel Rutherford. 18 pp. Edinburgh University Library: La. II. 394. This contains a defense of supralapsarianism (Guy Richard draws from this in *The Supremacy of God*, 161). <https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/1842/21088/La.II.1-654.pdf>
5. A passage with which a manuscript copy of "The Last Speeches and Departure of John Viscount Kenmuir" begins. 1 p. Edinburgh University Library: La. Ill. 263/3. It gives a one-page account of an unusual experience relating to the illness and death of the Viscount Kenmure. http://archives.collections.ed.ac.uk/repositories/2/archival_objects/15983
6. Latin Epitaph to Viscount Kenmure (3 poems). National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh: Wodrow Quarto LXXXIV, fols. 245v–246.
7. Latin epitaph on Viscount Kenmure. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh: Wodrow Wod. Fol. XXIX vi. This is a holograph in Rutherford's own handwriting. It appears to have been among the papers of Thomas Wylie.
8. Manuscript on congregationalism and church government (c.1650). New College Library, Edinburgh: MSS Box 28.5 63pp, pp1–4 missing.

Although not attributed to Rutherford, this is certainly by him (as Scott Spurlock argues).⁵⁵

9. Three sorts of Bishop. A short piece against episcopacy. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh: Wodrow Wod. Qu. LXXXIV, fol. 172.

Possible Unpublished Manuscript Works

10. Treatise in favor of private meetings (c.1640). National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh: Oct XXVII f.120, together with Treatise against read prayers f.145–163. The latter seems almost certainly by Rutherford which tends to make it probable that the other is too. The arguments and language (many syllogisms and Latin quotations) point toward Rutherford. The date is likely to 1640 and it is unlikely that anyone else so similar to Rutherford in his language and thinking would have produced this at that time.
11. Two Letters “to a friend” in a style reminiscent of Samuel Rutherford in correspondence with Thomas Wylie. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh: Wodrow Octavos XXVI f.34.
12. A treatise in confutation of the hierarchical domination and episcopacy (c.1634). National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh: Wodrow Wod. Qu. LXXXIV, fol. 248.

Unpublished Sermons⁵⁶

John Coffey’s biography *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* contains several useful bibliographies, including works published in Rutherford’s lifetime; posthumously published works; Protester documents drafted or signed by Rutherford, and unpublished manuscript works by Rutherford. This short note updates the bibliography of unpublished manuscript works in relation to Rutherford’s sermons. John Coffey refers to “unpublished contemporary notes on forty of his sermons surviving in Scottish libraries.”⁵⁷ The evidence presented here demonstrates, however, that this figure can be more than doubled.

55. R. Scott Spurlock, “Sectarian Religion in Scotland: The Impact of Cromwell’s Occupation (1650–1660).” (PhD Diss., University of Edinburgh, 2005), 216.

56. This part of the appendix is a revised version of my article “Samuel Rutherford’s Unpublished Sermons,” *Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal* 8 (2018): 58–69. The original article included a transcript of a manuscript lecture on Judges 10.

57. These bibliographies are contained in pp. 259–273, and the bibliography of unpublished manuscript works of Rutherford is on p. 272.

Rutherford's Published Sermons

Rutherford himself prepared very few sermons for the press. The main collections were the two preached before the House of Commons and House of Lords (1644 and 1645)⁵⁸ and twenty-seven sermons in *The Tryal and Triumph of Faith* (1645).

All other published sermons have been taken from the notes of hearers. *Communion Sermons* (1876) and *Quaint Sermons* (1885) comprise fourteen and eighteen sermons, respectively, gathered together by A. A. Bonar and J. H. Thomson. This amounts to a total of thirty-four published sermons (not thirty-two, as Coffey asserts). Adding the twenty-seven sermons in *The Tryal and Triumph* brings the complete figure to sixty-one.

It is worth observing that *Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himself* (1647) also largely comprises sermons on John 12:27–33. The difficulty, however, is that the volume is not separated into numbered sermons in the same way as *The Tryal and Triumph*. *Christ Dying* also has many more lengthy “necessary Digressions, for the times” (as the title page identifies). Rutherford identifies the various clauses of the verses in this pericope and moves from expounding one to the next. At times this may seem to indicate the boundaries of the original sermons, yet sometimes he spends only a few paragraphs opening up a clause. Since progressing clause by clause is his ordinary method within sermons, it is not possible to draw absolute conclusions from this aspect of *Christ Dying*.

