



ON HOW THE CHURCH AND THE STATE CAN ADVANCE EACH OTHER'S ENDS, USING LUTHER'S TWO-KINGDOM THEORY AS A MODEL

*Abang, W. A.

**¹Department of Christian Religious Studies, Cross River State College of Education, Akamkpa, Cross River State, Nigeria.*

**Corresponding Author Phone: +2348124684169 Email: williamabang@gmail.com*

ABSTRACT

Due to the doctrinal disagreement between Martin Luther and the ecclesial authorities of his time, he was excommunicated from the church and his books were banned from being read by the public. Luther, a Catholic priest and monk, was however surprised to see secular/temporal authorities, making laws to enforce these ecclesial sanctions even though he had not violated any secular laws. His followers too were confused whether they should obey or disobey the state law forbidding them to associate with Luther or read his books. This situation compelled Luther to release his treatise on, Temporal Authority: The Extent to Which It Must Be Obeyed. In the treatise, he categorized the Church and the State into two Kingdoms: the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of the world respectively. He also made a demarcation between their jurisdictions, urging them not to encroach into one another's field of authority for the good of the citizens and the society. This Luther's distinction of the society into two parallel but divergent kingdoms with different goals or ends, re-echoes the two kingdoms traditions by earlier scholars, although having its own originality which marked it from others. The researcher goes on to examine the content of Luther's two kingdoms theory; whether it can be applied to modern societies, and concludes that with the application of Luther's two-kingdoms model, it is possible for Church and State in modern times, to attain their respective goals and still maintain a harmonious relationship and even assist each other to attain their respective goals or ends.

Keywords: church, church authority, ecclesial authority, ends, goals, Martin Luther, secular authority, spiritual authority, State authority, temporal authority

LICENSE: This work by Open Journals Nigeria is licensed and published under the Creative Commons Attribution License 4.0 International License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided this article is duly cited.

COPYRIGHT: The Author(s) completely retain the copyright of this published article.

OPEN ACCESS: The Author(s) approves that this article remains permanently online in the open access (OA) mode.

QA: This Article is published in line with "COPE (Committee on Publication Ethics) and PIE (Publication Integrity & Ethics)".

BACKGROUND OF STUDY

The Christian Church and the State have always been like two sides of a coin. But unlike the two sides of a coin that don't see face-to-face, the Church should have a cordial relationship with the State. They ought to work together in harmony to achieve their respective ends, as well as one helping the other to achieve its goals or ends and vice versa.

Unlike the Church, the State has always been a legitimate entity of society. The State and the society are generally considered the same thing until the Church came into the picture. On the other hand, the Church was once upon a time, a fugitive in society. Before its emancipation by Emperor Constantine in AD 313, the Church had suffered different forms of persecutions first, from Jewish leaders (Judaizers) and then from various State authorities.

From the onset of the Church, starting with the Pentecost experience, the Church engaged in massive evangelism but due to persecution of its members by the High Priest, Scribes and Pharisees, many Christians fled to other parts of the Roman Empire, taking the seeds of the Church along with them; where these seeds germinated, grew and spread even further away. Even in her new locations, the Church continued to experience various forms of persecution until it finally became a legitimate entity in the society as a result of Emperor Constantine's I Edict of Milan issued in AD 313 (Thomas, 1981, p. 47).

From then onward, the ecclesial community and the State flourished together, sharing same geographical location, having different leaders, spiritual and temporal who exercise their authorities over the same person; and this same person is obliged to show loyalty to the both authorities. The State and the Church then are like two gigantic machineries driving its members towards different ends; the end of the ecclesial community being the spiritual welfare of its members and nurturing them to attain eternal life in heaven, while the end of the State is to provide a peaceful environment in the society where individuals can live peacefully with one another and contribute towards the progress of the society.

