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ings. It cannot be that eloquent communication from mind to mind is limited to earth. Then what must it be for all the sanctified genius which has been eloquent in song on earth to be gathered together in heaven,

" And with its ninefold harmony,
Make up full concert to the angelic symphony?"

What must it be for the preachers of Christ from Noah to the last generation to meet there, and for angels to listen to the eloquence of earth flowing from what they never knew,—the experience of sin, repentance, and restoration. If the presence of this company of preachers makes one who speaks before them feel as Jacob did when he said, "This is God's host," where in the distance shall many of us stand when the tongues which were most eloquent here upon the themes of redemption, instruct and please the heavenly world? Where in the distance did I say? From your lips, if they have dwelt with peculiar love and power on the doctrines of the cross, may the inhabitants of other worlds learn things yet imperfectly understood by them in the history of redemption. It may be that you will then be called of God to be employed in wondrous acts of ministry to other worlds, because He can say of you, in remembrance of your earthly attainments and service, "I know that he can speak well."

ARTICLE VII.

LIFE OF JOHN CALVIN.

By R. D. C. Robbins, Librarian Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. [Concluded from No. VII. p. 597.]

Calvin's Return to Geneva.

WHILST Calvin was occupied with his various labors at Strasburg a change was effected in Geneva. After the banishment of their ministers, the people seem to have been left, for a time, to their own chosen way. Disorder reigned both in the Church and in the State. But God in kindness sent chastisements upon them. Those who had been most forward in opposing the restraints of their guides, received the just reward of their mis-

deeds. Within two years, one of the four syndics who were leaders of the faction in 1538, was executed for murder, a second convicted of sedition, in attempting to escape by a window, fell and was instantly killed; the other two, on account of treasonable conduct while absent from the city, were prohibited from returning. These disorders and changes prepared the way for the recall of the exiles. Calvin's declaration in his letter to Sadolet, "That he could not cease to love, as his own soul, the church of Geneva," which God had entrusted to him, and other expressions of regard, as well as his growing popularity abroad and the consequent disgrace of the Genevans, for having banished him,¹ caused them to especially desire his return. Hooker says, "they were not before so willing to be rid of their learned pastor, as now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment, and who were loth to part with him, had not unresistible earnestness been used."²

The first letter to Calvin, requesting his return, was received just as the embassy was about to leave Strasburg for the imperial diet at Worms. Calvin showed it to Bucer and his fellow laborers at Strasburg, and they answered it. After admonishing the Genevans for their previous treatment of their preachers and commending them for the course they were now taking, they say: "The desire for your salvation, even at the expense of his greatest exertions and life itself, has ever ruled in Calvin's breast. What he will now do, he, as well as we, is unable to say. To-morrow or the following day he goes with us to Worms, where his presence is needed. We advise that you send for Farel and Viret."³ The people of Neufchatel wholly refused to part with Farel, and the Genevans repeated their request for Calvin's return, while he was at Worms. But the magistrates of Strasburg, learning that he was again invited to go to Geneva, wrote to their representatives, Bucer, Capito and Sturm, to use their influence to retain him at Strasburg. But the Genevans were not yet discouraged. They wrote to the churches of Berne, Basil and Zurich, asking them to intercede in their behalf. The letter sent to Zurich, now remaining in the library at Geneva, shows their earnestness. They say that the people of Strasburg must be

¹ "It was not unlikely, but that his credit in the world might in many ways stand the poor town in great stead; as the truth is, their ministers' foreign estimation hitherto had been the best stake in their hedge."—*Hooker*.

² *Eccles. Polity*, Preface.

³ *Mass. Gen.*

conscious that the ruin or support of the church at Geneva is their own ruin or support, they implore them therefore to restore their preacher; the magistrates and the whole people beseech it; into their hands they in a manner throw their salvation.

Jacob Bernard, a preacher in Geneva, wrote to Calvin, Feb. 6th, 1541: "Since all the other clergy had left the city, except Henry and myself, and the people were mourning their deserted state, I admonished them to turn to God in humble supplication, and ask him through Christ the great Shepherd, to provide them a pastor whom he would bless. I was not thinking of you, having given up all hope of your return. The people followed my advice with great earnestness. The next day the council of the Two Hundred convened and called for Calvin. A general convocation was assembled on the following day; and the cry was unanimous for Calvin, that good and learned man, 'Christ's minister.' When I heard this, I could not but praise God, and acknowledge that he had done this marvellous thing in our eyes, making the stone which the builders did refuse to become the head-stone of the corner. Come then, venerable father in Christ. Ours you are, for the Lord God has given you to us. All sigh for you. Your reception will show how much you are desired.—Do not then delay to come and see Geneva;—they are another people, changed by the grace of God, through the labors of Viret. The Lord hasten your return. Worthy is our church of your aid, and God will require her blood at your hands if you do not come, for he has made you a watchman of the house of Israel among us."

On the first of May 1541, the decree of banishment was formally annulled, and Ami Perrin, the ambassador of Geneva, formerly a syndic, went from Strasburg to Worms to intercede with the Strasburg theologians who were there, for Calvin's return. By representing to them in strong terms the favorable opportunity presented, for spreading the gospel in France, he secured their influence in favor of Geneva, especially that of Bucer, who in order to overcome Calvin's doubts, again suggested to him the example of Jonah. The Genevans sent the third urgent request, seconded by Basil, Berne and Zurich. Farel and Viret who was engaged in Geneva for six months, were importunate. In fine, not a measure was left untried to prevail upon Calvin to resume his former charge.

During all these proceedings Calvin was not an indifferent spectator. His struggles with himself were severe and show that he had not yet overcome that timid and shrinking nature of which

he so often complained. To his friend Farel with whom he had no secret, he writes: "You know that during these days I have been so agitated by trouble and anguish that I have not been able to half control myself. You will see why I am not willing, that what I now confide to your bosom should be divulged. When I recollect how miserable I was at Geneva, I tremble to my inmost soul at the slightest intimation of a return. I very well know that wherever I go, sufferings await me, and that if I live for Christ, life must be a struggle. But forgive me, if I think of that place with terror when I remember the torture of conscience, the agonies which destroyed all my comfort there. Next to God you can best bear witness, that I was retained there by no other bond than the fear to cast from me the yoke of my office, which God had put upon me. So long as I was bound to that place I preferred to endure anything rather than to think of a change, which sometimes obtruded itself upon me. But since I am now free by the grace of God, who can blame me if I do not willingly plunge myself again into the vortex from which I received so much injury. Besides I have lost the art of governing large masses; here, I have to do with but few, who, for the most part, respect me as their pastor and teacher. And if this is difficult, how much more the greater charge. But these reasons alone will not hinder me from obeying this call: for the more my heart recoils from it, the more am I suspicious of myself. Therefore I do not allow myself to give counsel in this matter, and ask our friends not to have any reference to my opinion,—and in order that they may be uninfluenced, I conceal from them a great part of my internal struggles. I protest however that I am not dealing craftily with God, nor seeking any evasion; but I so much desire the welfare of the Genevan church, that I am ready to suffer a hundred deaths rather than, by abandoning, betray them."

To Viret he writes about the same time: "I could not read the part of your letter in which you express so much anxiety for my welfare without a smile. Shall I then go to Geneva in order to be better off? Shall I not rather go to the cross?¹ To die at once, is better than, again in that place of torture, to suffer a living death."² Several other letters³ are found in which Calvin ex-

¹ *Cur non potius ad crucem?*

² *Mss.* in the Genevan Lib.

³ Extracts from some of them may be found translated, with some of those above given, in the *Princeton Review* for 1837, p. 69 sq.

presses his dread of again encountering the opposition which he knew awaited him if he returned to his former charge. Yet in them all he manifests an acquiescence in the leadings of Providence, and an unconquerable interest in that city, his first care, and his unceasing burden through all its obliquities. But Farel seems to have been the means of his final decision to return as well as of his first abode there. Calvin writes to him: "The thunder and lightning which you strangely, I know not wherefore, hurled at me troubled and terrified me very much. It is known to you, that while I dreaded this call I did not flee from it. Why then was it necessary to fall upon me with a violence scarcely consistent with friendship. My last letter, you say, left you hardly a ray of hope. If so, I beg of you, to pardon my want of caution. I wished only to excuse myself for not coming at once, since this necessary journey prevented me. As then, I was free from the design which you ascribed to me, I rely upon your forgiveness so soon as you have better examined and understood the case."

When the Deputation from Geneva met Calvin at Worms, he could scarcely restrain himself. He says: "Since I poured out more tears than I spoke words, they doubted not my sincerity; I was twice compelled to cease speaking and retire." But some time after when he had decided to return, he wrote to Farel: "If I had my choice, I would sooner do anything than that which you desire. But since it is not I that decide in this case, I offer my bleeding heart a sacrifice to God.¹ I have always conjured our friends to forget me and only take into the account the honor of God and the good of the church. Evasions would not have been wanting to me, although I am not very expert in such devices, but I knew that I was dealing with God, whose eye penetrates all disguise. Therefore I subject my soul bound, and constrained to the obedience of God." The influence of this entire renunciation of self, these heart breakings before God, is evident upon Calvin's whole subsequent course. They were by no means among the least influences by which he was fitted for the duties and trials which awaited him in Geneva.

He returned on the thirteenth day of September, 1541. The citizens and magistrates, who had sent a mounted herald to accompany him from Strasburg, received him with the greatest demonstrations of joy. His entrance to the city was a triumph.

¹ An allusion to his seal is perhaps here intended, on which were represented a hand offering a heart.

An attendant, three horses, gold and everything necessary to bring his wife and effects were gratuitously provided. They also furnished his house and appropriated eight dollars "pour la robe de maistre Calvin, ministre Evangelique." Antiquarians even now fancy that they can identify the house of Calvin in the highest part of the city in the Rue des Chanoines. Behind his house, it seems, was a garden, and not far off, the convent of St. Peter, where the meetings of the consistory were held, and the old Gothic church where he preached. A spot near also furnished a view of the fortifications of the city, and of Mt. Jura and other high summits around.

His return was looked upon as a special token of the favor of God. He had intended to address the citizens on his arrival, in justification of himself and his colleagues; "but," he says, "I found them so touched with remorse and so ready to anticipate me in the confession of their faults, that I felt that such a proceeding would not only be superfluous but cruel." A decree had been passed in the assembly of the people acknowledging "the great injury they had done him," and imploring "forgiveness of Almighty God." The protocol of September 20th shows that the council urged Calvin to decide to remain there during his life.¹ The Senate of Strasburg had assented only to his temporary return, but the Genevans desiring that it should be unconditional, the Senate yielded to their wishes, but still urged him to retain his right of citizenship in Strasburg and his annual salary. The salary he refused, but consented to be still ranked as a citizen of that city.

Calvin's first Labors after his Return to Geneva.—The Court of Morals, Church Discipline, etc.

The era of Calvin's return to Geneva is important in the history of the Reformation. The struggle for religious freedom had been successfully maintained, for several years, but there was need of much labor to give permanency to the possessions achieved. Separate dogmas had been placed upon an immovable basis. The abuses in the Catholic system of doctrines and polity had been pointed out, but a system of church organization had not been established. The main features might be seen in the Institutes, but the practical details yet required develop-

¹ Ext. d. Reg. le 13 et 20 Sept. 1541. On prie tres instamment Calvin de rester ici pour toujours, et qn lui donne un habit de drap.

ment. The pendulum had been put in motion but it required a skilful hand to regulate it. The system of church government prepared by Calvin and put in practice at Geneva, was the basis for all those who acceded to his doctrinal views. It was subsequently introduced into France, England, Holland, and is now most nearly adhered to in Scotland and our own country.