The Power and Prevalency of Prayer (1713) evidently arose from sermons on Matthew 9:27–31, but as with *Christ Dying*, it does not identify distinct sermons. The introduction does, however, list eight distinct sections which may indicate a series of eight sermons noted down by a hearer. Despite the list in the introduction, the published version does not include the full eight sections but ends abruptly in the sixth part with the statement that “the rest of this discourse cannot be found.”

National Library of Scotland, Acc.9270 nos. 3 and 4

These manuscript volumes contain sermons by ministers belonging to the Presbytery of St. Andrews, such as Andrew Honeyman (minister of the Second Charge), Robert Blair (minister of the First Charge) and James Wood (minister of Dunino). They originate from the Library of the Kirk

58. These have been reprinted in *Sermons Preached before the English Houses of Parliament by the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, 1643–1645* (Dallas: Naphtali Press, 2011).

of Saltoun (East Lothian) and are contained in quarto oblong volumes. The notebooks are portable but not pocket size. The script does appear to be written in some haste and there are abbreviations and some crossings out.⁵⁹ This makes it less likely that they were written fair from notes made at the time of the service.

The volume Acc.9270 No.3 is labelled “MS Sermons 1658” and inscribed “volum 1” on the flyleaf with the sermons beginning from July 4, 1658. Acc.9270 No.4 is labelled “MS Sermons 1659” and the sermons begin from January 2, 1659. Coffey does not list this volume, but it contains notes of sermons by Rutherford.⁶⁰

As Coffey notes, none of the sermon notes from Acc.9270 No.3 have ever been published, and in some cases there are only two or three sides of notes on each sermon.⁶¹ Since he only refers to Acc.9270 No.3, Coffey counts only twenty-four sermons whereas, if Acc.9270 No.4 is consulted, there are many more. There is a total of fourteen sermons on Psalm 88, but disappointingly there are no sermons on the final two verses of the Psalm.

The discourses in the manuscript are usually identifiable as either a sermon or lecture. A lecture was a relatively detailed exposition of a chapter or part of a chapter by way of running commentary, rather than opening up a single verse or passage in the way of a sermon. It was a practice that appears to have begun in 1648 and lasted in the Scottish Church until the later nineteenth century. Often the minister began his sermon immediately following the prayer after the lecture, although it could also be delivered in the afternoon.⁶² The sermons usually follow lectures immediately, indicating that they would have been delivered on the same day.

It is especially interesting to have access to these as none of the volumes of published Rutherford sermons have included any lectures.⁶³ Wodrow

59. Portable inkwells and writing sets existed during the seventeenth century. See G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Scotland in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), 195.

60. There is a further volume Acc.9270 No.5, which begins on September 2, 1659, and concludes September 27, 1660. It is inscribed “volum 4” on f.2, which seems to indicate that there may have been another volume that is now lost. The sermons contained in this volume are all by Andrew Honeyman.

61. Coffey, 272.

62. Wodrow *Analecta*, I, 274.

63. Strictly speaking the lectures are not sermons (nor are the communion exhortations), but we have included all pulpit expositions in the list under the general term of sermons for ease of reference.

reports that Rutherford “had an excellent gift for lecturing.”⁶⁴ The example he provides in the appendix shows Rutherford providing a running commentary on each verse and then concluding with some application. The lecture was often brief, so while these notes may not have captured the exposition verbatim, the substance is certainly recorded.

It is not clear whether there is a missing volume for the period until Rutherford was deprived of his charge in the church and university office in November 1660. The latest sermons that appear to be extant are presumably in the volume National Library of Scotland, Adv. 15.2.20, since these were preached in 1660.

