

# JOHN CALVIN

**JOHN CALVIN**  
**The Organiser of Reformed Protestantism**  
**1509-1564**

WILLISTON WALKER

With a Bibliographical Essay  
BY JOHN T. McNEILL

SCHOCKEN BOOKS? NEW YORK

First published 1906

First SCHOCKEN edition 1969

Introduction Copyright ? 1969 by Schocken Books Inc.

Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 69-20336

Manufactured in the United States of America

# PREFACE

THE last few years have witnessed, in French and German speaking lands, a marked revival of interest in the person and work of Calvin. The publication of the monumental edition of his writings, under the editorship of a distinguished succession of Strassburg theologians, has been accompanied and followed by the studies of Kampschulte, Cornelius, Lefranc, Lang, M?ller, Wernle and Choisy, and has its crown in the great work of Doumergue, now more than half completed. The resources thus freshly placed at the disposal of the historian are ample excuse for a new biography of Calvin in English; and the writer would make grateful acknowledgment of his indebtedness to the labours of the scholars he has named.

In a volume limited in size and scope by conformity to the requirements of a series, as this necessarily is, some selection as to the weight of emphasis is imperative in describing a career so full of incident, of controversy, and of far-reaching influence as that of Calvin. The writer has chosen therefore to lay special weight on Calvin's training, spiritual development, and constructive work rather than on the minuti? of his Genevan contests, or the smaller details of his relations to the spread of the Reformation in the various countries to which his influence extended. Enough has been said on these topics, however, the writer hopes,

to make evident the nature and course of Calvin's principal controversies, and to indicate the character and the wide scope of his connection with the Reformation movement as a whole.

The writer desires to express his gratitude for most valuable suggestions and assistance, especially in procuring illustrations for this volume, to Rev. Dr. Eugène Choisy and to Rev. H. Denkinger-Rod, of Geneva, respectively President and Curator of the Société du musée historique de la Réformation of that city; and to Rev. Nathanaël Weiss, Secretary of the Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français of Paris.

YALE UNIVERSITY,

January 1, 1906.

# CONTENTS

<b>PREFACE</b>	<a href="#"><u>v</u></a>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE</b>	<a href="#"><u>ix</u></a>
<b>FIFTY YEARS OF CALVIN STUDY by JOHN T. McNEILL</b>	<a href="#"><u>xvii</u></a>
<b>CHAPTER I</b>	
<b>CALVIN'S SPIRITUAL ANTECEDENTS</b>	<a href="#"><u>1</u></a>
<b>CHAPTER II</b>	
<b>CHILDHOOD AND EARLY STUDENT DAYS, 1509-1527</b>	<a href="#"><u>18</u></a>
<b>CHAPTER III</b>	
<b>UNCERTAINTY AS TO HIS WORK IN LIFE, 1528-1555</b>	<a href="#"><u>44</u></a>
<b>CHAPTER IV</b>	
<b>RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT AND CONVERSION, 1528-1533</b>	<a href="#"><u>71</u></a>
<b>CHAPTER V</b>	
<b>FLIGHT FOR SAFETY IN CONCEALMENT AND VOLUNTARY EXILE, 1533-1535</b>	<a href="#"><u>107</u></a>
<b>CHAPTER VI</b>	
<b>THE "INSTITUTES," ITALY, AND ARRIVAL IN GENEVA, 1535-1536</b>	<a href="#"><u>127</u></a>
<b>CHAPTER VII</b>	
<b>GENEVA TILL CALVIN'S COMING</b>	<a href="#"><u>159</u></a>
<b>CHAPTER VIII</b>	
<b>EARLY WORK AT GENEVA, 1536-1538</b>	<a href="#"><u>183</u></a>

<b>CHAPTER IX</b> <b>IN STRASSBURG, 1538-1541</b>	<a href="#">216</a>
<b>CHAPTER X RETURN TO GENEVA--ITS ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION, 1541, 1542</b>	<a href="#">245</a>
<b>CHAPTER XI</b> <b>STRUGGLES AND CONFLICTS, 1542-1553</b>	<a href="#">281</a>
<b>CHAPTER XII</b> <b>THE TRAGEDY OF SERVETUS--CALVIN'S VICTORY OVER HIS OPPONENTS, 1553-1557</b>	<a href="#">325</a>
<b>CHAPTER XIII</b> <b>CALVIN CROWNS HIS GENEVAN WORK, 1559</b>	<a href="#">359</a>
<b>CHAPTER XIV</b> <b>INFLUENCE OUTSIDE OF GENEVA</b>	<a href="#">376</a>
<b>CHAPTER XV</b> <b>CALVIN'S THEOLOGY</b>	<a href="#">409</a>
<b>CHAPTER XVI</b> <b>LAST DAYS--HIS PERSONAL TRAITS AND CHARACTER, 1564</b>	<a href="#">429</a>

-viii-

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THE pathway of the student of Calvin's life and writings and of the literature which has to do with him has been made easy by several elaborate bibliographies. Best of all is that prepared by the late Alfred Erichson, the most recent editor of Calvin's Works, for the concluding volume of the series,<sup>1</sup> and also issued separately in convenient and revised form as *Bibliographia Calviniana*.<sup>2</sup> A useful list is that given in the second volume of *The Cambridge Modern History*.<sup>3</sup> Older, and therefore less valuable, but with brief critical estimates of the worth of the several authors cited, is that of Philip Schaff in the seventh volume of his *History of the Christian Church*.<sup>4</sup>

All earlier collections of Calvin's Works, as a whole, have been superseded by the noble edition, *Joannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia*, begun in 1863 and completed in fifty-nine volumes in 1900,<sup>5</sup> under the able editorship of the Strassburg scholars, Johann Wilhelm Baum, Edouard Cunitz, Edouard Reuss, Paul Lobstein, Alfred Erichson, and their associates. This series includes in volumes i.-xa. Calvin's theological treatises; in volumes xb.-xx. letters by Calvin and relating to him; in volumes xxiii.-lv. his homiletical and

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, lix. 462-586. He died April 12, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin, 1900.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 779-783, London and New York, 1904.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 223-231, 68-686, New York, 1892.

<sup>5</sup> Braunschweig. They constitute volumes xxix.-lxxxvii. of the *Corpus Reformatorum*. A sketch of the execution of the task, by Erichson, is given in the *Bulletin de la soci?t? du Protestantisme fran?ais*, xlix. 613 ( 1900).

-ix-

exegetical works. This edition is cited as the *Opera* in the notes of the present volume.

The correspondence contained in the *Opera* is supplemented by the carefully annotated series of *Correspondance des r?formateurs dans les pays de langue fran?aise*, of which nine volumes were issued by Aim? Louis Herminjard,<sup>1</sup> until the work of this admirable scholar was interrupted by death. The later volumes of Herminjard's work had the advantage of publication subsequent to the corresponding sections of the *Opera*, and the writer has therefore cited them in references to Calvin's letters where they thus present the fruits of further investigation.

The larger portion of Calvin's theological and exegetical writings are accessible to the reader who knows English only, in the *Works of John Calvin*, published in fifty-two volumes, 1843-1855, at Edinburgh by the "Calvin Translation Society." The *Institutes* have been often translated; most worthily by Henry Beveridge for the series just named. A selection of Calvin's letters collected by Jules Bonnet was printed in English translation in part at Edinburgh, in 1854, and as a whole, in four volumes, as *Letters of John Calvin*, at Philadelphia, in 1858. The edition should be used, however, only in comparison with their more critical presentation in the *Opera* or in the collection of Herminjard.

The earliest lives of Calvin, by his friends, Beza and Colladon, originally published in 1564, 1565, and 1575, may be found in volume xxi of the *Opera*. That of Beza, of 1575, is printed, in English translation by Beveridge, in *Calvin's Tracts* in the edition of the "Calvin Translation Society."<sup>2</sup>

Of important modern biographies, the earliest in date and

---

<sup>1</sup> Geneva, 1866-1897. The series ends with the year 1544. Herminjard died at Lausanne, December 11, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> I. xix-c, Edinburgh, 1844.