The peculiar circumstances of Geneva at the time of Calvin's return, gave rise to some regulations which would not be necessary or politic elsewhere, and the spirit of toleration which was scarcely known in that age would undoubtedly have caused Calvin to pursue a different course if he had lived at a later day. The union which he established between church and State was also a source of annoyance. But when these things are taken into the account, we cannot but feel that his course must have the approval of all thinking men. Even the judicious Hooker the expounder and defender of the polity of the English church, after explaining Calvin's Court of Morals, the most peculiar feature of his system, says: "This device I see not how the wisest at that time living could have bettered, if we duly consider what the present state of Geneva did then require."¹

For a time after Calvin's arrival, the manners and morals of the citizens seemed to be much improved. In a letter to Farel he says: "The people here for the most part are obedient; at least they attend diligently upon our preaching. Their morals are tolerably good, but there are many vices of the head and the heart which, unless they are gradually cured, will, I fear, finally produce the most destructive effects. The struggle against such internal and secret enemies, as you well know, is maintained with the greatest difficulty. My fellow laborers are also known to you." Calvin did not, however, suffer these favorable appearances to cause him to relax in discipline. He felt that much must be done before the chaotic elements could be reduced to order and the church established upon an immovable basis. He very much desired the aid of Farel; but he could not be prevailed upon to leave Neufchatel. Calvin wrote to him immediately after his return: "I have now returned here, as you long ago desired me to do. But it is necessary that I still retain Viret, I can in no manner consent that he should be torn from me. It is also your duty and that of all the brethren to aid me, if you do not wish that I wear myself out in vain, and be, if useless, the most miserable of men."

¹ Preface to *Ecol. Polity*, p. 135. Ed. Oxford, 1807.

Calvin's first labor was to secure the proper administration of order and discipline in the church and State. It was for this that he had been banished and for this he had labored when in banishment, and he would not now when he was laying foundations, be less assiduous in his exertions. It was a matter of conscience with him dearer than life. And he pursued it during his whole course at Geneva with a resolution which could not be shaken. He first procured the establishment of a court of morals. He represented to the Senate the necessity of discipline to the existence of the church and requested that they should appoint persons to consult with the clergy. Six were chosen and they with the clergy drew up articles for the regulation of the church. This body was to try all cases of difference in the church, and had the right of discipline and even of excommunication. They were also the censors of the manners of the whole people. Thus the foundation of a civil and Ecclesiastical organization was laid. Such a tribunal and with such powers may seem to us to conflict with the highest freedom, but by giving the laity not only a voice but a double influence in counsel was a great advance upon the Romish hierarchy, and was all the liberty that the people of Geneva were at that time prepared to enjoy.

It required much struggling to carry these measures through. Many of the citizens who were obnoxious to this tribunal in consequence of their disorderly lives, opposed it. Even the clergy who were in the city when Calvin returned secretly disliked the measure, although they assented to the propositions made in the council. But Calvin had returned only on condition that discipline should be maintained, and when he had been back a little more than two months the formulary which had been prepared received the sanction of the senate and the people. Thus, says Henry, 'the church was closely connected with the State; the State protected the church which subjected itself to it, and the church on the other hand governed the State, since the consistory had the oversight of the conduct of all the citizens.' It is true that they had a political organization before Calvin's arrival there. But the establishment of the Court of Morals gave occasion for an entire change in it. The acquaintance with law which Calvin possessed was known, and the general revision of the laws was soon committed to him. The new code was not however completed until 1543, when the church also received its new liturgy. Our limits do not allow a full exposition of the previous govern-

ment of Geneva or the particular changes made in it through Calvin's influence. He perceived that disorders arose necessarily from popular dominion, where the people were as corrupt and ignorant as in his little State. He made his object to put a stop to these disorders. The honor of God and hatred of sin were the central doctrines of his system. In his legislation he seemed to copy the spirit of the Old Testament Theocracy, as his church organization was based on the precepts of the New Testament. Under his system much rigor was exercised in the punishment of crime, and the previous freedom of manners was much restrained, but it did not hinder the healthful growth of the State. People flocked to it from all quarters, and sent their children to be trained there in obedience to law. The restraints exercised in Geneva did not impede the soarings of the loftiest spirits, but rather aided them, for rigor operated only against vice, which is the greatest hindrance to the vigorous action of the intellect. In the rightminded, severe measures did not awaken hatred, but a feeling of the majesty of God in whose name they were employed. It must be acknowledged that Calvin persecuted with fire and sword; but vice, wickedness, was the object of the persecution. His laws were written with blood, but with the blood of those who had forfeited all judicial claim to mercy by despising and disregarding the laws of God and man.

In order to form a correct judgment of Calvin's system of Church organization we must take into account the difficulties with which he was obliged to contend. In the first place, he wished to avoid the despotism which the Roman Catholics had employed in order to secure the unity of the church. He wished also to guard it against the abuses of a hierarchy. But on the other hand he was too well aware that a strictly popular organization among such a people as those of Geneva, and at a time when the removal of the restraints of Rome had inclined the people to licentiousness, would lead to innumerable divisions and constant confusion and strife. The protestant principle of freedom of thought needed, he believed, and no doubt justly, checks upon it, or rather guidance. The Catholics contended that there was no middle course between the papal chair and anarchy. But Calvin wished to prove that they were in the wrong, and that the primitive church was a safe model; he therefore established synods to answer to the original church-councils. By this union of the clergy and laity for the decision of disputed points and for the expression of the truth in systematic forms, he hoped to avoid the

abuses of the papacy, and secure equally well the unity of the church. Henry sums up the fundamental principles of the reformer's system in the following manner :

1. " The gospel, not human institutions, forms the central-point of power, the animating principle ; it secures to men salvation through faith in Christ ; not through the visible church or external works.

2. The conscience and reason of men, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, recognize the truth in the Scriptures, and are again directed by the Scriptures, and secured against error and fanaticism. The Holy Spirit produces unity in the church, and secures its eternal existence under the different phases of the human mind. The synods give the final decision upon the meaning of the holy Scriptures, and they alone have the right to establish, alter or annul confessions of faith.

3. The fundamental principle of external organization in opposition to the catholic dominion, and the most effectual means for the crushing of spiritual domination, is that of the presbyterian government, in which Calvin opposed a double number of the laity to the clergy, in order that they might at any time overrule the clergy if they found it necessary.

4. The church, powerful through the spirit ruling in it, must be under the control of the State ; external submission injures it not.

5. Finally, in order to secure order in the church and make a reformation of morals possible, Calvin desired rules for discipline : (a) a law (rendered necessary by the circumstances of the times) against free-thinkers, and heretics, for the purpose of securing unity and establishing the Reformation ; (b) a disciplinary inspection, in order to guard against all immorality, a spiritual training, the Court of Morals, and the employment of forcible measures by it."

It is impossible to enumerate particular regulations which Calvin adopted in order to secure these ends ; many of them are well known, and have been the subject of much animadversion in every age since he lived ; but it should seem that much useless discussion might have been saved, if the relation of Calvin to his times had been kept more distinctly in view. He did not form a polity for every age and for all nations. He adapted it to his own little community and to the disturbed and restless age in which he lived. He, as it seems to us, wisely and skilfully steered between the extremes of tyranny and licentious-

ness, and deserves praise for what he did, rather than reproach for not doing what it was left for a later age to accomplish.

The labor required in effecting these changes in the government and internal civil and ecclesiastical regulations, must have required not a little of Calvin's time and attention. But he found leisure for much other labor. He immediately prepared a catechism for the better instruction of his congregation, especially the younger members of it, in the principles of religion. This was a new work¹ in questions and answers and divided into lessons for fifty-five sabbaths, and not a remodelling of his catechism published in 1536 and 1538, which was an abstract of his Institutes. This synopsis of doctrines has justly been much valued as a church-symbol. It was known and studied by all the churches until a comparatively recent period. "It is now," says Henry, "entirely banished from France. It is surely an indication of the folly of our century that it is making innumerable attempts to construct a new popular catechism, which it can never succeed in doing, because the best of this kind, is already in existence, and new ones, if compared with it, appear unsatisfactory, colorless and superficial." He also prepared a liturgy soon after his return to Geneva, which is the basis of the one now in use in the Reformed churches.—Every alternate week he preached every day, three times a week he delivered lectures on Divinity; on Thursday he presided in the consistory and on Fridays in what was called the congregation, a meeting for the collation and the exposition of Scripture. He was frequently called to assist the council with his advice; and his correspondence was very extensive, the fame of his piety and learning causing him to be consulted from all quarters. His labors in private in warning and admonishing offenders, in encouraging the faltering, in aiding the magistrates in reforming the manners of the Genevans, were constant and unremitting. Besides, he was often called to settle disputes and carry on controversies away from Geneva.² Yet with all these daily and hourly avocations he found time for the preparation of his Commentaries which appeared from time to time, and for his numerous writings

¹ This catechism was published first in French in 1541 and in Latin in 1545. It was translated into Italian as early as 1545, into Spanish in 1550, and into German in 1563. It has also been published in the English, Scotch, Belgian, Hungarian, Greek, Hebrew, Basque and Polish languages.

² Even the next year after his return, Calvin was away six weeks, at Strasburg, in order, if possible, to settle difficulties at Metz in France.

against the various errorists who sprang up in his little community, and for establishing and defending the several doctrines of the Christian system. It is wonderful that one man with such feeble health as Calvin had, could have accomplished so much. He should seem to have had a separate life for the employments of the study entirely apart from his life abroad, or rather as he himself says, the conflicts about him, which seemed to take so large a portion of his thoughts and energies, were, in his view, mere "skirmishes,"¹ not worthy to be taken into the account in enumerating his labors. His studies were pursued with the most perfect system and yet it appears that he was sometimes obliged to remain out of bed the whole night. He says: "When I get through with all my other duties, I have so many letters to write, and answers to give to so many questions that many a night passes without having brought to nature the offering of sleep."²

Together with his untiring industry, and the rigid system observed in his labors, an unusually tenacious memory, aided him much in the execution of so many and varied duties. It is said that he never forgot anything which pertained to his office, although he was interrupted on all sides and overburdened with questions. In the composition of his works he could break off from writing or dictating, and spend several hours in parish duties, and then go directly on, taking up the subject where he left it, without recurring to what he had before written. He also never seemed hurried, and was not conscious how much he performed.³ He however sometimes regretted that his numerous avocations did not permit him to make his writings more complete.

¹ Velitationes.

² Calvin had also many services to perform for his friends and fellow laborers. If they brought him their works to read, he found time to peruse them in the long night. To Viret he wrote, August, 1547: *Librum de ecclesia et sacramentis, cum voles, mitto. Libenter legam, etiamsi mihi id oneris non imponeres. Tantum abs te peto, ut commoditate mea uti liceat. Nunquam enim minus habui otii, sed jam aliquanto plus dabunt longae noctes.*

³ To Farel he writes, 10th Nov. 1550: *Hoc vero affirmo, non absque pudore me illam legisse epistolae tuae partem, ubi diligentia mea laudatur, cum mihi et pigritiae et tarditatis sim probe conscius. Faxit Dominus ut paulatim rependo aliquid proficiam.*

Exertions against the Catholics, 1542—1547.