1. Lecture on Mark 15 (No. 3 p. 5–7).
2. Sermon on Hebrew 3:6 (No. 3 pp. 7–9).
3. Sermon on Psalm 88:1–2 (No. 3 pp. 12–15).
4. Lecture on Mark 15:29ff. (No. 3 pp. 31–32).
5. Sermon on Isaiah 5:16–17 (No. 3 pp. 32–36).
6. Lecture on Mark 16 (No. 3 pp. 58–59).
7. Sermon on Hebrews 3:6–7 (No. 3 pp. 59–61).
8. Lecture on Luke 1:1–4 (No. 3 pp. 77–78).
9. Sermon on Hebrews 3:8–9 (No. 3 pp. 79–82).
10. Lecture on Luke 1:5 (No. 3 pp. 85–86).
11. Sermon on Psalm 88:1–3 (No. 3 pp. 87–90).
12. Sermon on Psalm 88:1–3 (No. 3 pp. 95–97).
13. Lecture on Luke 1:13 (No. 3 pp. 117–119).
14. Sermon on Psalm 81:1 (No. 3 pp. 119–122).
15. Lecture on Ezekiel 9 “September 12, 1658” (No. 3 pp. 128–29).
16. Sermon on Psalm 88:1–3 (No. 3 pp. 130–32).
17. Lecture on Ezekiel 9, apparently on the afternoon of a fast on September 19 (No. 3 pp. 151–53).
18. Sermon on Psalm 88:4 (No. 3 pp. 153–56).
19. Lecture on Judges 10 (No. 3 pp. 179–80).
20. Sermon on Psalm 88:6–7 October (No. 3 pp. 181–83).
21. Lecture on Luke 1:19ff. (No. 3 pp. 222–24).
22. Sermon on Psalm 88:7–9 (No. 3 pp. 224–29).
23. Lecture on Luke 1:28 (No. 3 pp. 238–40).
24. Sermon on Psalm 88:8–9 (No. 3 pp. 240–44).

64. *Analecta*, III, 89.

25. Sermon on Psalm 88:11–12 (No. 3 pp. 294–8).
26. Sermon on Psalm 88:11–12 (No. 3 pp. 318–23).
27. Lecture on Luke 1:36 'February 2, 1659' (No. 4 p. 1).
28. Lecture on Psalm 17 (No. 4 pp. 2–6).
29. Lecture on Psalm 17:15 (No. 4 pp. 19–24).
30. Sermon on Revelation 3:2 (No. 4 pp. 24–28).
31. Sermon on John 17:25 (No. 4 pp. 84–91).
32. Lecture on Luke 1:49ff. (No. 4 pp. 102–4).
33. Sermon on John 17:25 (No. 4 pp. 105–11).
34. Sermon on Psalm 88:13–14 (No. 4 pp. 162–68)
35. Lecture on Luke 1:68 not named (No. 4 pp. 204–6).
36. Sermon on Psalm 88:14–15 (No. 4 pp. 206–11).
37. Lecture on Luke 2:1ff (No. 4 pp. 261–63).
38. Sermon on Psalm 88:15 (No. 4 pp. 263–69)
39. Lecture on Luke 2:8 "S Reterfort [Latin]" (No. 4 pp. 327–29).
40. Sermon on Psalm 88:15–16 (No. 4 pp. 329–35).

National Library of Scotland, Wodrow Octavo XLVII

41. Communion Exhortation at f.42, evidently a table address, but at an unspecified location. The handwriting appears to be mid-seventeenth century, but the ink is faded which makes it challenging to read. This sermon is not listed by Coffey. It is in fact a fuller transcript of the only published communion exhortation by Rutherford, which was delivered in London, 1643 and is Sermon 12 in *Communion Sermons* (pp. 278–90). The beginning of the exhortation alludes either to Matthew 26:24 or Mark 14:21.

National Library of Scotland, Wodrow Manuscripts Quarto VIII

This manuscript appears to have been made in 1673, probably by John Veitch, minister of Westruther. There are twenty-six sermons in the volume, mostly by David Dickson but with others that seem to be by Andrew Cant and even John Welsh of Ayr, whose last Scottish sermon would have been preached before his imprisonment in July 1605. Sermons 16 and 17 are by Rutherford, on Song of Solomon Chapter 5. Wod. Qu. VIII No. 16 is on Song 5:2 (ff. 78), and appears to be Sermon IX from *Communion Sermons* (the wording is extremely close but not always identical). It

is dated April 5, 1637 (according to *Communion Sermons*).⁶⁵ The volume is not listed by Coffey.