-x-

the amplest in learning up to its time was that by the pastor of the French Church in Berlin, Paul Henry, *Das Leben Johann Calvins des grossen Reformators*, in three volumes, Hamburg, 1835-1844. Highly eulogistic and the fruit of great industry, it was, for its epoch, the ablest defence as well as the fullest biography of the Genevan reformer; but is now largely superseded by later publications. A maimed translation into English (lacking most of the notes and appendices which give much of value to the original) was put forth by Henry Stebbing, in 1849.<sup>1</sup>

Diametrically opposite in purpose, and lacking all claim to regard as a serious attempt to ascertain the facts of history, was the intensely polemic and unscrupulous *Histoire de la vie, des ouvrages et des doctrines de Calvin*, of the partisan Roman Catholic, Vincent Audin, published at Paris in two volumes in 1841. An English translation, by John McGill, was issued at London in 1843 and 1850.

In 1850, the English historian, Thomas Henry Dyer, published at London his *Life of John Calvin*, in a single substantial volume. Based largely on a careful independent study of Calvin's correspondence, and on the work of Henry, it differs much in tone from that of the Berlin biographer. Dyer's attitude toward Calvin is critical, not to say severe; but the volume is one of much merit. It discusses Calvin's origins and early history with brevity; but details his Genevan controversies with thoroughness.

In 1862 and 1863, Felix Bungener published a popular history, *Calvin, sa vie, son ?uvres, et ses ?crits*, in two volumes at Paris, which, though well written, added little to the existing knowledge of its subject. It was immediately translated into English, and appeared at Edinburgh in 1863.

More thorough in its workmanship, and in fact one of

---

<sup>1</sup> London and New York.

the best of the older biographies of Calvin, was *Johannes Calvin, Leben und ausgew?hlte Schriften*, by Ernst St?helin, a pastor in Basel, published at Elberfeld in two volumes, in 1863. St?helin's attempt to estimate Calvin's personal characteristics was peculiarly successful.

The work of Jean Henri Merle d'Aubign?, Professor in the Free Church Theological Seminary at Geneva, the first volume of which appeared, in 1863, under the title *Histoire de la r?formation en Europe au temps de Calvin*,<sup>1</sup> deserves mention chiefly because of its enormous circulation, especially in English-speaking lands. Its account of the Genevan Reformation extends to 1542. Though based on much use of documentary sources, it is essentially partisan, paints its portraits without shade, and makes constant sacrifices to dramatic effect.

A biography of a much more satisfactory nature was that of the Old-Catholic Professor of the University of Bonn, Friedrich Wilhelm Kampschulte, *Johann Calvin, seine Kirche und sein Staat in Genf*. The first volume of the three planned by the author appeared in 1869; the second was complete at the time of his death on December 3, 1872, but, though intrusted to his friend, Professor Carl Adolf Cornelius, of Munich, was not published till 1899,<sup>2</sup> and then under the editorship of Dr. Walter Goetz of the University of Leipzig. The third was never begun. Though undoubtedly unsympathetic and too much inclined toward a critical estimate of the reformer, and not a little influenced by the Galiffes<sup>3</sup> who regarded Calvin as a foreign usurper in Gene-

---

<sup>1</sup> Paris, 1863-1878. Eng. tr. London, 1863-1878; New York, 1870-1879.

<sup>2</sup> Both at Leipzig.

<sup>3</sup> Jacques August Galiffe and Jean Barth?lemy Gaifre Galiffe, of Geneva, father and son, maintained with much learning the thesis that Calvin was a foreign intruder who introduced into Geneva, before

-xii-

van affairs, Kampschulte's volumes, incomplete as they are, by accuracy of scholarship and acquaintance with the events in which Calvin bore a part, are still indispensable to the student.<sup>1</sup>

In Am?de Roget, Professor in the University of Geneva, that city possessed a capable historian of its affairs. His *Histoire du peuple de Gen?ve depuis la r?forme jusqu'? l'escalade*, in seven volumes, 1870-1883, covers the period from 1536 to 1567,<sup>2</sup> and therefore embraces all of Calvin's Genevan activity. Remarkably impartial, and essentially objective in its treatment, it gains high value from its constant citation of the Genevan archives, with which the author was thoroughly familiar.

In 1888, a brilliant young scholar of France, now Professor in the Coll?ge de France at Paris, Abel Lefranc, published at Paris a study of Calvin's youth of great significance, *La jeunesse de Calvin*.

Four years later, the late Professor Philip Schaff gave, as the principal content of the seventh volume of his *History of the Christian Church*

---

his time free, a system of tyranny. The chief works of the elder Galiffe were, *Mat?riaux pour l'histoire de Gen?ve*, Geneva, 1829; and *Notices g?n?alogiques sur les familles genevoises*, Ibid., 1836. Of the younger, *Quelques pages d'histoire exacte* (trials of Perrin and Maigret), in the *M?moires de l'Institut national genevois*, for 1862; and *Nouvelles pages d'histoire exacte* (trial of Ameaux), Ibid., for 1863. They represent, in modern times, the opposition of the old-Genevan families to Calvin.

<sup>1</sup> The writer, while recognising Kampschulte's predisposition to severity of judgment, believes Doumergue's criticism of him too unfavourable (ii. 717-721); and even Doumergue declares: "For Catholic historians, it is certain that Kampschulte and Cornelius have given proof, in regard to Calvin, of a remarkable impartiality"; though regarding that "impartiality" as inadequate.

<sup>2</sup> Published at Geneva. Roget intended to carry his work further, but was interrupted by death on September 29, 1883.

-xiii-

of the Christian Church, a careful sketch of Calvin's career and significance, marked by his well-known merits and limitations.<sup>1</sup>

In his *La th?ocratie ? Gen?ve au temps de Calvin*, published at Geneva in 1897, a Genevan pastor and scholar, Rev. Dr. Eug?ne Choisy, has presented a brief but very valuable discussion of the principles which underlay Calvin's Genevan policy.

A cyclopaedia article of more than usual merit was that of the late Professor Rudolf Stähelin in the third (Albert Hauck's) edition of the *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*.<sup>2</sup>

Calvin's conversion, earliest theological writings, and indebtedness to previous reformers have been subjected to searching and rewarding investigation by a pastor of Halle, August Lang.<sup>3</sup> The discussion has been continued in papers of high importance by Professor Karl Müller of Tübingen,<sup>4</sup> and Professor Paul Wernle of Basel.<sup>5</sup>

In 1899, Kampschulte's friend and fellow Old-Catholic, the late Professor Carl Adolf Cornelius<sup>6</sup> of Munich, gathered the studies which he had made preparatory to the intended completion of Kampschulte's unfinished work,

---

<sup>1</sup> New York, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> III. 654-683, Leipzig, 1897. He died March 13, 1900.

<sup>3</sup> *Die ältesten theologischen Arbeiten Calvins*, in the *Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, for 1893, Bonn, pp. 273-300; *Die Bekehrung Johannes Calvins*, in the *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche*, Leipzig, 1897, i. 1-57; *Der Evangelienkommentar Martin Butzers*, Leipzig, 1900. He has also written on Calvin's household life, and relations to Luther and Melancthon.

<sup>4</sup> *Calvins Bekehrung*, in *Nachrichten von der k. nigl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, for 1905, pp. 188-255.

<sup>5</sup> *Noch einmal die Bekehrung Calvins*, in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxvii. 84-99 (1906).

<sup>6</sup> Died February 10, 1903.

with other monographs, into a volume entitled *Historische Arbeiten, vornehmlich zur Reformationszeit*,<sup>1</sup> in which, quite in the spirit of that scholar, with similar thoroughness and command of accessible sources, he discussed Calvin's journey to Italy and his Genevan work to 1548. On this period Cornelius is indispensable to the student.<sup>2</sup>

The year of the publication of Cornelius's discussions, 1899, witnessed the issue of the first volume of the remarkable biographical undertaking which is to constitute a monument not only to the Genevan reformer, but to its laborious author, Professor Émile Doumergue, of the Theological Faculty of Montauban. Of the five volumes proposed, three have appeared,—the second in 1902 and the third in the closing weeks of 1905. The first carries Calvin to the publication of the *Institutes*, the second to his recall to Geneva, while the third is devoted to a description of the city and of his home and surroundings. No such elaborate biography has been planned of any other leader of the Reformation as this entitled *Jean Calvin: les hommes et les choses de son temps*,<sup>3</sup> and its beauty and interest is enhanced not merely by abundant photographic reproductions, but by drawings of high artistic merit by Henri Armand-Delille. In elaborateness of discussion, in amplitude of treatment, it leaves little to be desired. The most conspicuous criticism to be passed upon it is that it is everywhere a defence of its subject. Professor Doumergue is above all a worshipper of his hero, but a very painstaking worshipper, who

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig.