History shows that Church and State relationship was sometimes cordial and sometimes frosty. For instance, in 410 AD when the Visigoths attacked and conquered Rome, the pagans and the Christians accused each other of causing the fall of Rome. Orosius (2010), a Christian priest and theologian, believed the fall of Rome was God showing his wrath against a sinfully proud and blasphemous city, and that it was only through God's mercy that the fall had not been too severe (pp. 39-40).

For the pagans, the fall of Rome was a divine punishment from the gods to its inhabitants (i.e. the Christians), for neglecting the pagan gods and turning to Christ. Zosimus, a Roman and a pagan historian, is of the opinion that the Empire's political virtues became weakened when Christians refused to perform sacrifices to the gods; therefore, in order to punish the City with its inhabitants, the gods made the Imperial government to make poor and foolish decisions which brought about the defeat of Rome by its enemies (Mitchell, 2007, p. 27).

The series of political and religious attacks on Christians because Rome was conquered, motivated St. Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo to write his famous book, *City of God*, wherein he defended Christians and Christianity.

Over the years, Church and State relationship continued to dwindle and decline, with each entity claiming to have absolute control over the individual person. Sometimes the ecclesial and political authorities try to encroach into each other's field of authority, leaving the individual confused as to whom to pledge loyalty and allegiance as it concerns faith and State politics. This made Luther, during the period of reformation, to accuse Princes and Bishops of usurping one another's authority when he said:

Similarly, the temporal Lords are supposed to govern lands and people outwardly. This they leave undone.(...) They rush on into the absurdity of trying to exercise a spiritual rule over souls, just as their counterparts [the bishops] try to establish a temporal rule. (Luther, 1962, p. 109)

In this type of atmosphere, both institutions lose focus of their respective goals or ends making their ends unattainable.

Today, the Church and Christianity have spread beyond the Roman Empire, to other regions in the world, but there still exist in many societies, a frosty Church-State relationship. In this article, we intend to discuss Church and State relationship and how they can achieve their ends, while at the same time assisting one another to achieve its ends, using Luther's political thought, especially his Two Kingdom theory, as a model.

Our first task would be to find out the extent to which Luther was influenced by earlier biblical scholars or theologians, in the formulation and shaping of the *two kingdoms model* or *two swords* tradition. After that we shall discuss Luther's own version of the *two kingdoms theory* and highlight what he proposed as the duties to be performed by Church and State, and see how they can be applied to the Church and the State in our present time. Finally, we shall by way of analysis, evaluate the extent to which both secular and ecclesial authorities can cordially promote one another's ends/goals.

INFLUENCE OF THE TWO KINGDOMS / TWO SWORDS TRADITIONS BY EARLIER SCHOLARS / THEOLOGIANS ON MARTIN LUTHER

(i) ST. AUGUSTINE

It is believed that Luther, being an Augustinian priest and a monk, was influenced by the writings/teachings of St. Augustine, while formulating his two kingdoms doctrine. As mentioned earlier, Augustine had written the book titled, *City of God*, to defend the Christians in Rome who were accused for being the reason Rome was conquered. In his book, Augustine had argued that there are two cities in the world which are opposed to each other. One is the *City of God (civitas dei)* and the other is the *Earthly City (civitas terrena)*. In describing the two cities, Augustine (1887) wrote:

The one [city] consists of those who wish to live after the flesh , the other those who wish to live after the spirit; and when they severally achieve what they wish, they live in peace, each after their own kind. (p. 262)

According to Augustine (1887), these cities originated when the sinful angels separated themselves from the righteousness of God; so God chased them out of heaven and threw them down into the lowest parts of the world, where they stayed imprisoned till their final judgment (p. 224). Thus, the division of the two cities happened in heaven with the fall of the angels, separating themselves into good and bad angels. The distinction of these

cities among these angels was not because they had different natures or originated from different sources, but because of an alteration in their wills and desires (Augustine, 1887, p. 226).