42. Sermon on Song 5:6–9 (f.93v; Sermon No. 17). This unpublished sermon is dated 1647. If preached in Scotland it would have to have been in very late November or during December, as it was only then that Rutherford returned from the Westminster Assembly in London.

National Library of Scotland, MS.1759, Sermon Notebook of Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock

43. Sermon on Exodus 20:12, ff. 28v–32v: MS.1759.

National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS.5.10

44. Sermon on Isaiah 45:19, p. 62–64 or ff. 38v–39v.
 45. Sermon on Isaiah 48:20, p. 95–98 or ff. 55r–56v.
 46. Sermon on Isaiah 49:1, p. 101–4 or ff. 58r–59v.
 47. Sermon on Isaiah 49:1, p. 124–27 or ff. 69v–71r.
 48. Sermon on Luke 15:2, p. 144 f.79v.
 49. Sermon on Isaiah 49:3, p. 150–53 or 82v–84r.
 50. Sermon on Luke 15:14, p. 156–57 or 85v–86r.
 51. Sermon on Luke 15:18, p. 172 or 93v.
 52. Sermon on Isaiah 49:6, p. 183–87 or 99r–101r.
 53. Sermon on Luke 15:21, p. 187–88 or ff. 101r–101v.
 54. Sermon on Luke 15:25, p. 204–5 or 109v–110r.
 55. Sermon on Isaiah 49:7, p. 230–34 or ff. 122v–124v.
 56. Sermon on Matthew 13:24, p. 237–239 or ff. 126r–127r.
 57. Sermon on Isaiah 49:8, p. 268–72 or 141v–134v.
 58. Sermon on Psalm 28:1, p. 274 or fl. 44v.
 59. Sermon on Isaiah 49:9, p. 282–286 or ff. 148v–150v.
 60. Sermon on Isaiah 49:13, p. 302–5 or 158v–160v.
 61. Sermon on Isaiah 49:14, p. 322–26 or 168v–170v.
 62. Sermon on Mark 6:48/Matthew 14:28, pp. 326–332 or 170v–73v.
 63. Sermon on Isaiah 49:15, p. 337–41 or 176r–178r.

65. *Communion Sermons*, 200. This date is not possible as Rutherford was still in Aberdeen at this time.

64. Sermon on Isaiah 49:17, p. 395–97 or 205r–206v.
65. Sermon on Isaiah 49:18, p. 407–11 or 211r–213v.
66. Sermon on Isaiah 49:21, p. 428–32 or 221v–223v.
67. Sermon on John 14:18, p. 437–40 or 226r–227v.
68. Sermon on Isaiah 49:22, p. 454–57 or 234v–236r.
69. Sermon on Isaiah 49:23, p. 471–74 or 243r–244v.
70. Sermon on Luke 7:2, ff. 86v–88r, Adv.MS.5.2.10 NLS.

National Library of Scotland, Adv. 15.2.20 ‘LXIX Sermons by XVII Presbyterians in 1660’

71. Lecture on Luke 7:1, ff. 63r–64v.
72. Isaiah 1:16 ff. 64v–67v.
73. Lecture on Luke 7:11, ff. 86v–88r.
74. Sermon on Isaiah 1:17, ff. 88r–90v.

Edinburgh University Library, Dc. 5.30—31

Notes on nine sermons of Rutherford in two volumes of notes on Covenanter sermons. These volumes also include sermons by Blair, Honeyman, Wood, Douglas, and Cant. Some of the Blair and Honeyman sermons appear to be similar to National Library of Scotland, Acc. 9270 Nos. 3 and 4. As Coffey notes, the manuscript is quite easy to read.