<sup>2</sup> Most of these studies were first published in the *Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie*, Munich, 1886-1895.

<sup>3</sup> Published at Lausanne. The size is a quarto almost as large as a sixteenth century folio. The first volume contains 648 pages; the second, 829; and the third, 734.

-xv-

is undoubtedly led into occasional exaggeration by his enthusiasm. His critical judgment is sometimes impaired, also, by his desire to win the utmost of biographical result from his sources, and to present Calvin in the most favourable light. For the student of Calvin the work is, nevertheless, of much value; and the writer can but express his indebtedness to its author and his hope that the labours now so far advanced may be carried without interruption to their intended conclusion.

A brief summary of Calvin's work, marked by deep insight into its ruling purposes and spiritual significance, is presented in the chapter by Principal Andrew Martin Fairbairn of Mansfield College, Oxford, entitled *Calvin and the Reformed Church*, in the second volume of *The Cambridge Modern History*, issued in 1904.<sup>1</sup>

No bibliographical note, however limited, would be complete without mention of the *Bulletin historique et littéraire* issued by the Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français of Paris, now under the efficient management of Rev. Nathaniel Weiss, and in the fifty-fifth year of its publication (1906). Scattered through its pages may be found many discussions, documents, and reviews of high value to the student of Calvin.

---

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 342-376, London and New York.

-xvi-

## FIFTY YEARS OF CALVIN STUDY

### Part I, 1918-48?

Since the close of World War I the study of Calvin has been advanced by the labors of many scholars. His article presents a classified bibliography of what in the writer's judgment are the materials of chief importance in this enlarging field of research. For reasons easily understood, the studies here noticed are more numerous than weighty. In the countries from which we expect the most intensive historical work, the writers have been handicapped by war and its attendant distractions. Pro-

---

<sup>?</sup> Only a few references can be made to the numerous works of bibliographical guidance in which I have found help. Karl Schottenloher's standard *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, 1517-1585* (Leipzig, 1933--40), offers in volumes I and II (*Personen*) and in volume V (*Nachträge*) a reasonably comprehensive listing of Calvin materials to 1940. Indexes and lists in the following publications have also been helpful in identifying titles: *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig); *Bibliographisches Beiblatt der Theologischen Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig); *Theologische*

*Rundschau* (Tübingen); *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (Louvain); *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (Gotha); *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (Halle); *Church History* (now in Chicago); *Revue historique* (Paris); *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* (Paris); *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* (Strasbourg). The last-named journal is so frequently referred to below that the reader will be asked to recognize it by the abbreviation *RHPR*. In volume XXV (1945), 1-94, it has a classified index for the years 1921-45. A number of bibliographical articles call for mention. Robert Centilevre reports critically on major studies of the 'twenties in "Ouvrages récents sur Calvin", *RHPR*, XVI (1928), 283-99. Peter Barth "Fünfzig Jahre Calvinforschung, 1909-1934", *Theologische Rundschau, Neue Folge*, VI (1934), 161-75, 246-67, has a selection of German and French materials for the greater part of our period. August Lang has reviewed some notable books of the early 'thirties in

Part I originally appeared as "Thirty Years of Calvin Study", *Church History*, XVII (1948), 207-40, and is here reprinted with the permission of that journal.

-xvii-

longed and cumulative labor has been possible only to a few. Many of the shorter pieces mentioned here are the occasional work of busy pastors, or the obiter scripta of academic scholars chiefly engaged in other fields. Despite the disadvantages, a surprising number of competent and illuminating studies are to be reported. The clash of divergent Protestant theologies has stimulated historical inquiry and, since the theological protagonists are chiefly in the Reformed tradition, historical interest has tended to move from Luther to Calvin, who has been found to have a great deal more to say to the twentieth century than was supposed when the century began. To the limited number of admirers and opponents of Calvin who formerly pursued Calvin studies, there has been added an increasing circle of eager investigators who hold him in some sense as either an authority or an ally. Historical investigations generated in controversy sometimes emerge as works of sincere historical research, profitable to the open-minded inquirer.

I have profited by conversation and correspondence with Dr. Paul T. Fuhrmann, who has also very kindly loaned me nearly a

---

"Recent German Books on Calvin", *Evangelical Quarterly*, VI (1934), 64-81. T. H. L. Parker article "A Bibliography and Survey of the British Study of Calvin, 1900-1940", *Evangelical Quarterly*, XVIII (1946), 123-31, and Louis B. Frewer *Bibliography of Historical Writings Published in Great Britain and the Empire, 1940-1945* (Oxford, 1947), have been profitably consulted. The periodical *Social Science Abstracts* (Menasha, Wis., 1928-32) has numerous references. Three titles which furnish very limited bibliographical guidance on Calvin may be added: *Shirley Jackson Case et al., A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Christianity* (Chicago, 1931); Roland H. Bainton, *Bibliography of the Continental Reformation, Materials Available in English* (Chicago, 1935); Hardin Craig, *Recent Literature on the Renaissance* (University of North Carolina Studies in Philology, XLIV, Chapel Hill, 1947), 265-452, "The French Renaissance," by Samuel F. Will and W. L. Wiley. The *Catalogue général de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, the *Catalogue of Printed Books of the Library of the British Museum*, and the card index of the Library of Congress have also been of service.

As suggested at the end of the original article, an addendum was published in *Church History*, XVIII ( 1949), 241. It consisted of seven titles, four of which were received from interested scholars. In the present printing these have been entered, with comments, at suitable points within the article. Other changes include the omission of numerals accompanying the titles, and the correction of proof errors.

-xviii-

score of the foreign books mentioned below which were not otherwise available. Mr. W. Edward Wing assisted in the initial search of titles and prepared many library slips for my use. I owe much to the patience of librarians in the New York Public Library and in the libraries of Columbia University and Union Seminary, whose time I have consumed and whose shelves I have raided. Some books have been kindly sent me from the libraries of New Brunswick Theological Seminary, Princeton Theological Seminary, and Yale Divinity School.

## I. LIFE AND WORK OF CALVIN

World War I delayed the monumental work of ?mile Doumergue , *Jean Calvin, les hommes et les choses de son temps* ( Lausanne, 1899-1927). Volume V, the second of the two volumes on Calvin's thought, appeared in 1917, but volume VI ( *La lutte*) was held until 1926, and volume VII ( *Le triomphe*) came out a year later, completing the work. The last two volumes constitute Part IV of the whole and treat the work of the Reformer as distinct from his thought. As in the earlier parts, Doumergue's industrious research makes the reader familiar not only with Calvin but also with the labors and opinions of countless writers in the whole history of Calvin interpretation. Calvin is Doumergue's hero, and the biographer's enthusiasm delivers him from all tediousness as he takes his joyous way through the mass of data. In volume VI he gives more than 300 pages to the Servetus case and related matters. In the latter part of volume VII we are shown the data of Calvin's impact upon the countries of Europe. While, unfortunately for his learned disciple, Calvin can do no wrong, and although he is presented in a guise more than justifiably agreeable to modern social liberals, the work has great value also merely as a record of indubitable facts and will probably remain indispensable for long years to come. In an introduction to Allan Menzies, *A Study of Calvin and Other Papers* ( London, 1918), James Moffat remarked that Doumergue's Calvin resembles Masson *Milton* in its scale and spirit. Doumergue's other Calvin studies within our period include a little book, *Le caract?re de Calvin* ( Paris, 1921). Jean-Daniel Benoit

-xix-

Benoit in *Jean Calvin: La vie, l'homme, la pens?e* (Neuilly, 1933) presents what he calls "the quintessence of the seven big volumes of my old master, Dean ?mile Doumergue." Benoit has a knowledge of the sources, but the book is mainly an excellent condensation (275 pages).