In 1542 the Sorbonne encouraged by their previous success in opposing the truth, took a bolder step, and assumed the right to direct in matters of faith and practice. They published twenty-five new articles of belief, which, either from fear or folly, were subscribed by the king and sanctioned by an edict. Calvin perceived the necessity of withstanding them by strong arguments. He accordingly discussed each article, beginning with an ironical proof after the method of the Catholics and then closing with a thorough and earnest confutation.¹ A specimen of his manner in this discussion cannot be uninteresting. The twenty-third article of the Sorbonne declares: "It is certain, that there is by divine authority one chief Pontiff in the militant church, to whom all Christians must be obedient, and who indeed has power to grant indulgences."

Calvin says: "This proposition is proved by the declaration made to Peter: 'Thou art Peter and upon this rock, etc. If now the Lutherans say, that Peter is here named as one among a number of the faithful, and that the rock, the foundation-stone of the church is Christ; because Peter would be a bad foundation since he denied Christ; and, also according to Paul no other foundation can be laid than Christ; this must by no means be granted. For, when a different interpretation favors Rome, the principle of law is clear, i. e. that which is favorable must be extended (*Quod favores debent ampliari*). But the Lutherans here again object: Granted, for the sake of argument, that Christ really bestowed upon Peter the primacy, it follows not that he has also given it to all his successors, unless they are all willing to be called devils, since Christ says to Peter: 'Thou art Satan.' If then they inherit the one title, they must also receive the other. But here it is answered according to a principle of law, that things which are unfavorable must be restricted (*Odia sunt restringenda*). Or in yet another manner the dilemma may be avoided. In the first passage Christ spake to Peter as to a pope, in the second as to a private person. Furthermore they argue, why did Peter bequeath the primacy to Rome and

¹ This work was called: *Antidotum adversus articulos Facultatis Theologicae Sorbonicae*. In French: *Les Articles de la sacrée faculté de Theol. de Paris concernant notre foi et religion chrétienne et forme de prêcher. Avec le remède contre la poison, 1543.*

not to Antioch? for he was bishop in both cities. The answer to this question is: A place receives renown from the death of a man, especially if a martyr's blood is poured out, which is of great price in the sight of God, according to the responsive hymn sung in his feast. The objector still continues: From the same cause should not James and John have received the second and third grade of primacy in their respective churches, as Peter received the first at Rome; for Paul says that these three were esteemed as pillars of the primitive church? To this the answer is, that if the others were not sufficiently zealous or courageous to assert their rights, Rome should not suffer on that account. Jerusalem and Ephesus in consequence of their remissness and timid silence, deserved to be cast into the back-ground, but Rome which contended with all its might for the honor, especially deserves to be considered the first city." Calvin proceeds still further in this same strain and then turns to a more serious mode of argumentation. Ridicule was at that time the most effective weapon in France, and Calvin certainly showed himself no novice in its use.—In the controversy which soon followed this, with Pope Paul III, the manner of arguing is somewhat similar to that in the *Antidote* and the language used is indeed not less severe or effective than that which Luther sometimes employed in his controversies.

The controversies just mentioned had more especial reference to the Catholic church in general. But the work on the *Freedom and Servitude of the Will* against Pighius gave an opportunity for the discussion of particular dogmas of that church. It was a continuation of the controversy of Erasmus with Luther and a renewal of that of the Pelagians with Augustine. Pelagianism or semi-Pelagianism had been adopted into the Papal church, and had become a part of itself. Luther had revived the doctrines of Augustine, and in doing it, had made an attack upon the Catholics. Calvin defended the German theologian, who, he said, "had not himself spoken but God had hurled lightnings from his mouth," and also carried war into the enemies' camp. He called his antagonist a hungry dog, who avenged himself by barking since he could not bite. This might be in our own day termed a breach of the rules of Christian courtesy, but yet Pighius himself was convicted of his error by the perusal of Calvin's book,¹ and the gentle Melanchthon, returned him a letter of

¹ Ancillon, (*Mel. crit.* Tom. II. 43, 44) says: Si les ennemis de Calvin le

thanks for having maintained his cause "both eloquently and piously.¹

The origin and formation of the council of Trent, and the nature of its decisions, are probably familiar to most of the readers of these pages. It commenced its consultations in January 1546. In 1547 after the doings of seven of its twenty-five sessions, Calvin published in Latin, *Acta synodi Tridentinae cum Antidoto*, the first review which had been made of its proceedings. His first object was to show that the decisions of such an assemblage had no obligatory force. He adduces the opinion of Augustine, upon the council of Nice, who says, in answer to the Arian Maximian: "Our questions are decided by the words of the Holy Scriptures, which belong neither to you or to me alone, but to us both." Calvin further shows how ridiculous it is, that such a council, when there were only about forty bishops present, should represent the whole church and be secure from error. The character of many of the bishops present at this council was by no means free from reproach. The only two who were there from all France, were both ignorant and stupid, and one of them, had been guilty of the grossest licentiousness. But, had they been the best of men and an adequate representation, it would not alter the case very materially as far as the binding nature of their decisions is concerned. For, he says, "they decree nothing except what the pope prescribes. The pope controls the Holy Spirit,² and as soon as a decree is prepared a courier immediately proceeds to Rome to see what their divinity thinks of it. The holy father calls his council together, and one takes away from, another adds to, and a third changes it and the courier returns. The article is read in the next session, and the dolts³ nod assent with their ears. Such is the oracle which is binding on the whole world."

After a discussion of the council and its mode of operation,

lisaient, il leur arriveroit peutêtre très souvent ce qui est arrivé à Albertus Pighius lequel comme le dit Crakanthorp : dum refellendi studio Calvinii Institutiones et scripta evoluit, in uno ex præcipuis fidei dogmatibus factus est ipsi Calvinianus.

¹ Non solum pie sed etiam eloquenter. See the letter, Calvin, *Opp. Omn. ed. Amat.* and in Henry II. 300, 1, and also an extract from Calvin's Dedication of the work to Melancthon, Henry 290.

² It was said rather aptly, in reference to the Catholics, than reverently, that the Holy Spirit was sent from Rome in a portmanteau.—*Browning's Huguenots*, p. 44.

³ Asini.

Calvin proceeds with logical power, great learning and a most bold and triumphant spirit to dispatch each session by itself. And although, favored by both pope and king, the decrees of this notable convocation are consumed and vanish into thin air, before the burning words of the servant of the God of truth.¹

Calvin's Power in Geneva not absolute.

The power of Calvin at Geneva has been so often spoken of both by his friends and enemies that it may not be amiss to give a few hints in regard to it. The plague visited Geneva in 1542, the year after Calvin's return there. Terror sat upon every face. Almost all shrank from a contact with the sick. But Calvin, Blanchet and Castellio, offered to attend upon those who were collected in the plague-hospital. They cast lots to decide which should take his turn first, and the lot fell upon Castellio. But he drew back and Calvin held himself in readiness for the work. But the council and Blanchet would not permit him to expose himself. Blanchet commenced the work alone and died in ten months. Another was required to take his place, but the council showed their regard for Calvin by commanding that he should not be allowed to stand in his lot with the other clergy, "for the church had need of him." The value that the council placed upon his advice and coöperation has been previously mentioned. Yet his authority was by no means absolute as it has sometimes been represented to have been. It varied with the opinion of a fickle multitude. A modified republican government, and a church polity in which the popular element predominated, did not allow the despotic authority of one man. His influence was indirect and changing. He never commanded as one in authority. Yet it must be allowed that a man of such strength of character and superior genius does in a great degree rule the minds that come in contact with him.

Letters and notices of different dates, however, show that he appeared sometimes to be almost without influence. In a letter to Bullinger while the trial of Servetus was in process, he says: "All that we say awakens their suspicion. If we declare that a thing is as clear as the mid-day sun they will forthwith question it." In the year 1556 when his influence was at its culmination,

¹ No one can fail to be interested in a perusal of some parts of this Antidote. See Opp. Omn. Tom. VIII. p. 216 sq. ed. Amst.

he writes: "I very well know what slanders the bad circulate about me, but I withhold my influence from the officers of government, since it is asserted, that I draw them to myself with absolute power; thus I live as a stranger in this city. The Senate never calls for my advice except when it is in the greatest extremity, and can contrive no other expedient for escape; either because it does not consider it proper to do so, or because it is not willing to call for help from abroad, or possibly because it sees that I avoid it."¹ Calvin was also compelled in 1554 to submit some of his writings to the censors, which was very annoying to him. "I had almost," he says, "made an offering of my book to Vulcan; for when I laid it before the council it was decided that it must be subjected to the censors. I was so much enraged when I received this answer, that I declared to the four Syndics that even if I were to live a thousand years longer, I would never publish anything in this city."²

Even in the consistory his power was not despotic. He commits to Viret the cause of a certain Sonnerius, for whom, he says, "he has done what he could, but without success; his colleagues in spite of all his exertions to guide them into milder measures, remained firm. Only two of the members voted with him while ten were against him." He also confidently appeals to his fellow counsellors to say whether they had ever felt themselves offended by his rule, and says that if those who accuse him of tyranny knew under what severe restrictions he held his office, they would blush at their ungrounded accusations in regard to the exercise of arbitrary power by him.

Again, towards the close of Calvin's life, the council and people of Geneva showed their great regard for their benefactor, and unlimited confidence in him. They appointed a herald to accompany him upon his journeys,³ and when sick a secretary was employed for him at public expense.⁴ In 1561 the duchess of Ferrara desired to obtain a preacher from Geneva and was allowed a free choice from all except Calvin and Beza, who were indispensable to the State. Also when his life was in danger in his last sickness, March 10th, 1564, every one in the State was ordered to pray for his restoration to health.

¹ Mss. Gen. 1556.

² Mss. Gen. See also the Protocol of Sept. 1542.

³ Oct. 12, 1556, Jean Calvin remercie le conseil du héraut qu'on lui avoit donné pour l'accompagner à Francfort.

⁴ 1545.

Calvin as a Preacher.

Homiletics received little attention in France before the time of Calvin. The Reformation by raising the sermon from the low rank which it held in the Catholic church in comparison with the other exercises, made it a matter of no small importance for the preacher to be a good speaker. Even the Catholics found themselves compelled to emulate the Protestants in this particular. Thus a great change was gradually effected, and the French pulpit became deservedly distinguished. We are not therefore to compare Calvin with a Fenelon or a Saurin. He knew nothing of the rhetorical *art* of which they became masters; and besides, the French language of Calvin's time had neither the flexibility or polish which it exhibited a century later.

Simplicity is perhaps the most prominent characteristic of Calvin's sermons. They should seem to have been modelled after Seneca rather than Cicero. There is an admirable harmony between his style and character. He spoke out plainly what he thought or felt and moved straight forward to the accomplishment of his object, without turning aside, for striking antitheses, or metaphors or any of the outward adornings of rhetoric. He despised everything done for mere show. Gaudy trappings were not less out of place in the sermon or the essay than on the bride prepared for her nuptials. This simplicity appears more conspicuous when we compare his sermons with the artfully fashioned and somewhat pompous compositions of the preachers of the next century. "Thus it remains true," says his biographer, "that the greater genius is always the more simple."