75. First Sermon on Genesis 28:10–15 (vol 30, ff. 17–24).
76. Second Sermon on Genesis 28:10–15 (vol 30, ff. 25–31).
77. Third Sermon on Genesis 28:10–15 (vol 30, ff. 31–38).
78. First Sermon on Hebrews 4:15–16 (vol 30, ff. 45v–52r).
79. Second Sermon on Hebrews 4:15–16 (vol. 30, ff. 52v–58v).
80. Sermon on Revelation 3:20 “Saturday befor the Communion” (vol. 30, ff. 61v–69r).
81. Sermon on Isaiah 1:18 (August 10, 1656, vol. 31, ff. 54v–57r).
82. Sermon on Isaiah 5:3–4 (September 14, 1656, vol. 31, ff. 70r–71).
83. Sermon on Isaiah 1:12 (September 25, 1659, vol. 31, ff. 135r–138r).

New College Library, Edinburgh, B. b. b. 12

84. Sermon on Galatians 2:20 (9 pages). The handwriting of this copy appears to date from the later seventeenth century or early eighteenth century.

University of St. Andrews Library, MS 30386

This volume comprises notes of Rutherford sermons preached between c. 1630 and 1647, 332 pp. Coffey states that only six of these twenty-five sermons have never been published, i.e. the three on Revelation 3, two on Song of Solomon 5, and one on Hebrews 13, but he has overlooked one of the two sermons on Revelation 19.⁶⁶

The index to the manuscript volume identifies three sermons on Song of Solomon 2:8–13, said to be from the Communion at Anwoth 1630. The first two (beginning at ff. 89r) are the same as the single sermon published as *Communion Sermons XIV* (pp. 338–62).⁶⁷ The second sermon on this text is not very clearly marked in the manuscript but begins ff. 100r (where there is a number 2 in the margin) and runs to f.111r. The third sermon on Song of Solomon 2:14–17 (rather than 2:8–13) is unpublished.

85. Sermon on Revelation 19:7–17 “A preparation sermon at Kirkcudbright” (ff. 22–31v).
86. Sermon on Song of Solomon 2:14–17 (ff. 111r–123v).
87. Sermon on Revelation 3:11–13, “A sermon for thanksgiving at Kirkcudbright” (ff. 136r–136v).
88. Exhortation on Hebrews 13:12–13, “Mr Rutherford exhortation at ye sacrament Kirkcudbright July 1634” (f. 137r–137v).
89. Sermon on Song of Solomon 5:1–5.
90. Sermon on Revelation 3:20–22, “A Sermon preached for preparation to the communion preached by Mr Samuel Rutherford at Elie May 1, 1641.” (ff. 210r–221v). Elie is in the East Neuk of Fife, about 12 miles from St. Andrews.
91. First Sermon on Revelation 3:12, “Two Sermons preached by Master Samuel Rutherford at Saint Andrews June 24, 1638

66. *Communion Sermons I* on Revelation 19:11–14 is found in this manuscript at f.31v–33r and is dated June 12, 1634, “Upon the sabbath afternoone for Thanksgiving.” *Communion Sermons* only notes that it was preached on a day of thanksgiving at Kirkcudbright but it has the full sermon, evidently from another manuscript source (*Communion Sermons*, 7).

67. This manuscript therefore attests the authenticity of *Communion Sermons XIV*.

Rev 3 v 12 at the midst of the verse and v 13" (ff. 222r–226r). Rutherford arrived in St. Andrews as professor in October, 1639, so this preceded his time there (see date of no. 62). Rutherford had left Aberdeen in March, 1638 and on June 3, 1638 preached in the college kirk in Edinburgh and later at the swearing of the covenant in Edinburgh (Baillie, vol. 1, p. 88). It is possible that Rutherford was preaching in other locations in connection with covenant swearing. The session minutes for St. Andrews show that Rutherford also preached there on June 10 1638 together with James Bonar.⁶⁸

92. Second Sermon on Revelation 3:12–13 (ff. 226r–229v).

93. Sermon on Song of Solomon 5:9–10 (ff. 229v–238r).

94. Sermon on Song of Solomon 5:2–3, "A Sermoun preached at Kylrynnie the 26 of June 1638 by Mr Samuel Rutherford" (ff. 238r–248r). This is James Melville's former charge, just to the west of Anstruther and about 9 miles from St. Andrews. This sermon was preached two days after the above sermon preached in St. Andrews, June 24, 1638.