The volume by Jean Moura (pseudonym for Simone Louvet) and Paul Louvet, *Calvin* ( Paris, 1931), dwells upon unfavorable details of the Geneva discipline and incidentally suggests a line of development from Calvin through Fourier to communism. It has appeared in English as *Calvin, a Modern Biography* (Garden City, New York, 1932). Peter Barth article, "Calvin, Johann", in the dictionary *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, I ( Leipzig, 1927), gives a condensed summary of Calvin's life, adopting an early date for his conversion ( 1527-28). (See below, p. xxii.) Emanuel Stickelberger, author of poetry and fiction and of an oft-printed popular history of the Reformation, in *Calvin: Eine Darstellung* (Gotha, 1931; I have not seen

the edition of Stuttgart, 1943), offers a lively portrait of Calvin, marked by the use of striking quotations and vivid comment. Stickelberger writes with warm admiration of the Reformer and is armed with knowledge. Like Doumergue, he is intent on rescuing Calvin from his antagonistic biographers, such as F. W. Kampschulte, "who did not grasp Calvin and did not like him." A short study with a similar aim by Ernst Pfisterer, *Calvins Wirken in Genf* (Essen, 1940), and M. C. Slotemaker de Bruine small book, *Calvijn* (Zutphen, 1934), also deserve honorable mention here.

Since Doumergue's, probably the most extensive general work on Calvin is Renato Freschi *Giovanni Calvino*, volume I, *La Vita*; II, *Il Pensiero* (Milan, 1934). The second volume is the more important (see below, p. xxxii). Volume I is an objective recital of the life, labors, and struggles of the Reformer. The story is independently told, though many special studies have been consulted. The attitude is one of cool respect sometimes giving way to admiration. Two notable one-volume works in English deserve attention. The earlier is Robert Nigel Carew Hunt's *Calvin* (London, 1933). The author has a fine sense of proportion, and the book reveals admirably the significant events and the personality and character of Calvin. Hunt does not be-

-xx-

come involved in contemporary theological interests, and he omits references to much recent Calvin discussion. The work is intended merely as a biography, and as such it is unsurpassed. The second important English book is James Mackinnon *Calvin and the Reformation* (London, 1936). Unlike Hunt, Mackinnon is unsympathetic toward his subject and seems to demand of him modern attitudes which are lacking. There is a good introductory chapter, chiefly on Zwingli, and the brief account of Calvin's theology has much to commend it. A disproportionately extended treatment of the Servetus episode results in undue compression at other points. Readers of Mackinnon's earlier works, including his four-volume *Luther and the Reformation*, have felt some disappointment in his *Calvin*, and Continental reviewers have been cool. To these may be added *That Frenchman, John Calvin* (New York, 1939), by Robert Whitefield Miles, a fairly ample book written in a popular vein, and Albert Hyma's elementary and somewhat controversially defensive sketch, *A Life of John Calvin* (Grand Rapids, 1934). Adolfo Asmodeo *Giovanni Calvino e la riforma in Ginevra* (Bari, 1947), which was edited after the author's death by Benedetto Croce, calls to notice the liberating element of Calvin's emphasis on the conscience as responsible to God only. G?nter Gloede *Zucht und Weite: Calvins Weg und Werk* (Giessen, 1938) not only sketches Calvin's activities in Geneva but follows his Europe-wide contacts and influence.

The most fundamental general work in French is by a Roman Catholic layman, Pierre Imbart de la Tour, and forms volume IV of that author's *Les origines de la R?forme*, with the volume title *Jean Calvin: L'Institution chr?tienne* (Paris, 1935). Imbart's early death (1925) while eagerly at work on the volume is much to be regretted. In its incomplete state the manuscript was faithfully edited by J. Chevalier (cf. *Revue des deux mondes*, CIV [1934], 140-71, with an advance printing of the chapter [Book I, chapter iv] on Calvin's personality). Imbart is fascinated by the personality and mind of Calvin, but finds him lacking "tenderness" and (quite erroneously, as others have since shown) insensible to beauty. In common with Hunt and Freschi, he holds that it was not until (May) 1534 that Calvin "put in accord his

-xxi-

belief and his conscience." He credits Calvin with the genius to understand that, if the new faith was to replace the old, it must construct "a new Catholicism uniquely founded upon the Word of God" and adopt "the Catholic ideas of universality and authority." But the limits of his success were set by the fact that he could not detach the peasant from his saints. For reviews of Hunt, Imbart, and Mackinnon see August Lang, "Drei neue Calvin-Biographien", *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, CVII ( 1936), 448-63, and *Evangelical Quarterly*, IX ( 1937), 256-70. Josef Bohatec reviews Imbart and Mackinnon in *Zeitschrift f?r Kirchengeschichte*, LVIII ( 1941), 605-7. Henri Strohl has a (largely theological) review of Imbart in *RHPR*, XX ( 1940), 155-61. Henri Hauser comments on Stickelberger (French edition, 1936) and Mackinnon in *Revue historique*, CLXXXIII ( 1938), 91-97.

Jacques Pannier, an industrious and competent Calvin scholar, has given much attention to special phases of the Reformer's career. In *Recherches sur l'?volution religieuse de Calvin jusqu'? sa conversion*, *Cahiers de la RHPR*, no. 8, and published in that journal, III ( 1923), 189-209, 277-323, Pannier discusses Calvin's reference to his *subita conversio*. He puts forth the novel view that *subita* may be taken as a past participle rather than an adjective and in that case is faultily rendered by the French *subite*, "sudden." The conversion thus becomes a process that is undergone; and he sees evidence that by 1532 it was completed in Calvin's resolution to dedicate himself wholly to God. As we have seen, other competent scholars have favored a later date. Their position is adopted in a valuable study by Franco Callandra , "Appunti sullo sviluppo spirituale della giovinezza di Calvino", *Revista storica italiana*, Ser. 5, IV ( 1939), 175-225.

The suggestion that Bucer had an influence in Calvin's conversion is considered and rejected by Hastings Eells in "Martin Bucer and the Conversion of John Calvin", *Princeton Theological Review*, XXII ( 1924), 402-19. Pannier, in his *Calvin ? Strasbourg* ( Strasbourg, 1925), first printed in *RHPR*, IV ( 1924), 420-48, 504-33, discusses Calvin's relations with Bucer. With this may be mentioned his *Calvin ? Ferrare* ( Montpellier, 1929). In his *Recherches sur la formation intellectuelle de Calvin*, *Cahiers de*

-xxii-

*la RHPR*, no. 25 ( Paris, 1931), and in that review, X ( 1930), 145-76, 264-85, 410-47, Pannier shows the young scholar in his humanist environment, examines his knowledge of Erasmus, Lef?vre, Bud?, Marguerite of Angoul?me, and de Berquin, considers the influence of foreign reformers upon him, and makes some observations on his style. In *M?langes offerts ? M. Abel Lefranc* ( Paris, 1936) he has an acute study (pp. 161-69) dating an early letter of Calvin to the Princess Ren?e and shedding light on the chronology of the years 1536-41. His *Maison de Calvin...* ( Paris and Noyon, 1939) is a catalogue describing 117 Calvin items and over 400 for the early Protestantism of northern France in the Calvin museum at Noyon. (One wonders what Calvin would think of this modern "Inventory of Relics," but the relics are presumably genuine and no miracles are claimed!) Pannier "Calvin et les Turcs", *Revue historique*, CLXXXVII ( 1937), 268-86, shows the Reformer alert to the Turkish peril but ignorant of the Koran.

Calvin's intellectual development has also been fruitfully, and somewhat more fully, investigated by Quirinus Breen in *John Calvin: A Study of French Humanism* (Grand Rapids, 1932). Breen has brought new evidence on Calvin's association with the law scholars ?toile, Alciati, and Duchemin and has examined the ideas of the Seneca Commentary of 1532 and the deposit of humanism in Calvin's mind. I mention in this context Josef Bohatec "Calvin et

*l'humanisme*", *Revue historique*, CLXXXIII ( 1938), 207-41; CLXXXV ( 1939), 71-104, though it is mainly not biographical but concerned with Calvin's reactions to and judgments of a series of minor humanist writers. A. Mitchell Hunter has written a well-informed short article, "The Erudition of John Calvin", *Evangelical Review*, XVIII ( 1946), 199-208.