The conciseness which is so nearly allied to simplicity and which Calvin loved so much, appeared in the length of his sermons as well as in the construction of sentences. The one hundred and fifty sermons on the book of Job could have seldom occupied him more than half an hour each in the delivery, and even the four against the Nicodemites which are more elaborate, would not require more than three quarters of an hour, even at a moderate rate of utterance, whilst those upon the Epistles are much shorter. Luther was less uniform in the length of his sermons, sometimes making them very short and at other times very long.

Calvin's sermons were especially practical; more generally so perhaps than Luther's. The latter bound himself to no particu-

lar form. Sometimes he spoke according to rule in short sentences, and in artificial order; sometimes his words flowed forth like a torrent without method. At one time he quietly gave instruction and again he spoke in anger and with reproaches. Calvin, like the Scriptures, dwelt much upon action in religion and seemed to have the condition and circumstances of his hearers always in view. He would often wander far away from his text to introduce and confute objections. The end of his sermons could not be seen from the beginning, but original thoughts and important truths, expressed in short, sinewy sentences, were scattered all along through them. He did not so often discuss doctrines as enforce duties. Still there is no want of acute criticism, nice discrimination or thorough investigation in the sermons of Calvin. He sometimes also employed satire to show the absurdity of an opinion and make the unbeliever ridiculous in his own eyes, but this was not his common method. Luther's words like fire from heaven, burned every garb on which they fell, especially the purple and the ermine, but Calvin, when in the pulpit, delighted more in the milder radiance of the mid-day sun. By his fervent appeals and simple argument he often extorted from those most opposed to him the confession, so often made by the audiences of the great Athenian orator, that "the truth must certainly be with him."

✓ Calvin preached extempore. We find no proof that he ever wrote his sermons. He expressly says: "I did not write out in my chamber the twenty-two sermons upon the eighth Psalm, but they were printed in the natural method in which they fell from my lips in the church. There you may perceive my ordinary style and manner." We are informed by Scaliger who was accustomed to hear him preach, that "it was easy to take down the whole sermon since Calvin was troubled with a phthisis and spoke moderately."¹ Henry however thinks it proper to judge from his style that he spoke with zeal and warmth and uttered his sentences somewhat rapidly, but made long pauses to enable his hearers to comprehend the thoughts. The habit of dictating to amanuenses enabled him to speak with nearly the same correctness with which he wrote, and even in his last years his power of impressive speaking continued. The concourse of people to his sermons was so great as to receive in the Register of June, 19th, 1559 this notice: *Multitude prodigieuse de peuple aux sermons de Messrs. Calvin et Viret.*

¹ Scaligerana secunda.

Calvin published sermons upon almost all parts of the Bible, but the one hundred and fifty upon the Book of Job are among the most distinguished of them. Beza says that they were so much in favor, that they were read everywhere in the churches throughout France where preachers were wanting, and in families. Yet Calvin valued them so little that according to the preface of the French edition, they were published contrary to his wishes. We should be glad to give specimens of his sermons, but we are saved by want of space from doing him the injustice of quoting mere extracts, which, however striking they might be, could not give a just conception of the whole performance. The first sermon on Job might well be made to take the place of some of our modern introductions to a commentary on that book.

Calvin's appreciation of Luther.

The party of the Nicodemites was fast increasing in France, and as early as the beginning of 1545 Calvin felt called upon to expose publicly their errors. He accordingly composed two treatises against them.¹ The object of them was to show that God could not be worshipped in secret, whilst a person conformed externally to the requirements of false teachers. All hypocrisy and concealment were so odious to Calvin that he could not endure to see those who had adopted the reformed tenets, taking refuge under so hurtful an error. He was not willing that any should hide their light under a bushel and thus appear to prefer darkness to light. He appeared to some to preach a hard doctrine while other timid souls were nerved to a daring which the most excruciating tortures could not overcome. The influence of these treatises were not confined to France. In Switzerland and Germany too they were read and their influence was seen through long years of persecution. Although Melancthon, Bucer and Peter Martyr coincided with Calvin in belief on this point, yet all were not satisfied, and desired him to ask Luther's opinion by letter. This epistle, since it is the only one written by the Genevan to the German reformer, as well as for its characteristic peculiarities, deserves translation here: "My much honored father, when I perceived that so many of our friends in

¹ De vitandis Superstitionibus et Excusatio ad Pseudo-Nicodemites cum duabus epistolis ad ministros Ecclesiae Tigurinae.

France had only been turned from the darkness of Popery to purity of faith, but wished to make no change in their external confession, and to continue to defile themselves with the abominations of the Papists, as if they were wholly ignorant of the pure doctrine, I could not forbear to rebuke such culpable remissness with the severity which, in my estimation, it deserved. For, what sort of a faith is that which remains buried in the recesses of the soul and is not exhibited in a public confession! What sort of a religion is that which conceals itself under a hypocritical participation in Catholic idolatry! I will not however discuss this topic here, which I have somewhat particularly developed in two little treatises, from which, if it shall please you to run your eye over them, you will better understand my opinion and the reasons upon which it is based. Some of our friends have been aroused by these writings from the deep sleep in which they were before sunk, and begin to inquire what they ought to do. But as it is hard either by the denying of self to place life in jeopardy or with obloquy from every quarter, to take upon one's self the hatred of the world, or to yield up possessions and goods with native country, and voluntarily to choose banishment, many withhold themselves from a firm resolution. They however plead other and very specious reasons, from which it is evident that they seek only a pretext. Since they are now in a manner wavering and without established principles, they would gladly hear your opinion, which, as they justly so much respect it, will have great weight with them. They have accordingly desired me to send a trusty messenger to you in order to obtain your views upon this matter. I was not willing to refuse them, because I believed it very important for their good to have your authority, to prevent them from continually vacillating in uncertainty, and because I wished it, for my own aid. Therefore I conjure you in the name of Christ, my much honored father in the Lord, that you will take the trouble for their sakes and for mine, first, to read the letter which has been written to you in their name, and at some leisure hour to cast your eye over my two little books, or to commit this labor to another who will give to you the substance of them; and secondly, to communicate to us in few words what your opinion shall be. I obtrude upon you in the midst of your important and varied occupations with reluctance, but I am persuaded, that you will with your accustomed considerateness excuse me, constrained as I am to prefer this request. O that I could fly to you and

enjoy for some hours at least conversation with you. This I should much prefer, and it would be far more profitable for me to confer with you personally, not only upon this question but upon many other disputed points. But that which is not permitted on earth, will soon, I hope, be granted us in heaven. Farewell most illustrious man, most distinguished servant of Jesus Christ, and my ever honored father. May the Lord continue to guide you by his spirit unto the end, for the common good of his church."¹ This letter with the little volumes was sent to the care of Melancthon, with the request that he would present them to Luther, and use his exertions to prevent him from being enraged at anything in them which might be opposed to his views. But Melancthon on account of Luther's excessive irritability upon the Sacramentarian controversy did not venture to offer them to him: "I have not given your letter," said he, "to Doctor Martin; for he looks with suspicion upon many things, and is not willing that his opinion upon such questions as you propose should be circulated."

Luther died the following year (1546), and left Calvin to struggle in the tempestuous times which ensued without his aid. Calvin was now thirty-six years old, and the experience of the few past years had prepared him to take his position of leader of the hosts who were constantly seceding from papal Rome. The main object of the two men was the same, but their manner of accomplishing it was dissimilar. The one attempted to remove the antichristian element from Catholicism, the other went further and attempted to abolish everything which was found, on a critical study of the Bible, to be opposed to it. They never saw each other, and perhaps it is not to be regretted that they were separated. Both leaders by nature, they could not brook the contravention of their own plans. They however were not strangers to each other, and although their different views upon some points, as upon the Lord's Supper, caused a little bitterness of feeling between them, yet this did not prevent a just appreciation of each other's character and conduct. Calvin wrote to Bullinger November 25th, 1544: "I hear that Luther has issued a terrible libel not only against you but against us all. I can hardly ask you to remain silent, for it is not just to be so undeservedly abused without permission to make a defence. It is at least difficult to feel that this forbearance will avail anything. But I wish you to

¹ *Mss. Tig.* Jan. 30th, 1545.

give due weight to the following suggestions: first, consider how great a man Luther is; by what extraordinary gifts he is distinguished, and with what power of soul and constancy, with what dexterity he has so prosperously struggled until this day, for the overthrow of the kingdom of antichrist.—I have already often said that if he should call me a devil, I would acknowledge him still as an extraordinary servant of God, who indeed is the subject of great faults as well as endowed with great virtues. Would to God that he had exerted himself more to subdue the tempest of his anger, which continually rages. Further also, consider that it will be of no advantage to you to contend with him, except to give the enemy occasion to triumph, not so much over our defeat as that of the gospel. If we revile and condemn one another, our recriminations will everywhere be gladly received as true.—This should you rather think of, than what Luther perhaps deserves on account of his violence, in order that the evil may not come upon us which Paul condemns; that whilst we bite and devour each other we come to nought. Even if he provoke us to controversy, we must rather abstain from contention, than by our common fall, bring still greater injury upon the church.”—On the other hand, Calvin admonishes Melancthon not to yield too much to “Luther’s imperious spirit which often knows no bounds;” for says he, ‘we set a poor example to posterity if we surrender our liberty rather than offend one man, who will also continually grow more exacting if everything is yielded to him.’

Institutions of Learning in Geneva.

Calvin’s influence in favor of education, is evident from all his works. But he was not satisfied with merely general exertions for the intellectual culture of the people of Geneva. One of his first labors after his return, was to reestablish the school which Farel had previously founded, and which had been discontinued. He first procured the services of Maturin Cordier as teacher, and afterwards invited to Geneva for the same purpose the celebrated Castellio. In 1556 Calvin formed a plan for the establishment in Geneva of a large Gymnasium, and of an Academy especially for instruction in theology. The funds necessary were promised, but in consequence of the poverty of the little State, years passed before they could be obtained. Finally the noble Bonnivard gave his whole estate for this purpose, and the Gymnasium was

commenced in 1558 and the Academy in 1559. Just at this time a large number of intellectual men flocked to Geneva, who co-operated with Calvin in this good work. It was however found necessary to limit the number of Professors to as few as possible, instead of having one to each branch of learning as Calvin desired. These institutions were under the control of the clergy, who chose the rector, professors, and teachers, and presented their names to the council for their approval. Calvin prepared the laws for the Academy and the Articles of belief which all were obliged to sign. In addition to the principles of religion and the Latin and Greek languages, Dialectics were pursued in the higher classes, and were considered especially useful as a preparation for the Aristotelian philosophy.