Described above is the origin of the two cities among angels but this didn't stop there, as it shifted to rational mortals beginning with Adam at his Fall. Augustine (1887) wrote: "(...) in this first man, who was created in the beginning, there was laid the foundation, not indeed evidently, but in God's foreknowledge, of these two cities or societies, so far as regards the human race" p. 244). Just like other creatures, man was created very good and in addition, he was created in the image and likeness of God (*Revised Standard Version Bible, 1971, Gen. 1:27*). But due to the abuse of the freedom granted man by God, he sinned against God and was rightly condemned. Consequent upon the fall of Adam, these two cities were formed, with Cain and Abel as their ancient fathers. Augustine (1887) wrote, 'Of these first parents, of the human, then Cain was the first-born, and he belonged to the city of men; after him was born Abel, who belonged to the city of God' (p. 284).

It is worthy of mention here that Luther's formulation is very much similar to Augustine's two cities. Luther (1962) in his formulation said,

We must divide the children of Adam and all mankind into two classes, the first belonging to the kingdom of God, the second to the kingdom of the world. Those who belong to the kingdom of God are all the true believers who are in Christ and under Christ, for Christ is king and Lord in the kingdom of God, as psalm 2[:6] and all of scripture says. (p. 88)

In another place, Luther even acknowledged that Augustine's work influenced his thought when he said:

For Christ also calls Abel righteous and makes him the beginning of the church of the godly, which will continue until the end (Matt. 23:25). Similarly, Cain is the beginning of the church of the wicked and of the blood-thirsty until the end of the world. Augustine treats this story in a similar way in his book *The City of God*. (Luther, 1958, p. 252).

But in Luther there exist a point of departure from Augustine who believes that the city of God alone is of divine origin. Although Luther accepted Augustine's eschatological antithesis, and also the word, *two cities*, he (Luther) posits that both cities are of divine origin; the city of God is undoubtedly of divine origin, and the earthly city (temporal authority) enjoys divine approval as confirmed by the epistle to the Romans (*Revised Standard Version Bible, 1971, Rom. 31:1-2*), and the epistle of Peter (*Revised Standard Version Bible, 1971, 1 Pet. 2:13-14*).

(ii) POPE BONIFACE VIII

Another person who talked about two authorities was Pope Boniface VIII who lived in the medieval times. He invented the concept of two swords which he derived from the bible passage in Luke's gospel which says: "'Look, here are two swords'" and he (Jesus) said to them, "it is enough".' (*Revised Standard Version Bible, 1971, Lk. 22:38*).

Pope Boniface VIII (1302) had declared in a papal bull titled *Unam Sanctam* amongst other things that the world is made up one kingdom which is the Church and that the spiritual and temporal authority (referred to as two swords) are both vested in the Vicar of Christ (Peter) and his successors. Peter and his successors exercise

the first authority directly over the Church, but he delegates the second authority to the princes, magistrates, and soldiers to execute on his behalf over the people; and that the spiritual authority is superior to the temporal authority (par. 2).

Witte (2002) observed that during the reformation, many German bishops and ecclesial princes were applying Pope Boniface VIII hierarchical assumption (p. 109). This hierarchical ordering of Boniface VIII (1302) expects persons at the lower ladder of the hierarchy to be governed by intermediaries on behalf of those higher than them (par. 3).

Worthy of note however, is that the antithetical tension in Augustine's two cities is absent here; but like in Luther's two kingdoms, the spiritual and the temporal authorities are of divine origin although Luther rejected the fact that they are vested in one authority.

(iii) WILLIAM OF OCKHAM (c.1287-1347)

Another two kingdoms theory which was around before Luther formulated his own was that of William of Ockham. His work, *A Short Discourse on Tyrannical Government* written around AD 1340 was on political issues. In it, he was against the two swords theory of the medieval times and even claimed that it was heretical. According to William, the power to make laws over temporal matter was given by God directly to man and has no connection with the Pope, the successor of Peter; and that this power was given to man after the fall of Adam.