E. Jarry *Les ?coles de l'universit? d'Orl?ans* ( Orleans, 1919) describes the humanist circle of Calvin's friend Fran?ois Daniel. W. G. Moore in an important study, *La R?forme allemande et la litt?rature fran?aise* ( Strasbourg, 1930), has a section on Calvin (pp. 318-32) and shows evidence that he was probably exposed to the writings of Luther at Paris, Orleans, and Bourges. Karl Brauer gives details of Calvin's brief visit to Frankfort in Sep-

-xxiii-

tember, 1556, to solve disagreements among refugee Protestants there: *Die Beziehung Calvins zu Frankfurt a. M.* (Verein f?r Reformationsgeschichte, XXXVIII, Leipzig, 1920).

Calvin's later association with Bucer is discussed by Wilhelm Pauck in "Calvin and Butzer", *Journal of Religion*, IX ( 1929), 237-56. (See below, p. xli.) *Calvin ? Strasbourg 1539-1541* ( Strasbourg and Geneva, 1938) forms the title of a set of four essays sponsored by the synodal commission of the Reformed Church of Alsace and Lorraine. In the first of these, Jean-Daniel Beno?t treats Calvin's varied activities in Strasbourg; in the second, "Calvin et Bucer," Jaques Courvoisier compares these two reformers, ascribing to Calvin greater clarity of mind, to Bucer a more irenic spirit. P. Scherding follows with a study entitled "Calvin, Mann der Kirche," with reference to the Strasbourg period. The final item is on the Reformed churches of the Strasbourg area, by D. A. Kunz.

Karl M?ller "Calvin und die Libertiner", *Zeitschrift f?r Kirchengeschichte, Neue Folge*, III ( 1922), 83-129, and Wilhelm Niesel's study under the same title in the same journal, X ( 1929), 58-74, have attempted to identify the sources and elements of the Libertine party opposed to Calvin. Roland H. Bainton in his *Bernardino Ochino* ( Florence, 1940) has treated (pp. 63-75) Ochino's stay in Geneva, 1542-45, and indicated the nature of his other contacts with Calvin. Andr? Bouvier *Henri Bullinger, r?formateur et conseiller oecum?nique* ( Paris, 1940) gives about one hundred pages to the cooperation of Calvin with the Zurich leader, including an examination of the *Consensus Tigurinus*. For Calvin and Servetus, apart from the Calvin biographies, Roland H. Bainton's article "The Present State of Servetus Studies", *Journal of Modern History*, IV ( 1932), 79-92, Earl Morse Wilbur's "The Two Treatises of Servetus on the Trinity" ( *Harvard Theological Studies*, XVI, Cambridge, Mass., 1932), and the same writer's authoritative *History of Unitarianism: Socinianism and Its Antecedents* ( Cambridge, Mass., 1945), are especially useful. The study by August Hollard, "Michel Servet et Jean Calvin", in *Bibliot?que d'humanisme et Renaissance*, VI ( 1945), 171-209, and C. J. Wijnaendts Francken *Michael Servet en zijn Marteldood; Calvin--Servet--Castellion* (Haarlem, 1937), three essays

-xxiv-

on the persons named, add but little. Stefan Zweig *Castellio gegen Calvin, oder ein Gewissen gegen die Gewalt* ( Vienna, 1936), in *English The Right to Heresy* ( New York, 1936), has a good deal of information and some misinformation. R. H. Bainton's "Concerning Heretics... Attributed to Sebastian Castellio" ( *Records of Civilization*, XXII, New York, 1935), a translation of the *De hereticis*, has an introduction useful to students of Calvin.

Although elements of psychological interpretation enter many of the biographies, there have been remarkably few serious attempts to psychologize Calvin. It has been said that Otto Ritschl (see below) does this unjustifiably in his view that the "glory of God" concept in Calvin reflects his awareness of the glory of the king of France. The late Dean Shailer Matthews in his lectures had earlier adopted the same idea. Albert Autin, in books published in 1918 and in 1929, promised a book to be entitled *Jean Calvin; essai de biographie psychologique*, but I have been unable to discover that it was ever published. Hermann Weber has attempted the task in his *Die Theologie Calvins im Lichte strukturpsychologischer Forschungsmethode* (Berlin, 1930). Calvin's fanaticism, according to this author, had its roots not only in his schizoid constitution but also in his French-Latin blood. Geometrical figures are used to illustrate Calvin's "objective rational individualism" and the "synthetic objective universalism" of Thomas Aquinas. But not much knowledge of Calvin's life and works is in evidence.

Among imaginative treatments of Calvin may be mentioned Georges Reymond *Jehan le Thocrate, drame en quatre actes* (Lausanne, 1927), set in 1553, with Farel, Servetus, and Calvin's stepdaughter Judith among the characters; Jerome and Jean Tharaud, *La chronique des freres ennemis* (Paris, 1929), in which a Genevan citizen in 1556 recalls events of half a century; and the reprint by Harvard Press (1946) of *The History of the Kingdom of Basaruah*, alleged to be the first American novel (1715) and the work of Joseph Morgan.

-XXV-

## II. WRITINGS OF CALVIN

A considerable number of Calvin's works have appeared in new editions. The *Calvini opera selecta* edited by Peter Barth and Wilhelm Niesel, in five volumes (Munich, 1926-36), offers a well-chosen selection critically edited. The full text of the *Institutio of 1559* is included (vols. III to V). The work (especially vol. I) has been criticized by Hanns Rckert, E. Mhlaupt, and others, for weaknesses and errors. For an exchange between Barth and Rckert, see the former's "*Zu meiner Calvin-Ausgabe*", and the critic's reply, *Zeitschrift fr Kirchengeschichte*, XLV (1927), 412-18. Rckert desiderated more adequate apparatus and felt that the task should have been done by a group of scholars in collaboration. An admirable new edition of the 1541 French text of the *Institutio* has been presented by Jacques Pannier and associated scholars: *Calvin: Institution de la religion chrtienne*, four volumes (Paris, 1936-39). At the end of each volume ample historical and textual notes are provided by Abel Lecerf (vol. I) and Max Dominic (II to IV). The introduction points to Calvin's painstaking effort to turn the Latin into completely intelligible French. Volume IV has a glossary and an index of names. Otto Weber has used the Barth and Niesel text as the basis of his German translation, *Calvin: Unterricht in der christlichen Religion* (Neukirchen, 1936). This work was planned in four volumes, of which I to III would be text. I have seen only Bd. I, which contains Calvin's Books I and II. The second and third volumes, containing Books III and IV respectively, have appeared (1937-38). I find no record of the publication of Bd. IV, which was to consist of notes and indexes and should prove a highly useful companion volume.

The John Allen translation of the *Institutes* is kept in circulation by the Presbyterian Board of Education, Philadelphia. Since 1909 the editions have contained Benjamin Warfield Introduction, "*The Literary History of the Institutes*." After many reprintings of former editions, the seventh American edition appeared in 1936 (2 volumes) with an additional "*Account of the American Editions*"

Editions" by Thomas C. Pears. No English edition with adequate apparatus has yet been attempted.

The quatercentenary of the *Institutes* was commemorated in a Spanish translation of the first edition by Jacinto Teran, with an introduction by B. Foster Stockwell: *Juan Calvino: Institucion de la religion cristiana* ( Buenos Aires, 1935). Cipriano de Valera's introduction to his ( 1597) Spanish version of the 1559 edition follows Dr. Stockwell's condensed account of Calvin's early life and interpretative analysis of the work. The translator has followed the Barth and Niesel text. Notes identifying passages used by Calvin are appended.

The Soci?t? Calviniste de France has published *Oeuvres de Calvin*, three volumes ( Paris, 1934-36), under the editorship of Abel Lecerf, Albert-Marie Schmidt, and Jacques Pannier. The selection is from his French writings other than the *Institutes*. The Geneva committee for the Fourth Centenary of Calvin produced a notable miscellany of his short works, *Calvin homme d'?glise* ( Geneva, 1936). This includes the Geneva Articles of 1537, the Zurich Consensus, the "*Trait? du fid?le parmi les papistes*," selected fragments of the commentaries, and other items. Antiquated French words are followed by their modern equivalents in parentheses. Under the title *Um Gottes Ehre* ( Munich, 1924) Simon Mathias presented German versions of Calvin *Letter to Francis I*, *Address to Charles V*, and other documents.

