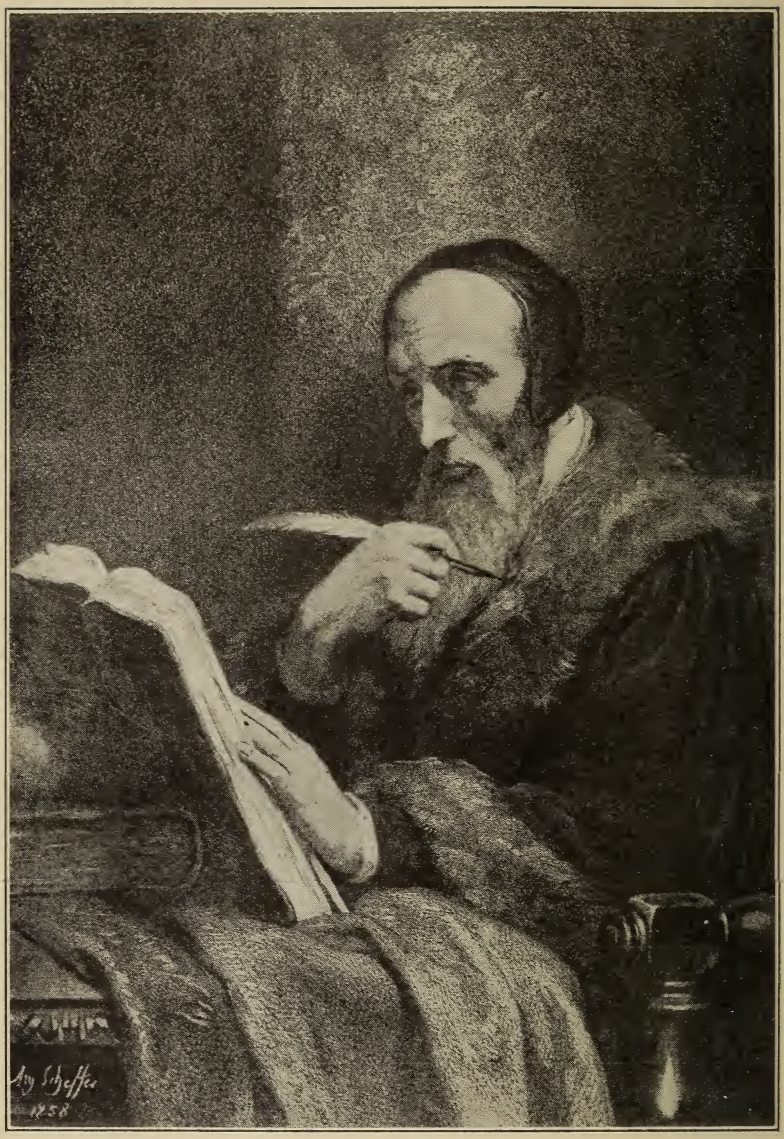
LIFE OF JOHN CALVIN

PHILIP VOLLMER, Ph.D., D.D.



Calvin in His Study

JOHN CALVIN

Theologian, Preacher, Educator, Statesman

Presented to the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System, on the 400th Anniversary of the Reformer's Birth

BY

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PREFACE

The following pages present to the reader a labor of love. Calvin studies, pursued by the author for many years, have created in his mind an ever deepening conviction that the Genevan Reformer was the instrument specially raised up by God for the purpose of saving and preserving to the world the fruits of the reformation, at a time when these were in imminent danger of being frittered away by incompetent leaders. The great genius of Wittenberg had died in 1546, with gloomy forebodings as to the future of the work which he and Zwingli had so successfully inaugurated. His prophetic vision did not deceive him. Soon after his death, the storm of opposition became so virulent as to threaten the very existence of Protestantism. A heart-rending wail went up to heaven: "Lord, save us; we perish!" Leaders in one compartment of Protestantism, in their anxiety to save at least a few treasures, went so far as to counsel the lightening of the vessel by throwing overboard the very principles which were essential to the life of the reformation, when they consented to compromises of the most dangerous character, offered by pope, emperor and princes. It was at this critical juncture that the figure of the Genevan Reformer appeared in ever increasing proportions on the horizon of the Church, as *the international leader and the organizer of the Reformed forces.* In the name of the Captain of our Salvation, he stayed the demoralization. "Peace, be still!" he cried aloud. "Rather death than surrender," was the parole he gave out. Instinctively the lesser leaders of the Reformed churches in Great Britain and on

the continent rallied about this rocky character, and soon the ship returned to its true course. Thus, by keeping afloat and putting in first class order his own compartment of the vessel, Calvin indirectly saved the whole craft of Protestantism. Believing this to be Calvin's place in history, we cannot help loving and revering him.

The outward occasion for the publication of this book, is the four hundredth anniversary of Calvin's birth, on July 10, 1909. Reliable information from all parts of the world indicate that the Calvin Memorial Day will be very generally observed, even beyond the limits of the Reformed and Presbyterian churches. This is as it should be; for there are features in Calvin's character and work which deserve special emphasis at this time. A revival of certain aspects of Calvinism would surely redound to the betterment of our political, social, ethical, religious and educational conditions. Especially our young people should become more familiar with so great and good a man, since he is one of those personalities of whom Longfellow, in his Psalm of Life, says:

> Lives of great men all remind us
> We can make our lives sublime,
> And departing, leave behind us
> Footprints on the sands of time.

The book is designed for popular use; but we trust that the student of the deeper aspects of Calvin's character and work will also find in it food for thinking and helpful suggestions, especially in the chapters of the second part of the book.

We are greatly indebted to our honored colleague and friend, the Rev. Prof. J. I. Good, D.D., for his contribution on Calvin's Influence in Switzerland and Germany, a subject on which he is a specialist and recognized au-

thority and for the illustrations in the book. Our thanks are also due to the Rev. W. H. Roberts, D.D., LL.D., for the use of his spirited treatise on Calvin's Influence in America.

Dr. Philip Schaff says, "Calvin improves upon acquaintance." May this little book contribute a small share to a better appreciation of this great leader of the reformation.

PHILIP VOLLMER.

Dayton, O., March 18, 1909.

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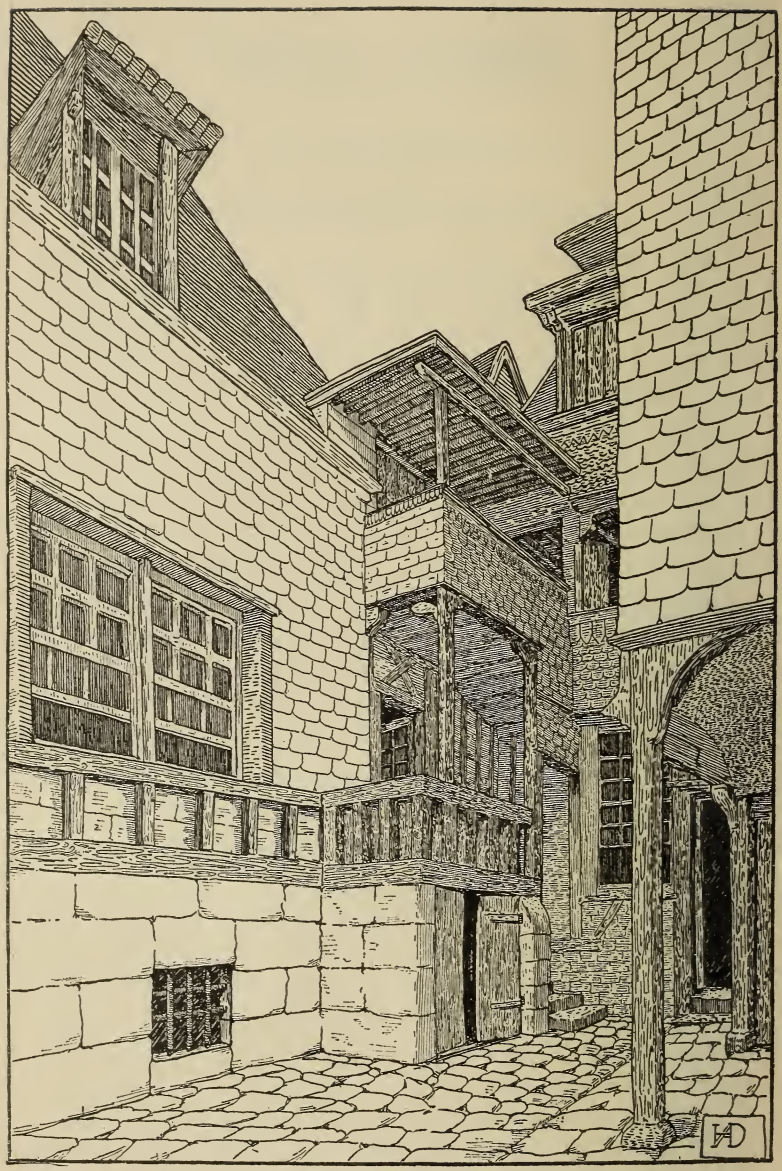
JOHN CALVIN

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION.

John Calvin was born at Noyon, in Picardy, France, on the 10th of July, 1509, and was baptized in the church of St. Godabertes in the course of that month. He was the second of a family of six,—four sons and two daughters. His father, Gerard Chauvin, was a cooper, Procurator-Fiscal for the county and Secretary to the Bishop of the diocese—functions more honorable than lucrative. Calvin's mother was distinguished for her beauty and piety. From his father, the reformer may have inherited his methodical habits, the gravity of disposition, tinctured with censoriousness, which led even his schoolmates to fasten on him the nickname of the "Accusative." From the mother he probably derived his nervous organization, his fine features, his native courtesy of manner, and that constitutional shyness and timidity which to the end of his life he never wholly overcame. The pictures of his countenance in later life still show noble and delicately chiselled features, yet mingled with traces indicating toil and anxiety. All of his portraits represent him as severe, but not ill-natured, except in the libels upon him by his enemies. He was of middle stature, somewhat pale; his skin was rather brown and his eyes clear, even sparkling, to his death. In his dress he was very neat, but without ornament, as became his great simplicity. The home in which Calvin was born was pulled down by his enemies, and an inhabitant of the city, it is said, who rebuilt



Calvin's House, Noyon

it, was hung in front of the door. Many superstitious stories concerning him, born of hatred, were long afloat among his enemies. The exact minute at which he came into the world was ascertained; the conjunction of the planets at the time of his nativity was calculated and his horoscope was made to foretell all the evils which he afterwards would bring upon the Church. Even as a child, his enemies aver, Calvin gave proof of the hellish plans which he was born to execute. In a public procession, they say, he was observed to bear a sword in his hand, instead of a cross "a presage," explains the record, "that he would one day prove a great persecutor of the holy cross and that he would plant his false religion with the sword." Following the custom of the learned men of his time, the reformer in later life translated his name into Latin, then the universal language of all educated people, and signed himself "Calvinus."

Calvin's home training was rigorous. His father did not err on the side of over-indulgence. He kept his children in great awe, and testified to his love for them by restraining their vices and providing for their future welfare, rather than by caresses and the gratification of their youthful propensities. The reformer looked back on his training with unmingled gratitude. "I had," he says, "a somewhat severe father, and I rejoice at it, as the source of any virtues which I may possess." His mother's sincere piety showed itself according to the custom of that age in a scrupulous and devout attention to the forms of worship prescribed by the church. Calvin, later in his life, relates how he was once taken by his mother to the festival of St. Anna to see a relic of the saint preserved in the Abbey of Ourscamp, near Noyon, and that he remembers kissing "a part of the body of St. Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary."

Under the training of such parents Calvin gave early symptoms of religious feeling. Not only was his boy life free from vice, but he was also known to sharply reprove his youthful companions who showed evidences of loose morals.

His early education Calvin received in three different schools. The rudiments of knowledge he acquired in the College des Capettes. But through the respectable connections of his father, Calvin himself tells us, he was, when still a boy, received into the house of the illustrious family of Genlis de Hangert, which held for two generations the episcopal see of Noyon, and there he was educated with one of the sons of this family. At another period of his boyhood we find the reformer pursuing his studies in company with the children of the noble house of Mommor, the most honorable in the neighborhood, but at his father's expense. With lasting gratitude he ever afterwards remembered this family, and his first book, on Seneca, he dedicated to a Mommor, the prelate of St. Eloi, with whom he had studied. This intimacy with great families had important results for Calvin, both as imparting to him that air of good breeding and refinement which never afterwards left him, and as securing for him the advantages of a thoroughly liberal education, while the graveness of his character, and the vigilant eye of his parents preserved him from those vices and extravagant ideas which are often contracted by young men when associating with people of wealth and rank.

Young Calvin was destined for the Church, and as the expenses to a father of six children with a meagre income were heavy, his father procured for his son, then only twelve years of age, a chaplainship in the cathedral of Noyon, a step which necessitated his receiving the

tonsure, that is, the shaving of the crown of his head. In 1527, when he was only eighteen years of age, he received the income of a parish priest. Unlike Luther and Zwingli, Calvin was never ordained a priest, yet he preached many times to the people, after receiving this preferment. This transaction startles us, but in those times of secularization of sacred things it was very common. Pope Leo X, Luther's antagonist, had been made Archbishop of Aix at five years of age. These preferments were voluntarily surrendered by Calvin in 1534, soon after his conversion to the Reformed faith.

CHAPTER II.

A STUDENT AT THREE UNIVERSITIES.

In 1523 a destructive pestilence raged in Noyon, and his father procured for his promising son leave of absence, the more so as no functions whatsoever were required of this fourteen-year-old chaplain. In company with the Mommors, Calvin proceeded to Paris for the purpose of studying in the university. There he was entrusted to the care of a brother of his father, Richard Chauvin, who was a locksmith. In Paris he remained for four years, perfecting himself in Latin and familiarizing himself with logic and philosophy. He entered the college of La Marche, where he had for his teacher in his humanistic studies, the famous Cordery. To him he was principally indebted for his classical taste and the command over the Latin tongue which he attained. Calvin was a grateful pupil. Later in life, in dedicating one of his books to his revered teacher, he writes:

"It is but just that a portion of my labors should be inscribed to you, under whose direction, at my first entrance on the course of study, I made such proficiency as to be at least of some benefit to the Church of God. Having been sent by my father to Paris when a boy, after I had obtained a slight acquaintance with the rudiments of the Latin tongue, I providentially obtained you for a short time as my preceptor, and by means of your natural mode of teaching, learned to prosecute the study in a better way than that to which I had been accustomed. You had formerly presided over the highest class, but finding that the scholars who came from the other masters, trained for show, were not grounded in

the principles of the language, so that you needed to form them anew, and wearied with this drudgery, in the year that I entered the University, you chose to undertake the charge of the fourth class. I perceive the singular goodness of God in ordering it so that I should have the advantage of such tuition. For though I did not enjoy it long, your instructions were of such benefit to me, that I willingly ascribe to them any skill which I may have attained in this department."

Cordery was richly rewarded for his services, if it be true that his pupil was the means of converting him to the Protestant faith. Calvin regularly corresponded with him, and procured his appointment to the rectorship of the grammar school of Geneva, where he died at the age of eighty-eight.

Reluctantly Calvin left La Marche College and entered the College of Montaign, of the same University in Paris. Here a Spaniard, invincibly attached to Aristotle and through him to Romanism, became his teacher of logic and scholastic philosophy. Although uncongenial to his mind, the art of disputation which he acquired here became useful to him in his later life, when his keen intellect proved more than a match for his opponents by using their own favorite weapons. His spare time he applied to reading privately the best Roman authors, both in prose and verse, while his fellow-students spent their leisure hours in frivolous or dissolute amusements. To these linguistic studies the French tongue, as written afterwards by Calvin, is greatly indebted for its beauty and fluency.

It is interesting to listen to one of his enemies, who writes of his conduct at this period of his life as follows:

"Under a lean and attenuated body, he already displayed a lively and vigorous spirit, prompt at repartie,

bold to attack; a great faster, either on account of his health and to stop the fumes of the headache which assaulted him continually, or to have his mind more free for writing, studying, and improving his memory. He spoke but little, but his words were always full of gravity and never missed their aim; he was never to be seen in company, but always in retirement."

At this time the "Lutheran" heresy, as the reformation movement was dubbed by its enemies, had entered France. Calvin might have seen the burning of Povanne, the first martyr of the reformation at Paris, and others following him. What did the seventeen-year-old Calvin think of these executions? We have no means of knowing, except that soon afterwards he was not afraid to expose himself to like dangers.

In the year 1527, when Calvin was eighteen years of age, his studies took a different turn. Of this change he himself gives the following account:

"When I was yet a very little boy my father had destined me for the study of theology. But afterwards, when he considered that the legal profession commonly raised those who followed it to wealth, this prospect induced him suddenly to change his purpose. Thus it came to pass that I was withdrawn from the study of philosophy, and was put to the study of law."

Calvin himself does not seem to have been consulted in this step, but, governed in all things by his sense of duty rather than by inclination, he lost no time in giving effect to his father's will.

Leaving Paris he repaired to the University of Orleans, which had long been the chief faculty of law in France. Under the celebrated lawyer, Peter Stella, he soon distinguished himself so much that at the expiration of a year he was no longer considered a pupil

but a teacher, being more than once employed to teach the classes during the absence or illness of the professors. As in the case of other successful ministers, this legal training proved a preparation for his great work in the future, as a statesman in Genêva, and as founder of the Presbyterial Church Government. When Calvin left the University, the highest honors of the faculty were unanimously conferred on him without any fee, as a reward for uncommon merit. Letters from this period show that he had a large circle of friends, that he had a strong inclination to form friendships, that he was warm and steady in his attachments, and that, while exempt from vices and frivolities, he could indulge in the gay humor and pleasantries of youth.

In the year 1531, Calvin went to the University of Bourges, attracted by the fame of Alciat, professor of law from Italy. There he met Melchior Wolmar, a German from Rothweil in Switzerland, a person of great integrity and learning, under whom he studied Greek and the New Testament. A mutual friendship was formed between the two which lasted till the death of Wolmar. In a dedication of one of his books to Wolmar, Calvin writes:

"I cannot forget the fidelity with which you have cultivated and increased the friendship which was long ago formed between us, the liberality with which you were prepared to testify your regard for me and the zeal which you showed to raise me to an honorable situation, which the calling to which I was then bound prevented me from accepting. But I am chiefly delighted with the recollection of that early period when my father sent me to acquire legal knowledge. I added the study of the Greek language which you taught me. It was not your fault that I did not make greater progress in it,

for the death of my father called me away soon after I had started. For this I owe you no small thanks, that you imbued my mind with the first principles which were afterwards of great advantage to me."

About this time he also commenced the study of Hebrew. From the preceding dedication we learn the exact time of his leaving the University of Bourges, for his father died on May 26th, 1531. After the funeral Calvin removed to Paris, partly for the sake of superintending the studies of his younger brother Anthony. Beza, Calvin's first biographer, describes the reformer's diligence at these three universities which he attended, saying: "It was his custom, after a moderate supper, to pass half the night in study, and the next morning as soon as he awoke, to think over again and to complete what he had learned before midnight. By these night watches, he acquired his vast and exact learning, and sharpened his natural powers of thought and his acute memory, but by the same means he prepared for himself bodily suffering and an early death."

In the following year, 1532, Calvin published as his first work, a commentary on Seneca's treatise, "De Clementia," with the object, as some suppose, to stay the wrath of King Francis I, and extinguish the fires which had been kindled against the "Lutherans." But there is no proof of such a design in the book; neither is it possible to infer from the numerous notes what the religious sentiments of the commentator were at that time. The work is entirely literary and philosophical,—the first fruits of his extensive classical studies.

CHAPTER III.

CONVERSION AND FIRST LABORS.

We come now to the great crisis in our reformer's life, his "sudden conversion," as he himself calls this change, which made him an uncompromising defender of the Reformed faith. Although "sudden" we may easily recognize different steps and a progressive development in this change. His youth was irreproachably pure, he was a devoted Catholic. "I was obstinately addicted," he tells us, "to the Papal superstitions." In Paris he must have learned much of the new doctrines. The discussions to which they led in the theological faculty, and the persecution to which they subjected a person of such note as Berquin, must have formed the topic of frequent conversations among the more advanced students. Considerable influence must have been exerted on his mind by his kinsman Olivetan, the future translator of the Bible into French, who directed him to the study of the Scripture. It is highly probable that he received this advice before he left Paris for Orleans. In this city, he lodged in the same house with a German Protestant.

His German professor Wolmar at Bourges had opened to him the New Testament in the original Greek. This influence, and the conversation and disputes with several of his Protestant fellow-students opened his eyes to some of the abuses in the church; but it was not until a later period that the light broke, and he became convinced of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ by "a sudden conversion." A graphic description of his state of mind at this decisive turning point is contained in his

famous letter to Cardinal Sadolet, written from Strasburg, in which he says:

"The law which I strove faithfully to obey took hold of my conscience, and convinced me more deeply of sin. I tried absolutions, penances, intercessions, but without obtaining relief or peace of mind. As often as I looked into myself or attempted to lift my eyes to thee, O God, I was filled with a dread which no penances could mitigate. The more narrowly I inspected myself the deeper did the sting enter into my conscience, so that at last I could find no ease but by steeping my mind in forgetfulness."

The precise date of Calvin's conversion is uncertain, but most historians place it as late as 1532, after the publication of his first book.

The effects of his conversion were immediate on the young scholar's plans of life. The study of the law was at first prosecuted with relaxed energy, and in a short time entirely laid aside. But he had no thought of coming forward as a regular preacher. He desired first to examine the foundations of the Reformed faith and to study with critical attention the controversial writings of the age, as well as to read the works of the Church fathers, so that he might be able to serve the reformation with his pen and help in constructing a theological system of sound doctrine.

Man proposes, but God disposes. The retirement which Calvin sought seemed to flee from him. The extent and solidity of his knowledge, joined to an unaffected and manly style filled the friends of the reformation with admiration, and soon we find him at Orleans, Bourges, and other places, preaching and teaching, so that he could say, "All my retreats were like public schools." Young as he was, he was even consulted

along with the first reformers on the celebrated question of the marriage of Henry VIII of England. Most of his available time for preaching he gave, however, to the Protestants of Paris. The evangelical party in that city held their meetings in quiet places. Among them was a merchant, Stephen de la Forge, who did much for the truth, and was subsequently burned at the stake. Calvin praises him as one to be blessed among the faithful—a holy martyr of Christ. In these meetings at Paris, Calvin preached with great force, often concluding his discourse with these words, "If God be for us, who can be against us."

A Catholic French writer speaks of this period of his work as follows:

"Devoted otherwise to his books and his study, he was unweariedly active in everything which concerned the advancement of his sect. We have seen our prisons choked with poor mistaken wretches, whom he exhorted without ceasing; consoled or confirmed by letters. Nor were messengers wanting, to whom the doors were open, notwithstanding all the diligence exercised by the jailers. In this way he gained step by step a part of our France. Later he wished to proceed more rapidly and he sent out what he called 'preachers' to promulgate his religion in holes and corners and even in Paris itself where the fires were lit to consume them."

CHAPTER IV.

A FUGITIVE IN HIS OWN COUNTRY.

Not long after Calvin's conversion, in 1533, an incident occurred which brought his name prominently before the public. Nicholas Cop, a friend of Calvin and rector of the University, took occasion of an inaugural address to deliver an oration on "Christian Philosophy," which, it turned out afterwards, had been composed for him by Calvin. The boldness of the ideas, and the evangelical character of the sentiments, excited a storm of disapprobation. The University obtained an order from the French Parliament to seize the rector and the suspected author. Cop at first delivered himself to the officers of the court, but, being admonished on the way to the court-house of the danger to which he was exposed, made his escape and retired into Switzerland. Going straight to Calvin's lodgings, the officers searched his chamber in his absence and papers were discovered implicating the reformer and several of his friends. Warned in time, the reformer escaped by a window and ran to the St. Victor suburb, where he changed his clothes and fled in the disguise of a vine-dresser.

Calvin was now for some time a fugitive in his own country. But going from place to place he scattered the seed of the gospel on every side. He went first to the castle of the Lord of Hazeville. During his stay in that part of the country he made a number of converts, some of whom afterwards became eminent in the Reformed Church. At last he went to Nerac, the court of Marguerite, the Queen of Navarre, who had given an asylum

to many of those whom persecution had chased from Paris, Orleans, Meaux, and other places. At Nerac he visited the celebrated Faber, who had preached the doctrines of justification by faith before Luther, in 1512, who had also been the tutor of the king's children and was now living in banishment. This venerable old man listened to Calvin's conversation with deep interest, and after his departure said to his friends: "Calvin will be a distinguished instrument in restoring the kingdom of God in France." At Angouleme, Calvin remained some little time with Du Tillet, a priest, and a secret adherent of the Reformed faith. Traces of his residence there long existed in the country; a vineyard was known as "Calvin's Vineyard" 150 years after his death. His host possessed a library of over 3,000 books, an enormous number for the times, which Calvin knew how to appreciate. He repaid Du Tillet's hospitality by teaching him Greek—another way of teaching him the gospel. Here he also prepared the first sketch of his "Institutes," and, notwithstanding the fact that the clergy knew him to be a fugitive for heresy, they invited him to address them on three special occasions. At Du Tillet's request, he prepared a number of sermons, called "Christian Exhortations," to be used by the priests of the district.

In 1534, the reformer boldly ventured to return to Paris, the case of Cop's address having been dropped at the request of Queen Marguerite, the King's sister. But when he arrived at Paris he found persecution of the Protestants raging so violently that it was unsafe for him to remain long. It was the "Year of the Placards." Every morning Paris saw little handbills posted up in the streets, on the doors of the churches and the university, and sometimes they found their way

even into the King's palace. One such placard against the mass exasperated the priests beyond bounds. A solemn street procession "to propitiate God's outraged majesty" was held on January 29, 1535. The sacred host which the reformers outraged by persistently calling it "bread" was carried under a canopy borne by the four chief dignitaries of the kingdom, the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, Vendome, and Angouleme. The King walked behind, bare-headed, with a torch in his hand, as if to make expiation for the kingdom. After a magnificently celebrated mass, the King repaired to the episcopal palace, seated himself upon the throne, and, surrounded by the clergy, the nobility and parliament in their gorgeous robes, solemnly declared his intention of granting neither peace nor truce to him who should separate from the religion of the State. He was above all indignant that his good city of Paris "from time immemorial the head and pattern of all good Christians" had not been protected from this "Protestant pestilence." "As for me, your King, if I knew that one of my members was tainted with this detestable error, I would lop it off, and if one of my children were infected, I would sacrifice him myself." On the same day, six fires, in six different parts of the city, consumed six Reformed men, one of whom was de la Forge, the host and friend of Calvin. Torture was added to fire. The condemned, fastened to a long swinging beam, were to be plunged into the flames, then withdrawn, then plunged again, and then withdrawn once more, until life was extinct. Like Nero, the King of France wished that his victims should feel themselves die Moreover, like that Roman monster, he desired to behold their tortures with his own eyes. As he returned

to the Louvre, he ordered his carriage to pass the six fires in succession.

Calvin, who was forced to keep silence before this dreadful spectacle, resolved to seek an asylum elsewhere. Before he left, however, he had accepted a challenge from Michael Servetus to discuss with him the doctrine

Calvin's Cave

of the Trinity. Calvin, at the risk of his life, kept the appointed place and time, but Servetus did not make his appearance. Leaving Paris, Calvin returned to Angouleme to take leave of Du Tillet, but the latter de-

termined to accompany him. They stopped at Poitiers, where he organized a small congregation, and where the Lord's Supper was administered in a cave near the city, known to this day as "Calvin's Grotto." At Orleans, where they went, he wrote his first theological book on the "Sleep of the Soul," directed against the Anabaptists' view, who maintained that the soul either perished with the body at death, or slept till the resurrection.

CHAPTER V.

A PILGRIM IN FOREIGN LANDS.

Constitutionally inclined to meditation rather than action, and seeing that he could not be of any assistance to his brethren in France, Calvin, after these wanderings, decided to retreat to Strasburg in order to prosecute his studies free from constant interruption. Du Tillet accompanied him. On their way to Metz, one of their two servants stole their money, and mounting the fleetest horse belonging to the party, made his escape. By borrowing what the other servant happened to possess, which amounted only to ten crowns, they arrived safely at Strasburg, a German imperial city, where 13 years before the reformation had been introduced. Here is the place to introduce the reflections which Calvin made on that portion of his life which we have reviewed. Speaking of the change of his studies from theology to law quoted before, Calvin continues: "In deference to parental authority, I applied myself faithfully to this new study; but God, by the secret sign of his providence gave a different direction to my course. First, when I was obstinately addicted to the papal superstition and steeled with prejudice beyond my years, so as to resist all attempts to draw me from the miry pit, it pleased him, by a sudden conversion, to subdue my mind to docility. Being thus imbued with some relish for true piety, I became so inflamed with the desire to make some proficiency in divine knowledge, that other studies, though not altogether laid aside, were prosecuted with coldness; and before a year had elapsed all the friends of the true doctrine had sought me,

though as yet but a novice, for instruction. Naturally, somewhat diffident and always fond of ease, I courted retirement, but instead of obtaining it, my retreat resembled a public school. In short, while my sole desire was to enjoy an inglorious ease, God so surrounded me by various windings that I could find it nowhere; and in spite of myself, I was drawn into the light. On that account, I resolved to leave my native country, and went to Germany in the hope of finding in some obscure corner, that retirement which I had long sought in vain."

After a short time Calvin left Strasburg for Basel, as the place most suited for study. "You will find many conveniences here." writes Oecolampadius, the reformer of Basel, when inviting a friend to be professor in their university. "Healthful air, a pleasant situation, a people, since they embraced Christ, peaceable and simple in their manners; ready access to printers. Basel has always been a favorite city with learned men. Erasmus is indeed gone, to please the princess to whom he is under obligations, but it is my opinion that he will soon return." Before Calvin's arrival at Basel, her great reformer had died, but Calvin found a large number of other friends. Here he prosecuted the study of Hebrew, the first elements of which he had acquired before.

His first work in Basel was the writing of a preface and a recommendation to the French translation of the Bible by his friend Olivetan, which has become the foundation of all subsequent translations into the French tongue. This was followed by a larger and more important work, the composition of his epoch-making book—"The Institutes of the Christian Religion." This book was a necessity, both as a satisfaction to the

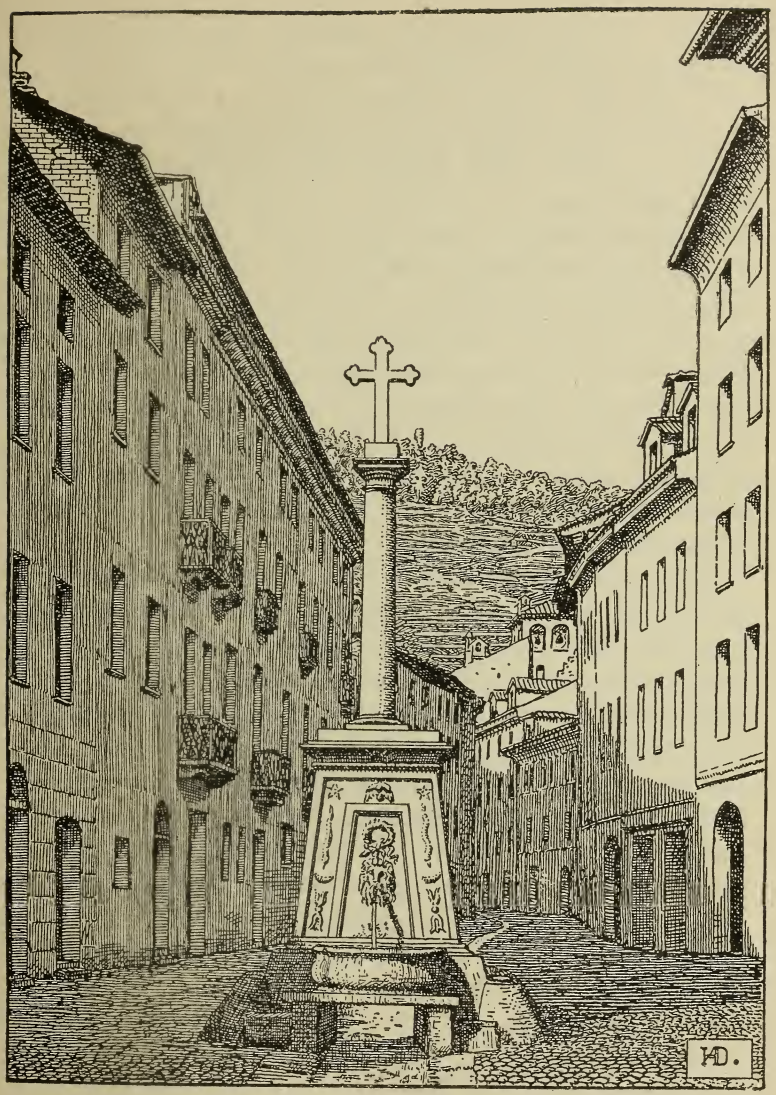
mind of the Church, and also that the Reformation might have something to oppose to the imposing and compact systems of the Middle Ages. Calvin accomplished the task with decisive success. The external motive which led to the composition of the book was the gross misrepresentation of the Reformed doctrine by the King of France. The latter was in need of the Protestants of Germany in his war against the Emperor, Charles V. The Protestant princes of Germany refused to assist him for the reason that he persecuted their brethren in the faith in France. The king assured them that these Reformed people were enemies of civil order, like the Anabaptists in Germany. What he punished in them, he said, was not their religious opinions but their social and political doctrines. This, of course, was a falsehood on the part of the King. Calvin, who had accumulated material in abundance, decided to vindicate his wronged brethren by stating and defending the doctrines for which they bled and died. Remembering the purpose of the book, we can imagine the spirit that reigns in it. It is anything but a dry text-book of doctrine. It has been called a poem in prose. The book, as published in Basel, in 1536, when its author was only 26 years of age, was a small volume, which subsequent editions enlarged to many times its original size. It was written in Latin and afterwards translated into French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, German, English, Hungarian, Greek and Arabic. Prefixed to it is a preface addressed to Francis I, reminding the King of his responsibilities as a minister of God and pleading for his persecuted brethren. During his whole life, Calvin never ceased revising and perfecting this book, though no changes in its essential contents were made. Of the contents of this monumental work we shall have occasion

to speak in a subsequent chapter. Its influence on posterity was immense. It passed through the creeds into the thoughts of men and nations, became the soul of Presbyterianism and Puritanism, of Republicanism in Holland and America, and lies at the basis of the Heidelberg Catechism, whose authors, Zacharias Ursinus and Caspar Olevianus, were Calvin's pupils.