William said that after creation, God gave human beings a common dominion over temporal things; that this right of common dominion over temporal things is of divine origin and embedded in the divine law. He cited Genesis: 'And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth' (*Revised Standard Version Bible, 1971*, Gen. 1:28). This passage highlighted a common ownership or dominion enjoyed by the human race and this was given to man in the state of innocence. But with the fall of man came the greed for the private ownership of property. He said God had to grant them the right to own private property for only then will they take good care of it (William, n.d., chap. 7).

This means that after the fall, the right to privately own property was added to the dominion that man already had over temporal things prior to the Fall. This for Ockham was necessary for God to do because the negative effect which the fall had on man, made his mind to tend towards evil and evil men collectively neglect common things. A man would be more careful and motivated in catering for a property if he is the owner.

According to William, in addition to the right to individually own temporal things after the fall, God also added to mankind the right to make laws to determine the temporal affairs as it concerns them; this power the people surrender to the civil authority to exercise on their behalf. He says:

This double power, that of making temporal things private property and of establishing rulers with temporal jurisdiction, was directly given by God not only to believers, but even to unbelievers, in such a way that it falls under commandment, and is counted among purely moral matters, because it obliges both believers and unbelievers alike (William, n.d., chap. 8, par. 1).

Just like Luther, William cited Romans 3:1 and said that God established empire directly and temporal authority was not a power delegated by the Church, as believed and taught by Pope Boniface VIII. William held the opinion that Church authority is separate from State authority which puts the clergy in-charge of spiritual matters and the emperor in-charge of worldly matters. Although Luther's theory might have been shaped by the political versus ecclesiastical authority discussed by William, Wright (2010) suggests that Luther's two kingdoms theory was not shaped by the way William expounded the two swords theory (p. 109).

We can however say that Luther relied on Augustine for his terminology and distinction of his two kingdoms, and that the content of his two kingdoms doctrine is an advancement of Augustine's teaching on two cities and William's refutation of the papacy's medieval position on the two swords theory.

MARTIN LUTHER TWO KINGDOMS THEORY OR DOCTRINE

Martin Luther was a German professor of theology, a monk, a priest and a very controversial figure in Christian history. He renounced many teachings of the Catholic Church, especially the way the Church viewed indulgences. For this reason, he was excommunicated which made several rulers to issue orders/edicts forbidding their subjects from owning or reading his books (Luther, 1962, p. 77).

Luther's disagreement with the Church was on spiritual matter, so he wondered why political authorities were using their power to witch-hunt him and his followers. His followers were particularly confused as regards disobeying constituted authority since scripture gave the injunction of submission to governing authorities (*Revised Standard Version Bible, 1971, Rom. 13:1*).

Luther decided to release a book on *Temporal Authority: The Extent to Which It Must Be Obeyed*. In this treatise, he classified the people in the society into two realms – those living in the spiritual realm (kingdom of God) and those living in the temporal realm (Kingdom of the world). The people who belong to the kingdom of God are 'All true believers who are in Christ and under Christ, for Christ is king and Lord in the kingdom of God (...)' (Luther, 1962, p. 88). Whereas the people who belong to the kingdom of the world are 'All who are not Christians' (Luther, 1962, p. 90).

The activities and behavior of the true believers are directed by the Gospel. The presence of the Holy Spirit in their heart, according to Luther (1962), 'makes them do injustice to no one, to love everyone and to suffer injustice and even death willingly and cheerfully at the hands of anyone' (p. 89). Since among the true Christians there is only the doing of rights and bearing of wrongs, it therefore means that there would be nothing like 'suit, litigation, court, judge, penalty, law, or sword' (Luther, 1962, p. 89) which therefore makes it useless for temporal law and sword to operate amongst true Christians. Luther (1962) summarized the foregoing in these words, 'A good tree needs no instruction or law to bear good fruits; its nature causes it to bear according to its kind without law or instruction' (p. 89). This means doing the right thing is in the nature of a true Christian which flows out of him effortlessly.