Narrowly abridged editions of the *Institutes* have appeared in German, Italian, and English. E. F. Karl M?ller *Johann Calvin, Unterricht in der christlichen Religion* (Erlangen, 1909 and 1928) is probably the most extended of these. A selection entitled *Dalle "Institutione della religione christiana"* ( Milan, 1944) contains a sixty-five-page unsigned historical introduction. Hugh Thompson Kerr, Jr., in *A Compend of the Institutes of the Christian Religion by John Calvin* ( Philadelphia, 1939) has used about one-tenth of Allen's text in well-selected extracts. *John Calvin's Instruction in Christianity, an Abbreviated Edition of the Institutes*, by John P. Miles, has been edited with further abridgement by David Otis Fuller ( Grand Rapids, 1947). The text is a condensation by the editor. J. W. Marmelstein has attempted by textual comparisons to prove, against the common view, that

Calvin is himself the translator, with assistance from his brother Antoine and Nicholas Colladon, of the 1559 Latin *Institutio* to form the French version of 1560: *Etude comparative des textes latins et fran?ais de l'Institution de la religion chr?tienne par Jean Calvin* (Groningen, 1921). Albert Autin in *L'Institution chr?tienne de Calvin* ( Paris, 1929) has treated carefully the revisions and editions of the *Institutes* in relation to the events of Calvin's life.

Some treatments of the theology of the *Institutes* will appear in section III below. Brief interpretations of the work are Wilhelm Pauck's article "Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion", *Church History*, XV ( 1946), 17-27, and a chapter (ii) in *Books of Faith and Power* ( New York, 1947) by John T. McNeill.

A new interest in Calvin's sermons is shown in the appearance of numerous selections from his extensive sermon texts. Erwin M?lhaupt has published a book of sixteen of the sermons in German translation, *Johann Calvin, Diener am Wort Gottes, eine Auswahl seiner Predigten*

(Göttingen, 1934). Eight are on Old Testament and eight on New Testament texts. The dates are given: they extend over the years 1545 to 1560. Volume III of the *Oeuvres de Calvin* consists of sermons on the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection, and the Second Advent of Christ. Hanns Røckert has utilized some of the still considerable unpublished sermon manuscripts of Calvin in a large volume: *Predigten über das 2. Buch Samuelis in der Ursprache nach der Genfer Handschrift I* (Neukirchen, 1936). M?lhaupt had earlier written a study of Calvin's sermons, *Die Predigt Calvins, ihre Geschichte, ihre Form, und ihre religi?sen Grundgedanken* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1931). This book was criticized as showing a wayward selection of Calvin materials and is not helpfully organized. Much is made of the imagery used in the sermons. Ernst Bitzer *Calvin: Abraham-Predigten* (Munich, 1937) is a German translation of the sermons on Abraham from volume LI of the *Opera* in the *Corpus Reformatorum* edition and is designed to show the value of Calvin's use of the Old Testament "as a book of the Church"--a point of interest for political reasons in 1937. T. H. L. Parker in *The Oracles of God; an Introduction to the Preaching of John Calvin* (London, 1947) has studied Cal-

-xxviii-

vin's aims and methods as a preacher and the circulation of his sermons in Tudor and Stewart England. He suggests that Calvin's sermons affected the norms of English prose style. One (Nativity) sermon in English is appended. Parker has made use of M?lhaupt *Die Predigt* while critical of his method.

A new German edition of the Commentaries by Otto Weber was set in progress in the 'thirties, and Christian Reformed scholars in America have begun to republish the out-of-print English edition (Grand Rapids: *Romans*, 1947; *Hebrews*, 1948). The letters of Calvin have been searched by writers on different phases of his life and thought. W. de Zwart has edited one hundred of them in *Calvijn in het licht zijner brieven* (Kampen, 1938). The letters form the main source of a little book reproducing three lectures, *Calvin als Mensch, Mann der Kirche und Politiker* (St. Gallen, 1945), by Ulrich Gutersonn, who uses the text of Rudolf Schwarz's German edition of 1909. Other studies dependent on the letters are indicated below. I am indebted to Matthew Spinka for the information that F. M. Dobi?? has a Czech translation of Sadoleto's Geneva letter and Calvin's reply, with an introduction of 162 pages by J. L. Hrom?dka: *Calvin: kardin?l a reform?tor* (Prague, 1936).

Jacques Pannier has an edition of the Preface written by Calvin for Oliv?tan's New Testament: *?p?tre ? tous les amateurs de Jesus Christ: Pr?face ? la traduction fran?aise du Nouveau Testament par Robert Oliv?tan* (1535; Paris, 1929). Albert Autin has presented, with an ample introduction, notes, and appendices, two vivid controversial tracts: *Trait? de reliques, suivi de l'Excuse ? Messieurs les Nicod?mites* (*Collections des chefs d'oeuvre m?connus*, no. 13, Paris, 1921). In the *Oeuvres de Calvin*, II (1935), Albert-Marie Schmidt has edited, with a preface by Pannier, the *Reply to Sadoleto*, the *Little Treatise on the Holy Supper*, and the *Des scandales*. The *Psychopannychia* has been edited by Walter Zimmerli (*Quellenschriften zur Geschichte des Protestantismus*, no. 13, Leipzig, 1932). Frederick Eby, in *Early Protestant Educators* (New York, 1931), has a section on Calvin in which he presents a translation of the *By-Laws* of the Academy of Geneva (252-68). Arthur Piaget has edited the ample report of the Lausanne Disputation, *Les actes de la dispute de Lausanne 1536*

-xxix-

1536 (Neuchâtel, 1928), from the fair copy made by Viret's secretary, Mercier, who had the original notes of the four secretaries of the conferences. Calvin's speeches are, of course, included. The *Instruction* of 1537, which is Calvin's own fifty-page epitome of the Institutes for popular use, was included by Peter Barth in the *Opera Selecta*, volume I. It has appeared in an Italian translation by Valdo Viney (Pinerola, 1937). A bibliography of Calvin's writings, Jean Calvin, *bibliographie de ses oeuvres* (Paris, 1939), is the work of Avenir Tchemerzine and Marcel Pélissier, under the auspices of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

Increasing attention has been given to Calvin's French style and historic position as one of the chief founders of modern French prose. Jacques Pannier has revised an earlier short study which appears as *Calvin écrivain, sa place et son rôle dans l'histoire de la langue et de la littérature française* (Publications de la Société calviniste de France, 3, Paris, 1930). Pannier cites numerous comments on Calvin's style from that of John Sturm to this century. Abel Lefranc in "*Calvin et l'éloquence française*", *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français*, LXXXIII (1934), 173-93, and Jean Plattard in "*Le beau style de Calvin*" (*Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, LXII, no. 22, Paris, 1939) have celebrated the merits of his style. Plattard has an article, "*Calvin et l'éloquence française*", in *Revue bleue, politique et littéraire*, LXXXIII (1935), 206-10, in which he stresses the use by Calvin of simple images to render into popular French, abstract Latin words; his tristesse, and his brevity. It was Bossuet who first spoke of Calvin's style triste; the adjective is interpreted by modern scholars to mean austere but not morose. Raoul Morley in his *La Renaissance*, II (Paris, 1935), treats Calvin (and Protestant poets of France) with admiration. This work is a history of ideas as well as of literary forms. Hedwig Ruff in *Die französischen Briefe Calvins: Versuch einer stilistischen Analyse* (Glarus, 1937) has examined the style of Calvin's letters to great personages--Francis I, René, Antoine de Bourbon, Somerset, Coligny, and others--with interesting results. She refers to his own canons of style, demand for order (*dispositio*), clarity (*perspicuitas*), and brevity, and to the sincerity and inward vitality of his writing. Examples are given of his contemptuous

-XXX-

irony, the variant moods of his exhortations, the effective use of figures of speech, and the habit of writing words in pairs: "*pitie et misericorde... prier et exhorter... chere et pretieuse*," etc. Another closely labored, though brief, study is by Charles Guerlin de Guer, "*Sur la langue du picard Jean Calvin*", *France moderne*, V (1937), 303-16. Guerlin investigates the question earlier raised by Abel Lefranc, of the Picard element in Calvin's vocabulary, and exhibits considerable evidence of this.