Incompletely Recorded or Inaccessible Sermons

There are some notes of a Rutherford sermon in shorthand as recorded by Alexander Brodie of Brodie in 1642 or 1643. It is listed in the published diary as being in a (possibly undecipherable) shorthand, some efforts have been made to search through the Brodie Castle records, and it is hopeful that the manuscript may yet be located.⁶⁹

There are also brief references to a sermon preached by Rutherford in his home district of Ancrum in *The Covenanters of Teviotdale and Neighbouring Districts*. The sermon was preached at a communion at Wilton Church on June 22, 1656. He preached from Psalm 119:38. He insisted on separation unto God: "The Lord is not content with outward profession. He searcheth the secrets of the hearts. Our Lord's way with a sinner is, first, He lets him taste of the sour before He brings him into the sweet, to try their faith in Him; but Satan does not so. His best is first." The notes were made

68. Quoted W. I. Hoy, *The Early Covenanting Movement as reflected in the life, work and thought of James Guthrie of Stirling* (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1952), 21–22.

69. *The diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie, MDCLII–MDCLXXX. and of his son, James Brodie of Brodie, MDCLXXX–MDCLXXXV. consisting of extracts from the existing manuscripts, and a republication of the volume printed at Edinburgh in the year 1740* (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1863), xix–xxi.

by Robert Bennet, laird of Chesters and Raffle.⁷⁰ Andrew Bonar mentions that the first sermon Rutherford preached at Anwoth was on John 9:39, but there is no source for this nor trace of a manuscript.⁷¹

Conclusion

This brief note has identified ninety-four unpublished sermons by Samuel Rutherford, as opposed to the forty estimated by John Coffey in his book, meaning that the unpublished sermons now greatly exceed the total number of those that were published.⁷² The latter tend to be those recorded at communion occasions and are therefore not typical of his ordinary ministry.

Even the brief bibliographical information provided above gives useful insight into the regular preaching ministry exercised by Rutherford in St. Andrews, particularly his lectures.⁷³ The list of sermons shows the range of biblical books that he addressed. The unpublished lectures include expositions of chapters from Ezekiel and Judges as well as sermons on Genesis, parts of Scripture not covered in the published sermons. While there are lectures and sermons covering individual chapters (e.g. Mark 15–16; Revelation 3; Song 5) there is no complete set of expositions on a particular book.⁷⁴ The list also makes clear the length of time he might preach on his “ordinary,” i.e. a given chapter or indeed book. The fourteen sermons on Psalm 88 cannot be precisely dated but must represent a period of around five to six months.

70. *The Covenanters of Teviotdale and Neighbouring Districts*, Duncan Stewart, ed. John Smith (Galashiels: A. Walker & Son, 1908), 34–35.

71. *Letters*, xxv.

72. It may be that there are further manuscript sermons extant that are not well catalogued. This article also focuses on unpublished sermons. It should be noted, however, that there is a small amount of unpublished material (either by Rutherford or attributable to him) that Coffey has also overlooked. These include certain poems and treatises.

73. It is interesting that Rutherford’s sermons are interspersed with those by Resolutioner ministers. This may indicate that some people in the pew were not prepared to avoid hearing ministers depending on their position within this controversy which is confirmed by diaries from the time including Archibald Johnston. Rutherford was, however, about the only Protester minister in the Presbytery of St. Andrews.

74. Rutherford’s commentaries on Isaiah and Hosea do not appear to have survived in manuscript (see Letter CX to David Dickson in 1637 and A. A. Bonar ed. *Letters of Samuel Rutherford* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1891), xl.

Biographical information may also be gleaned from the basic facts recorded above. These hints include Rutherford's movements during 1638, the number of occasions when he assisted at the Kirkcudbright communion services and the ministry that he exercised during his closing years.

The task remains of transcribing the material catalogued here. This, in turn, would invite the deeper work of assessing what these sermons tell us about Rutherford's expository method, preaching style, theology, and practical teaching.⁷⁵

75. See Matthew Vogan, "Samuel Rutherford and the Theology and Practice of Preaching" *Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal* 1 (2011):13–37.