But those who belong to the kingdom of this world on the other hand, because they are unrighteous and do nothing that the law demands, they need the law to compel them to do good. It therefore means that whereas the real Christians need the gospel of Christ to teach and to govern them (Luther, 1962, p. 88), the unrighteous

who truly belong to the kingdom of this world, need temporal law and sword to ‘instruct, constrain, and compel them to do good’ (Luther, 1962, p. 89).

THE ENDS OR GOALS OF THE TWO KINGDOMS

Since Christians who belong to God’s kingdom are governed by the instructions of Christ’s gospel, it is therefore the duty of the ecclesial authority to daily furnish their Christians with the teachings of the gospel of Christ in the same way that the body needs food daily to keep itself alive. When this is done, Christians then become good trees that bear good fruits (Luther, 1962, p. 89). These fruits manifest themselves in the way they interact and relate with others in the society. Luther had also said, those who belong to the kingdom of God have nothing to do with things like ‘suit, litigation, court, judge, penalty, law, or sword’ (Luther, 1962, p. 89). They aim at doing the right things and are ready to bear wrongs done to them for the sake of the gospel.

Luther also recognized that although it is the duty of ecclesial authority, to create a conducive atmosphere and opportunity for those who belong to the kingdom of God, to be furnished with the teaching of the gospel, there could sometimes be disagreement in the way God’s word is interpreted and understood which might lead to a Christian believing in what is against the teachings of Christ. He also agrees that the presence of heretics in the Church can be likened to a disease that serves the body no good. He therefore advised ecclesial authority to handle perceived heretics with caution because it cannot use temporal law to solve such problem, since the question of heresy bothers on belief and belief resides in man’s mind. He suggested that rather than use force, ecclesial authority should aim at converting the mind of the perceived heretic with God’s word. Luther is therefore advocating religious dialogue to resolve disagreement in religious matters. He was emphatic that using force will not achieve anything good; rather it will only worsen the situation. He said, ‘Heresy can never be restrained by force (...). Here God’s word must do the fighting. If it does not succeed, certainly the temporal power will not succeed either, even if it were to drench the world in blood’ (Luther, 1962, p. 114).

Let us now look at the ends or goals of temporal authority. Creating a peaceful environment where every citizen can live in peace and harmony is one of the duties of temporal authority. Temporal authority can achieve this by checking the excesses of the members of the kingdom of the world through the use of the administrative tools of the law and sword which alone have the power to ‘instruct, constrain, and compel’ (Luther, 1962, p. 89) this group of people to do the correct thing.

The failure of temporal authority to perform its duty would negatively affect the members of God’s kingdom because according to Luther, it can be likened to a scenario where wild and savage beasts are unchained; they would end up biting and mangling everyone, thereby making peaceful leaving within the society very difficult (Luther, 1962, p. 91).

With the proper management of the State’s resources, temporal authority also has the duty to provide public amenities and infrastructures like schools, hospitals, water, electricity, and good roads etc. in the society for the sake of catering for the well-being and welfare of citizens, who in turn should be made to pay taxes and other forms of revenues.

Collecting taxes and revenues from the members of God’s kingdom is quite easy because, their action is directed by the gospel and the gospel has already instructed them to honour constituted authority and perform

their civic responsibility (*Revised Standard Version Bible, 1971, Rom. 13:5-7*). The same cannot be said for the members of the kingdom of the world who would usually require the harshness of temporal law and sword to do the correct thing otherwise they would normally want to do that which continuously chain them to the worldly kingdom.

HOW ECCLESIAL AND TEMPORAL AUTHORITY CAN PROMOTE EACH OTHER'S ENDS

In so many countries, Christians are facing many challenges which deny them the freedom to practice their faith. In some places, they are hated by adherents of other religions including atheist. Temporal authority can use the might of the sword to check the excesses of dissidents and help create a conducive atmosphere within the society for all to practice their faith peacefully.