### III. DOCTRINAL STUDIES

It is widely recognized that a "revival of Calvinism" is in process. The word "Calvinism" may be used legitimately in more than one sense, especially with respect to the range of data over which it is made to extend. If for the moment we think of Calvinism as simply what John Calvin taught, we see a marked revival of respectful interest in it, and on a narrower front, of assent to its basic tenets. In Paul T. Fuhrmann *God-Centered Religion: An Essay Inspired by Some French and Swiss Protestant Writers* (Grand Rapids, 1942) the strains of Neo-Calvinism are specified as the Barthian and the Classic. The latter, he notes, is represented by Émile Doumergue, Auguste Lecerf, and Jacques Pannier. But even among these we find differences of approach; and the flood of writing by scholars stimulated by Karl Barth and Emil Brunner offers much variety. Along with Fuhrmann's important book, the study entitled

"*Le R?veil du Calvinisme*", in *?tudes sur le Calvinisme*, by Henri Clavier ( Paris, 1963), and T. H. L. Parker article "The Approach to Calvin", *Evangelical Quarterly*, XVI ( 1944), 165-72, will be found useful as introductory reading on the New Calvinism. It is more characteristic of Dutch than of French classical Calvinism that the interpretation of Calvin is consciously or unconsciously filtered through confessional documents of generations later than Calvin's own. The French writers have generally been more responsive to modern viewpoints and have tended to find these adumbrated in Calvin's thought. Even among those whose appropriation of Calvin's theology is so cautiously traditional, that they hold it as a closed system to be defended at

-xxxii-

every gate and rampart, some variations of interest and interpretation will be discovered. For both Barth and Brunner, Calvin's works offer suggestion and basic ideas, and while they contend with one another, they do not fear to differ from Calvin and from his more traditional interpreters. For this reason they have both been subjected to criticism by the latter. These variant attitudes could not fail to stimulate research. Contributions to this research by Lutherans, Roman Catholics, and relatively disinterested historians of thought and culture have also been considerable. The result is an unmanageably extensive literature of interpretation of which a selection only can be brought to notice here.

Before the ascendancy of the Theology of Crisis, Paul Wernle wrote his ample study, *Calvin* (T?bingen, 1919), which is volume III of his *Der evangelische Glaube nach den Hauptschriften der Reformatoren*, volumes I and II being on Luther and Zwingli, respectively. He unfolds the growth of Calvin's system by exploring in turn the editions of the *Institutes*. The first edition is treated at greatest length, and in later sections he deals with elements later added and the notable features of each book of the final edition. Wernle discounts the charge that Calvin is an Old Testament legalist: he is not more Jewish than Paul. A. Mitchell Hunter's *The Teaching of Calvin* ( Glasgow, 1920) has served as a useful textbook on the writings, doctrines, and discipline of the Reformer. Hunter has a good chapter on the Commentaries. He writes with warm appreciation tempered by gentle criticism. Henry Osborn Taylor has thirtyfive vivid pages on the thought, style, and personality of Calvin in his *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century* ( New York, 1920), I, xvii.

Volume II of Freschi *Calvino* offers in eleven chapters a systematic description of Calvin's thought. His aim is to "remain seriously adherent to the whole thought of the Reformer" rather than to seize upon isolated passages. He has evidently read Calvin thoroughly, as well as a large body of modern Calvin studies. The Church Fathers, especially Augustine, the Scholastics, and the German Reformers often enter his pages. He writes as a philosopher but is respectful to theologians who, like Calvin,

-xxxiii-

are not philosophers. Paul T. Fuhrmann writes me that Freschi "has entered into the inner flux of Calvin's thought." Otto Ritschl's *Die reformierte Theologie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* ( *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus*, III, G?ttingen, 1926) gives a systematic treatment of Calvin in relation to Zwingli and Luther and affirms the dominance of the doctrine of predestination in his theology, which Ritschl presents rather unsympathetically. The well-known book by the Princeton scholar Benjamin B. Warfield , *Calvin and Calvinism* ( New York and London, 1931), consists of essays published 1908-15 and thus in content antedates

our period. Heinrich Heppe century-old *Die Dogmatik der evangelisch-reformierten Kirche* has appeared in a new edition by Ernst Bizer (Neukirchen, 1938). Other studies little affected by Barthianism are John S. Whale *Christian Doctrine* (London, 1941, frequently reprinted), which rests on a Calvinist base and has elements of interpretation of Calvin; and Arthur Dakin's *Calvinism* (London, 1941; Philadelphia, 1946). Dakin's book is largely a brief, faithful transcript of Calvin's ideas; it also contains chapters on the early diffusion of Calvinism, and a vague closing chapter on Barth and Calvin.

Auguste Lecerf, who has felt the influence of Dutch interpreters, is a good representative of classical Calvinism, but his two-volume *Introduction à la dogmatique Réformée* (Paris, 1931) is introductory only. Volume II defends Calvin's position against that of Roman Catholicism. In his article "De la nécessité d'une restauration de la dogmatique calviniste", *RHPR*, II (1922) 40818, he regards the sovereignty of God as the central principle of Calvinism and the point of departure for restoring Protestant theology. Jean de Saussure *Le rôle de Calvin* (Paris, 1930) is an eloquent little book of addresses in which he poses and seeks to answer the questions What is God? man? Jesus Christ? the Christian? Saussure minimizes the value of nature and history for Calvin: these witness to God only for the eyes of faith. This book was unfavorably reviewed by Ph. Daulte in "Un essai de restauration calvinienne", *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* (Lausanne), nouvelle série, XIX (1931), 233-61. Daulte incidentally cites the once renowned Charles Hodge on behalf of unregenerate man in Calvin.

-xxxiii-

It is impossible here to bring under close examination the numerous volumes arising from the meetings of Calvin societies and from the quatercentenary celebrations of the *Institutes* in 1936. One of the best of the latter was published a year in advance under the auspices of the *Bibliothèque Nationale: études sur Calvin et le Calvinisme* (Paris, 1935). International Calvinist congresses have been held in London (1932), Amsterdam (1934), Geneva (1936), and Edinburgh (1938). The titles of their published proceedings are, respectively, "The Reformed Faith, Commonly Called Calvinism" (London, 1932); *Tweede internationaal congres van Gereformeerden Calvinisten* (Hague, 1935); *De l'Élection éternelle de Dieu* (Geneva, 1936); *Proceedings of the Fourth Calvinist Congress*, edited by Stephen Leigh Hunt (Edinburgh, 1938). The first American Calvinist Conference, held in Philadelphia, 1939, produced *The Sovereignty of God*, edited by Jacob T. Hoogstra (Grand Rapids, 1940); the proceedings of the Second Conference, which met in Grand Rapids, 1943, appeared as *The Word of God and the Reformed Faith* (Grand Rapids, 1943). A number of special studies in these various miscellanies and symposia are of sufficient importance to be cited in their appropriate contexts below. Hungarian Calvinists celebrated the *Institutes* in a volume of papers, *Kalvin és a Kalvinizmus* (Debreczen, 1936). Authors and titles are listed in *Schottenloher*, volume V, and there is an extended review by L. Hatvani in *Gereformeerde theologisch tijdschrift*, XXXVII (1936), 251-59. The papers deal with aspects of Calvin's treatment of scripture, points in his theology, and his influence upon Hungarian Reformation leaders.

The reader will not expect to find here a list of the numerous titles which represent the divergent views on Calvin of Karl Barth and Emil Brunner. Help will be found in Walter M. Horton's *Contemporary Continental Theology; an Interpretation for Anglo-Saxons* (London and New York, 1938). Barth's decisive, and incisive, *Nein! Antwort an Emil Brunner* (*Theologische Existenz heute*, no. 14, Munich, 1934) came as a reply to Brunner *Natur und*

*Gnade* (Tübingen, 1934). Brunner's expanded and reinforced second edition, *Natur und Gnade; zum Gespräch mit Karl Barth* (Tübingen, 1935) should be used.