'On the 5th of July 1559,' says Henry, 'the doors of St. Peter's church were thrown open, the magistrates, the clergy, all the educated men in Geneva, all the intelligent families and six hundred pupils assembled. Calvin rose and addressed them on the importance and value of institutions of learning, and admonished them to pray to God for their own. Roset, Secretary of State read the laws, and proclaimed Theodore Beza, Rector. Beza then arose and pronounced an oration in Latin, and Calvin concluded the exercises by a prayer. On the following day the classes were opened. Even to this day they celebrate in the same church, an annual school-festival, at which one of the pupils delivers an oration.' Calvin's correspondence shows with what zeal he labored for this school, and its influence in diffusing enlightened views in Germany, Holland, France and England, were a sufficient reward for his toil. Calvin stamped his own spirit upon all who dwelt in his little community. Even those who were driven to him by each successive wave of persecution and carried back by the counter current, bore with them "leaves for the healing of the nations."

Theological Peculiarities of Calvin.

Some account of the Institutes of Calvin has been given in a previous number of this Miscellany, but a very brief view of some of his theological peculiarities seems to be important in order to give anything like completeness to these notices of one who is perhaps best known in modern times as a theologian. The fundamental principle of Calvin's theology, which is everywhere apparent in his system, is, the greatness and majesty of God. A

personal God, the Creator of all things and the constant Disposer of all events is everything to him. Man is nothing. The good in him is all of grace; hence the necessity of humility and self-abasement. Out of the same feeling, too, the desire to abase man and glorify God, arose his doctrine of predestination. The God which Calvin worshipped and preached was not the God revealed in the New Testament only, or the God who is manifested to our internal consciousness in nature merely. He was the eternal God who was known to Moses and the prophets, who appeared amid the thunderings of Sinai, whose voice rent the rocks and at whose presence the earth shook, and the foundations of the hills were moved. Luther was not so much influenced by the view of the unity and omnipotence of God as Calvin, and from this difference, arose many of the other dissimilarities in their teachings. Calvin probably more resembles Augustine in his reverence for God than any other theologian of ancient times. The spirit and life of Augustine are grounded on his love to Jehovah. He is "his light, his joy and his beauty." But although Calvin and Augustine agree in this general principle, they differ in the details. Augustine's love of God had more tenderness in it than that of Calvin; he dwells more upon the attribute of pity and Calvin more upon that of righteousness. The bishop of Hippo seems to take for his point of departure the weakness and corruption of man, and contrasts with that, the purity and power of his Maker. This is the natural result of his early course of sin and indulgence and the long struggling necessary to overcome perverse habits and inclinations. The pastor of Geneva was religious by nature, a strong sense of right and wrong ruled in him even before his conversion, which took place early in life. Hence the former felt more compassion for the weakness and excuse for the errors of his fellow men, although he perhaps had a more vivid and constant feeling of the odious nature of sin. It was not a want of sensibility in Calvin (here I apprehend he is misjudged), but the sensibility of mind of higher moral tone, of one less under the influence of the passions and appetites.—Closely connected with a reverence for God is a reverence for his Word. This feeling is shown in all Calvin's writings. With him the ground work of Christianity, the sole source of faith, the absolute and unchanging appeal is in the Word of God. "The Bible," says Chillingworth, "the whole Bible, nothing but the Bible, is the religion of the reformed church."

Calvin and Luther agreed in the fundamental doctrines of the

Christian system; they both believed in a trinity of the divine Being, in original sin, free grace, eternal life, the insufficiency of works and justification by faith alone. They both maintain the necessity of the influences of the Holy Spirit in conversion, and consequent dependence upon God, but Calvin insisted more strenuously upon this point than Luther, and thus seemed to conflict with the doctrine of the freedom of the will.

But one of the most considerable differences between the Lutheran and Calvinistic system is in regard to the connection of justification with predestination.¹ Calvin insisted as strongly as Luther on the necessity of Christ's atonement, but contended that it is conditioned by the decree of God, and hence deduced the dogma of the saints' perseverance, while Luther believed in falling from grace. Another deduction of Calvin from his doctrine of predestination was that baptism is not necessary to salvation, for if salvation is ensured by the decree of God, surely baptism cannot be a condition of receiving it, but a sign or seal that we have already been justified. Luther believed in the necessity of baptism in connection with exorcism for infant salvation. Calvin denied its necessity, but maintained its utility, since the manifestations of grace which constitute the new birth, are frequently made in connection with the sacrament.

Perhaps Calvin has not been more bitterly reproached for anything except his conduct towards Servetus, than for his defence of his doctrine of predestination. But in his view in maintaining this, he was defending the honor of God and in giving it up he was yielding up the citadel for whose defence he had been stationed. No wonder that, when he saw himself assailed by friend and foe, when he saw that the doctrine was perverted by base men, and that he was reproached as making God the author of sin, and men mere machines, he answered with warmth. Whether correct or not in the extreme to which he carried the doctrine, we believe that he was sincere and logical in his adoption and defence of it, and that its influence with all its roughness was infinitely more salutary than that doctrine against which it was aimed. Better far is it to place man lower than his rightful place with God on the throne, than exalt man to contest the seat of dominion with his Maker.

Another point of difference between Calvin and Luther was in regard to the Lord's Supper. And here Calvin also disagreed

¹ See a full account of Calvin's animated and persevering defence of this doctrine in Henry III. 44 sq.

with Zuingli, and struggled through many long years to unite the contending parties, between which he stood. Zuingli, at least in the early part of his life, believed that the bread and the wine in the Sacrament are merely symbols which represent to us Christ's death.¹ Luther maintained that Christ's real physical body and blood were present with the bread and wine which still remained bread and wine, and were partaken by all communicants, whether Christians or not. This, Calvin contended, was contrary to reason. To be sure reason must be silent when the Scripture speaks; but this, he maintained was not the meaning of the words of the Bible; and Christ could not be physically present in several places at the same time, since this is contrary to the nature of body.² On the other hand, Calvin could not agree with the Zuinglians that the bread and the wine were mere symbols; but in partaking of the emblems, he believed that a real, spiritual influence was communicated to the true participant. By faith the soul is, as it were, raised to heaven and united with the substance of the Lord. A real communication takes place between the soul and the substance of Christ's body, the moment that the bread and the wine are worthily received. In the controversies in which Calvin engaged on this subject, his desire was to be a peace-maker. But the accusation which has been made against him, that he was temporizing and did not act from conviction in this contest, appears to be utterly unmerited. His whole character and course of life, as well as the agreement of the doctrine maintained in the first edition of his Institutes with that expressed in his controversy with Westphal and Hesa, utterly preclude the supposition that he acted otherwise than in accordance with his conscientious belief.³

In church-regulations Calvin departed further than Luther from the Catholics. He did not retain images, paintings, the altar and

¹ It is claimed, with apparent reason, that in the latter part of his life, his views were somewhat modified, and that he admitted a spiritual participation of the substance of Christ's body. He says: *In coena Domini naturale ac substantiale istud corpus Christi, quo et hic passus est et nunc in coelis ad dexteram patris sedet, non naturaliter et per essentiam editur, sed spiritualiter tantum. Christi humanitas non est aeterna, ergo neque infinita, si finita, jam non est ubique.—Mens reficitur hac fide, quam symbolis testaris.*

² *Misceri si volunt carnis substantiam cum hominis anima, quot se absurdis involvent?*

³ The whole controversy on this subject represents Calvin's character in a most interesting point of view, but we have not room to pursue it at present.

the cross, which the Lutherans allowed. Psalm-singing and the playing of the organ (with difficulty retained) were all the arts which found place in Calvinistic churches. This baldness in their worship occasioned the reproach of Erasmus: "they burned down the whole house in order to clear away the dust." The two reformers agree in the necessity of excommunication for offenders, but Calvin commits its execution to the consistory (i. e. to clergy and laity), and not to the clergy alone.

These are but some of the prominent points of agreement and difference between these two leaders of the church in the sixteenth century. Many others will of course be suggested to every attentive reader of the biographies of these men and the history of their times. In general, it may be said, that Calvinism is far more decidedly opposed to Catholicism than Lutheranism; and that in its origin it took a more decided hold upon the minds of thinking men, and its progress has been more uniformly and steadily onward. "Lutheranism is a reformation, the Reform a re-formation."¹

Calvin's Conflicts with the Anabaptists and Libertines, 1544—1555.

The Anabaptists and Libertines were especially troublesome at Geneva. The principal dogma by which the Anabaptists are known, is the rejection of infant baptism and the necessity of the performance of that rite in adult age. But this was only one manifestation of their error. The principle at the basis of their creed was, that Christians are guided by a higher revelation, an inward light, and that consequently all civil and ecclesiastical order, was not only useless but at variance with Christian freedom. All difference of rank was rejected and community of goods maintained, and family ties were not considered sacred. The Libertines went still further. Pantheists of the most dangerous kind, they struck at the foundation of morality as well as religion, and even reviled all sacred things. In 1544 Calvin wrote against both of these sects and Henry says, that these treatises are composed in so powerful and convincing a manner that they deserve to be read at all times. They are intimately related to each other, since the belief of individual inspiration was to be contended against in both cases. Calvin dedicates the volume against the spiritual Libertines to the people of Neuf-

¹ J. H. Merle d'Aubigné, *Lutheranism and the Reform.*

chatel, who had urged him to write it, "so as to show the mutual affection and agreement in doctrine between that people and himself." In it he confutes several of the errors of the Libertines specifically and at length, and deduces from their dogmas three propositions: 1. that God is the devil; 2. that men have no conscience to distinguish between good and evil; 3. that all crime is to be commended, and no sin is punishable, since all is the work of God. He then discusses their principles in a serious and conclusive manner, grounding his arguments on the Bible. Good common sense, learning and especially the instinctive perception of the right method of interpreting Scripture, are conspicuous in these writings. The Libertines, for example, believed in the community of goods, but Calvin showed them that the early Christians understood by this term only the greatest liberality and beneficence.

The most frightful state of morals ensued from the principles of the spiritual Libertines. The wife of one of the councillors, Ameaux, openly avowed the most indecent principles and was guilty of the most flagrant, and wanton conduct.¹ Somewhat later a fit representative of the same party was found in Raoul Monnet, who boasted of his intrigues with women of the first families in Geneva, and procured a set of obscene paintings which in derision he termed his New Testament. Another unequivocal indication of the state of morals appears in connection with the existence of the plague which during several years devastated Geneva and the region around. Even in the little city itself the number of the inhabitants was decimated; out of not more than 20,000, not less than 2000 lost their lives. It was at length supposed to be discovered that an organized band of men existed whose object it was to spread as widely as possible this terrible contagion. Even the overseer of the hospital, was among them. Their only object, it seemed, was to get possession of the effects of the person destroyed, and they had taken an oath not to desist until "Geneva could be fed by a bushel of corn," so that they might be masters of the whole city. To Oswald Myconius, Calvin thus speaks of this most atrocious conduct: "The Lord has tried us in a strange way. A little while ago a conspiracy of men and women was discovered, who during these three years have diffused abroad the plague by enchantments (veneficiis) with which I am unacquainted. Already fifteen women

¹ For an account of it, see Henry II. S. 412.

have been burned, and several men terribly tortured, have died in prison; twenty-five are yet in chains, and still every day the locks of our houses are besmeared with their virus. Such are the dangers by which we are surrounded. Hitherto God has preserved our house uninjured, although it has been often attacked. Good is it to know, that he careth for us."¹

Together with the spiritual Libertines another party arose in Geneva, which may be denominated the political Libertines. These people opposed the theocratic element in the system of Calvin. The reformation had been adopted by them merely as a means for throwing off the despotism of Berne and Savoy and establishing a free State. To these people Calvin was a stone of stumbling; for so long as he stood with his iron will, with the gospel in his hands, and with the thunder of his words in their ears, they could not move forward a step. They first tried covert attacks upon him. Refugees were constantly flocking to Geneva. New churches were formed for the Italians, English and Spaniards. The plague, which stared them in the face, the hatred and commotion which awaited them did not prevent multitudes from residing near the great man, whose powerful words they might hear, and whose energizing spirit they hoped to catch. Calvin wished all of these worthy people to become citizens of Geneva, so that they might be able to cooperate with him in the council.