Soon after the completion of the Institutes, Calvin left Basel and went to Italy, where he was hospitably received at the court of the deformed but accomplished little daughter of Louis XII, of France, Renata, the Duchess of Ferrara, whose love of the gospel induced her to shield the persecuted Protestants. Here Calvin lived under the assumed name of Charles Hippeville, and by his instructions confirmed the mind of the Duchess. Soon after his arrival the Duke entered into a treaty with the German Emperor and the Pope, by which he bound himself to remove all Frenchmen from his court. So Calvin had to leave again. An unconfirmed report says that he was seized in his dwelling and was already on the way to Bologna to answer the charge of heresy when he was carried off, like Luther, by a masked horseman and restored to liberty.

On his return he spent some time in Piedmont, most probably in visiting the Waldensian churches, among whom his friend Olivetan continued to labor. Aosta was deeply agitated by the Reformed faith at this time, but the town being too well guarded he could not enter.

Calvin went to a farm close by, which to this day is known as "Calvin's Farm." The people flocked to him in large numbers. A political and religious revolution was in progress. He was in constant danger but remained. Warned that he was about to be arrested, he fled, on March eighth, accompanied by some of his ad-



Calvin's Cross at Aosta

herents. As St. Bernard was guarded, they had to take by-paths, crossing torrents and scaling precipices; but even then they were in constant danger, for the Count of Chalans gave chase to Calvin, and pursued him with a drawn sword. But Calvin and his companions at length got beyond the territory of the Duranda, one of the lofty entrances of that region, and still designated by the name of "Calvin's Window." Many of the adherents of the Reformation who remained were imprisoned and burned at the stake, and in 1541 a cross was erected in the centre of the city recording the flight of Calvin and the deliverance of Aosta. This inscription, having become effaced by time, was replaced in 1841 upon the restored monument, by those who wished the country to bless forever the day which thrust it back beneath the yoke of Rome.

In the same year, 1536, Calvin visited Noyon owing to the death of his elder brother Charles, an ecclesiastic, but also, alas, a sceptic and a libertine. From here he resolved to return to Basel, that fair city on the Rhine, whose Reformed government, flourishing university, busy printing presses and learned society, made it so tempting an abode for a man of letters like Calvin. But again the hand of destiny seemed to be on our Reformer. War had broken out between Charles V and Francis I and the direct route to Basel through Lorain was blocked. Calvin was compelled to make a long detour and thus late in August, 1536, we find him at Geneva.

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST MINISTRY IN GENEVA.

Politically, Geneva was, when Calvin entered the city, what it is to-day, a little republic, a part of the French-speaking section of Switzerland. The state was governed by a council of twenty-five, consisting of four syndics, or magistrates, elected by the people, twenty counsellors and a treasurer. Over this was a council of sixty; over this again a council of two hundred, and above all was a General Assembly of the whole body of the citizens.

In 1532, William Farel first entered the city, preaching the Reformed faith. A fierce struggle began at once. But soon a church was conceded to the Protestant preachers. A disputation, after the usual fashion of the times, was held before the Council, in which the Romanists were worsted. In 1534, the bishop left the city and in 1536 a General Assembly of the people, "lifting up their hands, promised and swore to God that by his help they would live according to the holy evangelical religion and Word of God lately preached to them, renouncing the mass, idols, images, and every other papal abuse."

Thus far had the Reformation advanced in Geneva on that memorable evening when Calvin entered its gates. He had intended to remain only a single night in the city and for this reason endeavored to keep his presence secret. But Farel had been advised of his arrival and hurried at once to the inn to urge Calvin to stay and help him in a work which he felt was beyond his ability. The scene that followed was dramatic in the extreme, and became the subject of a famous painting.

Geneva in the Time of the Reformation

Calvin, shrinking, with his whole soul, from the task which Farel sought to force upon him, made every excuse he could think of. He was a studious man, he said; he did not wish to bind himself to one church, but would endeavor to serve all; he was timid and loved retirement. But Farel was not to be daunted. With something of the energy of an old Hebrew prophet, he suddenly arose and placed himself dramatically before Calvin and proceeded in the most solemn manner to pronounce a curse on the studies of Calvin, if they kept him from coming to the help of the Lord in this great distress. "I declare unto thee," he said, "on the part of God, that if thou refuse to labor with us here in God's work, he will curse thee; for in pleading thy studies as an excuse for abandoning us, thou seekest thyself more than God." Calvin tells us that this address filled him with such terror that he felt powerless to resist any longer. Being, during his whole life, a slave to what he conceived as duty, he laid aside his own preferences and at once obeyed the command of God through one of his servants. But the story can best be told in his own words. He says, in the preface to his Commentary on the Psalms: "As the most direct route to Strasburg, to which I then intended to retire, was blocked by the wars, I had resolved to pass quickly to Geneva without staying longer than a single night in that city. A person, Louis Du Tillet, who has now returned to the Papists discovered me and made me known to others. Upon this Farel, who burned with an extraordinary zeal to advance the gospel, immediately strained every nerve to detain me. After having learned that my heart was set upon devoting myself to private studies, for which I wished to keep myself free from other pursuits, and finding that he gained nothing by

Fare 's Call to Calvin

entreaties, he proceeded to utter an imprecation that God would curse my retirement and the tranquility of the studies which I sought, if I should withdraw and refuse assistance when the necessity was so urgent. By this imprecation I was so stricken with terror that I desisted from the journey which I had undertaken."

Calvin's new office, which was not well defined, was for a time something between a professorship and preaching. His first employment was to deliver a course of lectures on theology which he began to read in St. Peter's Cathedral, in the month of August. He had not even a fixed salary, for we read in the council-registers, under date of Feb. 13, 1537. "Six gold crowns are given to Calvin, seeing that he has hitherto scarcely received anything." Soon after he began to preach and was admitted as one of the stated pastors of the city. At first the people seemed not much impressed by the reserved, frail young foreigner whose services their pastor was so anxious to secure. The council did not even interest itself enough to ask his name. The minute of the council, Sept. 5, 1536, simply says: "Master William Farel stated the need for the lecture begun by *this Frenchman* at St. Peters." Three months after his arrival, on Nov. 10th, the two Reformers achieved their first signal success in their endeavor to deepen and complete the real reformation of the Church. A Confession of Faith, composed of twenty-one Articles, was laid by Farel, who was the chief pastor, before the council, and adopted by that body. These Articles emphasized the intimate connection between faith and conduct. They provided that the Lord's Supper should be celebrated four times a year; that baptism should be administered on any day, but only in the presence of a public congregation, and that marriages should also be celebrated

in public, after the proclamation of banns on three successive Sabbaths. Provision should be made for ministers. All shops should be shut on Sabbaths during the service; images remaining in the churches should be taken down. The reputation of Farel was at this time at its highest point, and his admonitions to the council are repeatedly characterized in the minutes as "divine."

Calvin next directed attention to the schools, and sought to establish throughout the territory a system of compulsory education. This was especially necessary as the bishops had done nothing for public instruction. Calvin's idea of education included instruction in religion and in order to provide a text-book, he prepared his famous catechism for children. It was practical, compact, breathing the spirit of true devotion. Many catechisms, especially the Westminster and Heidelberg Catechisms, drew inspiration and substance from Calvin's little book. Laws were already in force in Geneva when Calvin entered it, not only forbidding vice, but laying down regulations in regard to dress, food, ornament, and requiring attendance at public worship. The magistrate warmly seconded his efforts to enforce these regulations.

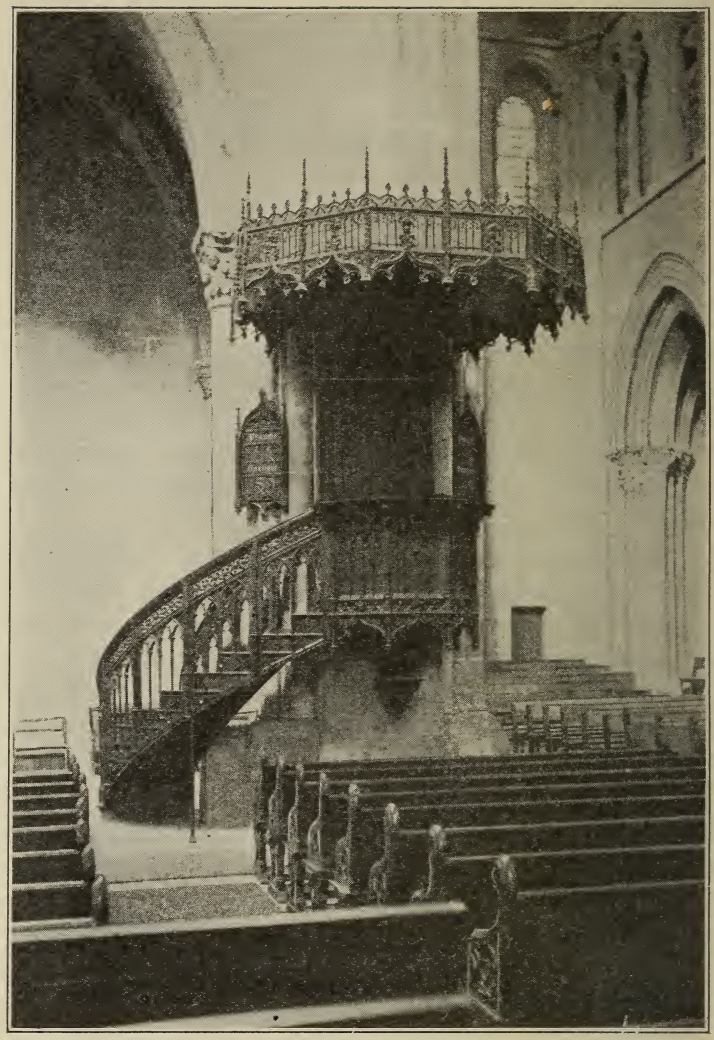
CHAPTER VII.

STRUGGLES WITH THE LIBERTINES AND BANISHMENT.

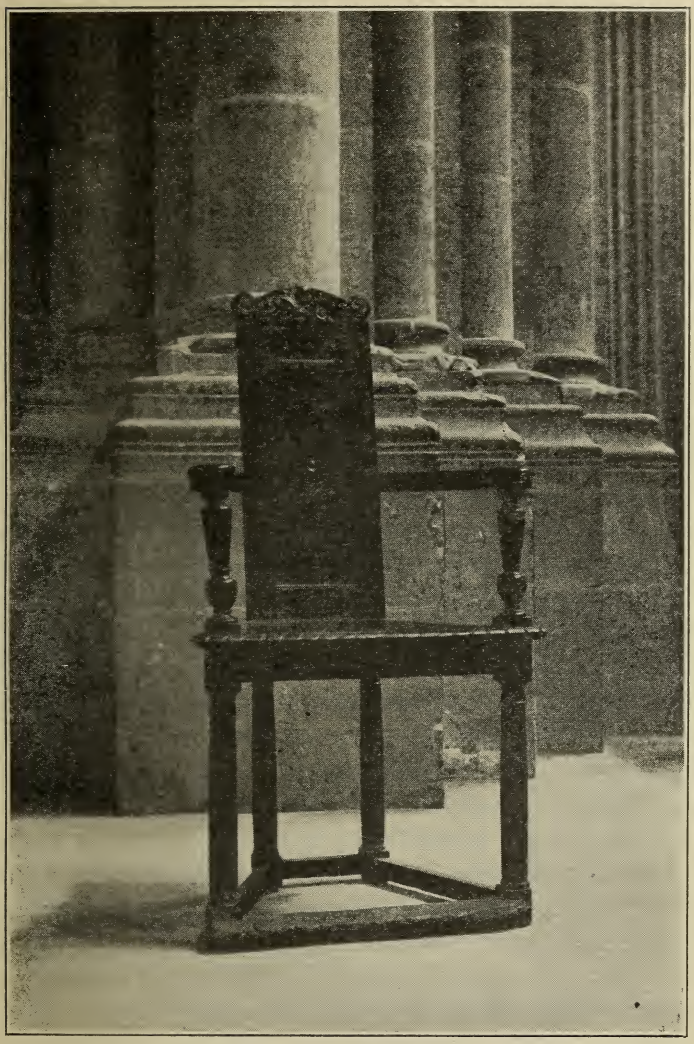
These Articles and their subsequent uncompromising enforcement show us Calvin in a different light from what he appeared before. In place of the timid, retiring scholar, anxious only to be left alone with his books, we find him the ruler of men with a great genius for organization. His principles involved him in unending conflict, but he ultimately triumphed and made Geneva the wonder of Christendom for civil order, pure morals, liberal learning and a home of arts and industries.

These measures could not be carried out without encountering strong opposition, and a party soon developed, hostile to the new regime. This party received the name of "Libertine," and not unjustly, for obviously the best portion of the community was with Calvin and the soul of the opposition consisted of men of profligate and abandoned character. Only a few of the old patriot party, naturally jealous of Calvin's influence, joined them and demanded "more liberty." Government was paralyzed, and when the pastors demanded the excommunication of some persons who were notoriously immoral, the council would not comply. This vote encouraged the Libertine party, and the new elections on Feb. 3, 1538, were decidedly in their favor.

A point of even greater soreness with the Libertines than the rigor of the civil laws, was the power claimed by Calvin to debar unworthy persons from the sacrament. Zwingli and Luther had expressed similar ideas



Calvin's Pulpit in St. Peter's, Geneva



Calvin's Chair still in St. Peter's at Geneva

but these remained pious wishes and little attempt was made to enforce these obviously right views. Calvin, on the other side, considered discipline a vital point for the purity of the Church and stood firm as a rock, although his conduct exposed him and his associates to the coarsest public insults. The pastors courageously spoke from the pulpit on these questions, admonishing the people to submit to these salutary laws, and censured the magistrate for failing to enforce them. The Libertines at this time, received reinforcements by two Anabaptists ("Re-baptizers") who had recently arrived at Geneva, and who hated Calvin in an especial manner because of his letter to the King of France, printed in his "Institutes," in which he had disavowed all connection of the Reformed Church with these fanatical men. Germany, Holland, Switzerland,—in fact all Western Europe was overrun by members of this fanatical sect. Their extravagant opinions tended to subvert Church and State alike. A visible kingdom of God was their ideal. One of these emissaries, Caroli, went so far as to attack Calvin's orthodoxy and even had him brought before a synod to clear himself of the charge of denying the true Deity of Christ. When blamed by Caroli for not accepting the ancient creeds, Calvin rejoined that the Genevan ministry had sworn to the belief in one God and not to the creed of Athanasius, whose symbol a true church would never have admitted. Calvin gained a victory over them and the two men were expelled from the city on March 19. Later, in 1544, he issued a "Brief Instruction for arming every Believer against the Errors of the Anabaptists." The Libertines were disappointed and tried again to down the Reformed preachers.

While this dispute was still proceeding, a new embarrassment arose which hastened a revolution. The Refor-

mation in Berne and other German cantons of Switzerland was less radical than that of Geneva. They retained customs which Geneva did not admit. Geneva used common bread at communion. Berne used unleavened bread. Geneva had removed the baptismal fonts from the churches. Berne had left them. Geneva observed Sunday only. Berne had retained the chief holy days of the Church Year. The Bernese asked that on these points the people of Geneva should do as they did. Farel and Calvin opposed the demand, and this was reason enough for the Libertines to side with the Bernese. A Synod was held at Lausanne to deliberate upon the points at issue and Farel and Calvin attended. The Synod adopted the views of Berne and the reformers appealed to the approaching Synod at Zurich and returning to Geneva, they requested that no innovation be made before Whitsuntide, when the decision of Zurich would be known. Calvin pledged himself to submit if Zurich should decide the same as Lausanne. But this did not suit the Libertines.

Matters reached a crisis on Easter Day, 1538. During the previous week the city had been torn with dissensions. Bands of Libertines ran through the streets at night, stopping before the pastors' dwellings and yelling at the top of their voices: "To the Rhone! To the Rhone!" and firing off their guns. They organized a masquerade in which scenes from the gospel were parodied; dances, songs, excesses of every kind were exhibited during those deplorable days and shameful nights. When Easter dawned, the church bells seemed to toll the death-knell of Protestant Geneva. Farel preached at St. Gervais and Calvin at the Cathedral of St. Peters. Farel at once noticed among the audience the most fiery and disreputable of the Libertines, but the

fearless preacher declared that he would not aid them in the profanation of the Lord's Supper and that communion would not be administered to-day. He insisted that there must be faith and charity and repentance, and then in conclusion asked them how they passed the last night. Several times during the sermon he was interrupted, but his voice rose above the tumult. At the conclusion of his sermon, when he refused to administer communion, several furious men rushed toward the pulpit with drawn swords. Farel held his peace, crossed his arms and awaited them. But his friends were also numerous. They surrounded him and conducted him home. A similar scene took place at St. Peter's Cathedral, where Calvin preached.

On Easter Monday, the Council held a hurried meeting and passed the sentence of banishment against the two courageous ministers, and on Tuesday this action was ratified by the General Council. One of Calvin's friends said to the majority of the Council: "You hated the priests because they were too much like you; you hate the Reformed preachers because they are too much unlike you."

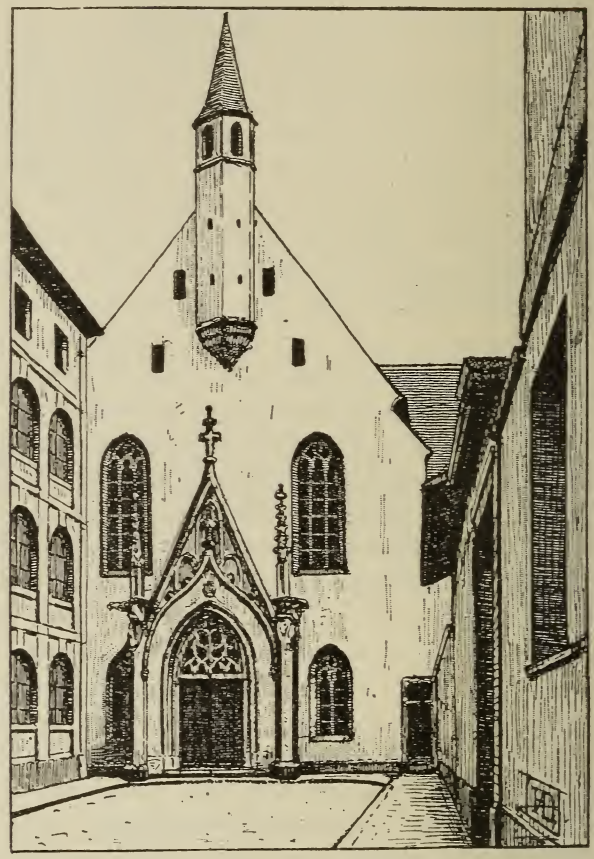
CHAPTER VIII.

MINISTRY AT STRASBURG.

Calvin received the decision of banishment with calmness, remarking, "Had we been the servants of men, we would now be ill repaid, but we serve a great master, who never lets those who serve him go unrewarded and who ever pays them what he does not owe them." Then, in company with Farel, he left the city and repaired to Berne for the purpose of explaining to the government the true state of things, viz: that the discussion on the unleavened bread had been a pretext only, that with some of the leaders it was liberty for the flesh and with others the restoration of Romanism. At Zurich the two exiles met with the most cordial reception. Bullinger, the successor of Zwingli, suggested asking the Bernese government to intercede with Geneva for the restoration of Calvin and Farel. They did so, but Geneva refused to comply with the request. Thereupon the Reformers went to Basel. Scarcely had they arrived, when Calvin received letters from Bucer, strongly urging him to come to Strasburg. He resisted at first, but consented afterwards, and separated himself from Farel, whom so many common trials had rendered ever dearer to him. Strasburg welcomed Calvin with joy. The three years which he spent here in peace and tranquility were perhaps the happiest Calvin ever knew, save for interruptions of bodily sickness, the effects of toil and anxiety upon a frame not naturally strong.

At Strasburg, Calvin branched out into four lines of activity—preaching, teaching, writing and counselling for the welfare of the Church. The town council au-

thorized him to give public lectures on the Bible and afterwards to organize a church composed of French refugees whom persecution had thrown into Strasburg,



The Madeline, Calvin's Church at Strasburg

and who could not understand the services in this German city on the upper Rhine. They were allowed the use of the building, now called the New Church. But the council did not pay him a salary. His letters repre-

sent him as being in actual misery. Du Tillet, the wealthy priest, offered him assistance, but he refused it. "You make me," he says, "an offer for which I cannot sufficiently thank you, and I am not so unmanly as not to appreciate its great kindness. But I will abstain from burdening any one. At present my board costs me nothing. Other needs will be supplied by the money from the books." Later he wrote to Farel, "Du Tillet offered me money, but at too high interest. Did he mean to convert me?" Farel, who was settled at Neuchatel, had also offered him aid, but Calvin refused it, saying, "I have taken an engagement with myself to accept nothing from thee, nor from our mutual friends, so long as I am not absolutely constrained to do so. The books which I have left at Geneva will pay my landlord till next Winter."

At Strasburg, in 1539, he revised, recast and greatly enlarged his "Institutes," giving the book substantially its present form. As pastor, he had to preach every evening. As professor, he gave a lecture every morning on the Gospel of John, and by so doing amassed the materials for the series of great commentaries, the first of which, that on Romans, appeared in Strasburg, also in 1539. These noble books, in their sober regard for the historical and grammatical sense of Scripture, in their skill in detecting, and aptness in expressing the meaning of the sacred writers, bear so remarkably modern a character, that no expounder can afford to disregard them. His lectures, as at Geneva, soon attracted great numbers, but the hearers were more accomplished than those at Geneva. France continued to send many fugitives, eager to hear and see the author of the Institutes. Some Frenchmen came of their own free will, being attracted by the preacher's fame. The city council of Strasburg

rejoiced at the homage paid to the new professor. He was presented with the freedom of the city—a privilege highly prized in an old imperial city like Strasburg. His salary was increased and he seemed to have little to regret or desire.

But amid all his pleasant surroundings and employment at Strasburg, Calvin could not forget Geneva. As early as Oct. 1, 1538, less than three months after having left the city, he addressed a long and touching letter to his "well-beloved brethren in our Lord, who are the relics of the dispersion of the Church of Geneva," in which he writes:

"Though discharged for the present from the administration of the Church at Geneva, nevertheless this cannot deprive me of bearing towards her a paternal love and charity; towards her, I say, over whom God once ordained me and so has obliged me for ever to keep faith and loyalty with her."

But besides Calvin, two other men were also watching Geneva—the expelled Bishop of Geneva, and Pope Paul III. With joy did the Romanists learn of the banishment of the Reformed leaders, and the subsequent disorder. One of the councilmen, Philippe, the arch enemy of Calvin, who later died a traitor's death, went to Lyons, in France, to treat personally with the former bishop with a view to restoring Romanism in Geneva. The archbishops of Lyons, Besancon, Vienne and Turin, and the bishops of Lausanne, Langres and Carpentras formed a committee of ways and means to accomplish the feat. Cardinal-bishop Sadolet was appointed to conduct the negotiations in as careful and prudent a way as that wily prelate knew. He sent his famous "Letter to the Senate and People of Geneva"—an able, adroit epistle, unique in its way, in the sixteenth century. But

its effect was not what he had hoped. There was not enough Romish sentiment in the city. The letter aroused the people as from a dream, their eyes being opened to the impending danger and they became alert.

The Reformed pastors who were still at Geneva did not feel equal to the task of answering the Cardinal's letter. It was Calvin in Strasburg who composed a reply which completely demolished the flimsy "arguments" of Sadolet and is of such great biographical value that we found occasion in several places of this book to quote some of its choicest passages. The letter was received with great joy all over Europe, and no reply was ever attempted by the Romanists. Luther enjoyed it, thoroughly. In his dramatic way of expressing his ideas, the German Reformer wrote: "Here is a writing which has hands and feet. I rejoice that God raises up such men. They will continue what I have begun against the Romish Anti-Christ."

CHAPTER IX.

RELATIONS WITH THE GERMAN REFORMERS.

During his stay at Strasburg, Calvin entered into more intimate relations with the German reformers. The German Emperor, Charles V, a bigoted Romanist, was at this time engaged in schemes of mediation between Protestants and Romanists, and Calvin went as delegate to several diets and conferences held at Frankfurt (1539), Worms, Hagenau (1540), and Ratisbon, where he met Philip Melancthon and other leaders of the German reformation. At this period the religious question was uppermost among all nations and the discussion on the Lord's Supper grew especially warm among the Lutherans and the Reformed. By comparing views, Calvin and Melancthon soon found that their ideas on this doctrine were similar, though by no means alike. On the principle that the stronger character necessarily exerts the strongest influence on his surroundings, we are justified in supposing that it was Melancthon who came over to Calvin's side, rather than the reverse. But to allay all suspicion on the part of the Swiss divines that it was he who had made concessions to Melancthon, Calvin wrote his treatise "Of the Lord's Supper," while he was still residing at Strasburg. Aside, however, from theological agreement, Calvin and Melancthon at these gatherings learned to love each other as true friends. When Magister Philippus died, Calvin bewailed him in these words: "O Philip Melancthon, a hundred times hast thou said to me, when weary with toil and vexation, thou didst lean thy head upon my bosom, 'would to God, would to God, that I might die on thy bosom!' As for

me, later, a hundred times have I wished that it had been granted us to be together. Certainly thou wouldst have been bolder to face struggles, more courageous to despise envy and calumny. Then, also, would have been suppressed the malignity of many whose audacity increased in proportion to what they called thy weakness."

His friendship was sincere enough to chide Melancthon. "Either I understand nothing in holy things," he writes to Melancthon in 1551, "or you ought not to have yielded thus to the Papists. We should not be afraid to write with our ink upon paper what so many martyrs write daily with their blood upon the scaffold. I speak with all frankness. My sole desire is that nothing should distress the truly divine greatness of your soul. If I appear to you vehement, it is because I would a hundred times rather die with you for the truth, than see you survive the truth betrayed by you. Is this to say that I mistrust you? No; but I desire you to take sufficient precautions so that your easiness should not furnish the impious with the opportunity which they seek of scoffing at God's truth."

It is unfortunate that on these different journeys Calvin never met with Luther, the more so as both men respected each other very highly. His veneration of Luther made Calvin very sensitive of the opinion of the German nestor of the reformation concerning himself. In 1539 he, with great joy, tells Farel of the kind words which Luther had charged Bucer to transmit to him. "Bucer," he says, "has received from Luther a letter in which are these words: 'Salute from me Calvin, whose works I have read with singular pleasure.'" Calvin asked with no less joy, "Behold the candor of Luther! Why, then, are these people who separate from him so obstinate?" In another letter Luther speaks of Cal-

vin as "a man of excellent capacity." During the controversy on the Lord's Supper, Calvin writes to Bullinger, the successor of Zwingli, "I conjure thee never to forget how eminent a man Luther is, and with what gifts he is endowed. Think with what strength of soul, what immovable perseverance, what potency of doctrine, he has devoted himself till now to the overthrowing of Anti-Christ. As for me, I have often said, and I still repeat it, if he were to call me a devil, I should not cease to hold him in great esteem, and to acknowledge in him an illustrious servant of God." And some months after, he writes to Luther himself: "Farewell, most illustrious man, eminent minister of Christ, father forever venerable to me. May the Lord continue to direct thee by His Spirit, for the common good of His Church." Calvin constantly hoped for an understanding on the question of the Sacrament, and the conviction never left him that if Luther had lived longer and both men had been permitted to meet, the master would have been more accommodating than the disciples.

CHAPTER X.

CALVIN'S MARRIAGE AND HOME LIFE.

Another more tender interest attaches to Calvin's sojourn in Strasburg. It was here that Calvin was married.

The reformer was past thirty years of age when he began to think seriously of selecting a partner in life. Well-meaning friends of his had thought of it long before he did. This is evident from a letter to his co-worker, William Farel, in which he writes: "Friends are urging me to marry a young lady of a noble family, above my station in life and very rich. But I refused for two reasons: first, because she does not understand our language (French), and, secondly, because I am afraid that she might think too much of her noble birth and fine education."

When, in 1539, Calvin came to Strasburg, his friends there urged him still more to select a wife. He assented, provided they would find him a suitable partner, reserving, of course, to himself the final decision. His ideal, he told them, was not a beautiful face or graceful form, but a helpmeet who was kind, pure-hearted, meek, frugal, patient, and to whom the care for her husband would be the first consideration. Very likely he laid special stress on this latter qualification, because his health was constantly impaired. In this vein he wrote to Farel: "Would you know what kind of beauty could alone win my soul? It is kindness and modesty, linked to simplicity, contentment and meekness."

It was Idelette de Burre who came up to this ideal, and this fact is in itself sufficient proof of her noble

and dignified character, and it also explains the prominent position she holds among the women of the Reformed Church. When Calvin married her, she had been a widow with several children for some years. For conscience's sake she had fled from Liege and afterwards married Johann Storder, a Baptist. Later on both were converted to the Reformed faith by Calvin's own instrumentality. He therefore knew her before her first husband died. But in her widowed state she led such a retired life that Calvin would never have thought of her, if Bucer, who also knew her as wife, widow and mother, had not called his attention to her. The reformer proposed to her and was accepted.

The marriage took place on August 1, 1540, and proved to be a great event. Several of the Swiss cantons sent delegates, and Calvin's friends from France were also present. He was very happy after his marriage, for he experienced what the Bible says: "Whoso findeth a wife, findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favor of the Lord." (Prov. 18:22.) Their mode of living was one of extreme simplicity and frugality. When Cardinal Sadolet visited Geneva, he desired to see Calvin's "palace," and his surprise was great when he was shown to the little and insignificant home of the man whose powerful influence was felt throughout Europe. An only son was the fruit of this union, and he died when still very young.

Soon after their marriage, Calvin was obliged to leave his wife in order to attend several most important political conferences at Hagenau and Worms, to which the church of Strasburg had sent him as a delegate. No sooner had he left his home, than the city was visited by a terrible plague. His duty to the vital interests of Protestantism compelled him to remain at these confer-

ences, instead of, as his heart prompted him, returning to his family. His brother Antoine, in whose charge he had left them, fled from Strasburg, and Calvin feared the worst for his wife. He wrote to a friend: "Day and night my wife stands before me, surrounded by all the horrors of this terrible plague, without help and counsel, and I, her husband, far away. I make the strongest efforts to banish from my mind this consuming agony by taking refuge to prayer." The Lord granted his prayers, his wife's life was saved, and on his return, the reunion was the more joyful and affectionate for the danger past.

When Calvin was recalled to Geneva, Idelette still more revealed the qualities of a faithful and devoted wife. Her own health being impaired, she was nevertheless a devoted nurse in her husband's oft-recurring attacks of sickness. She tried to cheer him in his hours of mental depression and bodily weakness. Often we find her at his bedside, his weary head in her arms, soothing the painful headaches which were the thorns in the flesh of the great reformer. She accompanied him in his walks through the park of the city, which he undertook but too rarely. When the mob of the Libertines like a fury roared through the streets of Geneva, so that the lives of the ministers were in great danger, she retired to her room and bent her knees in fervent prayer to God for protection. She never tired of visiting the sick and comforting the afflicted in the congregation. Her house was an ever open refuge to those persecuted for conscience's sake. In all this she was herself encompassed by many trials and afflictions. One after the other of her children were taken by death. She wept for her children like Rachel, but yet differed from

Rachel for she was comforted, knowing that her children were with the Lord.

After nine years of happy married life, Idelette Calvin was called to her reward. In 1548 she became seriously ill. For three years previously she had suffered from a slowly consuming fever, which at last broke her down completely. Her husband was greatly alarmed when he realized the imminent danger of losing her. In spite of the best medical treatment and care she rapidly approached her end. Only one thing seemed to trouble her exceedingly the nearer that end came—the future welfare of her children by her first marriage. Calvin noticed this and readily assured her that he would care for them as if they were his own children. She replied: "I have committed them to the Lord, and I know that you will not cast out what I have committed to Him." Thus her heart was relieved of its last care, and now she waited quietly and patiently to be released. In spite of her great suffering, her countenance beamed with a peace which reigned in her heart. One morning she suddenly exclaimed: "O glorious resurrection;" and then she prayed aloud: "O God of Abraham and of all our fathers! The faithful in all times have put their trust in Thee, and have never been confounded. I also trust in Thee, vouchsafe mercy to me that I may do so to the end." On the evening of her last day, after her friends had tried to ease her, she said to them: "Pray, my friends, pray for me." Calvin bent over her, reminding her, though with trembling voice, of the mercy of God and of the power from on high, which is mighty in our weakness, as well as of the glorious eternity and the joys of heaven, which she was soon to inherit. Then he prayed with her for the last time, committing her to Him in whom both believed. At nine

o'clock of the same evening she fell asleep, peacefully and calmly.

Calvin could never forget his Idelette, and he never thought of filling her place by a second wife. As often as he mentioned her name, a certain vibration in his voice indicated how dear she had been to him. After her departure he wrote to Viret: "Because you know the tenderness, or rather the weakness of my heart, you are convinced that I could not have borne this pain if I had not concentrated the whole power of my soul in God. The best of partners has been taken from me. She was willing to share with me banishment and want, and would have gone with me into death. She was also a great help in my official life."

Idelette Calvin is a worthy companion to Katharina von Bora, Luther's wife, and to Anna Reinhart, Zwingli's wife. That we know comparatively so little of her individual life is no doubt due, as d'Aubigne correctly remarks, to the fact that Calvin did not write nearly as much and so frequently of his wife as Luther did of his "Kaethe." Nevertheless she was, as we have seen, as dear to him; and for this reason it is proper that we should also cherish her memory as the faithful life-partner of the great John Calvin.

CHAPTER XI.

RECALL TO GENEVA AND RECONSTRUCTION WORK.

Geneva, by this time, had bitterly repented its treatment of its faithful preachers. Only disorder had reigned since their departure. The citizens had had a taste of Libertine rule, and did not relish it. All was laxity, powerlessness and anarchy. The teachers had refused to carry out the command of the enemies of Calvin to administer the Lord's Supper according to the Bernese rite, and were also banished and the schools closed. The Libertines, in March, 1539, went up to the town hall demanding to be released from the moral part of the Confession of Faith which they had sworn to under Calvin. Romish priests began saying mass in private houses. Laws were set at nought. The grossest licentiousness prevailed. Of the four syndics who expelled Calvin, one was found guilty of promoting an insurrection, and endeavoring to escape through a window, fell and broke his neck. Another was accused of murder and beheaded. Two others, guilty of treason, were obliged to flee. No power existed in the city itself, capable of restoring order, and soon the cry arose from the government, the pastors and the people, to bring Calvin back.