Temporal authority can also promote the goals of members of God's kingdom through declaration of public holidays during major religious festivals, to enable Christians take a break from the hustle and bustle of life and be more devoted and reflect more on the theme of the religious feast or festival that is being celebrated.

Canceling or reducing taxes on religious goods will lower their prices thereby increasing their demand by Christians and this would help them to grow in piety.

Issuing licenses to religious bodies to operate Radio and TV stations is another way temporal authority can help ecclesial authority and community to achieve a wide outreach in the dissemination of the good news of Christ.

Temporal authority should allow ecclesial authority to handle doctrinal disagreement within its own kingdom (i.e. the kingdom of God), intervening only when it threatens societal peace. Temporal authority should not allow its sword to be wielded by ecclesial authority against perceived enemies.

Temporal authority should always remember that whatever contribution it makes towards helping Christians to remain good Christians, will benefit itself; because when fewer people belong to the kingdom of the world, it means less work for temporal authority to restrain them from exhibiting anti-social behavior. And if more people belong to the kingdom of God, it means more income to the State by way of payment of taxes and revenues; it means more well-behaved citizens; it means less litigation because Christians are encouraged by the gospel to do right and bear wrong; in summary it means more of everything positive and almost nothing negative from such Christians.

The members of God's kingdom too, and their ecclesial authority can be of immense help to temporal authority to achieve its end. We begin by observing that when Luther was describing the two kingdoms, nowhere did he indicate that cross carpeting between both kingdoms is not possible or allowed. As such, it is possible for a member of God's kingdom to backslide and find himself in the kingdom of the world, likewise it is possible for a member of the kingdom of the world to accept Christ and the gospel and move into God's kingdom.

Since the above is possible, it therefore means that any action taken by the ecclesial community and authority to retain the Christians in God's kingdom will benefit temporal authority because for every Christian that is lost from God's kingdom to the kingdom of the world, it means more hard work for temporal authority. Also, any effort made by the ecclesial community to convert a soul from the worldly kingdom to God's kingdom

means the kingdom of the world has just lost one scoundrel and that reduces the task of the temporal authority in wielding the sword.

Christians are called to take part in politics and the social aspects of the State and use that opportunity to teach non-Christians how one can serve the State selflessly without enriching oneself illegally.

In most countries today, we have very corrupt civil service where civil servants help to run the State aground through corruptible practices. Christians can help out in this area and also lobby to hold political offices in the upper echelon of government where their godly contribution to the State can have far-reaching effects.

CONCLUSION

Going by the above discussions on the application of Luther's two kingdoms theory on modern societies, a mental picture may be created which portrays two powers (Church and State) operating separately and not crossing each other's path; the Church focusing strictly on spiritual matters while the State concentrates on political matters. The negative implication of this mind-set is that the Church may think it has no say in political affairs, so that when things go wrong in the society, the Church stays aloof. This mind-set would be agreeable to State authorities, who usually kick against every form of criticism or opposition from outsiders. Sometimes, church members who are into politics openly tell their Church leaders to stay away from political matters and face their religious calling.

But ideally, the Church as the conscience of the State, should always be ready and willing to prick that conscience and call the temporal or secular authority to order when it is going astray. The prophets in the Old Testament played this role very actively in their days. Several times Prophet Elijah confronted King Ahab; he stopped rain from falling to show the impotency of the idols the king worshipped (*Revised Standard Version Bible, 1971, 1 Kings 17:1*); he challenged him when he killed Naboth and seized his vineyard (*Revised Standard Version Bible, 1971, 1 Kings 21:1-29*), and challenged the prophet of Baal to a contest to show that they were false (*Revised Standard Version Bible, 1971, 1 Kings 18:19-20*). Prophet Elisha did same, and other prophets too challenged the political policies of their kings even in the face of persecution. The church today should do same. Constructive criticism is always allowed.