The Libertines, seeing the operation of these causes, struggled to make the life of the refugees uncomfortable. They opposed the reception of new citizens, and wished to prohibit them from bearing arms. But the foreigners had the support of the consistory. And besides, an open opposition to the preachers and the refugees was opposition to God.² Calvin prevailed, by means of a majority in the smaller council, and three hundred, mostly from France, were admitted as citizens at one time. It cannot be thought strange that the rage of the Libertines was excited to the highest pitch to see themselves so completely discomfited by one man, and he "unarmed but by the sword of his mouth." It may be that Calvin sometimes allowed his indignation to be too far aroused by these fanatics, but we cannot blame him; we rather honor and reverence him for so firmly resisting their irreligion, which but for him would have undoubtedly brought a heavy

¹ Mss. Gen. 27th March, 1545. See also Henry II. 417 for other accounts of a like nature.

² See Galiffe, Not. Gen. p. 527—546, and the State-protocol for the time.

curse upon many succeeding generations. These opposers finally showed themselves openly. They gnashed their teeth in anger and cried out that the State was lost. But Calvin was not terrified. The more they raged the greater was his firmness. He permitted law to have its free course. The first councillor as well as the humblest citizen experienced its inflexibility and its power. Still the wicked were not humbled, but rather roused to new outbreaks. All were prepared for extremities, and demanded that they should not be called to answer for their misdemeanors before the consistory, but before the council of State. But the Ecclesiastical tribunal demanded the execution of its discipline which was sanctioned by the word of God, and called upon the civil tribunal for aid. It was granted, and Calvin triumphed.

Perhaps no single instance of altercation shows more distinctly the power of Calvin than that with Pierre Ameaux. This man was a member of the council of two hundred. His wife had been previously punished for her libertinism, he himself had consorted with bad preachers, and had in an evening meeting inveighed openly against the dogmas and person of the reformer. This was reported to the council, who cast Ameaux into prison, to await his trial. The council was immediately called together, and those who could not be present were required to send in their opinion in writing, to see whether there was anything punishable in Calvin's conduct. They bore most honorable testimony both to the purity of his doctrine, and the propriety of his conduct. They however wished to acquit Ameaux with a fine, since he had retracted his reproaches against Calvin, and promised all due respect in future. But this did not satisfy Calvin. He appeared, attended by the other preachers and church-elders before the council and complained of the remissness of the judges, and demanded that the decision should be reversed. The process was renewed, and the council now condemned Ameaux to suffer deserved retribution: He was compelled to go through the whole city, half dressed, with his head uncovered and bearing a lighted torch, and then to kneel down and publicly declare his penitence; this was "faire amende honorable."

This conduct of Calvin at first view appears exceedingly rigid and unkind. But it should be considered, that a principle was involved, and if Calvin identified himself with his doctrines, he knew that it was Christianity that Ameaux and his party hated in him. An attack upon him was an attack upon the consistory, and upon those measures upon which not only the well being of

Geneva, but of the reformation depended. In order to understand the full extent of his zeal for the truth in this case we must rather believe that he overlooked the odium which he might expect would come upon him in consequence of the appearance of revenge for a personal attack, especially as the individual punished was a man greatly esteemed by his fellow citizens. Calvin on other occasions abundantly showed that he knew how to forgive when only himself was attacked; and besides, the council would not have made the mere utterance of a few words against the minister so grave an offence. This decree for the punishment of Ameaux gave occasion to an outbreak of popular feeling against Calvin in one quarter of the city. He heeded their noise and tumult no more than the rustling of leaves among the trees. The council however went to the Gervais in a body and ordered a gallows to be erected there. This threat was sufficient; the tumult was hushed, and Ameaux received the punishment decreed to him, on the fifth of April, 1546.

It was deemed advisable in order to check the increasing tendencies to irreligious practices in the city, that more rigid laws should be enacted against every species of vice. A great number of persons were called before the consistory in order to make inquiry into the state of their morals. The most bitter hatred against all religious order was frequently exhibited by persons when brought before this tribunal. Faber, a man belonging to one of the best families in Geneva, was sent to prison, and as he went he continually shouted "freedom, freedom." Perrin, a member of the council of four, was also arrested. The spirit of Calvin in reference to this matter may be gathered from an extract of a letter to Farel. "Finally, I add, they must build them a new city, where they can live by themselves, if they will not consent to take upon themselves the yoke of Christ. So long as they remain in Geneva, they will strive in vain to escape subjection to law. For if there were as many diadems in the house of Faber as frantic heads, it should not prevent, that God should remain Lord." But we cannot detail all these cases of opposition to authority and their result. Perrin saved his life by flight. Whilst Gruet was soon after, July 25, 1547, executed for despising religion, contemning law, and for immoral conduct.¹

During these occurrences nothing was left untried to bring reproach upon Calvin and weaken his influence. Even in the

¹ For detailed accounts of these processes, see Henry II. S. 435 sq.

open streets and in the council, he was subjected to insult, and at times lived in constant expectation of a violent death. Among other reproaches, says Beza, some named their dogs Calvin, others turned the name of the reformer to Cain, the murderer of his brother, probably with reference to the death of Gruet. But he did not allow himself to show the least fear or disquiet. "I await quietly," he writes to Viret, "what the enemy may do. They leave not a stone unturned to ruin my influence; I sometimes do not appear to observe it, while at other times I freely declare that all their attempts only furnish me an occasion for derision. For they would believe themselves victorious could they but perceive an indication of fear in me."—Even the council often opposed him.

In 1545 a letter which Calvin wrote to Viret after an election of some of his enemies to office, was found, translated into French and circulated. The council in consequence of this accused him of having written, that the Genevans desire to be governed without reference to God, which was considered as a reproach to the whole council. In reference to this matter Calvin wrote to Farel, Aug. 10th, 1558. "As far as I can gather from the tenor of the accusations against me, my letters have been exposed, in which the worst passage is this: 'Our citizens wish to be ruled under the semblance of Christ without Christ.' This they think is a deadly arrow cast at them. I am still prepared to endure any death if it will serve for the advancement of the truth. Yet they are now ashamed to show these letters obtained by fraud, and they very well know that I am in a condition to abundantly substantiate these reproaches." His enemies believed at this time that they had the preacher under their control, but by his bold and judicious course he again came forth victorious. He however was subjected to a reproof from the council, which was considered by Farel and Viret a sufficient reason for going to Geneva in order to sustain him by their authority.¹

This did not prove as Calvin had hoped his last contest with the Libertines. In 1553—5 a last and more desperate war was waged which ended in the triumph of the truth and its champion. In the beginning of 1553, Calvin published his Commentary upon John's Gospel and dedicated it to the Council. In his preface he commends them for receiving so hospitably the oppressed

¹ They went there again subsequently for the same purpose.

stranger, and admonishes them to always remain superior to tumult and fear. He little heeded the gathering cloud which was soon to burst over him. A difficulty which had arisen between Berne and Geneva, encouraged the hostile party to lift its head again. The clergy were excluded from the council,¹ and the French refugees prohibited to bear arms.² Perrin now determined to crush the power of church discipline and with it the influence of Calvin. Servetus was at this time in prison, and his trial was in process.³ Philibert Berthelier had been excommunicated for disorderly conduct in the previous year. He now stepped forward and demanded of the council a veto of the decision of the consistory. This was virtually asking the council to take upon itself the government of the church, and to abrogate all those rights which Calvin had so long struggled to establish and maintain. Berthelier had many adherents in the council, and they decided that the clergy might, when the occasion demanded it, be required to appear in the council and absolve the guilty. Extremely excited, Calvin showed by the most powerful arguments, that it was the duty of the council to sustain and not annul the church-laws which were sacred. He went further, he assembled all the clergy within the jurisdiction of Geneva and went with them the next day before the council, where each one individually protested against such destructive measures, and declared that they would rather lay down their office and leave their churches, than sanction them. But the party of the Libertines by tumultuous conduct now obtained the victory. The case was brought before the great council, which confirmed the decision, and a document, on which was the seal of the State, was given to Berthelier to show his acquittal. The enemy now thought themselves sure of success, but they found that they had to do with one more powerful than all the combined forces of the opposition. This was an occasion for Calvin to exhibit the true greatness of his spirit. Insignificant by his side are the hosts of those who are ready to sit in judgment upon his conduct as severe and harsh, and who themselves are valiant champions, when the fastnesses of error like the walls of Jericho, are to be assailed with shouting and the sounding of rams' horns.

On the Friday before the first Sabbath in September, the day

¹ February 4th, 1553.

² April 11th, 1553.

³ The character of Servetus, and Calvin's relation to him, is deemed of sufficient importance to require a separate discussion, which may be expected in a subsequent number of this Review.

for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, Calvin decided upon his course. He forthwith demanded of the Syndics that the two hundred should be convened, and appearing before them he endeavored in an impassioned address to persuade those present to rescind their previous vote. He ended with the protestation that he would die sooner than profane the Supper of the Lord. "For nothing," said he, "is more unjust than what you require, that that man should take his place with the members of the church of God, and thus deriding them, incite others of like character to the same insolent behavior." The council were immovable and Calvin looked forward to a second banishment. The Sabbath arrived. The reformer entered the desk and the fire of his words went forth over the sacred mysteries and their despisers. At the end of the sermon he exhorted the members of the church with holy fervor to receive the emblems, boldly warned those who slighted the holy Sacrament, and declared that he would *not* distribute the bread and wine to those who were excommunicated. "If there is any one among you who will extort the bread of the Lord, let him know," said he raising his hand: "I will sooner lose my life than this hand shall offer holy things to those who have been pronounced despisers of God." A thunder-clap from heaven could not have filled Berthelier and his companions with more consternation;—Berthelier did not approach the table of the Lord, and the sacred Supper was celebrated in a silence as deep and with as holy a dread as if the eye of God himself were directly upon them.

In the afternoon of the same day Calvin appeared before the congregation for his second service, and announced for his text, the words of Paul found in the twentieth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and turning to his church said: "Watch and remember that by the space of three years, I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears. And now brethren I commend you to God and to the word of his grace. I am not one that will contend against the magistrates, or teach others to do so." After admonishing the assembly to maintain the doctrines which he had taught them and expressing his readiness ever to serve the church and every member of it, he concluded by saying: "The position of things here is such that I know not but that it is the last time I shall proclaim to you the Word of God, since those who have the power in their hands, wish to force me to do a thing which God does not allow. I must therefore say to you as Paul said to the elders at Ephesus, I commend you, dear

brethren, to the grace of God." His enemies were terrified and his friends strengthened by this appeal. The next day Calvin with the other preachers and all the members of the consistory appeared and demanded a hearing before the great council, since it had sanctioned the decision in question. As the easiest escape from the dilemma into which the council had brought itself, it was decided, to postpone the exercise of the regulation sanctioned by the two hundred, until they could consult the opinion of the Cantons, and, that in the mean time, the existing laws should be enforced.