But although his heart was in Geneva, Calvin hesitated to return. "Why not rather submit to be crucified?" he says in one of his letters, "It would be better to perish at once than to be tormented to death in that chamber of torture." Farel, who had found congenial work at Neuchatel, urged him to return. The minutes

of the Genevan council are full of items showing the progress which was made in getting Calvin to come back. On Sept. 21, 1540, Perrin is charged "to find means to bring back Master Calvin." On October 13th it was resolved to write a letter "to Monsieur Calvin that he would assist us," and to ask the pastors in Strasburg to influence him to return. On Oct. 19th it was resolved "in order that the honor and glory of God may be promoted to seek all possible means to have Master Calvin as preacher." On October 20th, they ordered a delegation sent to Strasburg "to fetch Master Jean Calvinus, who is very learned, to be minister in this city."

At length he consented, and re-entered Geneva on Sept. 13, 1541, amidst general popular enthusiasm. Twenty-three years more were given him to labor among this gifted people on the beautiful Lake Leman. The magistrate provided him with a house and garden, gave him cloth for a coat, and voted him a salary of 500 florins, twelve measures of wheat and two tuns of wine.

The next five years of his life, from 1541 to 1546, were, on the whole, peaceful and serene. They may be termed the period of reconstruction. A new constitution, embracing the life of the people in Church and State, was introduced and perfected. A Christian republic, bearing the character of a "theocracy" was established,—that is, a State whose ruler is God, and in which God's will is to be done—no doubt a grand conception! Constructing the Genevan republic under the guidance of this idea, Calvin was instrumental in having enacted three codes of laws, a revised form of Church government, a new code of civil laws and the famous "Ecclesiastical Ordinances," a code of morals, for which he is best known. It laid down rules for the regulation of the

life of the citizens of Geneva, entering minutely into social and even domestic details, but especially aiming at the suppression of the darker vices—profanity, drinking, gambling, lewdness and the like. This code undoubtedly went too far in interfering with individual liberty, but to view this matter in a historical spirit, it is important to remember that the "go-as-you-please" doctrine of government is essentially modern. Sumptuary laws regulating the details of life were not peculiar to Geneva. They were in great favor in England from the time of Edward III down to the Reformation. One law under that King enacts that no man of whatever condition or estate, shall be allowed more than two courses at dinner or supper or more than two kinds of food in each course, except on the principal festivals of the year, when three courses at the utmost are to be allowed. All who did not enjoy a free estate of five hundred dollars for a year were prohibited from wearing fur, skins or silk, and the use of foreign cloth was allowed to the royal family alone. It must also be remembered that most of the provisions of Calvin's "Ordinances" were based on existing laws. "It can be shown," says Dr. Hagenbach, "that strict prohibitions against cursing and blaspheming, against games of chance, masquerades, dances, magnificence in dress, etc., had been issued by the Genevan government as early as the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, and that Calvin, consequently, cannot be regarded as the originator of such laws." Calvin drafted the code, but the council revised and amended it. Calvin, therefore, cannot fairly be held responsible for everything the code contains. Dr. Lindsay, in his "History of the Reformation," quotes a long list of laws showing that the citizens of every mediaeval town lived under a municipal dis-

cipline which we would pronounce vexatious and despotic. He continues: "Every instance quoted by modern historians to prove, as they think, Calvin's despotic interference with the details of private life, can be paralleled by references to the police books of mediaeval towns in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. To make them ground of accusation against Calvin is simply to plead ignorance of the whole municipal police of the later Middle Ages. To say that Calvin acquiesced in or approved of such legislation is simply to show that he belonged to the sixteenth century."

The Church Constitution provides for four kinds of officers,—namely, pastors, teachers, elders and deacons. The rights and duties of each group are carefully described. The city was divided into parishes, and a pastor was allotted to each. Baptism was administered only by the pastor; godfathers were refused if they were notoriously of a worldly-minded spirit, not being in a state to promise to the Church to be spiritually a father to the child. The Lord's Supper was to be celebrated in the churches only—four times a year, at Easter, at Whitsuntide, the first Sunday in September, and the Sunday nearest Christmas day. Only the Sabbath, because of divine institution, was observed; the holy days of the church year, even Christmas day and Easter, were disregarded. Every child was to attend regular catechisation until, when sufficiently instructed, he was admitted, "in presence of the Church to make profession of his Christianity." It was absolutely forbidden to approach the Lord's table before catechisation. Calvin draws a clear distinction between the Roman Catholic and the Episcopal idea of confirmation, and the conception of the Reformed Church concerning this ancient rite, when, in the fourth book of his "Institutes," he

writes as follows: "It was anciently customary for the children of Christians, after they had grown up, to appear before the chief pastor and people, to fulfill that duty which was required of such adults as presented themselves for baptism. The infants, therefore, who had been initiated by baptism, not having then given a confession of faith to the Church, were again, toward the end of their boyhood, or on adolescence, brought forward by their parents, and were examined by the pastor in terms of the Catechism which was then in common use. In order that this act, which otherwise justly required to be grave and holy, might have more reverence and dignity, the ceremony of laying on of hands was used." Then, having argued against the papal and prelatical perversion of this primitive rite, Calvin continued: "I wish we could retain the custom of confirmation, which, as I have observed, existed in the early church before this abortive mask of a sacrament appeared."

The Constitution also orders that a yearly visitation should be made from house to house, to examine every one as to his faith, in order that no one may come to the Lord's Supper without knowing what is the foundation of his salvation. The visit is to be made in each parish before Easter, by the pastor accompanied by an elder, and by the "tithing man" of the district. The pastor is to visit the sick all the year round; in order "that no one may die without admonition or instruction, which is then more necessary than ever to a man." A weekly visit is also to be paid to the prisoners by the pastor.

Calvin was the friend of a plain but orderly and solemn form of worship. The liturgy which bears his name has been composed from material of the forms of

worship used in Strasburg and other places. He is in favor of brief prayers. "It is better to pray at length in private and briefly in the assemblies. If thou expectest from all an ardor equal to thine own, thou art mistaken." He favored the singing of the psalms, which was deemed so important, that it became almost a kind of profession of faith; "psalm-singer" and "Reformed" were almost synonymous words in France. Marot's psalms were first used in 1548. The Psalter was augmented by Beza. But Calvin insisted upon having the exact prose translation of the Hebrew text, printed at the foot of the page. He did not wish to have attributed to the Psalmist what resulted perhaps from the exigencies of versification.

Every preacher was at first appointed to his own special church building. In August, 1542, Calvin decided that they should all preach in turn in all the city pulpits, "in order that the people might be better edified, and might profit by all the ministers." It was also in strict conformity to the apostolic principle of the equality of the pastors, that neither title nor official privilege ever distinguished one pastor from the other. Calvin was not in favor of long sermons. "There is one thing of which I would speak to thee," he writes one day to Farel. "It is said that the length of thy sermons is a subject of complaint. Thou hast told me thyself more than once, that thou wouldst take heed thereto; forget it not, I pray thee. And since it is not for our own edification that the Lord calls upon us to ascend the pulpit, but for that of the people, it is incumbent on thee to moderate thyself in such a way that the Word of God may not have to suffer, because thou hast wearied them." Calvin preferred the topical method of preach-

ing, which requires the choosing of a definite subject for each sermon.

In the civil department, Calvin undertook the revision of the laws, some of which dated from ancient times. Under his oversight, the laws and edicts of the State were collected, such changes were made on them as were necessary, and the whole was reduced to a well-digested code.

The judicatories instituted by Calvin to enforce these laws were the secular councils and the church consistory, the latter being a new court, composed of the pastors and twelve laymen, the latter to be appointed by the councils to form the link between the two jurisdictions. That part of Calvin's reformatory work which had to do with the consistory and its functions exerted a tremendous influence on all the Reformed Churches in all sections of the world, and indirectly on civil government, an influence which is felt to this very day. The logical consequence of Calvin's principles of government would lead to an entire separation of Church and State. The American churches have followed out his ideas to their legitimate conclusion, but Calvin's sublime conception of a theocracy did not allow him to draw the inevitable consequences which his premises demanded. It was only recently, June 30th, 1907, at a referendum demanded, it is true, by the socialists, that Geneva severed the connection between Church and State which had existed for over a thousand years under various forms.

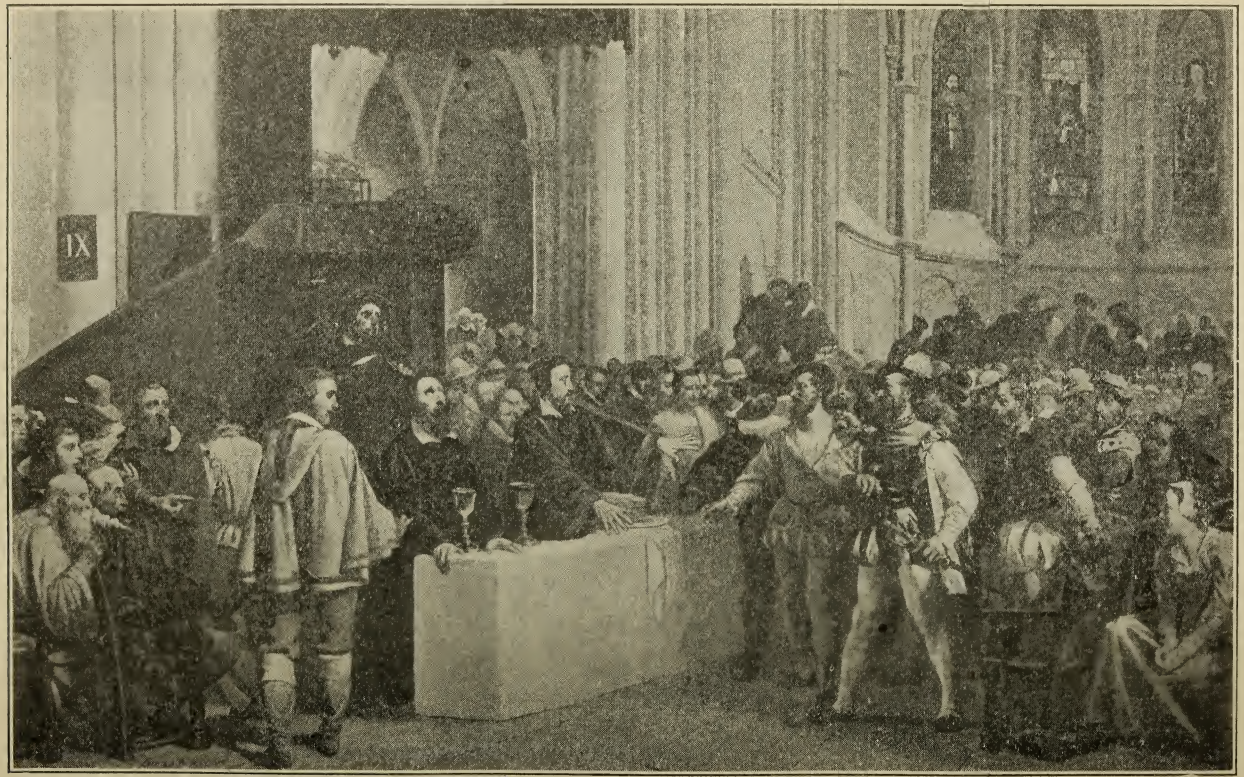
CHAPTER XII.

RENEWED CONFLICT WITH THE LIBERTINES.

Calvin's struggles were not at an end. After five years of peace, in 1546, Libertinism reared up its head again, and with brief intermissions the conflict lasted fully nine years, during which period Calvin was in constant danger of being expelled again. This time Libertinism is seen in darker colors than before. It now appeared in connection with Pantheistic and Atheistic doctrines, breathing a fierce hatred of Christ, and openly justifying the most shameless immorality. "The Libertines or Spirituals," says Dr. Philip Schaff, "combined a Pantheistic creed with licentiousness and free-lovism, and anticipated the worst forms of modern infidelity to the extent of declaring the gospel a tissue of lies of less value than Aesop's fables. Their leader was Perrin, the captain-general, a former friend of Calvin's, but now on account of some proceedings taken against his wife's relations, the reformer's bitterest enemy. Perrin demanded that the council should deprive the consistory of its power of excommunication and should take that power in its own hands. After several failures, he was elected First Syndic and the old complaint was renewed. Calvin behaved with great courage. He presented himself in 1547 before the Council of the Two Hundred, and facing the drawn swords of his enemies, said, "If it is my life you desire, I am ready to die. If it is my banishment you wish, I shall exile myself. If you desire once more to save Geneva without the Gospel, you can try." This ended the matter for the time.

A second crisis in the struggle with the Libertines was

in 1553. Calvin's influence in this year was at its lowest ebb. Popular feeling ran strongly against him. His enemies, insolent in their triumph, "resorted to personal indignities and every device of intimidation; they named the very dogs of the street after him; they once fired fifty shots before his bed chamber; they threatened him in the pulpit. At this time a Libertine by the name of Berthelier appeared before the council, asking it to rescind a sentence of excommunication passed upon him by the consistory. Calvin withstood him, but Perrin's influence prevailed, and the council reversed the sentence as desired. It went further, and transferred the power of excommunication from the consistory to the council. This decision was ratified in the popular assembly. The next Sabbath was the day of communion in St. Peter's Cathedral. Curiosity was strung to its highest pitch, for Berthelier was expected to present himself, bearing the warrant he had received from the council. A French biographer of Calvin gives the following graphic description of the occasion. "On the third of September, at the customary hour, Calvin ascended the pulpit of the ancient cathedral. He perceived in the audience the insolent group of Libertines, perhaps already ill at ease because they felt themselves isolated in the midst of the crowded congregation, and with Calvin in front of them. But the reformer did not seem to see them. As calm as ever, externally at least, he preached upon the state of mind with which the Lord's Table ought to be approached. Then he added, 'As for me, so long as God shall leave me here, I will employ the fortitude which He gave me, whatever betide, and I will guide myself, by my Master's rule, which is to me clear and well-known. As we are to receive the Lord's Supper, if any one to whom it has been forbidden by the consistory, should



Refusal of the Lord's Supper to the Libertines

seek to intrude himself at this table, I would certainly show myself, as long as I live, such as I ought to be.' When the liturgy was concluded, he came down from the pulpit and set apart the bread and wine by prayer. When the moment arrived to dispense the sacred elements, the Libertines made a move forward as if to seize the bread and cup. Then, covering the sacred symbols with his hands, he exclaimed—'You may cut these hands, and crush these limbs; my blood is yours—shed it! But you shall never force me to give holy things to the profane.' The Libertines paused in their rush toward the Communion Table. They looked at each other—they looked around. An indignant murmur circulated through the crowd, and but for the sacredness of the spot, the murmur would have become an outcry. The voice of the people was for Calvin. The Libertines hesitated for a moment longer, and then fell back. They were overawed by the personality of the great reformer. The crowd opened a passage for their retreat, and the sacrament was adminstered to the believers, who were still agitated, but proud of their pastor, and rejoicing in his victory."

Calvin expected to be banished, and openly said so in his afternoon sermon of the same day. "It is perhaps for the last time," he said, "that I am speaking to the people of Geneva. Firmly resolved to do nothing that is not according to the will of God, I will nevertheless stay as long as I can make my voice heard; but if I be compelled to hold my peace, I will depart." He had taken for his text the farewell address of Saint Paul to the elders of Ephesus. He repeated, in the midst of his weeping congregation, the words of the apostle: "I commend you to God and to the word of His grace." He went home to await the decree of exile; but it never

came. He soon perceived that on the contrary, his position was improved.

The final conflict was in 1555. The spiritual supremacy had by this time been restored to the consistory. The opposition of the Libertines was now directed against the large number of refugees who flocked to hospitable Geneva from many countries, among whom was John Knox, from Scotland. As a century later, when the fugitive Huguenots became a blessing to all the countries which received them, so, in Calvin's days, this was the case with the fugitives arriving at Geneva. "If," as a historian says, "the true citizen of a country is not he who is born in that country, but the man who, whether a citizen by birth or not, understands the conditions of its national existence and greatness, and therefore labors and combats, perseveres, loves and devotes himself—if this is true, then certainly the refugees were citizens of Geneva, and Geneva had none better." Their two greatest men and benefactors were foreign born. Farel was not a native citizen of Geneva, though the true representatives of the city had justly saluted him with the name of "father." Calvin was a Frenchman by birth and received citizenship in 1559, only five years before his death, but no one doubts that he was the greatest citizen of Geneva, and its real benefactor. The Libertines were against the refugees, because they saw in them only the agents of Calvin, and because they understood nothing of the Christian heroism which had made them relinquish castles, and money, and rank, and large estates, for conscience' sake to become the citizens of a little republic, and to submit to those stern ordinances which many native citizens refused. The Libertines lavished upon the exiles raillery and insult. Those who had saved no part of their fortune were reproached

for eating the bread of hospitality; against those who gained their livelihood by labor, the Libertines endeavored to stir up the workmen and traders of Geneva. Those of the refugees who had brought money with them, were represented as coming to buy over or to betray the republic to the King of France. This accusation was the more ridiculous, as the French King at that very time was bathing himself in the blood of their brethren. In April, 1553, Perrin demanded that their weapons should be taken away, with the exception of their swords, which, however, they were not to wear in public. In July, 1554, he demanded that even their swords should be taken away. Perrin was called upon to produce proofs of his slander against the refugees, which he could not furnish. The Libertines now had recourse to conspiracy. The infamous "Tavern House Plot" was formed, for the massacre of all refugees in the city. The following description is given: "On the 18th of May, in the evening, Berthelier, Perrin, and two other heads of the party, met in a tavern with a number of other Libertines. After their tongue had performed its part, wine provoked their feet and hands to do their part. Perrin, however, had not yet made up his mind. His companions flattered him, saying that the people depended upon him, and that it was he whom they expected to see at the head of the movement. He yielded, and soon the revolt was in full progress. But it did not last long. The conspirators did not find the support which they had hoped for. In vain did they have it proclaimed that the refugees were going to sack the town; the citizens stirred not. There were a few murderous encounters but the troops swept down all that offered resistance. Several of the Libertines were executed. Perrin succeeded in escaping. Many others

also fled and the rest were banished. From this period on, Geneva had rest. Thus ended the conflict with the Libertines.

In justice to Calvin's enemies, it should be remembered how unbearably galling it must have been to the freer spirits in the republic—many of them belonging to old native families and accustomed to hold their heads high among the citizens—to find themselves suddenly stopped in a career of pleasure, and put under Calvin's moral yoke—forbidden the wine shop, the card table, the revel, rigorously limited in dress and manner of living, compelled to attend services in which their vices were unsparingly castigated, and required, on pain of humiliation, to yield unquestioning obedience to the dictates of the consistory. They saw, as they thought, a new popery established in their midst—they rebelled, that they, the children of the soil should be subjected to this tyranny by an alien; they beheld the city filling up with refugees, and they clamored that the native influence was being weakened; the magistrates were jealous of a power which they saw growing up in the state, rivalling their own. Yet it must be repeated that Calvin's discipline proved wholesome for Geneva, and made it not only during Calvin's lifetime, but for more than a hundred years after his death a shining light as to morality, religion, material prosperity, art and sciences. Calvin saved Geneva and the Reformation, for a Geneva given up to the Libertines would have been a Geneva steeped in vice and a Geneva soon reconquered by her former Roman masters.

This last period of conflict with the Libertines, lasting nine years, from 1546 to 1551, were the most annoying and wearing years of Calvin's life, on account of the innumerable petty insults and attacks to which he was

exposed. "It were better for me," he wrote in 1555, "to be burned once for all by the papists than to be thus incessantly tortured by this people. Only one thing supports me in this hard service; it is that death will soon come and give me my discharge." A French biographer of Calvin characterizes this period as follows: "Choose any one day in the course of these nine years and go to Geneva to see Calvin. You come to visit a reformer, the man whose name fills Europe, and you will certainly find him, but do you know what you will also find? A man who is hunted by the most ignoble vexations, and whom some annoy at their pleasure by the grossest petty insults. Accompany him through the streets, and you will hear the hisses of which he has spoken to you. The dog which has just run between his legs is called back by his master crying out, 'Calvin!' The animal obeys, for that is his name. While he is crossing the bridge over the beautiful blue Rhone, he is almost thrown down by three worthless fellows who pretend not to see him; just as Perrin's wife, when riding out of town on horseback yesterday, knocked down another pastor who narrowly escaped with his life. Walk some evening under his window, and it will be a wonder if you do not meet some drunken Libertine bawling out some insult, or singing some infamous song. Last Thursday in the consistory he had to endure the sarcasm of some youth, or man, or woman, or girl, who will indeed be punished, but who has sworn to do the same thing again. Next Thursday he will hear as bad things,—if not worse. And all this is but the mere accompaniment of the most serious anxieties at home and abroad,—the meditations of a writer, the care of immense correspondence, the fatigues of the pastor and the preacher, the sufferings and the agony of a sick man.

The bare thought of it all brings on a sensation of giddiness, yet it must be thought of, if we would not be unjust towards him, whose irritated nerves caused him more than once to write or to do what we should have preferred he had neither written nor done."

CHAPTER XIII.

CONTROVERSY WITH SERVETUS.

The reformation age was a period of great doctrinal controversies. In Calvin's life we are interested especially in his conflict with Michael Servetus, because this episode has left a stain of reproach upon his memory, and has been very much magnified by Calvin's opponents, both ancient and modern. To his entire age, not only to Calvin, Servetus was a monster and blasphemer of the worst kind. He was a Spanish physician, who, in 1531, had published a work against the Trinity and other books. He was a man of undoubted talent, but his genius was erratic, his mind restless and his way of dealing with Divine things daring and irreverent. In his writings, he denied the Deity of Christ and consequently the Trinity. He was a pantheist, denying the personality of God, asserting that every particle of matter was of the divine essence. An example of his levity may be found in one passage-at-arms between him and Calvin before the Council. "What," said Calvin, "if one were to strike this pavement with his foot, wouldst thou not be horrified at having subjected the majesty of God to such treatment!" Servetus replied, "I have no doubt that this bench, this cupboard are the substance of God." When it was suggested to him, "Then will the devil actually be God," he answered with a peal of laughter, "And can you doubt it! All things are part and parcel of God." The idea of a triune God he compared to the three-headed Cerberus, the monster in the underworld of the Greeks.

Sentiments like these in Calvin's days were, both by

Protestants and Catholics, held to be justly punishable by death. All reformers upheld the principle that heresy should be suppressed by the civil power. With the enlightenment which 350 years have brought us, Protestants believe to-day that the fathers were wrong; yet to do justice to Calvin this well-known fact must be remembered. Only in two ways did the reformers themselves already modify this old principle, derived from the Roman Church. First, mere opinion was not to be punished, but only the active diffusion of errors; and, second, forbearance was to be shown to minor aberrations. That Calvin acted on the principle as thus modified, and was not in spirit a persecutor, is shown by his friendly relations with Socinus, the father of Unitarianism, and others of free-thinking tendencies, in whom he thought he discerned an earnest disposition for the truth. On the other hand, unjustly as we, from the twentieth century standpoint, may think Servetus to have been treated, the well-known fact must not be overlooked that he was not a man for whose character it is possible to feel much respect. His career was one of long-continued dissimulation. In his trial at Vienne, France, he resorted to false statements in regard to almost every particular in his history, so that the Romanists of that city would have put him to death, had he not fled from prison. At Geneva, the same arts of deception were tried. He was, therefore, a man without moral backbone, and cannot command our respect, much as he may win our sympathy.

It must also be kept in mind that Servetus, although forewarned by Calvin, insisted on coming to Geneva, because he knew of the temporary triumph of the Libertines in the council, by whose aid he was confident of gaining a victory. Calvin's influence was at its lowest

point, and Servetus indulged in unmeasured invective against him. This naturally aroused Calvin to the highest pitch of indignation, and he had him at once arrested and tried for heresy. During the trial Calvin had little to do with the affair, besides furnishing a list of objectionable passages from Servetus' writings. The council jealously kept the trial in its own hands. Before finally deciding, the court sent copies of all the documents to the Churches of Berne, Zurich, Basel and Schaffhausen, requesting their advice. All reported that Servetus was guilty, and on October 26th, the old law, which Calvin neither made nor inspired, was carried out, and Servetus sentenced to be burned. Calvin—and this is often overlooked,—shrank with horror from the infliction of death by burning and implored the council to substitute a milder form of execution. But there were only seven "Calvinists" in the council and that body, presided over by Perrin, the Libertine, true to the spirit of the times, insisted on having its sentence carried out. On October 27th, 1553, Servetus was publicly burned, and, by one of those numerous falsehoods of history, to Calvin is always imputed the guilt of that funeral pile, although he and his friends were the only ones who did all in their power to prevent it. It is true, in common with Bullinger, Melancthon and others, Calvin, as a child of his century, approved of the sentence of death, yet he hated to see a Protestant, "Auto da fe," a Protestant burning of heretics at the stake. The shock aroused many Protestants to the consciousness that to kill men for opinions' sake, was to go in the teeth of their own claim of the right of private judgment. It is clearly illogical first to grant a man the right of judging of what is true, and then to punish him for the use he makes of it. Only one of the reformers, and

he dead at the time, towered high above his contemporaries in this respect also. Luther, not in the least questioning the right, doubted the expediencey of executing heretics. He writes to Link, "Thou askest me, if the civil magistrate is permitted to slay the false prophets. I have little love for condemnations to death, even when fully merited. Besides, in this matter, one thing alarms me; it is the example we give. Look at the papists; and, before the time of Christ, look at the Jews. The law commanded that *false* prophets should be slain, and they ended by slaying almost none but blameless and holy prophets. In nowise, therefore, can I approve that false doctors should be put to death. Heresy is a spiritual thing, which cannot be hewn with any axe, or burned with any fire, or drowned with any water. Over the souls of men, God can and will have no one rule, save Himself alone. In his book against the Anabaptists, Luther says: "It is not right that they should so shockingly murder, burn and cruelly slay such wretched people; they should let every one believe what he will; with the Scripture and God's Word, they should check and withstand them; with fire they will accomplish little. The executioners, on this plan, would be the most learned doctors." But these noble words, as has been said, rather express the dictates of Luther's humane impulses than definite principles by which he would consistently abide.

Chafing under the severe criticism to which Calvin has always been subjected on account of his prominence in the trial of Servetus, the friends of the reformer at Geneva, on October 27, 1903, placed what they call an "Expiation Tablet" on the same spot where Servetus was burned, on which they declare their high esteem of Calvin, and at the same time condemn his error. This is a

piece of well-meant French emotionalism, which, however, has prompted a smile on the part of Calvinists among the other nations of the world. For it goes without saying that we dissent from many things which our fathers considered right and proper and even indispensable. But if we were to erect tablets and make inscriptions declaring our dissent from their mistakes, and if our grandchildren were to continue this work, the marble quarries of the world would soon be exhausted and this globe of ours would look like one great cemetery. It is either deficiency in exact historical information, or lack of the historical spirit, or constitutional aversion to the reformer, to single him out for attack because he was not three hundred years ahead of his times with reference to this and other matters. Dr. Lindsay correctly remarks, "To say that Calvin burned Servetus, as is continually done, is to make one man responsible for a state of things which had lasted in Western Europe ever since the Emperor Theodosius declared that all men were out of law, who did not accept the Nicene Creed in the form issued by Damasus of Rome. On the other hand, to release Calvin from his share in that tragedy and crime, by denying that he sat among the judges of the heretic, or to allege that Servetus was slain because he conspired against the liberties of the city is equally unreasonable."

CHAPTER XIV.

PASTORAL WORK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

During the last nine years of his life, after the expulsion of the Libertines, Calvin withdrew more and more from the political sphere of his theocracy and devoted himself to spiritual labors. This was the period of the triumph of his principle. The distrust of him by the council cleared away perfectly, and people and Senate cordially supported him in his efforts. Many tokens exist of the high respect in which Calvin was held in his later years. The work he got through during this period, considering his weak physical constitution, and the numerous maladies which incessantly preyed on him, was enormous. He preached two or three times a week, lectured every third day, presided in the consistory on Thursdays, and fulfilled the other duties of his pastoral office. His pen was unceasingly busy, writing new books, revising old ones, conducting the extensive correspondence, a selection of which in his published works fills twelve large volumes, taking part in the controversies of the time, chief of which were the Sacramentarian Controversies with the Lutherans. His body was in Geneva but his heart was in the church of God everywhere. His reputation in Europe was rising to dizzy heights. His theological writings, especially his Institutes and the famous commentaries on the Old and New Testaments, gained for him a renown as an accomplished author, both as to matter and style. Among his correspondents were kings, nobles, and persons of highest positions in all countries; his advice was sought in matters small and great. His name was a familiar one in courts and conclaves. His letters were prized as literary treasures

as well as for the worth of their contents. Not a church was in difficulty, hardly a martyr went to the stake, but received from him some message of guidance or consolation. Geneva became an asylum for the persecuted like no other city, and numbers of persons of rank, learning and piety, found refuge within its walls. John Knox resided in Geneva at intervals between 1554 and 1559, and the chapel standing to the right of Saint Peter's Cathedral bears the inscription concerning the great Scotch reformer. He became intimate with Calvin, and throughout life revered him as a father. Large numbers of Reformed preachers, trained by Calvin, went forth to spread the gospel in other countries. It is natural that Calvin should interest himself in an especial manner in the progress of the Reformed Church of France, which from a single congregation in 1556, had, notwithstanding furious persecutions, increased by the year 1561 to two thousand one hundred and fifty churches. Calvin had the satisfaction of seeing the French Reformed Church consolidated, and his form of government set up in it in even purer form than at Geneva. There is scarcely one of his letters in which he does not recur to his ideal of the "Church under the Cross" growing before God in proportion to her sufferings. Noticeable among his letters are the two beautiful epistles "To the Believers of France," in June and November, 1559. "Doubt not," he writes, "even if the wicked had exhausted all their cruelty, that there shall be one drop of blood which shall not tend to increase the number of believers." Calvin strongly influenced the First General Synod of the French Reformed Church, held in 1559. Some of his most impressive letters were written to the great Admiral Coligny, the leader and one of the martyrs of the French Reformed people. Like Luther,

Calvin strongly deprecated the religious wars, and with respect to the French wars, he told the Reformed leaders that "if they wished to establish their rights by the sword, they would prevent God from helping them. One single drop of blood shed by you will overflow all France." And this became true.

CHAPTER XV.

FOUNDING OF THE GENEVAN UNIVERSITY.

All the Reformers were highly educated men, and knew the value of sound education for the promotion of pure religon and the public welfare. One dream of Calvin, therefore, he desired to realize before his death —the founding of a university. This work he saw accomplished in 1559. A building was erected; Theodore Beza was appointed rector; and provision was made for instruction in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, philosophy, law, and later also in medicine, in addition to theology. This institution gave new glory to Geneva. In addition to culture and pure morals, came now the arts and sciences.

As early as 1552, the council had bought the ground, but the money for building was lacking. Then Calvin took the work in hand more directly. He opened a general subscription list and very soon was in possession of ten thousand florins, a large sum for those times. Then the council decided to begin building. On the fifth of June the Academy was opened by a service in St. Peter's Cathedral. An eye-witness, the Secretary of State, gives the following quaint description of this opening service. "On Monday, the fifth of June, 1559, my very honorable Lords Syndics with several of the Lords Counsellors, and myself, the Secretary, repaired to the temple of St. Peter, where the ministers of God's Word, learned doctors, scholars, and men of letters were assembled in great number. After prayer to God was made, the worthy John Calvin delivered a speech in French. By the command of the said Lords, the laws, order and statutes of the college, with the form of the

Calvin's Theological School, Geneva

confession of faith to be made by the scholars, together with the form of oath which is to be taken by the rector, masters and lecturers, were published with a loud voice by the Secretary of State. Then was declared the election of the rector, the worthy Theodore Beza, minister of the Word of God and burgher of this city. He, after this declaration, made an oration in the Latin tongue, after which the aforesaid worthy Calvin closed the solemnity with prayer.'' A school festival is yearly observed in the same church in commemoration of this event.

It is interesting to read the rules and regulations of the institution. The Academy was placed under the government of the clergy, who elected the rector, the professors and teachers, their choice being approved by the council. The rules are stamped with the character of those times. The students were to attend divine service once every Wednesday, and three times every Sunday. In Summer they were to attend class at six; in Winter at seven. They were to breakfast in class, and at ten o'clock the teachers were to conduct them to their homes. After dinner at eleven o'clock they were to return to school and practice psalm singing for an hour; from one to two o'clock they were to take their little afternoon refreshment in class. The lessons were to cease at four o'clock, and then the scholars were to assemble in the hall, where the rector was to dismiss them with kindly counsel to all, openly censuring those who had merited the reprehension of their teachers. In 1563 already we find two hundred and fifty-nine foreign students, whom the fame of this school had drawn to Geneva. Not only young men but fugitives of riper years and high scholastic attainments, sat at the feet of Calvin. A contemporary writes that no less than one thousand hearers

listened daily to the lectures of Calvin. This Academy became the pattern of all newly-founded similar institutions in the neighboring countries. The edifice, with few modifications, still houses the University of Geneva. The school was poor, the rector receiving only two hundred and eighty florins and a residence as his annual salary. In the years 1580-1590 the school was so poverty-stricken that collections had to be made in foreign lands, notably in England, to keep it open. Beza was then the only professor, all the others having been discharged because of lack of funds.

CHAPTER XVI.

LAST MONTHS AND DEATH.

The time now approached when Calvin should lay down the weapons of his earthly warfare. His body, the seat of many disorders, some of them inflicting on him excruciating pain, was rapidly breaking up. For years he took only one meal a day and that a very sparing one. He never wrote much about his bodily weakness, but the writings of his friends and the minutes of the council furnish us with occasional information. In January, 1546, the council is informed "of the sickness of M. Calvin, who hath no resources," and votes him ten crowns. Calvin refused the money. Then the counsellors decide to buy with the ten crowns a cask of good wine and express the desire "that M. Calvin should take it in good part." Calvin, not to give offense, accepts, but he afterwards employs ten crowns of his salary for the relief of the poorest ministers. Towards the middle of 1563, he began visibly to fail. He experienced pains in his head, pains in his limbs, pains in his stomach, spitting of blood, difficulty in breathing, the gout, and gall stones. The Bishop of London urges Calvin to work a little less, and to preserve himself for the Church which so greatly needs him. But he continued preaching, though it fatigued him very much. His last sermon was delivered on the sixth of February, 1564. A violent fit of coughing stopped his utterance and the blood gushed into his mouth. He was obliged to come down from the pulpit, and his flock understood but too well that he would never enter it again. After this, he was carried to the church on several occasions.