Conclusively, in a case where the State considers herself to be imperfect, and welcomes criticisms together with advice from ecclesial authorities, the proper application of Luther's two-kingdoms theory on Church and State in modern times, would enable them achieve their respective goals, help them maintain a harmonious relationship and even permit them to assist each other to attain their respective goals or ends.

REFERENCES

- Augustine (1887). *The City of God* (M. Dods, Trans.). In Schaff, P. (Ed), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (Vol. 2, pp. 1-511). Grand Rapids: WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. (Original work published in 426)
- Boniface VIII (1302, November 18). *Unam Sanctam (One and Holy)*. Fordham University Medieval Sourcebook. Retrieved May 29, 2022, from <http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/source/B8-unam.asp>
- Luther, M. (1958). Genesis, 1535. In J. Pelikan (Ed.), *Lectures on Genesis* (American edition, Vol. 1 of Luther's Works, pp. 1–387). Missouri: Concordia Publishing House.
- Luther, M. (1962). Temporal Authority, 1523. In W. I. Brandt & H. T. Lehmann (Eds.), *The Christian Society* (American edition, Vol. 45 of Luther's Works, pp. 75–129). Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Mitchell, S. (2007). *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284–641*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Orosius, P. (2010). *Seven books of history against the pagans* (A. T. Fear, Trans.). Liverpool: University Press.
- Revised Standard Version Bible*, (1971). RSV Online. <https://www.biblestudytools.com/>
- Thomas, C. (1981). *Christianity in Roman Britain To AD 500*. London: Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd.
- William, of Ockham. (n.d.). *A Short Discourse on Tyrannical Government*. Classical and Medieval. Retrieved May 29, 2022, from <https://www.nlnrac.org/classical/late-medieval-transformations/documents/discourse>.
- Witte, J. Jr. (2002), *Law and Protestantism: The Legal Teachings of the Lutheran Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, W. (2010). *Martin Luther's Understanding of God's Two Kingdoms: A Response to the Challenge of Skepticism*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.
- UNICEF. (2002). *The State of the World's Children: Exclude and Invisible*. UNICEF Child Protection Division, New York.
- UNICEF. (2014). *The State of the World's Children: Exclude and Invisible*. UNICEF Child Protection Division, New York.
- Unicef/ILO. (2021). *Child Labour: Global estimates 2020, trends and the road forward*.
- United Nations. (2000). *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*. Retrieved on 12th February, 2022 from: http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/final_documents_2/convention_%20traff_eng.pdf.
- United States Department of State, (2011). *Trafficking in Persons Report – South Africa*. Retrieve on 15th February, 2022 from: <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2011/index.htm>
- UNODC, (2009). *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons*. Retrieve on 22nd January, 2021 from: <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/global-report-on-trafficking-in-persons.html>
- Wahlberg, E. A. & Jagefjord, U. (2010). *Overview of Human Trafficking and Child Labour: Focus on Borno State*. A Paper Presented at A Two Day Sensitization Workshop for Stakeholders, Maiduguri.

- Willis, B. M. & Levy, B. S. (2002). 'Child Prostitution: Global Health Burden, Research Needs and Intervention. The Lancet, 359: 1417-1422. Retrieve on 12th January, 2022 from: [http://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736\(02\)08355-1/abstract](http://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(02)08355-1/abstract)
- Young, M. A. (2014). 'the use of anti-money laundering legislation to combat child trafficking in Nigeria', *Financial regulation international*, 17(7): 15-24.
- Yvonne, A. T. (2014). Child and adolescent abuse and neglect research: A review of the past 10 years. Part 1: Physical and emotional abuse and neglect. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 38: 1214–1222.
- Zimmerman, C., Hossain, M., Yun, K., Gajdadziew, V., Guzun, N., Tchomarova, M. & Watts, C. (2008). The health of trafficked women: A survey of women entering post trafficking services in Europe. *American Journal of Public Health*, 98(1): 55–59. Retrieve on 20th January, 2022 from: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2156078/>