On the first day of January, 1554, a public dinner was held at which Calvin with the judges and the members of the smaller council were present. "If any one breaks the peace," they say, "we will rise up against him;" and on the second day of February following, the people took an oath with uplifted hands, that they would from that time live according to the regulations of the reformer, renounce all hatred, forget the past and call down the vengeance of God upon the houses, persons and families of those who should break this sacred promise. But Calvin did not put implicit confidence in all these exhibitions of obedience.

It proved even worse than he had anticipated. The disaffected citizens again complained in the council of the decisions of the consistory and claimed that the elders should appear before the council to defend themselves. Calvin was also attacked in person, and as he was returning from preaching one day, a French refugee who was with him was wounded. The people assembled, swords were drawn and blood flowed. Cries of "slay, slay the alien," were heard in the streets. Similar proceedings took place daily. "See," said they, "how we are ruled by French edicts and Calvin." Calvin inveighed in the pulpit against these enormities; but was admonished by the council to moderate his untimely zeal.

But in the beginning of 1555 the Libertines gave occasion for their final subjugation. On the twenty-fourth day of January, the two hundred were convened to deliberate with the preachers upon the subject of church-discipline. After the members of the council had given their reasons for claiming the ultimate decision in civil and ecclesiastical matters, Calvin in behalf of the clergy arose and addressed the council: "It is," said he, "duty to be subject to the authority of Christ and his apostles to whom Christ gave power to loose and to bind, and also to administer the sacraments. The magistrate has no more power to oppose this than the clergy have to interfere in matters of civil jurisdiction. They

[the clergy] must see to it that the sacraments are not profaned. As all the clergy are entirely subject to the civil tribunal, so all worldly greatness must be submissive to the words of Christ." He then proceeded to show by Scripture examples the danger of civil rulers when they attempt to interfere with sacred things, and to adduce other arguments for the support of his cause. This appeal had the desired effect upon the minds of the members of the council; and they declared that all edicts sanctioned by the great council were of the nature of laws, and that consequently all discipline belonged to the consistory. The turbulent rabble saw that their sins would be restrained by the clergy in consequence of this decision, and now set themselves in array against them. They clamorously demanded that the sermon should be banished from worship, and the preachers limited to two, should only read the Scriptures without comment. They said it was not only unprofitable but dangerous to interpret the Bible so much, and that it was unnecessary to print so many "books and Commentaries." These people were still more enraged by the admission of fifty new citizens by the council. The strife and bloodshed and executions which ensued we will not describe.¹ Right finally prevailed, and Calvin was at rest from contention, and his spirit ruled in his church.

The effects of Calvin's long and arduous struggling at Geneva are happily recorded by eye witnesses. Knox who was in Geneva in 1556 wrote to his friend Locke: "In my heart I could have wished, yea and cannot cease to wish, that it might please God to guide and conduct yourself to this place, where I neither fear nor eshams to say, is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion so sincerely reformed, I have not yet seen in any other place beside."² Farel also expressed his admiration and astonishment at the superior graces bestowed upon this church: "I have lately been at Geneva, and I was never so much delighted with it; I could scarcely tear myself away. I would rather be first in Geneva than last anywhere else;" etc. A hundred years later Drelincourt writing from Geneva says: "The order which prevails here is that established in the time of Calvin. A more beautiful blending of Church and State, the civil and ecclesiastical power, cannot be found."³

¹ See Henry III. 374 sq. ² M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, p. 141. Ed. N. York, 1813.

³ See Henry III. 379, note.

Calvin's last Days and Death.

The subjects of interest connected with the life of the great reformer multiply as it draws near its close. Numerous letters and incidents illustrating in the most satisfactory manner the excellence of his private character, the strength of the mutual affection and confidence between himself and his friends, his tender piety, his anxiety to injure no one, seem to demand a place in this imperfect sketch. His influence upon the northern countries of Europe, upon England and Scotland, and especially upon France, would also be a fertile topic of remark. But we hasten to speak of those things which have more immediate reference to his declining years.

Beza says that "Even in 1562 it might be seen that Calvin advanced with rapid strides to a better life. He did not however cease to comfort the sick and afflicted, to administer admonition to the erring, and even to preach and lecture upon theology."¹ He also prepared a new Confession of faith during this year to be sent to the diet at Frankfort. Although often confined to his couch by sickness during the last years of his existence, his activity in his studies was unceasing. When not surrounded by those who came to him for counsel and advice, he was engaged in dictating his works and letters to the young men whom he employed for that purpose. He often, it is said, wearied them out with writing whilst he was unwearied. In addition to the controversial writings which were forced upon him, the number of Commentaries either prepared anew, or revised and edited by him during these years is almost incredible.²

"The year 1564," says his contemporary biographer and friend, "was the first of his eternal felicity, but for us the beginning of a just and long sorrow. On the sixth of February he preached his last sermon, although much interrupted by a severe cough. From this time he laid aside his public duties, only permitting himself several times to be carried to the congregation, but for

¹ In addition to his own duties, he performed those of Beza who was in France during this year.

² He published, in French, a Commentary upon the Epistles of Paul and the Minor Prophets in 1560, upon the Psalms in 1561, and upon the Acts of the Apostles in 1563; in Latin, Lectures upon Jeremiah and Lamentations taken down by his pupils, in 1563, also Lectures upon Daniel, and a Commentary upon the last four Books of Moses the same year.

the last time on the last day of March, when he addressed the assembly in a few words."

Although he suffered exceedingly during his last days from a complication of diseases, yet no one of those who were constantly about him ever heard a word escape his lips, which was unbecoming a Christian or which indicated impatience. When his pain was most excruciating, he would lift his eyes towards heaven and say: "How long, O Lord!"¹ a phrase which was often on his lips when in health himself, he heard of the sufferings of his brethren, which always troubled him more than his own. When his friends importuned him to lay aside his writing and dictating he replied, "would ye, that the Lord find me idle when he comes?" In accordance with his scrupulous conscientiousness, he could not be prevailed upon to receive his salary after he had ceased to perform his public duties.

On the 16th of March, the council who well understood the greatness of the calamity which threatened them, ordered public prayers to be offered in behalf of the health of their pastor. On that day several of the clergy living near, visited him. "We found him," says one of the number, "dressed and sitting at his little table, where he was accustomed to devote himself to contemplation. When he saw us come in, after he had laid his forehead a long time in his hand in silence, as he was accustomed to do when in deep thought, he finally spake with a voice often interrupted, but with a joyful, smiling face: "dear brethren, I return you many thanks for your tender solicitude for me, and I hope in fourteen days [the day appointed for the 'censura morum'] to see you all assembled around me again, although for the last time. Then I think the Lord will reveal what he has decided concerning me, and he will after that take me to himself." On the day specified (March 24), he was present and after the regular exercises were finished, he said, he felt that some alleviation of his pain had been granted by God, and taking the New Testament in French, he read some of the Notes which he had made in the margin and asked the opinion of his brethren upon them, for he had undertaken to revise and correct them. The following day he was not so well in consequence of too great fatigue.

On the 27th he allowed himself to be carried to the door of the council-hall, and supported by a person on each side he as-

¹ *Usque quo, Domine?*

ceeded the steps to the chamber of convocation. After nominating a new rector for the school, he expressed his gratitude for the kindness the council had shown him, especially during his last sickness. "For" said he, "I feel that I am here for the last time." With difficulty pronouncing these words in a faint voice, he took leave of the councillors who were weeping from sorrow. On the second of April, although very weak he was carried in a chair to the church, listened to the sermon and received the sacred supper from the hand of Beza; he also joined, although in a tremulous voice, with the congregation in singing the last hymn, with indications of Christian joy conspicuous upon his face.

On the 25th of April, Calvin made his will which is so indicative of several traits of his character that a translation of a considerable part of it, is here given: "First," it is said, "I render thanks to God, that He has not only had pity on me, a creature whom he has made and placed on the earth, and taken me out of the thick darkness of idolatry, and brought me into the clear light of his gospel, and has made me partaker of the doctrine of salvation, of which I was entirely unworthy; but also that his compassion and kindness has borne so graciously with my numerous errors and sins, as to deign to use my exertions in preaching and promulgating his gospel. I testify, and declare my intention to pass the remainder of my life in the same faith and religion which he has revealed to me in the gospel; having no hope, but his gratuitous adoption, which is the only ground of my salvation; and with my whole heart I embrace the mercy which Jesus Christ has purchased for me in order that through his death all my sins may be blotted out. I also testify, that I humbly ask of him that he would wash and purify me in the blood of the exalted Redeemer, shed for the sins of the human race, that I may be permitted to stand before his tribunal in the image of the Redeemer himself. I declare, too, that according to the measure of grace which God has given me, I have taught his word faithfully and freely, both in my sermons, treatises and commentaries; and in the controversies in which I have engaged with the enemies of the gospel, I have not used sophistry, but with candour and sincerity have engaged in the defence of the truth. But alas! my good intentions and my zeal (if it is worthy of the name), have been so languid and cold, that I confess, that innumerable things have been wanting to the full discharge of my duties, and that without the unbounded goodness of God, all my right inten-

tions had been like the empty vapor. Moreover, even the gifts which God has bestowed upon me would have made me more criminal, if his grace had not aided me; hence I declare and affirm that I hope for no other means of salvation than this, that, God who is the Father of mercies, may show himself a father to me, who acknowledge myself a miserable sinner.

Further, I desire that after my departure from this life, my body be consigned to dust with the rites customary in this church and this city until the day of the glorious resurrection shall come.

In respect to the little patrimony which God has bestowed upon me, and of which I wish here to dispose, I make Anthony Calvin my very dear brother, my heir, and on account of respect for him, let him have and hold the silver goblet which was given to me by Monsieur de Varannes, with which I desire him to be satisfied; for whatever may remain of my estate I desire to commit to his trust, that he may bestow it upon his children when he dies. I bequeath ten golden crowns to be given by my brother and legal heir to the children's school, and the same amount, for the support of poor strangers. To Joanna, daughter of Constans and my half-sister on the paternal side, I also give ten crowns. To Samuel and John sons of my brother I wish forty crowns to be given after his death, and to Anna, Susannah and Dorothy, each thirty crowns, to David their brother on account of his notorious youthful levity and love of mischief only twenty-five crowns. This is the amount of all my estate as far as I can ascertain it from an estimation of my books, furniture and chattels of all kinds; but if there should be more I desire it to be distributed equally among my brother's children, not excepting David, if by the favor of God he shall conduct himself with propriety." His brother Anthony, and Laurence de Normandy, both of whom came with him from Noyon, were appointed by him executors of his will, and after it had been read "in a clear voice and with good articulation," it was signed by himself, seven witnesses and the notary.