On the tenth of March the council ordered public prayers "for the health of M. Calvin, who has been long indisposed, and is even in danger of death." In spite of his pain he continued writing and revising his books. On Easter day, April 2nd, he was carried to church and partook for the last time of the Sacrament. It was a solemn hour when he was seen approaching the Lord's Table. Never had his finest sermons had half the eloquence of the spectacle presented by that shattered frame and that wasted hand which was stretched out to receive the sacred symbols. The large congregation was bathed in tears when he joined with trembling voice in the concluding hymn, "Lord, let Thy servant depart in peace." A few days before Easter, on March twenty-seventh, he was borne to the council-chamber and took an affectionate farewell from the members; and a month later, on April thirtieth, the council sent a deputation of tweny-five lords to his house. Calvin solemnly addressed them on their duties, begged them one and all to pardon his faults and then took a formal and affectionate farewell. On the following day he received the pastors of the city and made an impressive, fatherly address to them, "that they should persevere in doing their duty after his death and that they should not lose courage, for God would protect the city and the Church." A few days before this he had made his last will and testament, in the introduction of which he blesses God for having called him to the work of the Gospel. He distributes to his nephews and nieces his books and furniture, and two hundred and twenty-five crowns, "which is all the property God hath given me. Ten crowns are to be given to the college, and ten to the fund for poor strangers and refugees."

On May second, Calvin received a letter from Farel,

who was nearly eighty years old, in which he expressed the desire to see him once more. The Reformer advised his fatherly friend not to fatigue himself by coming to see him. But Farel was already on his way; dusty and exhausted, for he had come from Neuchatel on foot, Calvin saw him enter his chamber. The leave-taking was heart-rending. The scene of the man who in 1536 held back Calvin in Geneva embracing the dying reformer, was worthy of a painter's brush.

The nineteenth of May brought around what were called the "censures," which he had instituted. The clergy assembled on that day to admonish each other fraternally and afterwards partook together of a modest meal. The ministers met in his house and he was carried into the dining-room. "My brethren," he said, "I am come to see you for the last time." Then he offered prayer, but not without difficulty. Before the end of the supper he requested to be carried back to his bed chamber. The few days that remained to him were spent almost wholly in prayer. His form was so wasted that it seemed as if only the spirit were left, but his eyes, witnesses tell us, burned with their old lustre till the close. On May twenty-seventh, towards eight o'clock in the evening he died, and as one of his friends wrote "at the same moment when the sun set, the greatest light on earth in the church of God was withdrawn to heaven." Great was the mourning in Geneva, and intense the excitement which the news of his death thrilled through the Christian world.

The day following his death, at two o'clock, an immense procession of professors, ministers, students, citizens, all classes of population, many of them in tears, followed his corpse to its quiet resting-place in the cemetery of Plain Palais. It was Calvin's own wish that he

Base of the New Unfinished Calvin Monument at Geneva

should be buried without pomp and that no stone should be raised to his memory.

The only official epitaph which he received is this half-line inscribed by the side of his name in the record of the consistory—"Went to God, Saturday, the twenty-seventh." The exact spot where he sleeps is accordingly unknown. A small stone marked with the simple letters "J. C." has for about thirty years marked the supposed place of his interment, but the identification is conjectural.

Extensive preparations are being made at present to erect an immense "Calvin Monument" at Geneva, on the occasion of the Four Hundredth birthday of the reformer, which is designed to outshine the largest of the many Luther monuments, that at Worms, in point of size, cost, and artistic beauty.

CHAPTER XVII.

PERSONAL CHARACTER OF CALVIN.

The oft-quoted words of the great German poet, Schiller, with reference to Wallenstein, may fitly be applied to Calvin: "Distorted by the praise and hate of parties, the impress of his character floats in history." ("Von der Parteien Gunst und Hass verwirrt, schwebt sein Charakterbild in der Geschichte.") Exalted to the high-heaven by his admirers, during his life and up to the present time, his reputation and character have been attacked in an unusually virulent manner by every artifice of ingenuity, sophistry and malignity, by Romanists, Free-thinkers and Lutherans. "No name in church history," says Dr. Schaff, "not even Hildebrand's, or Luther's or Loyola's—has been so much loved and hated, admired and abhorred, praised and blamed, blessed and cursed, as that of John Calvin." The unusual experience in this connection, however, is that even adherents of Reformed and Presbyterian Churches have not infrequently succumbed to the temptation of unduly minimizing the lofty qualities and exaggerating the faults of the reformer of their own church. A similar unsympathetic attitude towards the leaders of one's own denomination is not found in other churches. A single event, the execution of Servetus, distorted and imputed to his agency alone, has been made to color his whole life and to portray his habitual conduct. To write about Calvin, therefore, means to defend him. If the traditional portrait of Calvin represented the real Calvin it would remain an unsolved mystery how such a man could ever have awakened such a deep feeling of respect and love in

the hearts of his friends, how he could have been almost idolized in all sections of Europe, how martyrs on the funeral pile could adoringly cry out, "Thee, O Calvin, we greet, for thou hast given us the truth;" how he could have left such an impression of the "great majesty" of his character as he did, on the council of his own city. Between the hero-worship accorded to the unquestioned and overtowering genius of Luther, and the unsympathetic criticism directed at Calvin, there is the golden mean of a serious and sympathetic study of the reformer's life and the great cause which he represented and promoted. And there are distinct indications in this age, when the historical spirit and scientific methods dominate almost every sphere of investigation, that the cry, "back to the sources," to Calvin's Commentaries, his Institutes, and especially to the more than a dozen volumes of his letters, (which are after all the truest portrait of the man's character,) is being heard and heeded by writers on Calvin. The traditional views of the reformer and his work which have become stereotyped and which writers uncritically copied one from the other are being carefully scrutinized. The present year of the 400th anniversary of his birth will no doubt aid in these laudable efforts, especially by making his own writings more accessible to the students in our seminaries and other institutions of higher education. We believe that a well-balanced portrait of Calvin's character, in which light and shade are distributed in proportions true to the facts of history, will show him to have been a man of strong faith, deep humility, unbending conviction, and genuine heart-power; tolerant, courageous, highly intellectual, industrious and very courteous in his outward manners. Let us analyze these characteristics in detail.

1. *A man of strong faith.* As Calvin never wavered in doctrine, so neither can any trace of weakness be found in his faith. Luther had to endure terrible conflicts; Melancthon was often despondent; even Knox, with all his energy, felt disheartened from time to time. But Calvin's trust was as firm as a rock, and this firmness was one of the most striking features of his character. It is not to be supposed, however, that he knew nothing of such struggles. In a classic passage in his "Institutes," he says: "If the believing soul is driven to and fro in an unusual manner, still will it rise again superior to all its distresses, and never suffer itself to be deprived of its trust in the divine mercy. Faith is never wholly rooted out of the heart of a true believer. In all struggles faith overcometh the world, though it should be assailed a thousand times." The secret of the strength of Calvin's faith will be found in his firm conviction in God's immutable decrees, that God foreordained whatsoever comes to pass. His consciousness of God's presence was always strong and sometimes very vivid. "Before God and His holy angels" is a favorite phrase which he often uses. The perilous times in which he lived doubtless contributed greatly to this remarkable energy of faith. The very excitement and the surrounding dangers would aid in its development.

2. *A man of deep humility.* With reference to this trait of character, Calvin's letters, admitting us to the inmost recesses of his soul, reveal to us a very different man from the Calvin of traditional opinion. Accused of pride and arrogance, we find a man of very humble heart, shy, timid, even bashful. Accused of tyranny, he was able to write: "How groundless the slander is that I am a tyrannical ruler, I leave my colleagues to judge, for they certainly have never complained that they felt

themselves opprest by my power; on the contrary, they frequently object to me that I am too shy, and do not act freely enough when there is need of the exercise of my authority, which all regard as beneficial." It is well known that his great desire was to spend his time in retirement. The records show that in 1541 it took the city of Geneva and the friends of the Reformed cause in other places almost a year to force him out of his retirement at Strasburg and induce him to return to Geneva. Of the naive self-consciousness of Luther, Calvin had not the least vestige. Luther, for instance, signed his last will and testament as follows: "It is I, Dr. Martinus Luther, administrator of God and witness of His Gospel on earth, who needs no attorney to confirm his will; for I am well known in heaven, on earth, and in hell. And I am respected enough that one may believe me." Calvin would never have dreamed of speaking thus concerning his person. In his outward circumstances also, he was humble and remained poor. This characteristic even the pope noticed, when, on hearing of Calvin's death, he is said to have remarked: "That which made the strength of that heretic was, that money was nothing to him." When Cardinal Sadolet made his secret visit to Geneva, he asked for "Calvin's palace," and was astonished to find a very modest house.

3. A man of unbending loyalty to convictions and conscience. Calvin's power of conscience surpasses all the other powers of his nature. It was this, and not unholy passion, which so often allowed his zeal to go too far in the pursuit of a particular end. Thus, his failings sprung from the excess of his virtues. It was this force of conscience which often carried him too far in the three distinguishing tendencies of his spirit: in his theological opinions, in his exercise of church discipline, and in his

desire of unity. His conscience impelled him to attend to the least as well as to the greatest things. In this he was like all men of lofty capacity. He was a Frenchman in liveliness but a German in his accuracy and conscientious observance of truth. Even in the development of his Doctrine of Election it was loyalty to conscience which led him to definitions that even to him seemed "horrible." In his theological controversies, he did nothing moved by mere calculations of prudence; these were also a matter of conscience with him. Dr. Henry says: "Calvin was pre-eminently a slave to conscience. Neither the understanding nor the feelings predominated in him. This conscientiousness exercised the greatest influence over his whole being, which, endowed with glowing zeal, showed a holy devotedness to whatever is good and right. Hence the character of his religious zeal, which sometimes seems blended with obstinacy, fanaticism and arrogance, exhibits at the same time a noble, unconquerable firmness; a sincere, deep humility; an utter self-abasement, the fruit of an awakening conscience. Thus, as the Holy Spirit influenced in him, not so much the feelings, the imagination, or the understanding, as the conscience, so the purest love of truth exercised the most remarkable influence on his life. His heroism displayed itself in his various struggles with the Libertines; his piety was always accompanied by the profound belief in the divine election; in his inner life, his faith never wavered; his feeling of the nearness of God never failed." Calvin, although known as a Frenchman of aristocratic courtesy of outward manner, was an enemy of hypocrisy and deceit, he being the soul of sincerity. In one of his letters he writes: "I received you in a manner but little friendly, for I could not practice hypocrisy, which exists not in my soul. Not only did

the reasons alluded to make me resolute, but still more the horror which I feel at your insincerity."

4. A man of genuine heart-power. The world has been accustomed to impute a stoic coldness and severity to his character, but the whole tenor of his life contradicts this imputation. Calvin was not cold. Those who speak of him in this way have not gone far down into his inner life. Here, again, it is his letters which show that beneath a reserved exterior there beats a warm, true, loving heart. On the death of his infant son, he writes: "The Lord has indeed inflicted a grievous wound on us by the death of our little son, and we feel it bitterly. But He is a father, and knows what is necessary for His children." When his wife was removed from his side, he tells: "If I had not exercised the whole force of my spirit to soften my agony, I could not have borne it. I do what I can not to sink under the weight of the misfortune." His spirit went on mellowing as years advanced. A volume could be filled with extracts from his letters, showing the same throbbing heart as those just quoted. Calvin was not only craving for true friendship, since his student days, but he also knew how to retain the love and respect of his friends.

Strange as it may seem to those who still cling to the traditional view of a "heartless" Calvin, the circle of his devoted friends at Geneva and throughout Europe increased to enormous proportions as the years rolled by. To this also his extensive correspondence bears unimpeachable evidence. While around the ageing Luther it became decidedly lonesome on account of his increasing intolerance which even made Melancthon confess to a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of his revered friend, the number of Calvin's friends and their devotion was steadily on the increase. The fact that there

are so few Calvin monuments in existence must not be misconstrued, as Dr. Schaff does, as an evidence of lack of enthusiasm. It has always been a conscientious conviction with the most loyal friends of Calvin that knowing the reformer's aversion to monuments and similar display, his last will should be respected, and many objected therefore to the monument at present under construction at Geneva. He is, however, immortalized in the Dom at Berlin, in the Protestation Church at Speyer on the great Luther monument at Worms, and in other places. His most enduring monument, however, is his work and influence.

Calvin is constantly blamed for want of love of nature. Nature's fairest scenes were stretched around him, yet his letters take no more notice of them than if he had lived in the desert. That his intellectual powers were pre-eminent is unquestionably true. Yet the argument from silence must not be pressed too far. Moreover, passages might be quoted to show that Calvin was far from insensible to the grandeur of God's works in the natural world. In his preface to the New Testament, he writes: "Whither could men turn without hearing vocal testimonies to the existence and glory of God. The birds in their warblings sing of God, and the lowing steers more loudly tell of him, while the heavenly bodies move on in silent adoration; the mountains resound His praise, and fountain and flood point to Him with their glanze, and every herb and flower seem to woo man to his Maker." Because Calvin has said nothing of the natural beauties of his surroundings, the lake, the Mount Blanc, and the beautiful castles, let us not hastily conclude that he saw nothing. In a letter to a friend for whom he rented a house, he describes the one which he has chosen, saying: "You will have a garden in front; and

behind another garden." In a letter to Viret in 1550, he outlines a plan of "rusticating" with him on the smiling hills near Geneva, when the friend should pay his promised visit. It should be known by this time that Calvin had a genuine appreciation of both poetry and music. He promoted a metrical version of the Psalms, had appropriate tunes composed to them and himself wrote a few pieces, including a "Hymn of Praise to Christ," which, says Schaff, "are worthy of Clement Marot, and reveal an unexpected vein of poetic fervor and tenderness."

5. *Calvin was a tolerant man.* Judged from the standpoint of his age, he was liberal in his views, moderate in his spirit, and tolerant in his disposition. This goes against the traditional opinion concerning the reformer. But tried by the universal judgment of his age, Calvin was not as intolerant as Luther and not more intolerant than Zwingli. Calvin's mind, whatever its defects, was most assuredly not a narrow one. While not free from the inevitable limitations of his age, it was vast, capacious, comprehensive. It was certainly not narrow as despising culture. With respect to heathen wisdom, he says: "It is granted by all that truth, of what kind soever it is, is precious. And as God is the fountain of all that is good, you will incur the charge of deep ingratitude, if you do not welcome every portion of truth, in whatever channel it may come to you." Calvin was not narrow in his expositions of the Bible, which anticipate the best modern works of their class in their freedom from dogmatic prejudice, and honest desire to discover the exact sense of Scripture. In the exercise of genuine toleration, the reformer embraced men of very different opinions, like Socinus, the Unitarian, and Luther. He was liberal enough not to insist on non-essentials which

might prove a barrier to the union of churches. Himself favoring the Presbyterial form of church polity, he was not as hostile to Episcopacy as many men in our own days. He withheld the sacrament from the Libertines because of their immorality, but he fought against the narrowness of the Anabaptists, who insisted on a perfectly pure church upon earth. In insisting that the spreading of heresy should be punished he did what Beza and Melancthon, two of the mildest characters in the reformation period, also strenuously advocated. His laws punished blasphemy, and so do ours at the present time, even in free America. At any rate, it seems high time to give up the unhistorical conception which makes these men monsters of intolerance. Their heart revolted against many things which their highly developed sense of duty and responsibility compelled them to do. They were simply slaves to a conscience, which in too many respects was more tender than ours, while in other directions it lacked clearness of spiritual vision. They were afraid to do wrong; they felt like many conscientious pastors to-day, who experience a constant conflict between conscience and the Zeitgeist in the church—the spirit of the times. The great responsibility of the ministry was a reality in the eyes of these reformers.

6. A man of courage. There was a certain fiery excess, a daringness in Calvin's nature, which mingled itself with his southern blood. He had the zeal of a prophet of the Old Covenant. Bayle says, "he was frighted at nothing. Exquisitely sensitive and timid by constitution, he was from his earliest years obliged to bend to the inflexible rule of duty." Dr. Henry says, "Calvin's love of truth, his noble, unselfish struggle for the things of God, amid difficulty and danger so strengthened his soul that it became the abode of a

courage unfailing and heroic. With a good conscience, therefore, he could, in numerous letters exhort the martyrs of the Reformed faith to remain true unto death. That Calvin was also possessed of physical courage was shown on that Easter day when he withheld the Sacrament from the Libertines at the danger of his life." On his moral courage we need not enlarge; his whole life is a commentary on that.

7. An intellectual giant. Calvin's logical and well-trained mind worked with such accuracy that his opinions underwent no material change with passing years, and the revised and enlarged editions of his great work, preserved to the last the identity of his earlier teachings. In his own time he was already famous for his retentive memory. When he had once seen a person, he recognized him immediately years afterwards, and if interrupted while dictating, he could resume his task, after an interval of hours, at the point where he left it, without aid from his secretary; hence, he was able to discourse, even upon the prophets, where numerous historical references were involved without the aid of a scrap of paper, and with nothing before him but the text. He had a mind calm, lofty and comprehensive in its views of truth; clear and logical in its processes of thought; endowed with singular penetration into men's characters; and statesmanlike in its grasp of the complex features of an involved situation. His method and presentation of the truth was keen and severely logical. Sophistical objections could not stand before his penetrating intellect. He mastered several languages and his Latin style was so polished and classical that it has been compared with that of Cicero.

8. An industrious man. Like all men who have attained unto greatness, Calvin was a hard and indus-

trious worker. His achievements were marvellous. He was pastor, professor and statesman. The Genevan edition of his works consists of twelve folio volumes. Besides these, there exist at Geneva two thousand of his sermons and lectures, taken down from his mouth as he delivered them. All this work he accomplished during the twenty-eight years which he spent in the ministry. At one time he writes: "I have not time enough to look out of my house at the blessed sun, and if things continue thus I shall forget what sort of an appearance it has. When I have settled my usual business, I have so many letters to write, so many questions to answer, that many a night is spent without sleep." He was, however, cheerful and could say, "I compare myself to a warrior who has slain many enemies, when I have gotten over many heavy labors. I cannot refuse a man my aid, whatever time and trouble it might cost me." On the same subject, I find in a letter to Farel, dated Strasburg, April 20, 1539, the following sentence, "I do not remember, throughout this whole year, a single day which was more completely engaged with various occupations. For when the present messenger wished to carry along with him the beginning of my book, there were about twenty leaves which it required me to revise. In addition, there was the public lecture and I had also to preach; four letters were still to be written; some disputes to settle, and to reply to more than ten interruptions in the meantime, you will therefore excuse if my letter should be both brief and inaccurate."

9. A courteous gentleman. The manners of Calvin were those of the well-bred gentleman, grave and courtly, rather than those of the man of the people. Beza says, "earnest and dignified as he was, there has rarely been a man whose discourse and friendly bear-

ing were more agreeable than Calvin's. He bore with wonderful patience the failings of men, arising from their natural infirmities, that he might not by intemperate severity, grieve or offend the conscience of the weak.'' In his correspondence as well as in his personal intercourse he united firmness with respect for propriety. He knew what is due to the great and he knew also how to stop just at the point where flattery would begin. In his controversial writings, he is less abusive than Luther, and yet occasionally he also lost his temper and indulged in unbecoming raillery. Some coarse sayings of his have been preserved and are occasionally exhibited by his enemies. Without wishing to excuse epithets, it must be remembered when criticising the reformers that our Lord Himself calls the Pharisees ''hypocrites, and wolves in sheep's clothing'' and His king a fox, on account of Herod's crafty character.

But Calvin was by no means without faults. Fisher says of him, ''instead of a geniality, which is one of the native qualities of Luther, we find an acerbity, which is felt more easily than described, and which more than anything else has inspired multitudes with aversion to him. In his boyhood already he was the censor of the faults of his schoolmates, so that he received the nickname 'Accusative.' Through life, he had a tone, in reminding men of their real or supposed delinquencies which provoked resentment. To those much older than himself, to men like Cranmer and Melancthon, he wrote in this unconsciously cutting style. We learn from Calvin himself that Melancthon, mild as he was naturally, was so offended at the style of one of his admonitory epistles, that he tore it to pieces. The wretched health, with the enormous burdens of labors had an unfavorable

effect upon a temper naturally irritable. He was occasionally so carried away by gusts of passion that he lost all self-control. He acknowledges this fault with the utmost frankness; he had tried in vain, he says, to tame "the wild beast of his anger;" and on his death-bed he asked pardon of the Senate of Geneva for outbursts of passion while at the same time he thanked them for their forbearance. No doubt his coleric temperament had a large share in leading him astray. To Bucer, he writes "of all the struggles which I have had against my failings, the greatest has been that against my impatience." But when people speak of Calvin's malice, they utter a falsehood and contradict all that we know of his life. Little matters sometimes excited him to anger. For example, many people, in order to obtain a specimen of his handwriting would question him on subjects which he had already fully explained in his printed works. This sometimes moved him to keen sarcasm and even vehemence. In his whole correspondence, once only does he speak of laughing, and then it is the more meritorious, because he has just been obliged to hand the pen to his secretary, the rheumatism having "taken him so rudely by the shoulders that he could no longer make a stroke with his pen." The letter was addressed to a father, who, in a mirthful letter had announced to Calvin the birth of a son. Calvin would not be outdone in his answer. His mirth, however, is but a flash; and in an instant all is grave again: "I pray our Lord that it may please Him to have you and the child in His holy keeping," is the solemn conclusion.

Summing up our discussion on the reformer's character, it has, we think, become clear that Calvin's fatal want was a lack of geniality in his nature. If he had had only a small percentage of that quality, which was so ex-

uberant in Luther, the traditional view of him would be different. It is Luther's attractive personality and his kindly disposition which save the day for the German reformer, and which, although the most intolerant among the reformers, make him so attractive to people of all nationalities. In order to be fair to Calvin and to assign him his right place in history, the important question for the sound psychologist and the philosopher of history is, however, this: without the severity of Calvin, would we have had a Geneva, the model city for centuries, a true Calvinism, a Presbyterian Scotland, a Reformed Palatinate, a New England Puritanism? Would we not have witnessed a deluge of moral laxity, of perverted ideas concerning liberty, a successful tyranny by princes, if Calvin had not been Calvin, if he and his followers had not, at the peril of their lives, insisted on a realization in actual life of those moral principles which, as far as doctrine goes, he had in common with Luther, but which the German reformer was so reluctant to enforce with the same sternness with which he insisted on "purity of doctrine"? This again raises the larger questions: can radical reforms be successful in uprooting wrong habits of life in state and society without Elijahs, without Johns the Baptist, without Calvins, without Knoxes? Was Bismarck entirely wrong or does history bear him out when he said that, taking the world as it really is, great wrongs cannot be righted by resolutions and discussions, but only by blood and iron? Is it possible to blast the rocks of iniquity without moral powder and spiritual dynamite? How much would Melancthon have accomplished with his "Apology," his "Interims," and all sorts of compromises? Except for the voice of thunder from lions like Luther, Calvin and Knox the clash of arms by Pope and Emperor would

have drowned the gentle voice of compromise. Is it sound philosophy of history, then, to rule out those men as disturbing factors and unlovely people? The world in and outside of the church has no objection to the "pure gospel" if it confines itself to catechisms and sermons, nor to a new ritual, but when the Apostle to the Gentiles insists on church discipline at Corinth, and the man of iron at Geneva emphasizes pure morals, the Libertines defame their memory. Is it not rather true what Morus says of Calvin: "His holy zeal was a righteous one, and it is our drowsiness only which has provoked his Christian indignation, his tumultuous and stormy feeling of duty. And what remains for the Christian if he will not use the sword? It is not by soft remedies that he could heal the wounds of Zion. He would not have gained his end, and it would have been objected to him, 'if you are not yourself convinced in your whole soul, why do you disturb the existing order of things?' " Once more we ask, has Dr. McFetridge read the history of the Reformation aright when he writes: "When in the great toil and roar of the conflict the fiery nature of Luther began to chill, and he began to temporize with civil rulers, and to settle down in harmony with them, it was the uncompromising theology of the Genevan school which heroically and triumphantly waged the conflict to the end. I but repeat the testimony of history, friendly and unfriendly to Calvinism, when I say that had it not been for the strong, unflinching systematic spirit and character of the theology of Calvin, the Reformation would have been lost to the world. Hence it was that almost everywhere the Reformation assumed a Calvinistic type, supplanting or absorbing all other reforming ideas. Even in the lands such as Germany and Switzerland, where the pe-

culiarly Lutheran ideas at first found acceptance, it was, as Hagenbach says, 'through the influence of Calvinistic principles' that the Protestantism of those lands assumed an external form and organization, and attained to definite dimensions in the history of the world." We are not ready to subscribe to every word of Froude, but his opinion in general is certainly correct when he writes: "The Lutheran congregations were but half emancipated from superstition, and shrank from pressing the struggle to extremities; and half measures meant half-heartedness, convictions which were but half convictions, and truth with an alloy of falsehood. Half measures, however, would not quench the fires of Philip of Spain or raise men in France or Scotland who would meet crest to crest the princes of the house of Loraine. The reformers required a position more sharply defined and a sterner leader, and that leader they found in John Calvin. For hard times hard men are needed, and intellects which can pierce to the roots where truth and lies part company. It fares ill with the soldiers of religion when 'the accursed thing is in the camp.' And this is to be said of Calvin, that, so far as the state of knowledge permitted, no eye could have detected more keenly the unsound spots in the creed of the church, nor was there a reformer in Europe so resolute to exercise, tear out and destroy what was distinctly seen to be false—so resolute to establish what was true in its place, and make truth, to the last fibre of it, the rule of practical life."

Instead, therefore, of unduly exalting one and belittling the other of the reformers, the Protestant world should rejoice that, to speak in the words of Gœthe, referring to himself and Schiller, "she has *two* such admirable fellows," as Luther and Calvin. The injection of a

strong dose of the "historical spirit" into our Calvin studies, the employment of modern methods, recourse to the sources and a sympathetic spirit will no doubt bring us nearer to the real Calvin.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TRIBUTES TO THE MEMORY OF CALVIN.

In addition to the appreciation of Calvin's character in the previous chapter, we wish to quote a few of the thousands of testimonies, mostly from men who were not partisans of the reformer or his cause. We begin with his friend and successor:

Beza: "He lived fifty-four years, ten months and seventeen days, half of which time he passed in the sacred ministry. His stature was of a middle size, his complexion dark and pallid, his eyes brilliant even till death, expressing the acuteness of his understanding. He lived nearly without sleep. His power of memory was almost incredible, and his judgment so sound that his decisions often seemed almost oracular. In his words he was sparing, and he despised an artificial eloquence; yet was he an accomplished writer, and by the accuracy of his mind and his practice of dictating to an amanuensis he attained to speak little different from what he would have written. The consistency and uniformity of his doctrine, from first to last, are scarcely to be paralleled. Nature had formed him grave, yet in the intercourse of social life no one showed more suavity. He exercised great forbearance toward all such infirmities in others as are consistent with integrity, not overawing his weaker brethren, but toward flattery and every species of insincerity, especially where religion was concerned, he was severe and indignant. He was naturally irritable and this fault was increased by the excessive laboriousness of his life; yet the Spirit of God had taught him to govern both his temper and his tongue.

That so many and so great virtues, both in public and in private life, should have called forth against him many enemies no one will wonder who duly considers what has ever befallen eminent men, both in sacred and in profane history. Those enemies brand him as a heretic, but Christ suffered under the same reproach. He was expelled, say they, from Geneva. True, he was; but he was solicited to return. He is charged with ambition—yea, with aspiring at a new popedom—an extraordinary charge to be brought against a man who chose his kind of life, and in this state, in this church, which I might truly call the very seat of poverty. They say again that he coveted wealth. Yet all his worldly goods, including his library, which brought a high price, scarcely amounted to three hundred crowns. Well might he say in his preface to the book of Psalms, 'That I am not a lover of money, if I fail of persuading men while I live, my death will demonstrate.' How small his stipend was the senate knows; yet they can bear witness that, so far from being dissatisfied with it, he pertinaciously refused an increase when it was offered him. He delighted, forsooth, in luxury and indulgence! Let his labors answer the charge. What accusations will not some men bring against him? But no refutation of them is wanting to those persons who knew him while he lived, and they will want none among posterity with men of judgment who shall collect his character from his writings. Having given with good faith the history of his life and of his death, after sixteen years' observation of him I feel myself warranted to declare that in him was proposed to all men an illustrious example of the life and death of a Christian; so that it will be found as difficult to emulate as it is easy to calumniate him."

Prof. Theodore Appel, in the "Tercentenary Monument": "Calvin also belonged to the heroic period..... and as the brightest luminary in the spiritual firmament shed a brilliant light over Europe."

Dr. H. A. Meier, in his "Kirchensgeshichte": "Although there is in Calvin's character a certain degree of severity and acerbity, yet in his family and in his social intercourse he shows deep feeling, a conciliatory spirit and real sympathy."

Dr. Selden: "Calvin had his faults and limitations, some traceable to the temper and the notions of the times in which he lived, some to his disordered physical condition and overtaxed nervous system, and some to the human frailty for which we all need broad charity."

Dr. Newman: "Aristocratic by nature and training, fitted to be a leader of men, not by his powers of working upon the emotions, but rather by his ability to appeal to the moral and the intellectual faculties; self-sacrificing in the highest degree, yet believing firmly that his cause was identical with the cause of God, and therefore absolutely uncompromising and almost despotical in carrying out what he supposed loyalty to his trust required, he could not have failed of eminence in any community that should tolerate his activity. He combined moral earnestness, learning, analytical power and practical organizing and administrative ability in a degree unapproached by any other Protestant leader."

Trechsel: "People have often supposed that they were insulting Calvin's memory by calling him the pope of Protestantism. He was so, but in the noblest sense of the word through the moral and spiritual superiority with which the Lord of the Church had endowed him. His was a papacy of truth and honor."

Baur, the founder of the Tuebingen School of N. T. criticism: "Calvin was a man of rare learning, of many-sided culture, of a penetrating intellect, of a strong but severe character, the equal of the other reformers and in point of intellectuality even excelling them."

Dr. Van Horne, President of the Central Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, Dayton, Ohio: "The firmness of Calvin in maintaining the doctrine of the Divine Sovereignty, even in the process of the sinner's salvation, and in emphasizing the attribute of justice in the Godhead, on the lines laid down by St. Paul in Scripture, has committed the Reformed Church to this view in Church History. The human will, always restive under restraint, is impatient of such teachings, and writers frequently use the word 'Calvinism' as a term of reproach, associating with it the exaggerated view that it is a doctrine of antagonism to God's goodness, and has in it a principle of fatalism." (Church and Future Life, page 1.) But Calvin, in his Institutes, III, 23, 8, says: "The perdition of the wicked depends upon the divine predestination in such a manner that the cause and matter of it are found in themselves. Man falls according to the appointment of Divine providence, but he falls by his own fault, 'suo vitio cadit.' (Religion and Revelation, page 133.) Calvin here commits himself to the view known as 'preterition,' that is, that God passes by those who will not accept Him, and does not bestow His grace upon them; thus he is shielded from the charge of being, in any sense, a fatalist."

Voltaire: "The famous Calvin, whom we regard as the Apostle of Geneva raised himself up to the rank of Pope of the Protestants. The severity of Calvin was united with the greatest disinterestedness."

Ancillon: "Calvin was not only a profound theologian, but likewise was an able legislator; the share which he had in the framing of the civil and religious laws which have produced for several centuries the happiness of the Genevan republic, is perhaps a fairer title to renown than his theological works; and this republic, celebrated notwithstanding its small size, and which knew how to unite morals with intellect, riches with simplicity, simplicity with taste, liberty with order, and which has been a focus of talents and virtues, has proved that Calvin knew men, and knew how to govern them."

Guizot, celebrated French historian and statesman: "Calvin is great by reason of his marvellous powers, his lasting labors, and the moral height and purity of his character. Earnest in faith, pure in motive, austere in his life, and mighty in his works, Calvin is one of those who deserve their great fame. Three centuries separate us from him, but it is impossible to examine his character and history without feeling, if not affection and sympathy, at least profound respect and admiration for one of the great Reformers of Europe and of the great Christians of France."

Renan, a skeptic: "Calvin was one of those absolute men, cast complete in one mold, who is taken in wholly at a single glance: one letter, one action suffices for a judgment of him. There were no folds in that inflexible soul, which never knew doubt or hesitation.....Careless of wealth, of titles, of honors, indifferent to pomp, modest in his life, apparently humble, sacrificing everything to the desire of making others like himself I hardly know of a man, save Ignatius Loyola, who could match him in those terrible transports.....It is surprising that a man who appears to us in his life and writings

so unsympathetic should have been the center of an immense movement in his generation, and that this harsh and severe tone should have exerted so great an influence on the minds of his contemporaries. He was the most Christian man of his century."

Mosheim: Calvin was venerated, even by his enemies, for his genius, learning, eloquence, and other endowments."

Von Mueller, the great historian of Switzerland: "John Calvin had the spirit of an ancient lawgiver, a genius and characteristic which gave him in part unmistakable advantages, and failings which were only the excess of virtues, by the assistance of which he carried through his objects. He had also, like other Reformers, an indefatigable industry, with a fixed regard to a certain end, and invincible perseverance in principles and duty during his life, and at his death the courage and dignity of an ancient Roman censor. He contributed greatly to the development and advance of the human intellect, and more, indeed, than he himself foresaw."

Henry, author of two learned biographies of Calvin: "The whole tendency of Calvin was practical; learning was subordinate; the salvation of the world, the truth was to him the main thing. His spiritual tendency was not philosophical, but his dialectical bent ran principles to their utmost consequences. He had an eye to the minutest details. His former study of law had trained him for business. He was a watchman over the whole church. All his theological writings excel in acuteness, dialectics, and warmth of conviction. He had great eloquence at command, but despised the art of rhetoric."

Haeusser, Professor of History at Heidelberg: "John Calvin, the most remarkable personage of the time. He settled the basis for the development of many states

and churches. He stamped the form of the Reformation in countries to which he was a stranger. The French date the beginnings of their literary development from him, and his influence was not restricted to the sphere of religion, but embraced their intellectual life in general; no one else has so permanently influenced the spirit and form of their written language as he.

At a time when Europe had no solid results of reform to show, this little state of Geneva stood up as a great power; year by year it sent forth Apostles into the world, who preached its doctrines everywhere, and it became the most dreaded counterpoise to Rome.

It was impossible to oppose Caraffa, Philip II, and the Stuarts, with Luther's passive resistance; men were wanted who were ready to wage war to the knife, and such was the Calvinistic school. It everywhere accepted the challenge; throughout all the conflicts for political and religious liberty, up to the time of the first emigration to America, in France, the Netherlands, England and Scotland, we recognize the Genevan school."

Dorner: "Calvin was equally great in intellect and character, lovely in social life, full of tender sympathy and faithfulness to friends, yielding and forgiving toward personal offenses, but inexorably severe when he saw the honor of God obstinately and malignantly attacked. He combined French fire and practical good sense with German depth and soberness. He moved as freely in the world of ideas as in the business of church government. He was an architectonic genius in science and practical life, always with an eye to the holiness and majesty of God."

Kahnis, a Lutheran: "The fear of God was the soul of his piety, the rock-like certainty of his election before the foundation of the world was his power, and the

doing of the will of God his single aim, which he pursued with trembling and fear.....No other Reformer has so well demonstrated the truth of Christ's word that, in the kingdom of God, dominion is service. No other had such an energy of self-sacrifice, such an irrefragable conscientiousness in the greatest as well as the smallest things, such a disciplined power. This man, whose dying body was only held together by the will flaming from his eye, had a majesty of character which commanded the veneration of his contemporaries."

Hall: "Reverend Calvin, whose judgment I so much honor, that I reckon him among the best interpreters of Scriptures since the Apostles left the earth."

Baxter: "I know no man, since the Apostle's days, whom I value and honor more than Calvin, and whose judgment in all things, one with another, I more esteem and come nearer to."

Sir William Hamilton: "Looking merely to his learning and ability, Calvin was superior to all modern, perhaps to all ancient divines. Succeeding ages have certainly not exhibited his equal. To find his peer we must ascend at least to Aquinas or Augustin."

Cunningham, the successor of Chalmers, says: "Calvin is the man, who, next to St. Paul, has done most good to mankind."

Dr. John Tulloch: "Nothing, perhaps, more strikes us than the contrast between the single naked energy which his character presents and of which his name has become symbolical, and the grand issues which have gone forth from it. Scarcely anywhere else can we trace such an impervious potency of intellectual and moral influence emanating from so narrow a center.

"There is in almost every respect a singular dissimilarity between the Genevan and Wittenberg reformer.

In personal, moral and intellectual features, they stand contrasted—Luther with his massive frame, and full, big face and deep melancholy eyes; Calvin, of moderate stature, pale and dark complexion, and sparkling eyes, that burned nearly to the moment of his death. (Beza: Vita Calv.) Luther, fond and jovial, relishing his beer and hearty family repasts with his wife and children; Calvin, spare and frugal, for many years taking only a meal a day, and scarcely needing sleep. In the one, we see a rich and complex and buoyant and affectionate nature touching humanity at every point, in the other, a stern and grave unity of moral character. Both were naturally of a somewhat proud and imperious temper, but the violence of Luther is warm and boisterous, that of Calvin keen and zealous. It might have been a very uncomfortable thing, as Melancthon felt, to be exposed to Luther's occasional storms; but after the storm was over, it was pleasant to be folded once more to the great heart that was sorry for its excesses. To be the object of Calvin's dislike and anger was something to fill one with dread, not only for the moment, but long afterwards, and at a distance, as poor Castellio felt when he gathered the pieces of driftwood on the banks of the Rhine at Basel.

"In intellect, as in personal features, the one was grand, massive and powerful, through depth and comprehension of feeling a profound but exaggerated insight, and a soaring eloquence; the other was no less grand and powerful, through clearness and correctness of judgment, vigor and consistency of reasoning and weightiness of expression. Both are alike memorable in the service which they rendered to their native tongue —in the increased compass, flexibility, and felicitous mastery which they imparted to it. The Latin works of

Calvin are greatly superior in elegance of style, symmetry of method, and proportionate vigor of argument. He maintains an academic elevation of tone, even when keenly agitated in temper, while Luther, as Mr. Hallam has it, sometimes descends to mere "bellowing in bad Latin." Yet there is a coldness in the elevation of Calvin, and in his correct and well-balanced sentences, for which we should like ill to exchange the kindly though rugged paradoxes of Luther. The German had the more rich and teeming—the Genevan the harder. more serviceable and enduring mind. When interrupted in dictating for several hours, Beza tells us that he could return and commence where he had left off; and that amidst all the multiplicity of his engagements, he never forgot what he required to know for the performance of any duty.

"As preachers, Calvin seems to have commanded a scarcely less powerful success than Luther, although of a different character—the one stimulating and rousing, "boiling over in every direction"—the other instructive, argumentative, and calm in the midst of his vehemence (Beza: Vita Calv.). Luther flashed forth his feelings at the moment, never being able to compose what might be called a regular sermon, but seizing the principal subject, and turning all his attention to that alone. Calvin was elaborate and careful in his sermons as in everything else. The one thundered and lightened, filling the souls of his hearers now with shadowy awe, and now with an intense glow of spiritual excitement; the other, like the broad daylight, filled them with a more diffusive though less exhilarating clearness.....

"An impression of majesty and yet of sadness must ever linger around the name of Calvin. He was great and we admire him. The world needed him and we

honor him; but we cannot love him. He repels our affections while he extorts our admiration; and while we recognize the worth, and the divine necessity of his life and work, we are thankful to survey them at a distance, and to believe that there are also other modes of divinely governing the world, and advancing the kingdom of righteousness and truth.

"Limited, as compared with Luther, in his personal influence apparently less the man of the hour in a great crisis of human progress, Calvin towers far above Luther in the general influence over the world of thought and the course of history, which a mighty intellect, inflexible in its convictions and constructive in its genius, never fails to exercise."

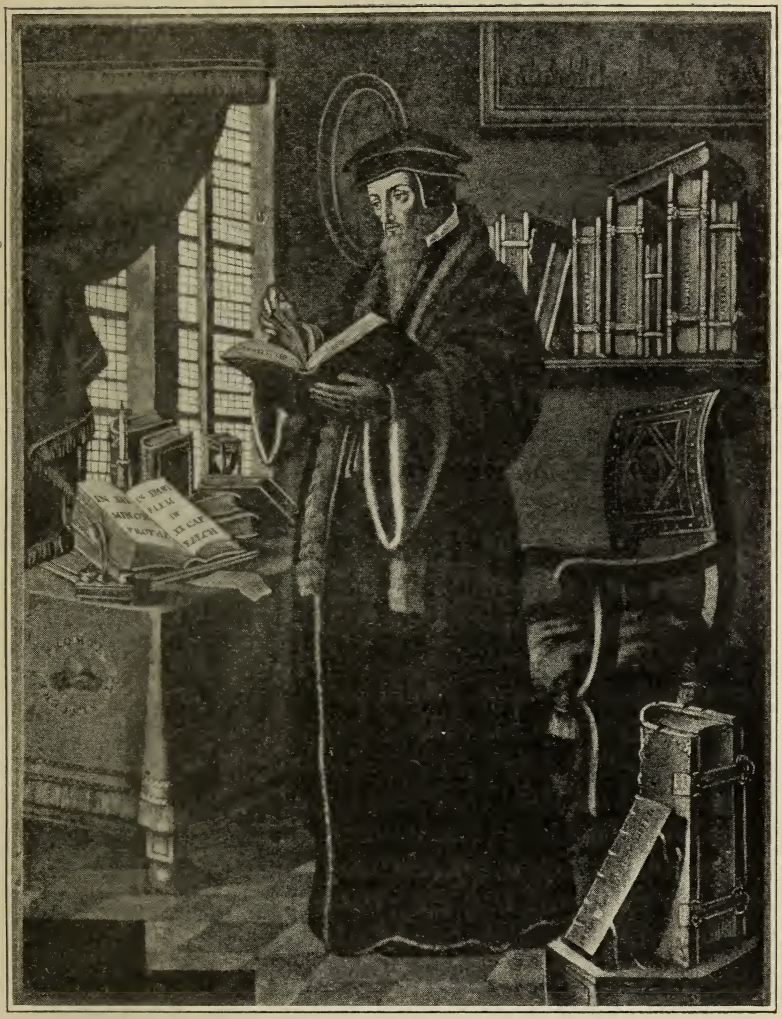
Dr. Smith: "Calvin's system of doctrine and polity has shaped more minds and entered into more nations than that of any other Reformer. In every land it made men strong against the attempted interference of the secular power with the rights of the Christians. It gave courage to the Huguenots; it shaped the theology of the Palatinate; it prepared the Dutch for the heroic defense of their national rights; it has controlled Scotland to the present hour; it formed the Puritanism of England; it has been the basis of the New England character, and everywhere it has led to the way in practical reforms. His theology assumed different types in the various countries into which it penetrated, while retaining its fundamental traits."

Dr. Philip Schaff, who, on the whole, shows little sympathy for Calvin, nevertheless writes: "Upon the whole, the verdict of history is growingly in favor of Calvin. He improves upon acquaintance. Those who know him best esteem him most. All impartial writers admit the purity and integrity, if not the sanctity of his character

and his absolute freedom from love of gain and notoriety. Those who judge of his character from his conduct in the case of Servetus, and of his theology from the "decretum horribile," see the spots on the sun, but not the sun itself. He must be reckoned as one of the greatest and best of men whom God raised in the history of Christianity. He has been called by competent judges of different creeds and schools, "the theologian par excellence," "the Aristotle of the reformation," "the Thomas Aquinas of the Reformed Church," "the Lycurgus of a Christian democracy," "the pope of Geneva." He has been compared as a church ruler to Gregory VII and Innocent III. The sceptical Renan even, who entirely dissents from his theology, calls him "the most Christian man of his age." Such a combination of theoretic and practical pre-eminence is without parallel in history. He may be called a Christian Elijah. His symbol was a hand offering the sacrifice of a burning heart to God. The Council of Geneva were impressed with "the great majesty" of his character. This significant expression accounts for his overawing power over his many enemies in Geneva, who might easily have crushed him at any time. Calvin's character is less attractive than Luther's or Zwingli's, but he left his church in a much better condition. He lacked the genial element of humor and pleasantry; he was a Christian stoic: stern, unbending, severe, yet with fires of passion and affection glowing beneath the marble surface. He surpassed both in consistency and self-discipline and still exerts more influence than any other reformer upon the Protestant Churches of the Latin and English races. Calvin's intellectual endowments were of the highest order and thoroughly disciplined. His talents rose to the full height of genius. He never wrote a dull line.

His judgment was so exact, as Beza remarks, it often appeared like prophecy."

Dr. Piper: "In Germany, the common nicknames are: Luther, Dickkopf; Calvin, Spitzkopf; i. e., Luther, thickhead; Calvin, longhead. In the vulgar wit of the crowd there is often found a good deal of shrewd judgment. The two names indicate the key-note of the two characters. Luther's invincible *stubbornness* and daring swayed the minds of others in a simply inexplicable manner, and Calvin's *keenness,* which at times carried him almost beyond limits. His lofty soul turned his clear gaze towards God's countenance and the face of His holy angels, of whom he so often makes mention, as if he could with his bodily eyes almost see the invisible. From Calvin a new civilization proceeded, yet it is only by higher natures that he is understood. By weak and inferior minds, and anti-Christian hearts he has always been misunderstood and hated, even cursed, as Luther also is."



Calvin at Study

CHAPTER XIX.

CALVIN, THE THEOLOGIAN.

Calvin was an exceedingly busy man. This will be sufficiently apparent from the review we have given of the events of his career. In this and the following chapters we intend to summarize his activity as a systematic theologian, a Bible student, a preacher, a pastor, an educator, and a statesman.

It is generally admitted that Melancthon was right when he greeted Calvin as "the theologian" among the reformers. Scaliger considers him "the greatest genius the world had seen since the apostles;" the Roman Catholic bishop of Valence called him "the greatest divine in the world." Calvin's nature and training conspired to make him an eminent systematic theologian. Conspicuous among the many books he wrote are his "Institutes" and the numerous commentaries on the various books of the Bible.

Of Calvin's first-named work, the "Institutes of the Christian Religion," a brief account has been given in a previous chapter. By the enemies of the reformation, the book was called the "Koran of the Heretics," because it was known and used and revered in all sections of the Reformed Church. Calvin repeatedly declares that he had no purely scientific or dogmatic end in view in the composition of this work. It was his desire to lead good and faithful souls into the way of salvation. He never lost sight of this great end. It is his distinguishing quality, and it is evident in all parts of the book. His endeavor to combine simplicity with scientific exactness, places the work in singular contrast with

those written on a similar plan in later times. It makes the book equally useful for the learned and the unlearned Christian. To accomplish the purpose of the book, he employed every means at his command—the Scriptures, the writings of the fathers, his own Christian experiences, his strong reasoning faculties and his conscience enlightened by the Spirit of God. It will ever be to Calvin's great honor that speculative as he was by nature he uniformly subjected his powerful mind to the Word of God, and consecrated his logical acuteness to the service of the truth.

The first edition of the "Institutes" was published in 1535, at Basel, in the Latin language and contained only six chapters, entitled as follows: 1. "Of the Law (an explanation of the decalogue); 2. "Of Faith (an explanation of the Apostle's Creed);" 3. "Of Prayer (an explanation of the Lord's Prayer); 4. Of the Sacraments (baptism and the Lord's Supper);" 5. "Of the Sacraments (the falsity of the five which the Romish church has added);" 6. "Of Christian Liberty (power of the church and the state)." The final revision of 1559 has eighty-four chapters. So, while he never changed the fundamental ideas of the book, Calvin never ceased revising and completing their presentation.

Calvin is often compared with the church father Augustine, who died 430 as Bishop of Hippo, in North Africa. Both men lay stress on the teaching of St. Paul, and both strongly believe in the doctrine of predestination. While Augustine, perhaps, ought to be ranked higher as a spiritual writer, Calvin is no doubt the greater as an acute and logical reasoner. He is simpler and more energetic than Augustine, and keeps his object more constantly in view.

Two weapons were at once called into action to destroy the influence of this great book—controversy and suppression. Cotton, the confessor of Henry IV, wrote against it in his "Catholic Institutes," and in Paris the university ordered the book to be burned in public. On the other hand, the writings of great men in former ages and at the present time, are full of praise of this great work. The German theologian Bretschneider says: "While we have no work by either Luther or Zwingli, in which they might have exhibited their whole doctrine reduced to a system, and accompanied by the necessary proofs and so might have furnished a defense against unnumbered controversies, Calvin, on the other hand, at an early period connected the truths of the reformation in a systematic form; defended every point with proof, the strongest and most excellent known at that time, and secured them against all opposition. Of this, his justly celebrated "Institutes" afford ample testimony,—a work which ought not to be so neglected as it is by the theologians of our times, and not even by the Lutherans. It contains a treasure of admirable thoughts, of acute explications and fine remarks, and is written in an elegant, lively and eloquent style. The Lutheran Church has only something similar in Melancthon's famous "Loci," which, however, is not to be compared with Calvin's work for close arrangement, solidity of proof, strength of argument, and completeness of system." Nor is this admiration confined to Orthodox Protestants. Dr. Baur, the founder of the Tubingen school of historical criticism, declares this book of Calvin to be "in every respect a truly classical work, distinguished in a high degree by originality and acuteness of conception, systematic consistency and clear, luminous method." And Dr. Hase pointedly calls it "the grandest scientific

justification of Augustinianism, full of religious depth with inexorable consistency of thought."

Next in order of time, but of equal importance, come his great commentaries on the Bible. Almost to the end of his life he either wrote new commentaries or issued revised editions. With the exception of the books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Esther, Nehemiah, Ezra, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, The Song of Solomon and Revelation, Calvin commented on the whole of the Holy Scriptures. In all of these books may be noticed four important qualities—doctrinal impartiality, exegetical tact, great learning and deep piety. In his commentary on Romans, Calvin expressed his own ideas on the duty of a commentator: "I remember that when we had a friendly conversation together, three years ago, on the best manner of interpreting Scripture, that which you preferred seemed also the most useful to me. We both considered the most excellent quality in an expositor is clearness combined with brevity, it being his particular duty to exhibit the spirit of the writer, whence he errs from his proper line in proportion as he turns the attention of the reader from the writer on which he is employed. We therefore wished that some one might arise among those who devote themselves to this branch of theology, who would undertake to facilitate the study of Scripture, without carrying the student through too great a mass of commentaries. How far I have succeeded in this attempt, I leave you and my readers to judge. Many writers, both in ancient and modern times, have been engaged on this epistle. Their labors have been well employed, for he who understands this portion of Scripture has opened to himself a door by which he may proceed to the comprehension of the whole of the divine Word. Among the later expositors, Melancthon

is distinguished for learning, ingenuity and skill—qualities which he has exhibited in all the various departments of literature. Hence he has thrown much more light on Scripture than those who preceded him. His object, however, appears to have been to examine only the more remarkable difficulties of Scripture. He, therefore, designedly passes over many things which may perplex an ordinary mind. Bullinger followed and earned much praise uniting, as he did, with learning, great readiness and ability. At length, Bucer has given us the results of his studies, and set the crown to all. Bucer, as is well known to you, is surpassed by none of his contemporaries in depth or variety of learning, in clearness of intellect, in extent of reading, or other excellencies, but he deserves the still more eminent praise that he has devoted himself with greater diligence than any one of our times to the exposition of Scripture. To measure myself with these men would be a rivalry that has never entered my thoughts; he thus continues to enjoy the honor and respect accorded them by all good men. But still it will be granted me, I trust, that no human work can ever be so perfect in its structure as to leave nothing for the diligence of those who come after to accomplish. All that I venture to say for myself is, that I do not regard the present work, which I have been led to undertake with no other thought than that of promoting the good of the church, as altogether useless. Philip (Melancthon) has expounded only such chapters as he found necessary to his object. Bucer is too lengthy to be read by men who have many other things to engage them, and too profound to be understood by humble and not very attentive minds." Arminius, Calvin's great opponent in Holland, has this to say on the commentaries: "After the Holy Scriptures,

I exhort the students to read the commentaries of Calvin; for I tell them that he is incomparable in the interpretation of Scripture, and that his commentaries ought to be held in greater estimation than all that is delivered to us in the writings of the ancient Christian fathers; so that, in a certain eminent spirit of prophecy, I give the pre-eminence to him beyond most others, indeed beyond them all."—A most remarkable, almost unique, testimony from a doctrinal opponent.

Professor Tholuck, who published a new edition of Calvin's then almost forgotten commentaries, makes the following observations on Calvin's exegetical talent: "Calvin was skillful and happy in his exposition of grammatical sense, in his correct explanation of particular expressions and in his inquiries into the historical, poetical and prophetic sense of important passages. We admire his simple, elegant style, his dogmatic freedom. the tact with which he treats his subjects, his great learning and profound piety. His diction is elegant, and his expressions are neat and to the point. He does not fall into digressions, as Luther and his friends so often did, who were engaged in explaining particular heads of doctrine, rather than in writing connected commentaries. Calvin also breaks out occasionally into violent declamation against the pope; but he does this much less frequently than his contemporaries. Severe dogmatician that he was he avoids expositions in favor of specific doctrines if thereby he had to contradict ordinary laws of language. Unlike Luther, he employed historical criticism rather than depend too much on subjective opinion. He spent less time in critical inquiries, his interest lying in the direction of theological exposition. Very few forced explanations are to be found in his

commentaries. His learning is evident but he leaves it in the background.

We append here a few extracts on Calvin's work as an expositor from Dr. F. W. Farrer, a man in general not friendly to the reformer. He says: "The greatest exegete and theologian of the reformation, was undoubtedly Calvin. His commentaries, almost alone among those of his epoch, are still a living force, which is proved by their translation into various languages and their re-publication in every generation until very recently. They are far more profound than those of Zwingli, more thorough and scientific, if less original and less spiritual, than those of Luther. He is one of the greatest interpreters of Scripture who ever lived. He was a foe to all vagueness, prolixity and digression. He never drags his weary reader through a bewildering mass of opinions, of which some are absurd, a majority impossible, and of which all but one must be wrong. He will not tamper with allegory, even for homiletic purposes. He says: "It is better to confess ignorance than to play with frivolous guesses. He did not hold the theory of verbal dictation. He will never defend or harmonize what he regards as an oversight or mistake in the sacred writers. In Genesis 3:15 he says that "seed" is a collective term for "posterity," and was only interpreted of Christ by subsequent experience. He will not admit the force of arguments in favor of the Trinity drawn from the plural "let us make," nor from the three angels who appeared to Abraham, nor from the Trisagion (Isaiah 6:3.) He anticipates modern criticism in his views about the Messianic prophecies. He strongly believed in the reality of those predictions but held that they were primarily applicable to the events and circumstances of the days when uttered. He conceives it to

be the first business of an interpreter to let his author say what he does say, instead of attributing to him what we think he ought to say. Like Luther, he was in love with the Psalter, which he calls 'an anatomy of all the parts of the soul.' There are instances in which the dogmatist gets the better of the exegete.''

Calvin Preaching at St. Peter's Cathedral, Geneva

CHAPTER XX.

CALVIN, THE PREACHER AND PASTOR.

Calvin, unlike Luther and Zwingli, had not received full ordination to the Roman priesthood, but only the tonsure. The assertion of the Romanists and Prelatists that "Calvin was never ordained" is, however, untrue. He was appointed by the Council of Geneva and set apart by the presbytery which existed when he came to Geneva. Calvin several times alludes to his ordination but never mentions time and circumstances of the same.

Homiletics, in the modern sense of the term, did not exist at the time of the reformation; the art of speaking, or speaking as an art, was even despised, and the inspired Word only was desired. Yet, following the natural bent of his mind, Calvin laid stress on logical arrangement and was far more orderly in his discourses than Luther, while of Luther's popular eloquence he had very little. Conspicuous in his sermons are the wealth of thought, the depth of judgment and the originality of his ideas. His style is remarkably simple and his method synthetic. Calvin preached extempore. He frequently declares that the power of God could only pour itself forth in extemporaneous speech. In his letter to Lord Somerset, he expresses himself very distinctly against the reading of sermons, saying: "The people must be taught in such a manner, that they may be inwardly convinced and made to feel the truth of what the Apostle says, that the Word of God 'is a two-edged sword.' I say this to your Highness because there is too little of living preaching in your kingdom, sermons there being mostly read or recited. I understand well enough

what obliges you to adopt this habit. There are few good, useful preachers, such as you wish to have; and you fear that levity and foolish imaginations might be the consequence, as is often the case, of the introduction of a new system. But all this must yield to the command of Christ which orders the *preaching* of the Gospel. And this preaching must not be dead, but living, for doctrine, for correction, for edification. So that when a Christian enters the church, he may be moved to penitence, and be inwardly convinced. The preachers ought not to wish to shine in the ornaments of rhetoric, but the spirit of God should be echoed by their voices.'' Calvin broke loose from the system of the pericopes of the church year and used free texts. Some of his extant sermons are based on four texts. His sermons in the form in which we have them are rather short. It is said that he rarely preached longer than half an hour. Luther also has expressed himself, very humorously, in favor of brevity: ''Tritt fest auf, thu's Maul auf, hör bald auf.'' Calvin's sermons which have come to us were taken down by students. One of his hearers writes: ''Calvin being asthmatic and speaking very deliberately, it is easy to write down all that he says.'' But for this remark, the style of the sermons would lead us to suppose that they had been spoken with great fire, rapidity and force. It is even said that he often broke off, and made long pauses, to give the hearers time to consider his remarks. Although not naturally eloquent himself, he appreciated the power of eloquence. ''You must take care,'' he says, ''as far as possible, to have good trumpets, such as may penetrate deepest into the heart.'' His fame as a thoughtful and impressive speaker remained unimpaired to his latest years, and sometimes attracted the notice of the govern-

ment, as seen from the minutes of the council of June 19, 1559, which say that a great multitude of people attended the sermons of Calvin. One unique institution, the "congregational" preaching, was introduced by him and was continued for two hundred years after his death. It consisted of a sermon to the adult portion of the congregation preached on Friday. After the sermon, any one was at liberty to make remarks, ask questions and discuss the sermon with the preacher. This was conducive to intelligent instruction of the people and awakened great interest in religious subjects.

We append here Dr. Dargan's estimate of Calvin as a preacher. He says: "Beza somewhere naively remarks that if Farel's fire and Viret's winsomeness had been added to Calvin's qualities, the combination would have made a well-nigh perfect preacher. As it was, the defects of Calvin's character showed themselves in his work as a preacher. There is lack of sympathy and charm, deficiency of imagination, sparing use of illustrations, no poetic turn, no moving appeal, no soaring eloquence. But, on the other hand, the virtues of the man and the endowments of the intellect were great and telling. Courage, candor, love of truth, devotion to duty, fidelity to principle and to friends, earnestness of purpose, consecration to God and absorption in his work—these and other splendid traits make us almost forget the defects that have been mentioned. And his marvellous intellect—capacious, penetrating, profound, so wins admiration that we have to remember that, in him sympathy and imagination were not equal to reason and insight.

In Calvin's preaching, the expository method of the Reformation preachers finds emphasis. His commentaries were the fruits of his preaching and lecturing,

and his sermons were commentaries extended and applied. Mostly in the homily form of verse by verse comment, there is yet in them a march of thought, a logical sequence that simply did not choose to express itself in the scholastic analysis. In truth, this lack of analysis and clearly defined connection is remarkable in a man of Calvin's logical power. It shows how the commentator got the better of the preacher. Yet his sermons are not mere commentaries. There is a quickness of perception, a sureness of touch, a power of expression that unite to make the thought of Scripture stand out and produce its own impression without the aid of the orator's art. The style was clear, vigorous and pointed, without ornament, but chastely and severely elegant; without warmth, but intense and vigorous. We do not wonder that Bossuet, Catholic and orator, should find Calvin's style "triste" (sad, gloomy); but Beza, who knew the effect of his preaching, said of him "that every word weighed a pound—tot verba tot pondera." Calvin had no striking presence, nor rich and sonorous voice, but he had a commanding will that needed no physical strength to supplement it, and a sustained intensity of conviction that could spare the help of a flowing eloquence.

And so, though the highest qualities of oratory found no place in Calvin's preaching, the power of his thought, the force of his will, the excellence of his style, and, above all, the earnestness with which he made the truth of God shine forth in his words made him a great preacher and deeply impressed on his hearers the great verities of the Christian faith.

While the sermon, with Calvin, was the centre of the service, it was not the all in all. He believed in plain yet impressive preliminary services. As in all Reformed churches, extemporaneous prayer was encour-

aged but for the sake of uniformity and to guard the people against the eccentricities of their ministers, he introduced a liturgy. Here, again, he differed from Luther and Zwingli. The former retained too much of the Romish Mass-service, and in German Switzerland the order of service to this day is extremely bare and plain, while Zwingli's communion service was almost an abbreviated mass, as far as the order and fullness of material is concerned. Calvin's creative mind introduced new forms, in which he followed the order of service in the churches at Strasburg and which he based on the order of the primitive services as described by Justin Martyn, who lived in the second century, in his Larger Apology. Dr. Ebrard sees in Calvin's order of service a masterpiece of order and simplicity, combined with reverence and dignity. The elements were as follows: 1. Reading of the Ten Commandments by a lay reader; 2. Confession of sin, the people kneeling; 3. Psalm singing; 4. General prayer; 5. Text and sermon; 6. Free prayer; 7. Psalm singing; 8. Benediction. In some copies we find inserted the "Apostolic Salutation," after the confession, and the Apostles' Creed before the benediction. The pulpit furniture in Geneva was reduced to the pulpit proper, in which the minister remains sitting during the entire service, a reading desk for the lay reader and a plain table for the communion.

Calvin expresses his love of simplicity in a letter to Farel, where he says: "I told Melancthon to his face that I was displeased with the multiplicity of ceremonies which Luther suffered to exist. But Melancthon answered that it was necessary in Saxony to yield somewhat to the canonists, and that Luther himself liked the ceremonies which they were obliged to retain as little as he did the flatness of the Swiss churches."

Calvin was a churchman in the good sense of the word. He laid the utmost stress on church life, as a means of developing and directing the life of the individual. "The church is our mother," he writes. "This designation itself shows how useful and necessary it is to know her. For we cannot otherwise enter into life than if we are generated in her womb, nourished at her breasts, and kept under her guardianship and tutelage until, freed from this mortal body, we become like the angels. Accordingly, God has endowed her with a teaching office, to which believers are bound to render obedience, and has bestowed upon her the duty and right to enact laws and to administer church discipline, because no society can exist without order and discipline." He compares doctrine with the soul and discipline with the nerves, through which the different members are bound together and kept in order. Of course, by the church, he means something different from the priestly organization of the Romanists. He believes in the church invisible, composed of true believers only; but also in the church visible, the marks of which are the right administration of the sacraments and the preaching of the Word. He had little appreciation of the church year. While the Reformed churches in German Switzerland celebrated the great feasts of the year, Geneva abolished the week-day feasts, and kept only the Sabbath. This was done by the radicalism of Farel, before Calvin entered Geneva, and, in some degree, the latter disapproved of it. Bullinger writes to him: "My dear brother, I am anxious to see liberty preserved in such matters which I perceive to have flourished in the churches from the very days of the Apostles."

Of Calvin's pastoral work, his organization and his administration of discipline, we have spoken at length

in previous chapters. He could truly say, "The world is my parish." By thousands of letters, addressed to high and low, among nations all over Europe, he endeavored to spread the Reformed faith and confirmed those who had already embraced it. This correspondence begins in his youth (May, 1528), and is only closed upon his death-bed (May, 1564). Nothing can exceed the interest of this correspondence, in which a life of the most absorbing interest is reflected, and in which effusions of friendship are mingled with the more serious questions of theology, and with the heroic breathings of faith. In those letters, Calvin followed with an observant eye the great drama of the reformation, marking its triumphs and its reserves in every state of Europe. By virtue of his surpassing genius, with an almost universal apostolate, he wielded an influence as varied and as plastic as his activity. He exhorts with the same authority the humble ministers of the gospel and the powerful monarchs of England, France, Sweden and Poland. He holds communion with Luther and Melancthon, animates Knox, encourages Coligny, and to Farel and Beza he pours out the overflowings of a heart filled with love. His letters establish foreign churches, strengthen martyrs, dictate to the Protestant princes wise counsels, negotiate, teach and give utterance to words of power, which, even to-day, are received by his friends as part of Calvin's political and religious testament. One point in the reformer's world-wide activity must not be overlooked by Americans. He was the only reformer who interested himself in the New World. When the great Huguenot admiral, Coligny, sent a colony of Reformed people to Brazil, he requested Calvin to send Reformed ministers along with them. The reformer heeded the request and in 1556

Calvin sent two Reformed ministers from Geneva to America for the purpose of preaching not only to the colonists but also to convert the Indians.

CHAPTER XXI.

CALVIN, THE EDUCATOR.

In a previous chapter, we have spoken of the reformer's interest in popular and higher education. The reformer himself was not only a man of great intellect but also highly educated and endowed with learning beyond most of his contemporaries. His first book on Seneca's "Clementia" is usually referred to as an example of his erudition. Lindsay says of it: "The author shows that he knew as minutely as extensively the whole round of classical literature accessible to his times. He quotes, and that aptly, from fifty-five separate Latin authors—from thirty-three separate works of Cicero, from all the works of Horace and Ovid, from five comedies of Terence, and from all the works of Virgil. He quotes from twenty-two separate Greek authors—from five or six of the principal writings of Aristotle and from four of the writings of Plato and of Plutarch. Calvin does not quote Plautus, but his use of the phrase 'remoram facere' makes it likely that he was well acquainted with that writer also. The future theologian was also acquainted with many of the fathers—with Augustine, Lactantius, Jerome, Synesius and Cyprian." At the famous disputation at Lausanne, when the question of the Real Presence was discussed, one of the Romanists read a carefully prepared paper, in the course of which he said that the Protestants despised and neglected the ancient Fathers, fearing their authority, which was against their views. Then Calvin rose. He began with the sarcastic remark that the people who reverenced the Fathers might spend some little time in turning over their pages

Disputation at Lausanne

before they spoke about them. He quoted from one Father after another,—"Cyprian, discussing the subject now under review in the third epistle of his second book of Epistles, says..... Tertullian, refuting the error of Marcion, says:..... The author of some imperfect commentaries on St. Matthew, which some have attributed to St. John Chrysostom, in the 11th homily, about the middle, says..... St. Augustine, in his 23rd epistle, near the end, says..... Augustine, in one of his homilies on St. John's Gospel, the 8th or the 9th, I am not sure at this moment which, says....." and so on. He knew the ancient Fathers as no one else in the century. He had not taken their opinions second-hand from Peter of Lombardy's "Sententiæ" as did most of the schoolman and contemporary Romanist theologians. It was the first time that he displayed, almost accidentally, his marvellous patriotic knowledge,—a knowledge for which Melancthon could never sufficiently admire him.

Calvin insisted that education must begin with training in the home. To have successful home training, a generation of Christian fathers and mothers must be developed. To accomplish this was a conscious part of his famous church discipline. From the very beginning he insisted, like Luther, on the establishment of public schools, as he did not believe in the Romish maxim that ignorance is the mother of piety. The founding of the Academy has been described in a former chapter. He was constantly active in drawing some of the best educators whom the slender means of Geneva could induce to come to that city. He was anxious that the wealth confiscated from the Catholics should not all go into the purse of the nobility and princes, but should be used for the education of the people. To Duke Somerset, Lord

Protector of England, he writes: "It is an evil that the revenue of the church is diverted and wasted, so that there is not wherewithal to support worthy men who might be fit to discharge the office of true pastors. And thus ignorant priests are installed, who spread great confusion. I quite believe that it has not been your fault that matters have not been better regulated; be pleased to exert all your might in correcting this abuse." In a letter to King Edward VI of England, he writes on the same subject: "I beseech you to see that property which ought to be held sacred be not converted to profane uses. For, in this way, the gospel would always be kept back from want of schools, which ought to be the very pillars thereof." Calvin insisted on a highly educated ministry. The examination of the candidates was conducted by those who were already in the ministry and included both intellectual attainments and theological and religious principles. In order to keep the higher schools of learning as pure as possible, he insisted on care and watchfulness to be exercised by the heads of the institutions. In his letter to the King of England, he writes on this point: "As the schools contain the seeds of the ministry there is much need to keep them pure and thoroughly free from all ill weeds. I speak thus, Sire, because in your universities, it is commonly said, there are many young people supported by the college treasury, who, instead of giving good hope of service in the church, rather show an inclination to do mischief, and to ruin it, not even concealing that they are opposed to true religion."

Above all, Calvin was greatly concerned about the *religious education* of the young people. The "Catechism for Children" was published in 1537 and was meant to give expression to a simple piety rather than

to exhibit a profound knowledge of religious truths. But, as Calvin himself later felt, it was too theological for children, and was superseded by his second catechism, published immediately after his return to Geneva, in 1541. It is divided into portions for fifty-five Sundays. While Luther's Catechism is more child-like, this little work of Calvin is better adapted to all classes of people on account of its order and the progress of its ideas.

The words of Calvin on the importance of catechisation, which we found in a letter to Duke Somerset, ought to be weighed by every minister of the Reformed and Presbyterian churches in America, at a time when all kinds of new and questionable methods are being put in operation to propagate the faith, while the natural, time-honored and highly efficient method, the catechisation of the youth, is fast becoming a lost art. In this remarkable letter, Calvin says: "*Believe me, Monsigneur, the Church of God will never preserve itself without a Catechism, for it is like the seed to keep the good grain from dying out and causing it to multiply from age to age.* And, therefore, if you desire to build an edifice which shall be of long duration, and which shall not soon fall into decay, make provision for the children being instructed in a good catechism, which may show them briefly, and in language suited to their tender age, wherein true Christianity consists. This catechism will serve two purposes, to wit, as an introduction to the whole people, so that every one may profit from what shall be preached and also to enable them to discern when any presumptuous person puts forward strange doctrines."