After he had made his will Calvin sent word to the four syndics and the councillors that he wished to speak to them once more in the senate-room, before his death, and hoped he should be able to be carried there on the next day. The senators, entreating him to be careful of his health, sent back word that they would prefer to come to him. Accordingly they repaired the next day in a body from the senate-room to the house of Calvin. After mutual salutations, he said that he had long desired to speak

to them and give them his last testimony of affection for them and of attachment to the interests of their little State, but had postponed it until he was sure that he had not long to remain on the earth. Summoning all his strength, he then addressed them in a speech, a part of which, as taken down at the time, follows : " I return you many thanks, respected Lords, for having bestowed upon me, who am so unworthy, so many honors, and for often bearing so patiently with my infirmities, which I have always considered as a singular mark of your kind feeling towards me. And although in the exercise of my official duties I have been obliged to sustain various contests and endure many insults, which fall to the lot of the best of men, yet I know and acknowledge that they have not arisen from your fault. I earnestly implore you to ascribe it to inability rather than indisposition, when I have not performed my duties as I ought. For, I can assure you, that from my heart I have desired the welfare of your republic, and although I have not accomplished all that my station required, I have still labored with all my energies for the public good. I should indeed be guilty of criminal dissimulation, if I should not, on the other hand, avow that God has sometimes used my labors for good. But I must once more earnestly request your pardon, that I have accomplished so little both in my public and private labors, in comparison with what I ought to have done. I also freely acknowledge that I owe you much gratitude for having borne with patience my vehemence, which has sometimes been immoderate. For this sin I hope I also have the forgiveness of God. In respect to the doctrines which you have heard from me, I testify that I have not rashly or uncertainly, but purely and heartily taught the word of God entrusted to me, knowing that otherwise the anger of God would hang suspended over my head, whilst now I am confident that my labors in the ministry have not been displeasing to him. I make this declaration the more willingly in the presence of God and before you, since I have no doubt that the devil, in his usual manner will raise up many vain, dishonest and light-headed men, to corrupt the pure doctrines which you have heard from me."

Calling their attention to the unnumbered blessings which God had bestowed upon them, he continues : " I myself am the best witness from how many and how great perils the Lord has delivered you. Moreover you see in what condition you now are. Whether in prosperity or adversity, I entreat you to always keep in mind that it is God alone who is the preserver of cities and

kingdoms, and that he as such demands honor from men. Recollect that David, the illustrious king, testifies, that when he was enjoying profound peace, he fell so low, that he could never have arisen if God with singular favor had not stretched out his hand to him. What then may not happen to us poor weak men, if so powerful and brave a prince fell. You have the greatest need of lowliness of mind, that you may go on your way with the highest reverence for God, and the firmest confidence in his protection. Thus you will be certain of the continuance of the same protection which you have hitherto so often experienced, and be unmoved even when the prosperity and safety of your State is suspended upon a slender thread. If prosperity attend you, take care that you do not become insolent like unbelievers, but rather with humility of heart render thanks to God. But if misfortunes befall you, and death stare upon you from every side, still hope in him who even raises the dead. Then especially consider that you are thus chastised by God so that you may learn to trust him with more humility. If you would preserve in security this republic, look well to it that you pollute not by your wickedness these sacred seats, in which you are placed by God. He is the Most High God, King of kings and Lord of lords, who loads with honors those who reverence him, but casts low before him his despisers. Worship him therefore according to his precepts, and let them be ever present with you; for we are always very far from rendering to God his reasonable service. I know the disposition and manner of life of each of you, and am confident that you need this exhortation. Even the best of you, come short in many things. Let each one examine himself, and ask God to supply his deficiencies." After further admonitions upon the right performance of their respective duties, and a fervent prayer for God's guidance and blessing to rest upon them, giving each his hand, in turn, he bade them a sad farewell. They parted from him with deep sorrow, as from a common father.

On the twenty-eighth of April all the ministers within the jurisdiction of Geneva, at the request of Calvin assembled in his chamber, and he addressed them in these words: "Continue steadfast, my brethren, after my death, in this work, and be not discouraged. The Lord will preserve this republic and this church from all the threats of their enemies. Let there be no divisions among you, but embrace each other in mutual charity. Consider well what duties you owe to the church in which God has placed you, and permit nothing to separate you from it. It

will indeed be easy for those who are weary of their charge to find a pretext for escape, but let them be assured that they will find that God cannot be deceived. When I first came to this city, the gospel was indeed preached, but everything was in confusion, as if Christianity consisted only in the breaking of images. There were not a few wicked men from whom I suffered many base indignities, but the Lord God himself so sustained me, even me, who am by nature, (I speak the truth,) by no means bold, that I yielded to none of their assaults. I afterwards returned from Strasburg to this city, obeying the call against my inclinations, since I feared that my return would be entirely without profit. I was ignorant of the designs of God, and the undertaking was beset with many and great difficulties. But persevering in my work I found at length that the Lord blessed my labors. In like manner continue you in this work.—I declare to you, my brethren, that I have always lived with you, and now take my leave of you, in the bonds of the most sincere good will; and if you have ever found me during my sickness, too peevish, and impatient, I ask your forgiveness; and for discharging the duties of my office during that time, I render you many thanks." When he had finished these words, says Beza, he gave his hand to each of us; and we with sorrowing hearts and streaming eyes left him.

On the second of May, twenty-five days before his death, hearing that Farel intended visiting him, (Viret was too far distant to undertake the journey,) Calvin dictated to him a letter bidding him farewell, and entreating him to be mindful of their friendship, and requesting him not to give himself the trouble to make the journey to him. "My breath," said he, "is weak, and I am in constant expectation that it will leave me. But it is enough that I live and die in Christ, who is gain to his followers whether in life or death. Again farewell, with the brethren." But the good old man would not thus allow his friend to die without again seeing him. He came to Geneva, took sweet counsel with the dying man, embraced him for the last time and returned to his work at Neuenburg. But as they had been so closely united in life, in death they were not long divided. Farel lived only until the following spring.

The remainder of his days until death, Calvin spent in almost continual prayer, with a voice indeed so much broken by difficulty of breathing that it seemed little else than a continual sighing, but with eyes clear and bright to the last, and raised to heaven with such an expression of face that the earnestness of

prayer could plainly be perceived in them. In paroxysms of pain he frequently repeated with deep sighs the words of David : " Lord, I opened not my mouth, for thou didst it" and from time to time the words of Isaiah : " I did mourn as a dove." He was also often heard to say : " O Lord, thou smitest me, but I am abundantly satisfied, for it is thy hand."

His house was so thronged night and day by those who came from affectionate regard to see him, that the door would have remained constantly open, if all had been admitted. But as he could not converse, he desired that every one should be requested to pray for him, rather than afflict themselves by witnessing his suffering. His friend Beza says, that he often signified to him, who at least had sufficient proof that his presence was always acceptable, that he must not allow attentions to himself to take him from the duties which he owed to the cause of religion. Indeed Calvin was always so scrupulous in regard to encroaching upon the time belonging to the church, that he was not willing to trouble his friends at all, although nothing would have given them greater joy than to serve him.¹

He continued in much the same condition, " comforting himself and his friends" until the nineteenth of May, two days before the regular time for the administering of the Lord's Supper, and the day on which the ministers were accustomed to assemble for the " Censura morum" and partake of a friendly meal together. Calvin acceded to the proposal that the festival should be held at his house on that day, and when the others had assembled, summoning all his strength he was borne from his bed to the nearest chamber. " I come to you my brethren," he said, " for the last time. I shall no more sit at table with you." This, says Beza, was a sad beginning of the supper for us ; but he offered the prayer, ate a little and conversed as cheerfully as was proper for the occasion. Before the supper was ended, he requested to be carried back to his bed, and with a cheerful face he said to the company : " This wall will not prevent me though absent in body from being present with you in spirit." From this time he did not leave his bed. His body, with the exception of his face which retained a degree of freshness, was so emaciated that there seemed to be only the spirit remaining. But the energy and clearness of his mind did not appear to be affected by disease or age. His physical nature seemed rather to be wasted by the

¹ Beza, who is almost the only authority in respect to the last days of Calvin.

constant, intense activity of his mind. The grosser elements in his constitution, which indeed were always subordinate, were burned out by the fire within, that continually grew brighter.

On the day of his death, May 27th, Calvin seemed stronger, and spoke with less difficulty. But it was the last effort of expiring nature. About eight o'clock in the evening there appeared suddenly the certain indications of speedy death. When his friends, summoned by the servant came in, they found him perfectly tranquil without even a convulsion of the hands or feet or more difficult respiration than was usual. His reason and judgment even his voice remained, until his last breath. His face was so little changed that he seemed rather like one asleep than dead. "Thus," says Beza "on this day, with the descending sun, this most brilliant light disappeared from among us. During that night and the following day the sorrow was great in the whole city. For the whole State wept for a prophet of the Lord, the church grieved at the departure of their most faithful pastor, the Academy mourned the loss of a valued teacher and all lamented that a father, who under God was a true counsellor, had been removed from among them. Many of the citizens desired to see him after death, and could not easily be torn away from his lifeless body. Some persons who had come from a distance for the sake of seeing him and hearing him speak, among whom was a distinguished man, the ambassador of the queen of England in France, were anxious at least to behold his face in death. At first free ingress was given to all; but since this appeared too much like mere curiosity, and as it might give occasion for calumny among the enemy, [as if too great honor was paid to a man,] his friends thought it best on the next morning, it being the Sabbath, to enclose his body, wrapped in a pall according to custom, in a wooden coffin. About two o'clock in the afternoon, he was carried out, without any unusual ceremony, followed by the syndics, senators, pastors and professors in the Academy, with almost all the citizens, weeping as they went, and deposited in the common burying ground called the "level court." According to his request no monument was erected to his memory. A plain stone without inscription was laid over the earth that covered his remains.¹

¹ Beza composed upon the occasion the following epitaph:

Romae ruentis terror ille maximus,
Quem mortuum lugent boni horrescunt mali.

The place where Calvin was laid is now faded from the memory of man, whilst a monument stands in Geneva to point out the last resting place of Rousseau. But at the great day when the elements shall melt with fervent heat, Calvin will be found to have a monument more durable than brass and choicer than fine gold. His trophies shall be brought from the four quarters of the earth, and shall remain forever with him in glory. But he is not forgotten even now.¹ His works are known and read of all men. His spirit is abroad in the earth and prejudice and error flee before it. His example is mighty and will prevail.—At the time of his death, Calvin had been in Geneva nearly twenty-three years after his abode at Strasburg and was not quite fifty-five years old. But if length of days is computed by the amount accomplished, he “was gathered to his people” in the good old age of former generations.

*Ipsa à quo potuit virtutem discere virtus,
 Cur adeo exiguo ignotoque in cespite clausus
 Calvinus lateat, rogas?
 Calvinum assidue comitata modestia vivum
 Hoc tamulo manibus condidit ipsa suis.
 O te beatam cespitem tanto hospite!
 O cui invidere cuncta possint marmora!*

¹ A coin was a few years ago appropriated to his memory in Geneva. On one side is a head of Calvin, according to the picture in the Gen. Library, with the inscription: *Johannes Calvinus natus Novioduni, 1509. Mortuus Genevæ, 1564.* On the other side, Calvin's pulpit is represented with the phrase: *Il teint ferme comme s'il eust veu celuy qui est invisible, Heb. 11: 27.* *Genev. Jubel. Ann. 1835.* Around it are the words: *Corpore fractus; Animo potens; Fide victor; Ecclesias Reformator-Genevæ-Pastor et Tutamen.*