CHAPTER XXII.

CALVIN, THE STATESMAN.

Calvin was as great a statesman as he was a theologian. It will be remembered that at some period of his life he studied law under the famous jurist Alciatus, at Orleans. This fact, the general training of his mind and the necessities of the conditions at Geneva, made him a politician in the good sense of the word. The public archives of Geneva contain many files of law papers with marginal notes by his hand. In legal cases his sagacity and his legal knowledge are admirable. Very often he became the diplomatist for his city and was entrusted with negotiations to foreign governments. On the legislation of Geneva, he exercised, as we have seen in a previous chapter, a twofold influence, direct and indirect. He established the code of morals which was a new creation and revised the general laws of the state. He thus became, not by any effort of his own, but by the great respect entertained for him, the virtual legislator of the city. An examination of the Genevan code of laws shows the strong influence of the Mosaic legislation on Calvin's conception of a well-ordered community. As Kampschulte, the Roman Catholic biographer of Calvin says: "Both the special statutes and the general theocratic character of the Hebrew commonwealth were never out of sight."

Dr. Schaff writes: "The material prosperity of the city was not neglected. Greater cleanliness was introduced, which is next to godliness, and promotes it. Calvin insisted on the removal of all filth from the houses and the narrow and crooked streets. He induced the

magistracy to superintend the markets, and to prevent the sale of unhealthy food, which was to be cast into the Rhone. Low taverns and drinking shops were abolished, and intemperance diminished. Mendicancy on the streets was prohibited. A hospital and poor-house was provided and well conducted. Efforts were made to give useful employment to every man that could work. Calvin urged the Council in a long speech, Dec. 29, 1544, to introduce the cloth and silk industry, and two months afterwards he presented a detailed plan, in which he recommended to lend to the Syndic, Jean Ami Curtet, a sufficient sum from the public treasury for starting the enterprise. The factories were forthwith established and soon reached the highest degree of prosperity. The cloth and silk of Geneva were highly prized in Switzerland and France, and laid the foundation for the temporal wealth of the city. When Lyons, by the patronage of the French crown, surpassed the little Republic in the manufacture of silk, Geneva had already begun to make up for the loss by the manufacture of watches and retained the mastery of this useful industry until 1885, when American machinery produced a successful rivalry."

Even the minutest affairs, details curious and strange, engaged his attention. Regulations for watching of the gates, and for the suppression of fires are found in his handwriting. A Robert Stephens consults him on printing and later confesses himself indebted for his reputation as a printer to Calvin's advice. The Council sent people who requested to open a new trade to speak to "M. Calvin," to show him his wares, and to work under his eyes. One day, a surgeon comes and the Council wishes Calvin to be present at his examination. Another day it is a dentist, whose art is new, for hitherto

men had only been drawers of teeth, but this man announces himself as taking care of and repairing them. He is sent to "Monsieur Calvin," and the reformer puts himself into the stranger's skillful hands, and afterwards commends him to the magistrates.

In his theory of government, Calvin was a thoroughgoing Republican; but he did not identify republicanism with broad democracy in the literal sense of the term—the direct rule of all the people. In Church and State, he believed in a government by well-qualified representatives of the people. In his "Institutes" he writes with reference to this subject as follows: "Indeed, if these three forms of government, which are stated by the philosophers be considered in themselves, I shall by no means deny that either aristocracy or a mixture of aristocracy and democracy far excels all others, and that, indeed, not of itself, but because it very rarely happens that kings regulate themselves so that their will is never at variance with justice and rectitude, or, in the next place, that they are endued with such penetration and prudence as in all cases to discover what is best. The vice or imperfections of men, therefore, renders it safer and more tolerable for the government to be in the hands of many, that they may afford each other mutual assistance and admonition, and that if any one arrogate to himself more than is right the many may act as censors and masters to restrain his ambition. This has always been proved by experience, and the Lord confirmed it by his authority when He established a government of this kind among the people of Israel with a view to preserve them in the most desirable condition till exhibited in David a type of Christ. And as I readily acknowledge that no kind of government is more happy than this, where liberty is regulated with becoming moderation and properly established on a durable basis, so

also I consider these as the most happy people who are permitted to enjoy such a condition; and if they exert their strenuous and consistent efforts for its preservation, I admit that they act in perfect consistence with their duty."

The effects of Calvin's Christian statesmanship on Geneva are the best answers to all charges of the enemy. Dr. Schaff writes: "Calvin found the commonwealth of Geneva in a condition of license bordering on anarchy; he left it a well-regulated community. If ever in this wicked world the ideal of Christian society can be realized in a civil community with a mixed population, it was in Geneva from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, when the infidel genius of Rousseau (a native of Geneva) and of Voltaire (who resided twenty years in its neighborhood) began to destroy the influence of the reformer." Another historian, and he prejudiced, says: "After the lapse of ages, the effects of Calvin's influence are still visible in the industry and intellectual tone of Geneva." From having been a small and unimportant town, a sink of iniquity beyond any of the cities of northern Europe, the city on the Rhone became the focus of light, the center of attraction and the source of incalculable influence upon the destinies of Europe and the world. Even a man like Rousseau says: "Those who regard Calvin as a mere theologian are ill acquainted with the extent of his genius. The preparation of our wise edicts, in which he had a great part, does him as much honor as his "Institutes." Whatever revolution time may effect in our worship, while the love of country and liberty shall exist among us, the memory of that great man shall never cease to be blest."

The historian Bancroft corroborates Rousseau's estimate: "We, as republicans, should remember that Calvin

was not only the founder of a sect, but foremost among the most efficient of modern republican legislators. More truly benevolent to the human race than Solon, more self-denying than Lycurgus, the genius of Calvin infused enduring elements into the institutions of Geneva and made it for the modern world the impregnable fortress of popular liberty, the fertile seed-plot of democracy."

Altogether Geneva owes her moral and temporal prosperity, her intellectual and literary activity, her social refinement, and her world-wide fame very largely to the reformation and discipline of Calvin.

Let us listen to some testimonies of visitors who saw with their own eyes the changes wrought in Geneva through Calvin's influence. William Farel, who knew better than any other man the state of Geneva under Roman Catholic rule, and during the early stages of reform before the arrival of Calvin, visited the city again in 1557, and wrote to Ambrosius Blauer that he would gladly listen and learn there with the humblest of the people, and that "he would rather be the last in Geneva than the first anywhere else." John Knox, the Reformer of Scotland, who studied several years in Geneva as a pupil of Calvin (though five years his senior), and as pastor of the English congregation, wrote to his friend Locke, in 1556: "In my heart I could have wished, yea, I cannot cease to wish, that it might please God to guide and conduct yourself to this place where, I neither fear nor am ashamed 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 to be so seriously reformed, I have not yet seen in any other place besides."

Dr. Valentine Andreæ visited Geneva in 1610, nearly fifty years after Calvin's death, with the prejudices of an orthodox Lutheran against Calvinism, and was astonished to find in that city a state of religion which came nearer to his ideal of a Christocracy than any community he had seen in his extensive travels, and even in his German fatherland. "When I was in Geneva," he writes, "I observed something great which I shall remember and desire as long as I live. There is in that place not only the perfect institute of a perfect republic, but as a special ornament, a moral discipline, which makes weekly investigations into the conduct, and even the smallest transgressions of the citizens, first through the district inspectors, then through the seniors, and finally through the magistrates, as the nature of the offense and the hardened state of the offender may require. All cursing, swearing, gambling, luxury, strife, hatred, fraud, etc., are forbidden, while greater sins are hardly heard of. What a glorious ornament of the Christian religion is such a purity of morals! We must lament with tears that it is wanting with us, and almost totally neglected. If it were not for the difference of religion, I would have forever been chained to that place by the agreement in morals, and I have ever since tried to introduce something like it into our churches. No less distinguished than the public discipline was the domestic discipline of my landlord, Scarron, with its daily devotions, reading of the Scriptures, the fear of God in word and deed, temperance in meat and drink and dress. I have not found greater purity of morals even in my father's home."

A stronger and more impartial testimony of the deep and lasting effect of Calvin's discipline so long after his death could hardly be imagined.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CALVIN, THE PROMOTER OF CHURCH UNION.

When Calvin appeared on the scene of the Reformation, it resembled a great battlefield. Everything was distracted and torn up, the wounded lay right and left; the first engagement had already been gloriously won by Luther and Zwingli, but, alas, for want of better things to do, these two generals and their followers pointed the sword against each other, to the great joy of the common enemy. Luther gave the signal for this war between brethren by rejecting Zwingli's outstretched hand of fellowship at Marburg in 1529. Deeply grieved by these conditions, Calvin, during his entire ministry, spent much time in trying to bring the different Protestant bodies to a realization of their substantial unity in faith and love.

Like Luther, Calvin had no faith in the practicableness of a compromise with the Catholics, and the negotiations at which he was present at Worms, Hanau, Frankfurt and Ratisbon became more and more irksome to him, the more so, as his ignorance of the German occasioned him some embarrassment. As often as the Emperor was in trouble and needed the Protestants in his wars against the Turk, or France, or the Pope himself, he proposed what is called an "Interim," that is, a temporary arrangement, to the Protestants, promising them final settlement by a General Council. The very worst of these was the "Leipsic Interim," in which Melancthon, true to his constitutional weakness, surrendered almost the entire Protestant principle. To this compromise in particular Calvin was inflexibly opposed,

and a sharp correspondence between himself and Melancthon ensued.

The reformer's desire was to consolidate Protestantism. It is refreshing to listen to some of Calvin's beautiful sentiments in favor of church union. In a letter to Bullinger, March 12, 1540, he writes: "What, dear Bullinger, should more anxiously occupy us in our letters, than the endeavor to keep up brotherly friendship among us by all possible means. It is important for the whole church that all should keep together to whom the Lord has committed the affairs in His church. It is, therefore, our duty to cherish a true friendship for all preachers of the Word, and to keep the churches at peace with each other. As far as in me lies, I will always labor to do so. I wish that something might occur which would afford me the opportunity of discussing the whole matter with you in a friendly manner, face to face. I have never been able to treat this matter with you by word of mouth. I beseech you, or rather conjure you, dear Bullinger, to let us wholly refrain from all hate and all strife, and even from all appearance of offense. Do not think that I have any doubt of your resolution. It is the peculiarity of love, that even when there is hope there is yet much of anxiety. Farewell, learned and pious man."

On March 20, 1552, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and head of the reforming party in England, inviting Calvin, with Melancthon and Bullinger to a meeting in Lambeth Palace, London, for the purpose of drawing up a consensus creed for the Reformed churches, wrote him the following significant words: "As nothing tends more injuriously to the separation of the churches than heresies and disputes respecting the doctrines of religion, so nothing tends more effectually to

unite the Churches of God, and more powerfully to defend the fold of Christ than the pure teaching of the Gospel and harmony of doctrine. Wherefore I have often wished, and still continue to do so, that learned and godly men, who are eminent for erudition and judgment, might meet together, and, comparing their respective opinions, might handle all the heads of ecclesiastical doctrine, and hand down to posterity, under the weight of their authority, some work not only upon the subjects themselves, but upon the forms of expressing them. Our adversaries are now holding their councils at Trent, for the establishment of their errors; and shall we neglect to call together a godly synod, for the refutation of error, and for restoring and propagating the truth?" With great joy Calvin seconded the desires so nobly expressed by Cranmer, which harmonized so well with the most elevated sentiments of his own heart. In April, 1552, the former wrote his famous letter on the importance of church union in reply to Cranmer's letter, in which he says: "In the present distracted state of the church, you suppose that no better means can be employed than that pious, sensible men, brought up in the school of God, should unite in setting forth a common confession of Christian doctrine. Satan seeks by manifold wiles to extinguish the light of the Gospel. The dogs in the pay of the Pope cease not to bark, that they may drown the voices of those who preach the word of truth. Such is the madness, such the impiety which everywhere prevails, that religion can hardly any longer be protected from daily mockery. Nor is this state of feeling confined to the people alone. Still more lamentable to say, it is extending among the clergy. But the Lord Himself will communicate to us the unity of the true faith, in some wonderful manner, and by

means altogether unknown to us.'' Calvin expressed the wish that Cranmer would appoint some place in England where the heads of all the Protestant churches might meet, to lay the foundation of a permanent union. ''One of the greatest evils of our time,'' he says, ''is that the churches are so widely separated from each other. The body of Christ is torn asunder because the members are separated. As far as I am concerned, if I can be of any use, *I will readily cross ten seas to effect the object in view.* If the welfare of England alone were concerned, I should regard it as sufficient reason to act thus. But when our purpose is to unite the sentiments of all good and learned men, neither labor nor trouble of any kind ought to be spared.'' Cranmer adopted Calvin's idea, as far as possible, and Calvin, in his joy, writes him again: ''Beware that you may not have to charge yourself with many grievous accusations, if, through negligence or delay, you leave the world in its present distracted state. Besides the waste of church property, which is wicked enough, the public income of the church is employed to support idle fellows engaged to sing vespers in a foreign language. The difficulties with which you have to contend are so numerous that it may not be useless on my part to excite your resolution.'' This whole project was defeated, however, by the death of the king and the martyrdom of Cranmer.

Calvin laid the main stress not so much on external consolidation as on union in the spirit. The close connection between Church and State in all Protestant countries excluded all ideas of organic or absorptive union. His extensive correspondence with Bullinger, Melancthon, Chanmer and others amply proves this. He even wrote a letter on this subject to Luther, which, however, did not reach the great reformer because Melanc-

than, true to his constitutional timidity, was afraid to deliver it, as it might exasperate Luther, who was then engaged in one of his controversies on the Lord's Supper with the German churches in Switzerland.

Calvin's idea of union being far from the idea of governmental unification was also far from requiring sameness in detail of doctrine. This traditional "intolerant" reformer was willing to compromise in every direction on matters of order, discipline, ceremonies and forms in order to heal schism, disunion and alienation in the Reformed churches. "Keep your smaller differences," says he, addressing the Lutheran churches, "but let us have no discord on that account, but let us march in one solid column under the banner of the Captain of our salvation. Let the ministers by whom God permits the church to be governed be what they may," he writes to Farel; "if the signs of the true church are perceived, it will be better not to separate from their communion. Nor is it an objection that some impure doctrines are then delivered, for there is scarce any church which retains none of the remains of ignorance. It is sufficient for us that the doctrine in which the church of Christ is founded should hold its place and influence." This and other expressions of Calvin's liberal spirit have led to the absurd assertion that he was the friend and defender of the episcopal form of government. In the same spirit of liberality and in a desire for union, he signed the Augsburg Confession, for substance of doctrine only, and not endorsing its doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Calvin achieved many and various results favorable to union. The Consensus Tigurinus (Zurich Confession of Faith) practically united all the Swiss churches. After Luther's death, with the help of Melancthon, he

expected a closer union between Germany and Switzerland. But the heated controversy with the Lutheran preacher Westphal in Hamburg interfered and made progress in that direction impossible.

The spirit of Calvin desiring union of the churches has always rested upon the churches professing the Reformed faith. The famous Synod of Dor, in Holland, was one of the most conspicuous efforts to unify the Reformed churches. It held 154 sessions from Nov. 13, 1618, to May 9, 1619. There were present eighty-four theologians and eighteen lay commissioners, twenty-eight of whom representing the Reformed churches of England, Scotland, Palatinate, Hesse, Switzerland and Bremen, the rest being Hollanders. Delegates were appointed by the National Synod of France, but the French king refused them permission to go. Brandenburg (Prussia) also elected delegates, but they failed to appear. The Heidelberg Catechism and the Belgic Confession were unanimously adopted as standards of Reformed orthodoxy, to which were added the Five Articles of Dor. When the English and Scotch delegates returned home they reported that the Reformed people on the continent had in the Heidelberg Catechism a book "the leaves of which were worth their weight in gold."

Almost every effort at union in modern times has commenced within the Reformed Church, be it the union promoted by the Reformed king of Prussia, between Lutherans and Reformed, in the year 1817, or a similar union in the Palatinate, Baden and Hesse, in the year 1818.

In the last quarter of the past century another dream of Calvin was realized. In 1875 the "Alliance of the Reformed churches throughout the world holding the

Presbyterian System'' was organized in London, England. This body meets every four years in a council composed of regularly appointed delegates representing every branch of the Reformed Church. It has held eight General Councils. The first Council was held in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1877; the second at Philadelphia, U. S., in 1880; the third at Belfast, Ireland, in 1884; the fourth at London, England, in 1888; the fifth at Toronto, Canada, in 1892; the sixth at Glasgow, Scotland, 1896; the seventh at Washington, D. C., in 1899; the eighth at Liverpool, England, in 1904; and the ninth Council will meet in New York City in 1909. The churches connected with the Alliance number more than ninety, and are located on all the five continents. The adherents of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches in the world number about 25,000,000. (For definite statistics, consult the last chapter of this book.)

The prime movers, and some of the foremost leaders in ''The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America,'' which met in Philadelphia, Pa., in December, 1908, representing thirty-one denominations and eighteen million members, were also members of Reformed churches. A much older organization of the same character, but still more extensive, ''The Evangelical Alliance,'' is being supported by no one more heartily than by the followers of Calvin.

CHAPTER XXIV.

WHAT IS CALVINISM?

Having sketched the life, character and various activities of Calvin, we are prepared to discuss more at length his doctrine and the influence of it on the world. In some Catholic countries, like Hungary and France, and by some unfriendly authors the name of Calvin has been attached to the adherents of the system of which he is the foremost expounder. They are spoken of as "Calvinists," and this unofficial designation used by the enemies of the reformer is meant to be a stigma and is so understood by his friends and therefore strenuously rejected. True, the names "Lutherans" and "Protestants" also originated as names of derision, coined by the enemy, and Luther vehemently objected to having his name attached to any portion of the Church of Christ; but in the course of time both of these names were accepted by the opponents of Rome and soon became names of honor and distinction, the one for a denomination and the other the common name for all who oppose Romanism without distinction of denomination or nationality. The name "Calvinist," however, has never been accepted as the official name of a church with the exception of a small number of Whitefield Methodists in Wales, who have assumed officially the name of "Calvinistic Methodists," to distinguish themselves from the great body of Methodists which is Arminian in doctrine and episcopal in government. At present the official names of the followers of Calvin are "Reformed" and "Presbyterian." The first is the older name and is still borne by the "Calvinists" in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, France, Hungary, Bo-

hemia, South Africa and America, as a name distinguishing them from the Lutheran churches and other denominations. The name "Reformed" in the titles of those churches has therefore no reference whatever to modern reforms, as "Ref. Presbyterian," or "Ref. Episcopalian," or "Ref. Methodist," or "Ref. Lutheran," but refers simply and solely to the great reformation in the sixteenth century. Originally also the Protestant churches in Great Britain called themselves "Reformed," and even to this very day that name is retained in the crown-oath of the English king, which pledges him to "defend the Reformed religion of the realm." But when, under Elizabeth, the Stuarts and the commonwealth, the tremendous three-cornered struggle for a Scriptural form of church government arose, the common name referring to their faith was forgotten and the three parties became known by the names of the church government which each one favored; those who believed in government by a bishop, as "Episcopalian," from the Greek word *episcopos,* an overseer; those who believed in the government by elders, as representatives of the church, as "Presbyterians," from the Greek word *presbyteros,* an elder; and those who believed that each local church should govern itself independently of the sister churches, as "Congregationalists." This explains how it came that the churches of Great Britain professing the Reformed faith dropped the common family name and called themselves "Presbyterians." As a matter of fact and actual usage, the intelligent members of the English-speaking Calvinists employ both names; when speaking of their faith, they still call it "Reformed," and when speaking of their form of government they define it as "Presbyterian." Using the adjectives with precision, therefore, "Reformed" refers to the faith, "Presbyterial" to the form of government, and

"Presbyterian" to the denominations known by that name. So when, in 1902, the General Assembly of the Northern Presbyterian Church issued explanatory articles of their doctrinal standards, the title read: "Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith." Both names have been very cleverly worked into the official title of the world-wide organization, known as "Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System."

While strenuously opposing the use of Calvin's name in the official titles of the churches, the honored name of the reformer has, however, tenaciously and with approbation, clung to his famous system, so that to-day friend and foe use the term "Calvinism," either to denote his system of doctrine in general or to express the scientific aspect and value of the great principles contained in the system. Many people, it is true, when they hear the name of Calvin and Calvinism think at once of predestination, or the burning of Servetus. This confusion is due either to ignorance or prejudice. For predestination was not at all a doctrine peculiar to Calvin, Luther and Zwingli being as strenuous upholders of this doctrine as Calvin, although in the latter's system it may occupy a more important position, while the spreading of heresy was, as has been shown, at the time of the reformation, deemed worthy of death by everybody, including Servetus himself,

Speaking more precisely, by Calvinism is meant that system of doctrine, that form of government and those ideas of public worship which in their general principles are common to all the branches of the great family of Reformed and Presbyterian churches scattered over the entire globe, and found in Switzerland, Germany, France, Holland, Scotland, England, Ireland, Hungary, Bohemia, South Africa, North America and on many

foreign mission fields. It denotes a type of doctrine as distinguished from the Greek, Roman and Lutheran systems. It finds its formal expression in the great Reformed creeds, culminating in the Heidelberg Catechism in 1563; the Articles of Dor, 1619, and the Westminster Standards, 1647, which therefore contain the ripest fr i it of Reformed Protestantism in Germany, Holland and Great Britain. This world-wide extension impresses upon Calvinism the character of true catholicity, for it is at least as widely extended as Romanism, and is not confined practically to one race as Lutheranism, nor to one language, as Episcopalianism, to say nothing of the genuine catholicity of doctrine and spirit. The outward and visible bond of its inward unity Calvinism has found in the "Alliance of Reformed Churches throughout the World holding the Presbyterial System."

It must be understood, however, that the principles embraced by these churches existed previous to the appearance of Calvin and were adopted and not originated by him. His doctrinal system may be traced through Augustine (died 430) back to Paul; the principles of his form of church government are clearly taught in the New Testament and were practiced by the Waldenses and the old Moravians before the Reformation. Lambert introduced the Presbyterial form of government in Hesse as early as 1527, long before Calvin's conversion, and Bucer did the same in Strasburg in 1531; the leading ideas of his form of worship, Calvin developed from the scanty description of primitive worship as found in Justin Martyn's First Apology, written in the second century, and from the liturgy used in the churches of Strasburg. Calvin, however, being "the theologian" and organizer among the reformers, so clearly expounded, so perfectly systematized and so

ably defended these principles as to connect with them forever his illustrious name.

The general principles of Calvinism, "generic Calvinism," as it is sometimes called, have given rise to a variety of types of Calvinism. Just as the Christian life common to all believers has found various expressions in different men and nationalities, so that we may truly speak of the Petrine, the Pauline, and the Johannine type of teaching, and of Jewish, Greek, Latin, German, English and American, as well as of Reformed, Lutheran and Methodist Christianity, so also Calvinism, while moulding the life of individuals and nations has, in turn, been moulded by the different varieties of soil in which it was planted, by the peculiarities of men and nations who embraced the system. To begin with, there is the Calvinism of Calvin himself. In Germany the same general system appears in a milder form in the Heidelberg Catechism, which, while genuinely Calvinistic, avoids all the sharp angles of that system. In Holland, England and Scotland, it has been modified in form by the "Federal Scheme," introduced by Cocceius and the Westminster Divines. In America it has undergone more radical transformation through the speculation of the New England Puritans, Hopkins, Edwards, Emmons, N. W. Taylor and others. Intelligent readers should, therefore, remember that many objections to Calvinism do not apply to the theology of Calvin himself, but either to an unintelligent caricature of it which fails to rise to Calvin's own point of view, or to one of the later developed types of Calvinism.

As this is a biography of Calvin and not a history of doctrinal Calvinism we confine ourselves to a brief statement of his teaching as found in his "Institutes."

On Sin.—Man as a sinner is guilty and corrupt. The first man was made in the image and likeness of God, which not only implies man's superiority to all other creatures, but indicates his original purity, integrity and sanctity. From this state Adam fell, and in his fall involved the whole human race descended from him. Hence, depravity and corruption diffused through all parts of the soul, attach to all men, and this first makes them obnoxious to the anger of God, and then comes forth in works, which the Scripture calls works of the flesh. (Gal. 5:19.) Thus all are held vitiated and perverted in all parts of their nature, and on account of such corruption deservedly condemned before God, by whom nothing is accepted save righteousness, innocence and purity. Nor does that mean that we are being bound for another's offense; for when it is said that we, through Adam's sin, have become obnoxious to the divine judgment, it is not to be taken as if we, being ourselves innocent and blameless, bear the fault of his offense, but that, we having been brought under a curse through his transgression, he is said to have bound us. From him, however, not only has punishment overtaken us, but a pestilence instilled from him resides in us, to which punishment is justly due.

2. *Redemption.* To redeem man from this state of guilt, and to recover him from corruption, the Son of God became incarnate, assuming man's nature into union with his own, so that in him there are two natures in one person. Thus incarnate, he took on him the offices of Prophet, Priest and King, and by His humiliation, obedience and suffering unto death, followed by His resurrection and ascension to heaven, he has perfected His work and fulfilled all that was required in a Redeemer of men, so that it is truly affirmed that He

has merited for man the grace of salvation. (Bk. II, ch. 13-17.)

3. *Salvation.*—But until a man is in some way really united to Christ, so as to partake of Him, the benefits of Christ's work cannot be attained by him. Now it is by the secret and special operation of the Holy Spirit that men are united to Christ, and made members of His body. Through faith, which is a firm and certain cognition of the divine benevolence toward us, founded on the truth of the gracious promise in Christ, men are, by the operation of the Spirit, united to Christ, and are made partakers of His death and resurrection, so that the old man is crucified with Him, and they are raised to a new life, a life of righteousness and holiness. Thus joined to Christ the believer has life in Him, and knows that He is saved, having the witness of the Spirit that he is a child of God, and having the promises, the certitude of which the Spirit had before impressed upon his mind, sealed by the same Spirit on the heart. (Bk. II, ch. 33-36.) From faith proceeds repentance, which is the turning of our life to God, proceeding from a sincere and earnest fear of God, and consisting in the mortification of the flesh and the old man within us, and a vivification of the Spirit. Through faith, also, the believer receives justification, his sins are forgiven, he is accepted of God and is held by him as righteous, the righteousness of Christ being imputed to him, and faith being the instrument by which man lays hold on Christ, so that, with His righteousness, the man appears in God's sight as righteous. This imputed righteousness, however, is not disjoined from real personal righteousness, for regeneration and sanctification come to the believer from Christ no less than justification; the two

blessings are not to be confounded, but neither are they to be disjoined.

4. *Election.*—The assurance which the believer has of salvation he receives from the operation and witness of the Holy Spirit; but this again rests on the divine choice of the man to salvation; and this falls back on God's eternal sovereign purpose, whereby He has predestinated some to eternal life, while the rest of mankind are passed over for their sin. Those whom God has chosen to life He effectually calls to salvation, and they are kept by Him in progressive faith and holiness unto the end. (Bk. III, passim.)

5. *Means of Grace.*—The external means or aids by which God unites men into the fellowship of Christ, and sustains and advances those who believe, are the church and its ordinances, especially the sacraments. The church universal is the multitude gathered from diverse nations, which, though divided by distance of time and place, agree in one common faith, and it is bounded by the tie of the same religion: and wherever the word of God is sincerely preached, and the sacraments are duly administered, according to Christ's institute, there, beyond doubt, is a church of the living God. (Bk. IV, ch. 1, sec. 7-11.)

6. *Church Officers.*—The permanent officers in the church are pastors and teachers, to the former of whom it belongs, to preside over the discipline of the church, to administer the sacraments, and to admonish and exhort the members, while the latter occupy themselves with the exposition of Scripture, so that pure and wholesome doctrine may be retained. With them are to be joined, for the government of the church, certain pious, grave and holy men, as a senate in each church; and to others, as deacons, is to be entrusted the care

of the poor. The election of officers in a church is to be with the people, and those duly chosen and called are to be ordained by the laying on of the hands of the pastors. (Ch. 3, sec. 4-16.)

7. *Sacraments.*—The sacraments are two—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism is the sign of initiation, whereby men are admitted into the society of the church, and, being grafted into Christ, are reckoned among the sons of God; it serves both for the confirmation of faith and as a confession before men. The Lord's Supper is a spiritual feast, whereby Christ attests that He is the life-giving bread by which our souls are fed unto true and blessed immortality. That sacred communication of His flesh and blood whereby Christ transfuses into us His life, even as if it penetrated into our bones and marrow, He, in the Supper, attests and seals; and that not by a vain or empty sign set before us, but there He puts forth the efficacy of His Spirit whereby He fulfills what He promises. In the mystery of the Supper, Christ is truly exhibited to us by the symbols of bread and wine, and so His body and blood, in which He fulfilled all obedience for the obtaining of righteousness for us are presented. There is no such presence of Christ in the Supper as that He is affixed to the bread, or included in it, or in any way circumscribed; but whatever can express the true and substantial communication of the body and blood of the Lord, which is exhibited to believers under the said symbols of the Supper, is to be received, and that not as perceived by the imagination only, or mental intelligence, but as enjoyed for the aliment of the eternal life. (Bk. IV, ch. 15, 17.)

Calvin's system, as will be seen in this outline, is the reflection of his great mind—severe, grand, logical, dar-

ing in the heights to which it ascends, yet humble in its constant reversion to the Bible as its basis. Mounting to the throne of God, the reformer reads everything in the light of the eternal Divine decree.

CHAPTER XXV.

CALVINISM AND CIVIL LIBERTY.

This heading may seem to some to contain a contradiction in terms, but only to those who misconstrue either or both terms. Many of the foremost historians, friends and foes, find no difficulty in harmonizing these two conceptions, because the facts of history are too plain. Let us consider the latter first and then attempt an explanation of these facts.

It is a fact that all nations which embraced Calvinism to some extent have made the greatest strides in civil liberty. Buckle, not a friend of Calvin, says: "It is an interesting fact that the doctrines which in England are called Calvinistic have always been connected with a democratic spirit, while those of Arminianism have found most favor among the aristocratic party. In the republics of Switzerland, North America and Holland, Calvinism was always the popular creed. In that sharp retribution which followed the attempt to suppress the liberties of the people of England by Charles I, the Puritans and Independents, by whom the king was beheaded, were, with scarcely an exception, Calvinists. The first open movement against King Charles proceeded from Scotland, where the principles of Calvin had long been in the ascendant." Calvinism created also the Dutch Republic and made it "the first free nation to put a girdle of empire around the world." D'Aubigne and the American historian Motley have shown that, until Calvinism took possession of the Netherlands, the people made but little headway against Spain; but from that moment they never faltered for well-nigh a

hundred years, until their independence was triumphantly established. Motley says: "It would certainly be unjust and futile to detract from the vast debt which that republic owed to the Genevan church." The reformation had entered the Netherlands by the Walloon gate (that is, through the Calvinists). The earliest and most eloquent preachers, the most impassioned converts, the sublimest martyrs, had lived, preached, fought, suffered and died with the precepts of Calvin in their hearts.

Does any reader of history doubt that the seed thoughts of Calvinism sunk into the hearts of Frenchmen by the Huguenots led also that nation, though it is to-day nominally Roman Catholic, to fight for and after several failures eventually to succeed in establishing a permanent republic? The same historian, Motley, writes: "Throughout the blood-stained soil of France, too, the men were fighting the same great battle as were the Netherlanders. The valiant cavaliers of Dauphiny and Provence knelt on the ground before the battle, smote their iron breasts with their mailed hands, uttered a Calvinistic prayer, sang a psalm of Marot, and then charged upon Guise under the white plume of the Bearnese. And it was on the Calvinistic weavers and clothiers of Rochelle that the Great Prince relied in the hour of danger. Thus to the Calvinists more than to any other class of men, the political liberties of Holland, England and America are due."

The famous battle of the Boyne, in Ireland, in 1690, which decided the fate of Protestantism in the English-speaking world was won by an army, in which the whole Calvinistic world was represented—Calvinists from England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland and even two hundred negro serv-

ants of Calvinists flocked to the standards of William of Orange and his own staunch Hollanders.

The fire which had consumed the last vestige of royal and sacerdotal despotism throughout the realm of Great Britain had been lighted by the hands of Calvinists. It was the illustrious Calvinist, William, Prince of Orange, who saved English liberty, a man who, as Macauley says, found in the strong and sharp logic of the Genevan school something that suited his intellect and his temper, the keystone of whose religion was the doctrine of predestination. As to the effect of William's victory, the most successful and the most splendid recorded in history, Macauley says: "It has been of all revolutions, the most beneficent; the highest eulogy that can be pronounced upon it is this, that it was England's best, and that, for the authority of law, for the security of property, for the peace of our streets, for the happiness of our homes, our gratitude is due, under Him who raises and pulls down nations at His pleasure, to the Long Parliament, to the Convention and to William of Orange." And David Hume's testimony to the worth of the Calvinistic Puritans is equally strong. "So absolute," he says, "was the authority of the crown that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved by the Puritans alone, and it was to this sect that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution." And Taine, referring to the Calvinists of Great Britain, says: "These men are the true heroes of England; they display, in high relief, the original characteristics and noblest features of England—practical piety, the rule of conscience, manly resolution, indomitable energy. They founded England, in spite of the corruption of the Stuarts and the relaxation of modern manners, by exercise of duty, by the practice of justice,

by obstinate toil, by vindication of right, by resistance to oppression, by the conquest of liberty, by the repression of vice. They founded Scotland; they founded the United States; at this day they are, by the descendants, founding Australia and colonizing the world."

The judgment of the historian Ranke that "John Calvin was virtually the founder of America," and of Bancroft, "he that will not honor the memory and respect the influence of Calvin knows but little of the origin of American independence" are well known. Their opinions are borne out by American history.

The various bodies of Calvinists: Puritans, Presbyterians, German Palatines in Pennsylvania, the Dutch in New York and the Huguenots stood firm like a rock for American independence. The Germans are generally overlooked in this connection in American text-books, but history tells us plainly that they formed such a large and important element in the colonies that without their assistance in men and money it would have been almost impossible to gain the final victory for independence. When the first rumblings of independence were heard, George III desired to know, first, how the Germans in the colonies stood, and, secondly, how many of them had been soldiers in the wars of Frederick the Great. When he heard the truth, his countenance fell. General Von Steuben, the German drillmaster of Washington's demoralized army, was an elder in the Reformed Church at New York, where his Memorial Tablet may still be seen.

Reader: study Calvinism in history in the books of disinterested historians like Motley, Froude, Bancroft. Ranke and others, before you purse up your lips again, when the name of Calvin is mentioned!

The fact that Calvinism is favorable to popular liberty is also shown by the open or secret aversion of kings and princes and their mouthpieces against the system. James I of England, believing episcopacy to be the natural ally of the throne, and knowing from past experience that he could not bend the Presbyterians to his will, devoted himself assiduously to the overthrow of Calvinism in Scotland. Charles I, the son of James, gave as the reason why his father had subverted the republican form of government of the Scottish church, that the Presbyterian and monarchical forms of government do not harmonize. "No bishop, no king!" De Tocqueville, admitting the same, calls Calvinism, "a democratic and republican religion." Even in the last century, the Reformed king of Prussia, Frederic William IV, tried to inject episcopalianism into the church government of his realm, and had actually appointed one clergyman as "bishop." When the Rhenish and Westphalian Synods objected, he, in his anger, denounced them as "plebejan synods" ("Poebelsynode"). Only two months ago, in 1908, criticisms were heard directed towards the composition of the General Synod of the Prussian Church, as being a conclave of noblemen and royal appointees instead of a representation of the general community in the church.

The fact that Calvinism is favorable to civil liberty having been proved by the unerring witness of history, the question arises, what is there in Calvinism leading to such a result? Let two American writers answer, neither of whom is overfriendly to Calvinism, Dr. Fisher and H. W. Beecher. "One reason," Fisher says, "lies in the boundary line which it drew between Church and State. Calvinism would not surrender the peculiar functions of the church to civil authority. Whether the

church, or the government should regulate the administration of the sacraments, and admit or reject communicants, was the question which Calvin fought out with the authorities at Geneva. In this feature, Calvinism differed from the relation of the civil rulers to the church, as established under the auspices of Zwingli, as well as of Luther and from the Anglican system which originated under Henry VIII. In its theory of the respective powers of the church, and of the magistrate, Calvinism approximated to the traditional view of the Catholic Church. In France, in Holland, in Scotland, in England, wherever Calvinism was planted, it had no scruples about resisting the tyranny of civil rulers. This principle, in the long run, would inevitably conduce to the progress of civil freedom. It is certain that the distinction between Church and State, which was recognized from the conversion of Constantine, notwithstanding the long ages of intolerance and persecution that were to follow, was the first step, the necessary condition, in the development of religious liberty. First, it must be settled that the State shall not stretch its power over the Church, within its proper sphere; next, that the State shall not lend its power to the Church, as an executioner of ecclesiastical laws.

A second reason why Calvinism has been favorable to civil liberty is found in the republican character of its church organization. Laymen shared power with ministers. The people, the body of the congregation, took an active and responsible part in the chain of clergy, and of all other officers. At Geneva, the alliance of the Church with civil authority, and the circumstances in which Calvin was placed, reduced to a considerable extent the real power of the people in Church affairs. Calvin did not realize his own theory. But

elsewhere, especially in countries where Calvinism had to encounter the hostility of the State, the democratic tendencies of the system had full room for development. Men who were accustomed to rule themselves in the Church, would claim the same privilege in the commonwealth.

Another source of the influence of Calvinism in advancing the cause of civil liberty, had been derived from its theology. The sense of the exaltation of the Almighty Ruler, and of His intimate connection with the minutest incidents and the obligations of human life, which is fostered by this theology, dwarfs all earthly potentates. An intense spirituality, a consciousness that this life is but an infinitesimal fraction of human existence, dissipates the feeling of personal homage for men, however high their station, and dulls the lustre of earthly grandeur. Calvinism and Romanism are the antipodes of each other. Yet, it is curious to observe that the effect of these opposite systems upon the attitude of men towards the civil authority, has often been not dissimilar. But the Calvinist, unlike the Romanist, dispenses with the human priesthood, which has not only often proved a powerful direct auxiliary to temporal rulers, but has educated the sentiments to a habit of subjection, which renders submission to such rulers more facile, and less easy to shake off."

In a similar strain the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher says: "It has ever been a mystery to the so-called liberals, that the Calvinists, with what they have considered their harshly despotic and rigid view and doctrines, should always have been the staunchest and bravest defenders of freedom. The working for liberty of these severe principles in the minds of those that adopted them has been a puzzle. But the truth lies here: Cal-

vinism has done what no other religion has ever been able to do: It presents the highest human ideal to the world, and sweeps the whole road to destruction with the most appalling battery that can be imagined.

"It intensifies, beyond all example, the individuality of man, and shows in a clear and overpowering light, his responsibility to God and his relations to eternity. It points out man as entering life under the weight of a tremendous responsibility having, on his march toward the grave, this one sole solace—of securing heaven and of escaping hell.

"Thus the Calvinist sees man pressed, burdened, urged on, by the most mighty influencing forces. He is on the march for eternity, and is soon to stand crowned in heaven or to lie sweltering in hell, there to continue for ever and ever. Who shall dare to fetter such a being? Get out of his way! Hinder him not, or do it at the peril of your own soul. Leave him free to find his way to God. Meddle not with him or with his rights. Let him work out his salvation as he can. No hand must be laid crushingly upon a creature who is on such a race as this—a race whose end is to be eternal glory or unutterable woe forever and ever." With these agree men like Montesquier, who truly observes that "a religion which has no visible head is more agreeable to the independence of the people, than that which has one." And Bancroft remarks, "Calvinism saw in goodness infinite joy, in evil infinite woe, and, recognizing no other abiding distinctions, opposed secretly, but surely, hereditary monarchy, aristocracy and bondage." On this whole discussion, compare "Calvinism in History," by Rev. N. S. McFetridge, to which we are greatly indebted for this review.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CALVINISM AND MORALITY.

St. Paul, in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 of Romans, as well as the Heidelberg Catechism, Question 64, found it necessary to meet the charge that a system like Calvinism is unfavorable to sound morality. Modern writers on ethics have also made out—on paper—a strong case against what they call the evil influences of Calvinism on the moral consciousness of the people. Even the popes, as recently as Pius IX and Leo XIII, had the affrontery, in the face of the low moral condition of Roman Catholic communities, to attribute the prevailing crimes of modern society to the "pest of Protestantism."

But here again the facts are against these and any other detractors. As Froude says: "Grapes do not grow on bramble-bushes. Illustrious natures do not form themselves on narrow and cruel theories. The practical effect of a belief is the real test of its soundness. Where we find an heroic life appearing as the uniform fruit of a particular mode of opinion, it is childish to argue in the face of fact that the result ought to have been different." Our Saviour says: "a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit; neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit." Very few will dare to contradict Henry Ward Beecher, who, although he opposed Calvinism in several of its strongest features, says: "There is no system which equals Calvinism in intensifying to the last degree ideas of moral excellence and purity of character. There never was a system since the world stood which puts upon man such motives to holiness, or which builds batteries that sweep the whole ground of

sin with such horrible artillery. Men may talk as much as they please against Calvinism, but you will find that when they want to make an investment, they have no objection to Calvinists. They know that where these systems prevail, there their capital may be safely invested. People tell us that Calvinism plies men with hammer and with chisel. It does; and the result is monumental marble. Other systems leave men soft and dirty; Calvinism leaves them of white marble to endure forever." The secret of all this is, that the one characteristic of Calvinistic morality, which makes it so efficient, is its insistence on conscience and duty, rather than on sentiment and feeling. The first and last question of a true Calvinist is, "Is it right?" These principles made strong men and women—sometimes disagreeable, it is true, but manly and reliable. "I am going to ask you," says Froude, "to consider how it came to pass that if Calvinism is indeed the hard and unreasonable creed which modern enlightenment declares it to be, it has possessed such singular attractions in past times for some of the greatest men that ever lived; and how, being as we are told, fatal to morality, because it denies free-will, the first symptom of this operation wherever it established itself was to obliterate the distinction between sins and crimes, and to make the moral law the rule of life for states as well as persons. I shall ask you again why, if it be a creed of intellectual servitude, it was able to inspire and sustain the bravest efforts ever made by men to break the yoke of unjust authority? When all else has failed, when patriotism has covered its face and human courage has broken down; when intellect has yielded, as Gibbons says, 'with a smile or a sigh,' content to philosophize in the closet and abroad to worship with the vulgar; when

emotion and sentiment and tender imaginative piety have become the handmaids of superstition, and have dreamt themselves into forgetfulness that there is any difference between lies and truth,—the 'slavish' form of the belief called Calvinism, in one or other of its many forms, has borne ever an inflexible front to illusion and mendacity, and has preferred rather to be ground into powder like flint than to bend before violence or melt under enervating temptation." In illustration of this he mentions William the Silent, Luther, Knox, Andrew Melville, the Regent Murray, Coligny, Cromwell, Milton, Bunyan, and says of them: "These were men possessed of all the qualities which give nobility and grandeur to human nature—men whose life was as upright as their intellect was commanding and their public aims untainted with selfishness; unalterably just where duty required them to be stern, but with the tenderness of a woman in their hearts, frank, true, cheerful, humorous, as unlike sour fanatics as it is possible to imagine anyone and able in some way to sound the keynote to which every brave and faithful heart in Europe instinctively vibrated."

This book being intended for popular use, we cannot enter into a detailed discussion of Calvinism as an ethical force. We wish to append, however, a paragraph from Dr. Kuyper's "Lectures on Calvinism," in which he discusses the attitude of that system to popular amusements. He writes:

"Not *every* intimate intercourse with the unconverted world is deemed lawful, by Calvinism, for it placed a barrier against the too unhallowed influence of this world by putting a distinct veto upon three things, *card playing, theatres* and *dancing*—three forms of amuse-

ment which I shall first treat separately, and then set forth in their combined significance.

Card playing has been placed under a ban by Calvinism, not as though games of all kinds were forbidden, nor as though something demoniacal lurked in the cards themselves, but because it fosters in our heart the dangerous tendency to look away from God, and to put our trust in *Fortune* or *Luck*. A game which is decided by keenness of vision, quickness of action, and range of experience, is ennobling in its character, but a game like cards, which is chiefly decided by the way in which the cards are arranged in the package, and blindly distributed, induces us to attach a certain significance to that fatal imaginative power, outside of God, called *Chance* or *Fortune*. To this kind of unbelief, everyone of us is inclined. The fever of stock-gambling shews daily how much more strongly people are attracted and influenced by the nod of Fortune, than by solid application to their work. Therefore the Calvinist judged that the rising generation ought to be guarded against this dangerous tendency, because, by means of card-playing it would be fostered. And since the sensation of God's ever-enduring presence was felt by Calvin and his adherents as the never-failing source from which they drew their stern seriousness of life, they could not help loathing a game which poisoned this source by placing Fortune above the disposition of God, and the hankering after Chance above the firm confidence in His will. To fear God, and to bid for the favors of Fortune, seemed to him as irreconcilable as fire and water.

Entirely different objections were entertained against *Theatre-going*. In itself there is nothing sinful in fiction;—the power of the imagination is a precious gift of God Himself. Neither is there any special evil in *dra-*

matic imagination. How highly did Milton appreciate Shakespeare's drama, and did not he himself write in dramatic form? Nor did the evil lie in public theatrical representations, as such. Public performances were given for all the people at Geneva, in the Market Place, in Calvin's time, and with his approval. No, that which offended our ancestors was not the comedy or tragedy, nor should have been the opera, in itself, but the *moral sacrifice* which as a rule was demanded of actors and actresses, for the amusement of the public. A theatrical troop, in those days especially, stood, morally, rather low. This low moral standard resulted partly from the fact that the constant and ever changing presentation of the character of another person finally hampers the moulding of your personal character; and partly because our modern theatres, unlike the Greek, have introduced the presence of women on the stage, the prosperity of the theatre being too often guaged by the measure in which a woman jeopardizes the most sacred treasures God entrusts to her, her stainless name and irreproachable conduct. Certainly, a strictly moral theatre is very well conceivable; but with the exception of a few large cities, such theatres would neither be sufficiently patronized nor could exist financially; and the actual fact remains that, taken all the world over, the prosperity of a theatre often increases in proportion to the moral degradation of the actors. Too often, therefore—Hall Caine, in his "Christian" corroborated once more the sad truth—the prosperity of a theatre is purchased at the cost of manly character and of female purity. And the purchase of delight for the ear and the eye at the price of such a moral hecatomb, the Calvinist, who honored whatever was human in man for the sake of God, could not but condemn.

Finally, so far as the *dance* is concerned, even worldly papers, like the Parisian "Figaro," at present justify the position of the Calvinist. Only recently an article in this paper called attention to the moral pain with which a father takes his daugher into the ball-room for the first time. This moral pain, it declared, is evident, in Paris at least, to all who are familiar with the whisperings, indecent looks and actions prevalent in those pleasure-loving circles. Here, also, the Calvinist does not protest against the dance itself, but exclusively against the impurity to which it is often in danger of leading.

With this I return to the barrier of which I spoke. Our fathers perceived excellently well that it was just these three: Dancing, Card-playing and Theatre-going, with which the world was madly in love. In worldly circles these pleasures were not regarded as secondary trifles, but honored as all-important matters; and whoever dared to attack them exposed himself to the bitterest scorn and enmity. For this very reason, they recognized, in these three, the Rubicon which no true Calvinist could cross without sacrificing his earnestness to dangerous mirth, and the fear of the Lord to, often far from, spotless pleasures. And now may I ask, has not the result justified their strong and brave protest? Even yet, after the lapse of three centuries, you will find, in any Calvinistic country, in Scotland, and in your own States, entire social circles into which this worldliness is never allowed to enter, but in which the richness of human life has turned, from without, inward, and in which, as the result of a sound spiritual concentration, there has been developed such a deep sense of everything high, and such an energy for everything holy, as to excite the envy even of our antagonists. Not only has

the wing of the butterfly in those circles been preserved intact, but even the gold dust upon this wing shines as brilliantly as ever.

This, now, is the proof to which I invite your respectful attention. Our age is far ahead of the Calvinistic age in its overflowing mass of ethical essays and treatises and learned expositions. Philosophers and theologians really vie with each other in discovering for us (or in hiding from us, just as you may be pleased to put it) the straight road in the domain of morals. But there is something that all this host of learned scholars have not been able to to. They have not been able to restore *moral firmness* to the enfeebled public conscience.

Rather must we complain that ever more and more the foundations of our moral building are gradually being loosened and unsettled, until finally there remains not one stronghold left of which the people in their wider ranks can feel that it guarantees moral certainty for the future. Statesmen and jurists are openly proclaiming the right of the strongest; the ownership of property is called stealing; free love has been advocated, and honesty is ridiculed. A pantheist has dared to put Jesus and Nero on the same footing; and Nietzsche, going further still, deemed Christ's blessing of the meek to be the curse of humanity.

Now compare with all this the marvellous results of three centuries of Calvinism. Calvinism understood that the world was not to be saved by ethical philosophizing, but only by the restoration of tenderness of conscience. Therefore it did not indulge in reasoning, but appealed directly to the soul, and placed it face to face with the living God, so that the heart trembled, at His holy majesty, and in that majesty, discovered the glory of His love. And when, going back in this his-

torical review, you observe how thoroughly corrupt and rotten Calvinism found the world, to what depth moral life at that time had sunk, in the courts and among the people, in the clergy, and among the leaders of science, among men and women, among the higher and the lower classes of society:—then what censor among you will dare to deny the palm of moral victory to Calvinism, which, in one generation, though hunted from the battlefield to the scaffold, created throughout five nations at once, many serious groups of noble men, and still nobler women, hitherto unsurpassed in the loftiness of their ideal conceptions, and unequalled in the power of their moral self-control.''

CHAPTER XXVII.

CALVINISM AND MODERN THOUGHT.

The term Calvinism implies infinitely more than merely a doctrinal system; it denotes an entire "Weltanschauung," a general world view. Authors like Kuyper, Bancroft, Froude, Ranke and others have brought out this feature of Calvinism in a most lucid way. Dr. Kuyper, former Prime Minister of Holland, in his six lectures on "Calvinism," writes: "This term serves also as a scientific name, either in an historical, philosophical or poetical sense. Historically, the name of Calvinism indicates the channel in which the reformation moved, in so far as it was neither Lutheran, nor Anabaptist, nor Socinian. In the philosophical sense, we understand by it that system of conceptions which under the influence of the master-mind of Calvin raised itself to dominance in the several spheres of life. And as a political name, Calvinism indicates that political movement which has guaranteed the liberty of nations in constitutional statesmanship. In this scientific sense, the name of Calvinism is especially current among German scholars, whether they are friendly or opposed to the man and his system." Taking the term in this strictly scientific sense as a principle of life and thought, Dr. Kuyper in his book speaks of 1. Calvinism as a life system; 2. C. and Religion; 3. C. and Politics; 4. C. and Science; 5. C. and Art; 6. C. and the Future.

In the same strain, Dr. Beattie writes in his thoughtful tract on "Calvinism," which has been extensively used in the preparation of the latter part of this chapter, as follows: "Calvinism has its own philosophy of

nature, its theory of the human race, its interpretation of human history, its scheme of civil government, its doctrine of the Church and its well-defined view of the relation between the Church and civil government. Its philosophy of nature is monistic theism. Its theory of the race of mankind is to the effect that in some way it has been constituted an organic or corporate whole. Its interpretation of the history of the race is that God is working out His great plan in all that happens in the passing centuries."

However low one's Calvinism may be as regards doctrinal definitions, there should be no hesitancy in any adherent of a Reformed or Presbyterian Church proudly to confess himself a Calvinist in this larger and scientific sense of the word, as over against the Weltanschauung of Romanism, Lutheranism or materialistic monism.

Having defined Calvinism in the wider scientific sense of the term, we are now prepared to raise the question as to its relation to the best aspects of modern thought as manifested in the four great areas of inquiry and research—in history, philosophy, science and sociology.

1. *In the Sphere of History.*—Historical research in modern times has made wonderful advances. It is no longer a matter of mere annals and statistics. It has acquired a distinct method of its own, which is well known as the historical method. The historian is no longer content to recite mere story and tradition, but seeks accuracy by getting, so far as possible, at the original sources of information. With scrupulous care he seeks to separate fact from myth, event from opinion, and to ascertain the actual reality of the things with which he deals.

Modern historical methods have also sought to discover and trace out the inner connections and inherent

relations of the events which have transpired in the past. This is what is rightly called the philosophy of history, and in many respects the true interest and real value of history lie in this direction. By this means it is shown that the events of history are not isolated happenings, but are intimately related to each other in logical order and rational connection. We often use the phrase, "the logic of events," and little think how much it means. It may be going too far to say, with the Hegelian school, that history is the concrete expression of the forms of reason, and that all historical incidents must be construed in accordance with the logical categories. Still, modern historical method is more and more recognizing the profoundly important fact that there is a rational factor in all history, and that one purpose seems to run through the ages.

In all of this there is an echo of Calvinism. This system teaches, as no other does, that God is the sovereign Ruler over all the affairs of men, and that he is slowly but surely working out His eternal purposes concerning men in the march of the centuries. He it is who establishes thrones and sets up princes. He it is who removes kings, and allows empires to pass away. He even uses one nation to overthrow another, to accomplish His far-reaching purposes thereby.

But further, God's eternal purpose running through all the ages has a moral quality belonging to it. Human history is not merely rational; it is also moral. Righteousness and wickedness play a large part on the stage of human history. The drama is often a terrible conflict between these opposing forces. By the great apostasy in paradise the stream of human history was turned into the channel of evil. But the divine purpose of grace has opened up a new channel, and the opposing

forces have been dashing against each other ever since. Here, again, it is Calvinism which, with its comprehensive view of the sovereignty of God and of His eternal redeeming purpose, can solve this riddle better than any other system; and we may confidently believe that, as the true philosophy of history is more and more fully unfolded, Calvinism will be found to be abreast of its latest and best results.

2. *In the Sphere of Philosophy.*—Philosophy is reflection, the thinking consideration of things. It is the search for causes, the inquiry after reasons. Each age has its own peculiar philosophical tendency. The pendulum of speculation swings from one system to another through the ages. It may be safely said that the tendency of the noblest philosophical thinking of the day is toward a unitary system. This means a system with a single principle by which all things are to be explained. Hence the drift in modern thought toward some type of monism is natural. In the past, this tendency has appeared in materialism, which seeks to explain all things from the atom and physical force; and in pantheism, which holds to an impersonal first principle of all existence. But in our own day a nobler trend appears in connection with modern thought. This tendency is toward a spiritual and ethical monism, which explains all things from the postulate of a personal God. The universe is to be construed in terms of personal spirit. This may be termed theistic monism or monistic theism, which gives a place alike for the personality of the infinite and for the dependent and derived reality of finite things. The reality of the source of all being must be one, and that one reality is the personal God. From Him, in some way, all things come; on Him, in some relation, all

things depend; and for His glory, in the end, all things are.

This tendency is in harmony with the fundamental principles of generic Calvinism. According to this system, God is the one source of all finite things. From Him, and for Him, all things have their being and meaning. In harmony with theistic monism, God is the only source of all being. He alone is independent and self-existent. His omnipotent agency lies at the root of all that comes to pass in the universe. His will, guided by infinite intelligence, directed according to absolute righteousness, and moved by boundless love, is the supreme fact in Calvinism. This may be regarded as the sovereignty of God in the sphere of philosophy.

In modern philosophic thought thus viewed there are at least three particulars in which Calvinism is in accord with it. These particulars may be denoted by the terms, unity, immanence, and finality.

It is evident that the idea of unity in modern philosophy has its counterpart in Calvinism. If modern thought demands a unitary and rational spiritual principle to explain the universe, Calvinism provides this in its doctrine of God and His decrees or eternal purpose. Neither materialism nor pantheism meet the requirements of philosophy or theology, for the one denies spirit and the other personality. And dualism is also defective, for it announces two eternal principles, which entirely oppose and exclude each other. Of all types of theology Calvinism best meets the demand of modern thought for unity. Calvinism, therefore, and monistic theism have a natural affinity with each other. The one gives the principle of unity in the realm of philosophy, and the other a similar principle in the sphere of theology. Both agree in holding to the absoluteness of this

unitary postulate, and both give to all finite things their proper dependent reality.

The term immanence means that God's relation to His works is inward and abiding, and not merely external. "In Him we live, and move, and have our being." In this way theistic monism avoids pantheism, which denies the transcendence of God, and escapes deism, which ignores His immanence.

This aspect of modern thought also finds its counterpart in generic Calvinism. God is in all things, and through all things, and over all things. His purpose and his power are constantly expressed in the progress and processes of the universe. Thus Calvinism avoids the abyss of pantheism and escapes the mechanism of deism. It puts God into such relations with His creatures that He may fittingly execute His decrees in the works of creation and providence. Thus there is no event in the universe wherein God's presence and potency, directly or indirectly exercised, are not to be found.

The term finality denotes end, or purpose, or design, or goal; and modern thought is more and more bringing out the view that the universe exists for a purpose. It is not a chaos of separate, independent things, but a cosmos of related, interdependent things. It is consequently rational at its root, and intelligible, and thereby capable of being construed by intelligence. Only on this ground is science itself possible. Even Herbert Spencer, with his idea of the rhythmic movement of the universe in great cycles, is an unwilling witness to this conclusion; and philosophic evolution, if ever clearly proved to be true, will but further confirm the conclusion that the universe is moving on toward some distant and lofty goal.

With no type of theology does this profound feature of modern thought so well agree as with the Calvinistic. God's eternal purpose, which has reference to His glory, is the final end of the whole cosmos, and His comprehensive plan determines the history of the entire universe. Immanence provides the basis for the attainment of this end, in the execution of the decrees.

In the realm of philosophy Calvinism is therefore not out of date but quite up to the times.

3. *In the Sphere of Science.*—In the sphere of the physical sciences, modern thought has made some of its greatest advances. It is in this sphere, too, that some of the sorest assaults of recent times upon the Christian system have been made. Some have even been bold enough to assert that Christianity in general, and Calvinism in particular, have met their Waterloo at the hands of modern science. In its youthful exuberance it was natural that certain aspects of modern science should produce this conviction in hearts not really in sympathy with the Christian system.

But, happily, things are changing now. The best types of modern scientific thought are steadily taking positions more and more in harmony with the Christian faith; and Christian faith, in turn, is gradually coming to a better understanding with modern science.

It is reasonable to conclude that if Calvinism be the truth in the sphere of revealed religion, it will not be found out of harmony with the assured results of modern science. The word and the works of God must agree, if rightly understood at their various points of contact.

In all that modern science is doing to show the prevalence of law and order, of unity and harmony in nature as a whole, of plan and end in the cosmos, it is confirming much that has already been said under the head

of modern philosophy and Calvinism. In addition to all this, there are certain striking features in modern science which deserve special consideration in this discussion. These are found largely in the realm of biology, and may be grouped under three terms—heredity, selection and causation.

Modern scientific thought makes much of heredity in the sphere of biology. Heredity consists in that aspect of living organisms by means of which certain traits possessed by one generation are transmitted to the next. In biology this principle has a large place, and it constitutes one of the laws of the theory of descent, or biological evolution, but it also has its application beyond the realm of biology, in the mental and moral spheres. Certain traits are inherited, or transmitted from sire to son.

Now, so far as this principle is established, it is in perfect harmony with one of the profound tenets of the Calvinistic system. Generic Calvinism has always firmly held that sin is a malady inherent in the race. It is in the blood. It descends from sire to son in some hereditary way. Explain it as we please, the whole race is implicated in the fall and lies under its terrible disabilities.

Another factor in modern science is the principle of selection. Based on variations which occur in organisms in nature, it is sometimes called natural selection. This principle of selection in biology asserts that there seems to be an activity operative in nature which makes a choice, out of the many changes which are supposed to happen by chance, of those features of living things which are suited to serve their best interests, and to preserve their successive generations in increasing vigor from age to age. Here we have nature's choice, her

election, which she unconsciously makes, not so much for the welfare of the individual as of the species as a whole. Many organisms fall by the way in the struggle for existence, but the species is preserved steadily.

This, again, is in analogy with Calvin's doctrine of election. If we hold the immanence of God in His works, then all these activities of selection in nature are to be directly or indirectly connected with the plan and agency of God. The variations upon which selection works are not of chance, but according to the plan of God; and selection, in so far as it is true in nature, is to be associated, through the medium of second causes, doubtless, with the agency of God. If, therefore, God's plan and activity lie back of variation and selection in the realm of nature, may the same not be true in other spheres? If of the many variations which appear in organisms some are selected and some passed by, we have what may be called the Calvinism of nature. Here is the selection of certain traits, not so much for their own sake as for the good of the whole species. The election of individuals among men for certain services, the selection of nations to fulfill some high function, and the choice of souls in Christ unto salvation and eternal life, are conceptions with which modern scientific thought need have no dispute. Calvinism will be found to be fully abreast of that thought, so far as it is sound and true.

The third feature of modern scientific thought to be considered is described by the term causation. Modern science is more and more making it plain that amid all the changes which take place in nature an adequate cause must be assumed. The facts that water cannot rise higher than its level and that all life must come from pre-existent life, are familiar examples of what

is here suggested. In all analysis and synthesis in the chemical laboratory this principle of causation is illustrated. Some agency is needed to effect the synthesis or the analysis of the substances under experiment. Even evolution is now generally held to be, at most, simply a process or a method. In no sense is it a cause.

Here, again, we have an echo of a cardinal factor in generic Calvinism. Calvinism has ever laid stress upon the necessity and efficacy of divine grace in the salvation of the human soul. That soul is spiritually dead by reason of sin's fatal infection. In order to work a spiritual and saving change in it, a cause operating from without, yet also within the soul, must be provided. The soul cannot revolutionize its own dispositions, but must be revolutionized by some suitable cause whose fulcrum lies without the soul. This cause is provided in the Calvinistic doctrine of efficacious grace. It is exercised by the Holy Spirit, who quickens the spiritually dead soul into newness of life. This fully meets the scientific demand for an adequate cause operating from without that which is to be changed. The principle of biogenesis in biology is akin to the doctrine of regeneration in theology. If life comes only from antecedent life in nature, so life comes only from antecedent life in the spiritual sphere. In asserting the operation of efficacious grace in regeneration, Calvinism is in the atmosphere of the very latest aspects of scientific thought.

4. *In the Sphere of Sociology.*—Theoretic sociology makes much at the present day of what it calls the *solidarity of the race.* By this it means that the members of the human race sustain inherent relations with each other. Man is not fully understood when he is regarded merely as an individual. He is also to be considered in his relations with the other members of the social or-

ganism. This solidarity is twofold. First, the successive generations of men are linked together by a genetic bond, of which heredity is an important factor. Secondly, the men of any given generation are related to each other by various social, domestic, civic and religious bonds.

Now, Calvinism, more than any other system, lays stress upon this fact in the sphere of theology. In its moral relations with God the race is viewed as a unity and as having a moral solidarity. Not only is the race bound together by the tie of one blood; it is also a constitutive unity under the moral government of God. It matters not whether we hold the natural or federal view of the "in-being" of the race in Adam, or whether we see a measure of truth in both the natural and federal aspects of the unity of the race as a whole—all phases of generic Calvinism lay stress upon the moral solidarity of the race. The race as a whole was in Adam in some sense. Under this relation the whole race has gone into apostasy from God, and has become guilty before Him, as well as depraved in its moral state.

And what is true of Adam and the race is true of Christ and His people. His people are members of His body, and in Him they have a spiritual unity of which his life is the vital bond. He and they are one, by no merely outward bond of devoted friendship, but by an inward spiritual tie, that gives what may be termed the spiritual solidarity of the body of Christ, the Bride, the Lamb's wife. This mystical union is emphasized in Rom. 6. It can be very fairly asserted that no other type of theology does such justice to these fundamental ideas as Calvinism.

A second principle in modern sociology is that of representation, with which substitution is also associated.

Modern sociology has done much to show, in the various stages of social development, that the head of the family, the clan, the tribe, or the nation, stands in a representative relation toward those under him and dependent on him. Many primitive institutions, as the totem and the blood bond of the tribe, exhibit this fact. And the whole scheme of free representative government in the State implies the principle of representation on a large scale.

That the fact of substitution is also implied in representation is evidence. The welfare of those represented in the family, tribe, or clan, may require certain sacrifices on the part of those who stand as their representatives. The head of the family, clan, or tribe, acts in the place of those of whom he is the head; and for their sake he may have to endure hardship and suffering. And, in addition, whatever advantage is thereby secured by the head is enjoyed by the whole constituency which the head represents and acts for. So, too, any misfortune which may come through the folly or failure of the head to fulfill his trust, is entailed on those for whom he acts. Modern sociology is more and more bringing this principle of representation into view.

This represents one of the most profound and severely criticised factors in the Calvinistic system. This system holds that Adam sustained federal relations to the race, and that he represented it under God's moral government. Its teaching is that Adam represented the race of mankind, and that in some way or other the race sinned in him and fell with him in his first transgression. Calvinism also teaches that Jesus Christ is the head and representative of his people, given to him by the Father to be redeemed. As their representative he stood in their place, and for their sake he offered himself as a sacrifice for their sins. Federal representation and vicarious

atonement are the related teachings of Calvinism at this point. Those types of modern theology which ignore these principles entirely are in danger of being declared obsolete by the most recent conclusions of modern sociology.

Another principle which modern sociology brings to light is the interdependence of the human race, implied in the facts of solidarity and representation. If the individuals of the race are all bound together as a social unity, then each member sustains such relations to those about it as to form the basis of certain duties and responsibilities. These emerge in many ways. We see them in the family, in the clan, in the tribe, and in the nation. It is true in this regard that no man lives unto himself or dies unto himself. There is an altruism, or concern for the welfare of those about us, which modern sociology properly adduces as the basis of its various philanthropies.

This, once more, is a thought to which Calvinism is not a stranger. The lofty ideas of home life, flowing out of the domestic relations, and parental care, and filial regard, which Calvinism teaches, have their natural explanation in this connection. The theory of national life and economic relations which Calvinism teaches exalts the duties and responsibilities that rest upon all the individuals which make up the body politic. The ideal State, from the standpoint of Calvinism, is found where every unit in it, in all its relations, is actuated by a holy altruism to promote the welfare of the other members of the community. The State is God's ordinance for certain definite ends, and Calvinism holds a doctrine of civil government and social relations which makes it the defender of civil and religious liberty wherever its influence is rightfully exerted. Calvinists, if true to their

own system, can be neither tyrants nor slaves. They will claim their own rights, and at the same time regard the rights of others. It balances egoism and altruism aright.

This inadequate discussion of a great subject has shown that doctrinal and scientific Calvinism is neither dead nor dying, but is very much alive in the realms of theory and practice.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CALVIN'S INFLUENCE ON GREAT BRITAIN AND HOLLAND.

Calvin's influence, as has been shown, was not confined to Geneva; it soon became world-wide. His system was accepted by millions, not only in Switzerland and France, but also in Italy, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. The deepest and most lasting impression of Calvin, however, was not exerted on his own race, but on the widely extended family of nations belonging to the Teutonic and Celtic races—Germany, Holland, England, Scotland, Ireland, German Switzerland, South Africa and North America. In the sturdy manhood and the serious character of these peoples the vigorous system of Calvin found a more congenial soil than among the emotional and somewhat fickle nations of the Latin and Slavic races. And in this, history has repeated itself. The Gospel itself, rejected by the nations where it was first preached, found its strongest lodgment among the Teutons (embracing Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Scandinavia, Switzerland, and America); so also when the house of Romish bondage was opened by the Reformation the Teutonic race marched out while the Latin and the Slavic races kissed the chains with which they were held slaves.

In *England,* Lutheranism was early superceded by the Reformed faith. In a letter to Farel, in 1539, Calvin for the first time speaks of the English Reformation. Henry VIII methods did not please him. He writes: "The king is only half wise. He prohibits marriages of priests, retains the mass, and the seven sacraments

and forbids the circulation of the Bible in the language of the people.'' When Henry's 10-year-old son, Edward VI, became king, Calvin exercised a more direct influence on England. The Duke of Somerset became Protector of England, and he had the young king brought up in the Protestant faith. An extended correspondence between Calvin, Somerset, Cranmer and the king ensued. In 1548, he dedicated to Somerset his commentary on First Timothy, and later, in a remarkable letter, he sent him a plan for a real reformation of England. The scheme pleased the Protector and most of its suggestions were adopted. We find a brief letter to Farel in one of his collections in which he alludes to the pleasure which Somerset took in his plan. ''The English messenger has at last returned. He has brought a letter from the Regent, in which he expresses himself thankful for my services. His wife sent me a present of a ring, not of great value, not being worth more than four crown pieces. The members of his family lead me to expect a tolerably liberal present from him, in a short time, which I neither desire nor long for. For what has, as I hear, given a keener stimulus to him, is a sufficiently ample reward for me.'' Learned Reformed theologians were called as professors to England: Bucer and Fagins, from Strasburg, lectured at Cambridge, and Peter Martyn, at Oxford. During Elizabeth's reign, Calvin's theological influence was supreme. Although the Queen had no special liking for Calvin, the reformer dedicated to her some of his commentaries. His ''Institutes'' was recommended by a convocation held at Oxford to the general study of the English nation, and continued down to the time of Archbishop Laud the text-book in the English universities. The pope made it one of his charges against Queen Elizabeth that ''the impious book

of Calvin was enjoined upon her subjects." There is no doubt that the official Creed, the 39 Articles of 1563 of the Episcopal Church, shows the influence of Calvin, while the nine Lambeth Articles of 1595 and the Irish Articles of Archbishop Usher of 1615 are very strongly Calvinistic. The Book of Common Prayer clearly shows dependence on the liturgies in use at Strasburg and in other Reformed Churches. Even as late as 1618, in the reign of James I, an English bishop and several Episcopal clergymen sat as regular delegates from England in the Reformed Synod of Dor, with a presbyter for its moderator. It was about this time, however, that Arminianism began to spread in England, and after the three-cornered contest on church government, Episcopalianism became more exclusive. Officially, however, the Church of England and her daughter, the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, are still Reformed and the crown oath of the English king contains to this day the pledge "to protect and defend the Reformed religion."

Still greater and more lasting was Calvin's influence on Scotland, exerted mainly through John Knox, a man whose unbending opposition to Romanism and prelacy compels admiration. He was the incarnation of the democratic spirit of Calvinism—a fearless, out-spoken man who could always be depended on for doing what no one else dared. At his grave a nobleman could truly say, "Here lies the man who never feared the face of man." In many ways, Knox was more Calvinistic than Calvin and the latter found occasion to counsel moderation. For this reason many distinctive traits of Calvinism impressed themselves more deeply upon the people of Scotland than even on the Church at Geneva.

When the Bloody Mary ascended the throne of England, Knox fled to the continent. Here he spent the

five years of his exile, 1554-1558, mostly at Geneva with Calvin. In 1555, Calvin asks the city council to allow the refugees from England the use of one of the churches. "Formerly," say the minutes, "the said English have received other nations and have given them a church; but now it has pleased God to afflict them." The Church of the Auditoire, already used by the Italians, was opened to them. The building still stands and bears an inscription to the effect that in this church John Knox had preached to the English refugees.

Calvin treated Knox with exceptional kindness. There seems to have been a strong affinity between the two characters. Their friendship was one of the most intimate on record between great men. Although five years older, Knox venerated Calvin as a father and looked to him for guidance and counsel. Although fifty years of age, he devoted himself to study under Calvin with the ardor of a youth. It was during this period that Knox, with some friends, planned a new English translation of the Bible, known as the "Geneva Bible."

But Knox was greatly needed in Scotland. The nobles had united for the defence of the Reformed religion, and they wrote to Calvin, requesting him to use his influence with Knox to come to their aid. Knox obeyed the call of the Protestant lords, and became the leading spirit of the Scotch reformation. In 1560, parliament abolished the papacy. A confession of faith, "the book of discipline" and a liturgy were drawn up. The first was sent to Calvin for examination, and all three ratified by parliament. Calvin's Catechism and later also the Heidelberg Catechism were translated to be used for the instruction of the youth. "The General Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland" met for the first time in 1560. Later, when the Reformed forces in Great

Britain divided on the question of church government the Scotch Calvinists adopted the name of "Presbyterian," expressive of their polity. The work had been rapidly done. Barely a year had elapsed between the return of Knox from Geneva and the establishment of the Reformed religion. On Nov. 8, 1559, Calvin wrote from Geneva: "As we wonder at success incredible in so short a time, so also we give great thanks to God, whose special blessing here shines forth."

In the seventeenth century, Scotch Presbyterianism and English Puritanism produced the principles of Calvinism in a more radical manner in what is known as the Westminster Standards of 1647.

Another country, "Little Holland," the real cradle of liberty, received through Calvin the elements of her greatness. In 1562 the Belgic Confession, a strictly Calvinistic creed, was adopted, and in spite of the most terrible persecutions, the Dutch people remained true to the Reformed faith, and in 1619, the first ecumenical council of the Reformed Churches, the Synod of Dor, was held and in its deliverances that famous body gave renewed and definite expression to the Reformed faith.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE INFLUENCE OF CALVIN ON SWITZERLAND AND GERMANY.

By Rev. J. I. Good, D.D.

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John Calvin powerfully influenced all the countries that received the Reformed faith. Switzerland is the center of Europe geographically. From her Alps radiate in all directions, north, south, east and west, the rivers of Europe beautifying and fertilizing that continent. So from Switzerland the Reformed doctrines of Calvin, like life-giving waters spread in all directions over Europe. They were carired east to Hungary, Bohemia and Poland; south, though but for a brief season, to Italy, west to France and north to Germany and Holland, even leaping the seas to England and Scotland.

We are to speak especially of two of these countries, Switzerland and Germany. Calvin may be said to have had an influence in three ways: mainly on their doctrines, their morals and their politics. As to Switzerland, of course Calvin, as a citizen of Switzerland greatly affected his own country, for there is a peculiar solidarity among the Swiss bred of their mountains and their freedom.

His doctrines rapidly spread through Switzerland. Northern Switzerland, which was German and not French like Geneva, had already received the doctrines of the reformation from Zwingli and Oecolampadius before French Switzerland ever was touched by them. The first problem in Calvin's time was to unite the two

parts of Switzerland, the Germans in the north and the French in the south. There were some differences between them. On the Lord's Supper the theologians of Zurich were considered somewhat lower than Calvin. They inclined more toward the memorial view while Calvin emphasized the spiritual presence of Christ at the supper. They differed in church government. German Switzerland held to a close union of the church with the state, so that the state would punish offenders in the church by a civil act as fine and imprisonment. Calvin separated them more, emphasizing the right of the church to exercise ex-communication over its own members. Also on predestination they differed; the Germans being lower and holding to the doctrine of the universal atonement, while Calvin held that Christ died for the elect. The Lutherans in Germany seeing these differences in Switzerland, were hoping to gain the followers of Calvin; or at least to so divide the Protestants of Switzerland as to further weaken them against Lutheranism. And in the German cantons of Berne and Basle for a time they gained control. But all these differences between German and French Switzerland were harmonized and Calvin's doctrines gained the victory, when, after some negotiations with Bullinger the head leader of German Switzerland, they agreed, in 1549, on a new creed about the Lord's Supper, the Tigurine confession, in which Calvin's views were accepted on the Lord's Supper, and also on the restriction of its benefits to the elect. This new creed made Switzerland a unit on the Reformed faith.

Nor did the influence of Calvin stop here. The lower form of Reformed doctrines in regard to predestination held by Bullinger gradually gave way to Calvin's higher views. Even at Zurich, Berne and Basle by the latter

part of the sixteenth century, the leaders of the church as Stucki at Zurich and Gryneus of Basle held to the higher Calvinism. This reign of Calvinism continued until in 1675 Switzerland had become so high in its Calvinism that, over against the lower form of Calvinism held by the theological school of Saumur in France, they drew up a new creed the Helvetic Consensus, the highest of the Calvinistic Creeds in existence. And it was adopted by all the cantons. This reveals Calvin's doctrines regnant in Switzerland as in hardly any other land. A reaction came about 1720 through the influence of foreign rulers and churches and Basle, Neuchatel and Geneva gave up subscription to that creed. But Zurich and Berne clung to their strict Calvinism for a considerable time longer and resented the interference of foreign powers as an impertinent interference in things that belonged only to the Swiss. After that time, due to the rationalism and the liberalizing theology of the nineteenth century, Calvinism as a system has pretty well passed away in Switzerland although an attempt was made to revive the old Calvinism of the Second Helvetic Confession when the theological seminary was founded at Geneva about 1830 by Gaussen, D'Aubigne and Malan.

On morals, as well as theology, Calvin's views greatly influenced Switzerland, his severe moral code which made Geneva the model city of Europe, was to a greater or less extent followed in Switzerland. The Swiss lived simple lives, untouched by the luxuries and vices of the larger cities and other lands as France. So that when Voltaire attempted, in the middle of the eighteenth century to introduce a theatre at Geneva, it was forbidden and he was compelled to open it at Ferney, over the French border. The Swiss people retained their sim-

plicity of life and the higher morality bred of the Alps and were guided by Calvin's ethics until the time of the French revolution.

The influence of Calvin for politics was in the direction of liberty. It is very remarkable that his views which made the predestination of God prominent, should lead to the greatest freewill of man in republicanism and democracy. But the magnifying of God leads to the magnifying of man. Here Calvin did not influence Switzerland as much for liberty as he did other lands as Holland, England and the United States which have been said to have been born out of Calvinism; Switzerland gained no greater freedom by Calvin than she had had before except freedom from the pope; Geneva did not have either civil or religious liberty under Calvin nor did she get them until about 1830. But he set at work influences toward them that reached far beyond his own views or his own age.

The influence of Calvin on Germany was also great although not so predominately great as in Switzerland, for Luther and Lutheranism had already become the great religious force in Germany. Still the influence of the Reformed church was very considerable. And of the Reformed reformers, none exerted greater influence than Calvin. Already before his time, Zwingli had, by his visit to Marburg to the Marburg conference (1529), exerted a considerable influence for the Reformed. Later Calvin, while pastor at Strasburg in Germany (1538-41), exerted considerable influence, both in that city and at the political conferences as at Ratisbon. He there formed a strong friendship for Melancthon and influenced the reformers of Strasburg, Bucer and Capito. In 1556 he made another visit to Germany to intercede with the Lutheran authorities of Frankford

for the Reformed refugees who had found an asylum there, but his visit had little result. But the real foundations of the Reformed Church in Germany were not laid until a year or two before Calvin's death, when Heidelberg with its ruler Elector Frederick III became Reformed. Calvin, however, by correspondence with the reformers to Germany as with Hedio, Sturm, Sleidanus at Strasburg and Frederick III and Olevianus at Heidelberg and Landgrave Philip of Hesse exerted considerable influence. But Calvin's chief influence on Germany came after his death, as his doctrines more and more permeated the Reformed Church of Germany. Some of her early ministers, as Peucer and Pezel, were at first Melancthonians as they passed from the Lutheran faith over to the Reformed. But Pezel, who came to Nassau as a Melancthonian (1577) soon became a strong Calvinist, so that by 1595 he wrote the strongly Calvinistic creed of Bremen. Calvin's influence, too, was great on our Heidelberg Catechism. The first catechism of Ursinus, from which so much of the Heidelberg was drawn, was based mainly on Calvin's Catechism and Institutes. In doctrine the Heidelberg Catechism is Calvinistic. It is so over against Melancthon's Synergism (Answers 5 and 8), against his lower views about rites (Answers 96-8). It is positively Calvinistic, teaching predestination (Answers 26 and 31), the perseverance of the saints (Answers 1, 31, 51 and 54), Calvin's views of the descent into hell (Answer 44) and of the power of the keys (Answer 85). In its numbering of the Ten Commandments and of the petitions of the Lord's Prayer it follows Calvin.

It has been said, as by Dr. Schaff, that the Reformed Church of Germany was different from the other Reformed churches by being Melancthonian rather than

Calvinistic. But this is not true according to history. Calvin and Melancthon were world-wide apart on the doctrine of predestination, Melancthon holding to synergism, Calvin to election. Neither did they agree in cultus. Melancthon regarded many religious rites that came over from the Romish church with indifference, while Calvin would have none that were not in the Bible. This difference is strikingly brought out in the Leipsic Interim, where Melancthon granted that Catholic ceremonies as extreme unction, fasts, Corpus Christi, etc., should be restored in the Protestant church. Calvin would never have granted this. Indeed, at the diet of Ratisbon, Calvin found fault with Melancthon's views on cultus. But it is claimed that Melancthon and Calvin were in agreement on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. It is true that Melancthon was more inclined toward the Reformed doctrine than Luther, and Calvin more inclined toward the Lutheran doctrine than Zwingli; but that does not mean that they were in agreement on the subject. Melancthon continually speaks of the presence of Christ's body ("adest" is the Latin word he continually uses) at the Supper. Jacoby says he differed from Luther not in placing Christ's body as absent from the Supper. But while Luther made this presence of Christ's body during the *whole transaction* of the Supper especially through the Word, Melancthon made his body present especially at the act of the communicant when he received the elements. Again, Luther insisted on the presence of Christ's body "in, with and under," Melancthon only on "with," according to Rev. Prof. J. W. Richard, Melancthon's biographer. But although Melancthon thus differed from Luther, still his view was Lutheran and not Reformed and differed considerably from Calvin's view of Christ's presence. Thus

Melancthon insists constantly on the presence of Christ's body with the elements. This is quite different from Calvin's view that Christ's body was up in heaven and not at the Lord's Supper. Christ's body was present according to Melancthon, absent according to Calvin. Calvin held that by faith we were to be lifted up by the Holy Spirit in heaven, so as to commune with Christ there. Melancthon knew nothing of Calvin's peculiar views of the vivific force of Christ's body in heaven streaming to earth like the rays of the sun. As Prof. J. W. Richard, in his Life of Melancthon (page 365). says: "There is not a single line in all Melancthon's writings to show that he ever endorsed the particular Calvinistic formulas of a glorified body and of a communion in heaven to which the believer is lifted by faith. On the contrary, his formulas show that he maintained that the communion takes place on earth in connection with the eating and drinking. Moreover he ever associates the Supper with the forgiveness of sins as its essential factor, while with Calvin, the Supper is regarded more as a food for the soul of the believer." No, the Reformed Church of Germany is not Melancthonian-Calvinistic but Calvinistic. This is proved by the position taken by her universities and their professors, by her creeds and by the testimony of church historians, (See History of the Reformed Church in Germany by Rev. J. I. Good, pages 589-623). The universities of Germany and their professors soon became thoroughly Calvinistic (Scultetus at Heidelberg was a supralapsarian). Although a few of them held to a lower form of Calvinism, as Bergius and Martinius, yet that was far from Melancthonianism. Perhaps the most significant facts come from the two conferences, that the Reformed held with the Lutherans at Leipsic in 1631, and

Cassel in 1661, whose decisions have a semi-credal authority for the Reformed of Germany. At both of them, the Reformed took firm ground for predestination and reprobation. We have just gotten hold of a book that shows how thoroughly Calvinism was introduced in the Palatinate almost as soon as it became Reformed. It is the Institutes of Calvin, published at Heidelberg in 1572 in German, issued with the approval of the Reformed professors there, and to it is appended Calvin's Catechism and Liturgy. All this shows how rapidly the Reformed Church of Germany became quite thoroughly imbued with Calvin's doctrines. Calvinism became more liberal and through the influence of rationalism became lower, until, in the nineteenth century, much of the Reformed Church was united with the Lutheran Church in Germany. But there is still a considerable element that clings to the old Calvinism of Calvin. In morals, the Reformed Church of Germany was somewhat affected by Calvin's ethics as they were somewhat stricter than the Lutherans. And politically, while liberty has also gained much headway in Germany, yet as one of the late Reformed writers, Zahn, puts it in his book "The Influence of the Reformed Church on the Greatness of Prussia," that land owes much of her prominence by which she now stands at the head of the states of Germany to the fact that her rulers were Reformed and were affected by Reformed principles and associations.

CHAPTER XXX.

CALVINISM IN AMERICA.

By Rev. Wm. Henry Roberts, D.D., LL.D.

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Politically, Calvinism is the chief source of modern republican government. That Calvinism and republicanism are related to each other as cause and effect is acknowledged by authorities who are not Presbyterians or Reformed. Isaac Taylor calls republicanism the Presbyterian principle. Bishop Horsley declares that "Calvin was unquestionably in theory a Republican," and adds that "so wedded was he to this notion, that he endeavored to fashion the government of all the Protestant Churches upon republican principles." This thought is still further carried forward by Bancroft when he speaks of "the political character of Calvinism, which with one consent and with instinctive judgment the monarchs of that day feared as republicanism." Emilio Castelar, the leader of the Spanish liberals, says that "Anglo-Saxon democracy is the product of a severe theology, learned in the cities of Holland and Switzerland." Leopold Von Ranke, the German historian, gives his weighty judgment in the words, "John Calvin was the virtual founder of America." James Anthony Froude, the English historian, bears witness to the character of the political progress of the last three centuries in the sentence, "nearly all the chief benefactors of the modern world have been Calvinists." Lord Macaulay writes that the ministers of the Church of Scotland inherited the republican opinions of Knox, and also states that the

Long Parliament, which was controlled by Presbyterians, "is justly entitled to the reverence and gratitude of all in every part of the world who enjoy the blessings of constitutional freedom." The Long Parliament was the body which gave existence to the Westminster Assembly, and Macaulay's testimony therefore points to the intimate connection between Calvinistic doctrine and constitutional government. These extracts from the writings of men who were not themselves Presbyterians, indicate clearly the political influence of the doctrinal ideas contained in the Westminster Standards.

The Westminster Standards were the common doctrinal standards of all the Calvinists of Great Britain and Ireland, the countries which have given to the United States its language and to a considerable degree its laws. The English Calvinists, commonly known as Puritans, early found a home on American shores, and the Scotch, Dutch, Scotch-Irish, French and German settlers, who were of the Protestant faith, were their natural allies. It is important to a clear understanding of the influence of Westminster in American Colonial history to know that the majority of the early settlers of this country from Massachusetts to New Jersey inclusive, and also in parts of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, were Calvinists. They brought with them to this land those doctrinal ideas which exalt, as we have seen, in the human mind, the sovereignty of God, which bring all lives and institutions to the test of the Holy Scripture, which teach that the divine being is no respecter of persons, and which lead logically to the conclusion that all men are born free and equal. Further, the early British settlers, whether Presbyterians or Puritans, were all believers in the Westminster Confession. The Congregationalists of New England adopted it for

doctrine in 1648, one year after its completion at London; the Baptists also adopted it in 1677, except as to Baptist peculiarities; the Presbyterians always maintained it vigorously for both doctrine and government; and the Reformed Dutch were in full sympathy with the Presbyterians. To put the situation concisely, about the year 1700 the American Colonists were divided into two great sections, the one Episcopalians and Monarchists, the other Calvinists and believers in popular government. From Boston to the Potomac Puritan and Presbyterian Calvinists were in the ascendant, and from the Potomac southward the majority of the people were of opposite tendencies. Naturally between these parties conflicts arose, caused by their fundamental differences in religion, in church government, and in the views which they held of the rights of the people. Into a lengthy and adequate consideration of these differences and of the conflicts which they engendered, the limits of space forbid that I should enter. I shall content myself with concise statement of several particulars, each of which is intimately connected as a fundamental factor with the formation of the American Republic.

One of the initial points of difference between the Calvinists and other of the early American settlers had to do with popular education. We to-day believe that the education of all citizens is fundamental to the welfare of the Republic. This principle, however, it should be understood, is a logical result of Calvinistic thought and practice. Calvinists, taught by the Holy Scriptures made religion a personal matter, not between man and the Church, but between the soul and God, and necessitated personal knowledge on the part of human beings of God's Word as the law of faith and life. Education in religious truth became therefore a cardinal principle

of the Calvinists, and the steps were easy and swift from it to secular and popular education. This logical connection between Calvinism and education is acknowledged by our historian Bancroft, who says that Calvin was the "first founder of the public school system." It is also shown by the history of popular education. A high authority states that Presbyterian Scotland "is entitled to the credit of having first established schools for primary instruction to be supported at the public expense." The Scotch system of free education was founded in 1567, fifty years before the American Calvinist colonies had been established. Reformed Holland followed closely in the footsteps of Scotland, and the first settlers in New England and the Middle States, being themselves Calvinists, naturally proceeded at once, like their European brethren of similar faith, to care for the interests of education. Harvard, Yale and Princeton Universities were all founded by men who believed in the Westminster Confession, and as early as 1647 Massachusetts and Connecticut established public school systems. In some other colonies, however, a very different state of affairs was to be found. An Episcopal governor of Virginia, in 1661, thanked God that there were in that region neither "free schools nor printing." Steadily year by year, however, the belief in popular education, nurtured by our Calvinistic and Puritan ancestors, by men who believed in the Westminster Confession, and in the canons of the Synod of Dort, spread throughout the colonies, and to-day the right of all persons to become through instruction intelligent citizens is everywhere recognized in this great republic. Is education one of the foundation-stones of the nation? Then honor to whom honor is due, to the men of the Westminster Confession, and to those who with them be-

lieved in the application of Calvinistic principles to secular education.

Another cardinal principle of the government of this American nation is the separation of Church and State, with its resulting absolute religious freedom for the individual. This characteristic of the organization of the republic is also a logical outcome of Calvinistic doctrine. Establishments of religion are found in Europe, even in such Presbyterian lands as Scotland and Holland, but they are survivals from a past age, and are not a rightful development from the great Calvinistic principle, "that God alone is Lord of the conscience." This was seen clearly in the American Colonies first by the Dutch settlers in New York, who were Presbyterians, then by the Baptists, who equally with the Presbyterians are Calvinists. The English-speaking American Presbyterians quickly recognized the full force of the principle, and as early as 1729, the General Synod of the Presbyterian Church declared that the power to persecute persons for their religion was contrary to the Word of God, and that the Church should be independent of the State. This Scriptural position was antagonized, however, at the first by the Congregationalists in New England, and especially by the Episcopalians in all the colonies where they were in authority. Gradually, however, the principle of untrammeled religious liberty won its way to recognition in New England, and the acknowledgment of it, there and in other parts of the country, was hastened by the attempts made from 1750 onward to establish the Episcopal Church in the colonies. United resistance to such attempts was first organized in 1766, ten years prior to the Declaration of Independence, and in large part by the General Synod of the Presbyterian Church. A petition had been sent by Episcopalians, in

the year just named, from a convention held in New York, to the British government, for the appointment of Bishops for America. Presbyterians and Congregationalists, Dutch, German and French Protestants had experienced the baneful power of established Episcopal Churches on the other side of the Atlantic. The bishops whom their ancestors had suffered under were arrogant lords, temporal and spiritual, over the heritage of God, men of an arbitrary temper and a merciless, persecuting spirit. American Calvinists could not forget the awful butcheries of the Spanish tyrants in the Netherlands, the terrible devastation wrought in the valley of the Rhine, the 100,000 victims of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, or the 18,000 covenanters who in Scotland, during a few brief years, were either massacred by dragoons or executed by the agents of ecclesiastical tyranny. The moment, therefore, that religious liberty was seriously threatened by the schemes of a Church which at that time was ultra-loyal to the British crown, and whose ministers with hardly an exception were opposed to the cause of the Colonies, American Calvinists joined forces and from New England, southward through New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the valley of Virginia, to the highlands of North and South Carolina, never wavered a hair's-breadth from a thoroughgoing devotion to the cause of religious liberty. They stood shoulder to shoulder in opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny, and their courage and high intelligence secured for the republic, that religious freedom which is now a leading characteristic of our national life.

Having dealt with religious liberty, it is natural now to turn to the consideration of the specific relation of the American Presbyterian Church, to the civil liberty which was secured by the independence of the United

States. The opening of the Revolutionary struggle found the Presbyterian ministers and churches ranged solidly on the side of the colonies. In 1775 the General Synod issued a pastoral letter, an extract from which indicates the spirit prevailing in the Church, and reads, "Be careful to maintain the union which at present subsists through all the Colonies. In particular, as the Continental Congress, now sitting at Philadelphia, consists of delegates chosen in the most free and unbiased manner by the people, let them not only be treated with respect and encouraged in their difficult service, not only let your prayers be offered up to God for His direction in their proceedings, but adhere firmly to their resolutions, and let it be seen that they are able to bring out the whole strength of this vast country to carry them into execution." Contemporary with this letter of the Synod was the famous Mecklenburgh Declaration of Independence, renouncing all allegiance to Great Britain, passed by a convention in Western North Carolina, composed of delegates nearly all Presbyterians, and forestalling the action of the Colonial Congress in the same line by more than a year. Further, in the sessions of the Continental Congress, the influence of no delegate exceeded that wielded by the Rev. John Witherspoon, president of Princeton College, the only clerical signer of the Declaration of Independence—"a man Scotch in accent and strength of conviction, but American at heart." Under his leadership and that of others the American Presbyterian Church never faltered in her devotion to the cause of the independence of these United States; her ministers and members periled all for its support, being ready, with Witherspoon to go to the block, if need be, in defence of civil and religious liberty. So resolute and aggressive were they in

their opposition to the English government that the Colonial cause was repeatedly spoken of in Great Britain as the Presbyterian Rebellion. At the close of the war, in 1783, the General Synod addressed a letter to its churches, congratulating them on the "general and almost universal attachment of the Presbyterian body to the cause of liberty and the rights of mankind." What was true of the Presbyterian was true of the other Calvinistic churches of the land, of the Congregational and also of the German and Dutch Reformed. It is estimated that of the 3,000,000 Americans at the time of the American Revolution, 900,000 were of Scotch or Scotch-Irish origin; that the German and Dutch Calvinists numbered 400,000, and the Puritan English 600,000. If the believers in the Westminster Standards and cognate creeds had been on the side of George III in 1776, the result would have been other than it was. But they stood where thoroughgoing Calvinists must ever stand, with the people and against tyrants, and therefore under the blessing of God the American Colonies became free and independent States. Rightly then do we acknowledge the debt of the Republic to the men of the Westminster Standards for civil liberty.

We pass now to a fact which in connection with the influence of our Church upon the republic is quite as important as any yet dealt with, the position of the Presbyterian Church for three-quarters of a century, as the sole representative upon this continent of republican government as now organized in this nation. From 1706 to the opening of the revolutionary struggle, the only body in existence which stood for our present national political organization was the General Synod of the American Presbyterian Church. It alone among ecclesiastical and political colonial organizations exercised

authority, derived from the colonists themselves, over bodies of Americans scattered through all the colonies from New England to Georgia. The colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is to be remembered, while all dependent upon Great Britain were independent of each other. Such a body as the Continental Congress did not exist until 1774. The religious condition of the country was similar to the political. The Congregational Churches of New England had no connection with each other, and had no power apart from the civil government. The Episcopal Church was without organization in the Colonies, was dependent for support and a ministry on the Established Church of England, and was filled with an intense loyalty to the British monarchy. The Reformed Dutch Church did not become an efficient and independent organization until 1771, and the German Reformed Church did not attain to that condition until 1793. The Baptist Churches were separate organizations, the Methodists were practically unknown, and the Quakers were non-combatants. But in the midst of these disunited ecclesiastical units one body of American Christians stood out in marked contrast. The General Synod of the Presbyterian Church was not dependent for its existence upon any European Church, was efficiently organized, and had jurisdiction over churches in the majority of the colonies. Every year the Presbyterian ministers and elders from the different colonies, came up to the cities of Philadelphia or New York, to consider not only the religious interests of their people, but likewise educational and at times political questions. It was impossible, at that date, it must be remembered, to separate these latter issues from the affairs of the Church, for the country was under the English government, the

Episcopal Church was the only Church to which that government was favorable, and Christians of other beliefs were compelled to act vigorously and unitedly in the maintenance of both their religious and secular interests. And the Presbyterian Church filled with the spirit of liberty, intensely loyal to its convictions of truth, and gathering every year in its General Synod, became through that body a bond of union and correspondence between large elements in the population of the divided colonies. Is it any wonder that under its fostering influence the sentiments of true liberty, as well as the tenets of a sound gospel, were preached throughout the territory from Long Island to South Carolina, and that above all a feeling of unity between the Colonies began slowly but surely to assert itself. Too much emphasis cannot be laid, in connection with the origin of the Nation, upon the influence of that ecclesiastical republic, which from 1706 to 1774 was the only representative on this continent of fully developed federal republican institutions. The United States of America owes much to that oldest of American Republics, the Presbyterian Church.

The influence which the Presbyterian Church exercised for the security of unity between the Colonies was zealously employed, at the close of the war for independence, to bring them into a closer union. The main hindrance to the formation of the Federal Union, as it now exists, lay in the reluctance of many of the States to yield to a general government any of the powers which they possessed. The federal party in its advocacy of closer union had no more earnest and eloquent supporters that John Witherspoon, Elias Boudinot and other Presbyterian members of the Continental Congress. Sanderson, in his lives of the signers of the Declaration

of Independence, states that "Witherspoon strongly combated the opinion expressed in Congress that a lasting confederation among the States was impracticable, and he warmly maintained the absolute necessity of union to impart vigor and success to the measures of government." In this he was aided by many who had come to the views which he, as a Presbyterian, had always maintained. Those who differed with Witherspoon at the first came at last to his position. Slowly but surely ideas of government, in harmony with those of the Westminster Standards, were accepted as formative principles for the government of the United States, and that by many persons not connected with the Presbyterian Church. Among these were the great leaders in the Constitutional Convention, James Madison, a graduate of Princeton, who sat as a student under Witherspoon; Alexander Hamilton, of Scotch parentage, and whose familiarity with Presbyterian government is fully attested; and above all George Washington, who though an Episcopalian, had so great a regard for the Presbyterian Church and its services to the country, that he not only partook of holy communion with its members, but gave public expression to his high esteem. Indeed, at one time so marked was the respect for our Church during Revolutionary days, that it was feared by Christians of other denominations that it might become in America what it was in Scotland, the Established Church, and so widespread was the feeling of alarm, that the General Synod felt compelled to pass a deliverance setting forth its views in relation to religious freedom. Great, however, as was the influence of the Presbyterian Church in those trying times, its ministers and members were always true to their own principles, and in every possible manner sought to maintain and further them in their

application to the government of the United States, and especially in connection with the union of the Colonies whose independence had been achieved. Presbyterians both in the Old World and the New had been accustomed to representative government, to the subordination of the parts to the whole, and to the rule of majorities for more than two centuries prior to the American Revolution. They knew the value of unity to popular government, and they labored earnestly and persistently until their governmental principles were all accepted by the American people, and the divided Colonies became the United States of America. It is not that the claim is made, that either the principles of the Calvinistic creed or of the Presbyterian government, were the sole source from which sprang the government of this great Republic of which we to-day are citizens, but it is asserted that mightiest among the forces which made the Colonies a nation were the governmental principles found in the Westminster Standards, and that the Presbyterian Church taught, practiced, and maintained in fulness, first in this land that form of government in accordance with which the Republic has been organized. Our own historian Bancroft says, "the Revolution of 1776, so far as it was affected by religion, was a Presbyterian measure. It was the natural outgrowth of the principles which the Presbyterianism of the Old World planted in her sons, the English Puritans, the Scotch Covenanters, the French Huguenots, the Dutch Calvinists, and the Presbyterians of Ulster." What the historian states as true of the war for independence is true of the organized government of the Republic. The elements of popular government were, without question, found in many of the Colonies, especially in New England, but the federal principle, whose acknowledgment resulted in the Ameri-

can nation, through the adoption of the Constitution of 1788, was found previous to that year in full operation upon this Continent, only in the American Presbyterian Church, and had in it its most practical and successful advocate. Chief among the blessings which Presbyterians and Reformed aided in bestowing upon this country was and is the Federal Union.

Such is the relation of Calvinism to our national life, such is the answer which as Presbyterians and Reformed we give to the question, what have these principles done for the Republic? To-day, as we look over our broad national domains, as we see the 80,000,000 of our inhabitants in the enjoyment of education, of religious freedom, of civil liberty, of the blessings which the Federal Union has secured to the nation, we can say, this hath Calvinism wrought! This, too, is our answer to the assertion made by some ill-informed persons, in whose minds prejudice has usurped the throne of sound reason, the assertion that Calvinism is dead! Dead! Calvinism dead! Its fundamental principles are maintained to-day in this land not only by the Presbyterian and the Reformed Churches, but also by Baptists, Congregationalists, and many Episcopalians. The majority of American Protestants are Calvinists. Calvinism dead! It will cease to be both life and power only when popular education shall give place to popular ignorance, when civil and religious liberty shall vanish, when the Republic shall be shattered into separate and warring nationalities, and when the very life shall have perished from government of the people, by the people, and for the people. But never shall such changes be. Oh, America, America! The sovereign hand of the Almighty rocked thy cradle, the eternal purpose sustained and nurtured thy founders, and we believe that the unchangeable di-

vine decree hath ordained thee to be an indestructible union of indestructible States, the leader of the hopes of mankind, the majority of thy citizen servants of God and lovers of humanity, until the hour when God shall in truth dwell with men, and all mankind shall be His people.

CHAPTER XXXI.

RECENT STATISTICS

of the Reformed Churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterial System.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

	Communicants
The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., ..	1,300,329
The Presbyterian Church in the U. S., ...	268,733
The United Presb. Church of N. A., ...	153,956
The Reformed (Dutch) Church in America,	117,139
Christian Reformed Church in N. A., ...	25,175
The Reformed (German) Church in the United States, ...	289,328
Reformed Presbyterian Church, Synod, ...	9,404
The Associate Reformed Synod of the South,	13,368
Reformed Presbyterian Church, General Synod, ...	3,500
The Welsh Calvinistic Methodist or Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., ...	14,500
Other churches, ...	1,000
Total, ...	2,196,432

IN CANADA.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada, ...	241,511
Church of Scotland in Canada, ...	10,000

IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

The Presbyterian Church of England, ...	85,774
The Church of Scotland in England, ...	4,000
Calvinistic Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales, ...	185,000

The Presbyterian Church in Ireland,	106,516
The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Ireland,	4,000
Other churches,	2,000

IN SCOTLAND.

The Church of Scotland,	698,566
The United Free Church of Scotland,	505,774
The Free Church of Scotland,	10,000
Other churches,	10,000

EUROPE.

Bohemia and Moravia,	250,000
France,	1,000,000
Germany,	3,000,000
Holland,	2,500,000
Hungary,	3,000,000
Italy,	100,000
Switzerland,	1,700,000
Other countries,	400,000

MISCELLANEOUS.

Africa,	400,000
Asia,	400,000
Australasia,	700,000
South America,	80,000

The above tables show the number of communicants in America and Great Britain, and the number of adherents in other countries:—

SABBATH-SCHOOL STATISTICS OF REFORMED AND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1908.

Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A..	1,164,790
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.,	224,336

Welsh Calvinistic Methodist or Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.,	15,500
United Presbyterian Church of North America,	152,294
Associate Reformed Synod of the South,	10,060
Reformed Presbyterian Church, Synod,	9,127
Reformed Presbyterian Church, Gen. Synod,	3,500
Reformed (Dutch) Church in America,	117,633
Christian Reformed Church in N. A.,	23,500
Reformed (German) Church in the United States,	268,079
Total,	*1,977,632

*About one-tenth of the above total is composed of officers and teachers.