-xxxiv-

Brunner affirmed, and Barth flatly denied, a natural theology in Calvin. More recently Barth has treated Calvin's doctrines in a simple commentary on the 1545 Confession of Faith of Geneva: *La confession de foi de l'église; explication du Symbole des Apôtres d'après le catéchisme de Calvin* (Neuchâtel, 1943). The text was edited by Jean Leuba from shorthand notes of six seminars. In France Pierre Maury in "*La théologie naturelle d'après Calvin*" (*Études sur Calvin*, 1935, pp. 267-79) and *Le grand oeuvre de Dieu* (Paris, 1937) is in accord with Barth: Calvin's "whole work protests" against the notion of man's natural knowledge of God. Auguste Lecerf has severely criticized Barth's divergence from Calvin on the knowledge of God ("radical agnosticism") and other points: *Revue de théologie et de philosophie*, XV (1927), 319. Peter Barth in the article "Calvin" in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, I, denies that Calvin's theology grows out of any one doctrine such as sovereignty or predestination; it is an assertion of the Word of God drawn from the scripture, in its complex variety and hidden unity. He here denies all trace of natural theology in Calvin, and in his study "*Das Problem der natürlichen Theologie bei Calvin*" (*Theologische Existenz heute*, no. 18, Munich, 1935) this position is developed. The most scholarly reinforcement of Brunner position is found in *Theologia naturalis bei Calvin* (Stuttgart, 1934), by Günter Gloede, a comprehensive study fortified with ample quotations. Gloede treats Calvin's teaching on creation and nature and examines his doctrines of man with attention to the *imago Dei* concept, conscience, reason, and art. He agrees with Eugène Choisy observation (in a short study, *Calvin et la science*, Geneva, 1931) that Calvin thought in terms of a general revelation in which pagans and unbelievers share. Wilhelm Lietzger in "*Calvins Lehre vom Schöpfer*", *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*, IX (1932), 421-40, with some criticism of Wernle, treats Calvin's doctrine of the knowledge of God as Creator in his teaching on predestination and providence. Max Dominicé, in *L'Humanité de Jésus d'après Calvin* (Paris, 1933), examines, with many extracts from the New Testament commentaries, Calvin's treatment of the compassion, anger, humiliation, and redemptive death of Jesus, bringing to

-xxxv-

emphasis--according to P. Bridel, in excess of the evidence (*Revue de théologie et de philosophie*, nouvelle série XXII, 1934, 139-44)--the humanity of Calvin himself. Egbert Emmen examines Calvin's Christology in relation to his doctrines of God, anthropology, and ecclesiology, the last including eschatology: *De Christologie van Calvijn* (Amsterdam, 1935). Hermann Schlingensiefen has sought out Calvin's references to the Sermon on the Mount: *Die Auslegung der Bergpredigt bei Calvin* (Berlin, 1927). He organizes his copious material around such themes as "law" and the "*officia caritatis*."

H. Bauke *Das Problem der Theologie Calvins* (Leipzig, 1922) was suggested by the contrasted views of Albrecht Ritschl and Ernst Troeltsch, who regarded Calvin, respectively, as an epigone of Luther's and an independent reformer. He finds Calvin appropriating Luther's ideas, but giving them a new character. In the view of August Lang (*Reformierte Kirchenzeitung*, 1931, no. 19, and the article cited above [p. xvii] in *Evangelical Quarterly*, VI, 1934), Bauke stresses the dialectic notion of *complexio oppositorum* to the point of sacrificing the unity of Calvin's doctrine. Wilhelm Niesel in *Die Theologie Calvins* (Munich, 1938) covers systematically the main themes from a Barthian viewpoint. Among points

stressed by Niesel are a denial that in Calvin assurance of salvation may be derived from experience of good works (the "*syllogismus practicus*") and Calvin's insistence on the Chalcedonian formula.

Henry Jacob Weber in a paper entitled "The Formal Dialectical Rationalism of Calvin", *Papers of the American Church History Society*, VIII (1928), 19-41 (Presidential Address, 1924) discusses the element of *complexio oppositorum* in Calvin's theology and regards him as a logician rather than a historical exegete in his treatment of scripture. Alfred de Quervain's contributions to Calvin study include *Calvin, seine Lehren und Kämpfe* (Berlin, 1928) and *Gesetz und Freiheit* (Stuttgart, 1930). The former is partly biographical; it treats Calvin's thought at points of opposition to Roman Catholicism and sectarianism. A student of Wernle, de Quervain has become in large degree a disciple of Barth.

Kemper Fullerton in *Prophecy and Authority* (New York,

-xxxvi-

1919), 139-64, sheds light on Calvin's use of typology and other aspects of his interpretation of scripture. J. A. Cramer *Die Heilige Schrift bei Calvin* (Utrecht, 1926) was defended in his article *Calvijn en de Heilige Schrift, Nieuwe theologische studien*, XV (1932), 197-211, against D. J. DeGroot *Calvijns opvatting over de inspiratie der Heilige Schrift* (Amsterdam, 1931). Cramer distinguishes the notions of "Word" and "Scripture" in Calvin: he believed the scripture because he heard God's voice in it, and this did not mean subscription to every detail of its content. Henri Clavier *Études sur le Calvinisme* has two competent studies: "*La parole de Dieu et l'unité de l'Église universelle d'après Calvin*," and "*Calvin commentateur biblique*." In the former he rejects the view that Calvin is a strict scriptural literalist: the Word is in the scripture in a dynamic way. In one of thirteen appendices (no. 4) he gives statistics of Calvin's citations of scripture showing a great preponderance for the New Testament. The second paper aims to show from the Commentaries "not that Calvin is biblical but the way in which he is biblical." In the main Clavier reinforces with evidence of his own, the views of Doumergue ("that Calvinus Redivivus"). Rupert E. Davies has an extended independent critical evaluation of the conception of scripture authority in Calvin: *The Problem of Authority in the Continental Reformers; a study of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin* (London, 1946). Paul L. Lehmann is closer to Clavier than to Davies, but indebted to neither, in "The Reformers' Use of the Bible", *Theology Today*, III (1946), 328-44.

Hermann Barnikol *Die Lehre Calvins vom unfreien Willen und ihr Verhältnis zur Lehre der übrigen Reformatoren und Augustins* (Neuwied, 1927) shares with Joachim Beckmann earlier treatise *Vom Sacrament bei Calvin* the view that Calvin's doctrine of predestination and grace is derived not from the German Reformers but from Augustine. Calvin is the "reimpristinator" of the Augustinian theology. Hans Emil Weber in *Reformation, Orthodoxie und Rationalismus, Teil I, Von der Reformation zur Orthodoxie*, 1 Halbband (Göttersloh, 1927), treats a number of topics within Calvin's theology in relation to the thought of Bucer, Melancthon, and Osiander. Calvin's quarrel

-xxxvii-

with Osiander over the doctrine of justification, which the Nuremberg theologian, according to Calvin, confused with regeneration, is treated by Wilhelm Niesel in "Calvin wider Osianders Rechtfertigungslehre", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XLVI (1928), 410-30, a

study inspired by E. Hirsch *Die Theologie des Andreas Osiander* (Göttingen, 1919). Peter Brunner *Vom Glauben bei Calvin* (Tübingen, 1925) includes materials from the Reformer's systematic works, commentaries, and sermons, and considers faith as a turning point in history. Covering a like range of Calvin's writings, Alfred Gähler has expounded his doctrine of sanctification and its relation to justification and works: *Calvins Lehre von der Heiligung* (Munich, 1934). Étienne de Peyer discusses "Calvin's Doctrine of Divine Providence" in the *Evangelical Quarterly*, X (1938), 30-45, a topic to which Josef Bohatec had devoted a fuller study (1909). Wilhelm Albert Hauck, following his Heidelberg dissertation (1937), in which he examined Calvin's treatment of the God-and-man relationship, with special attention to sin, justification, faith, foreknowledge, and predestination, produced a series of small books in this segment of Calvin's thought. His *Was sagt uns Heutigen Calvin? Die Schuldfrage im Spiegel der christlichen Lehre von Sünde und Erbsünde* (Heidelberg, 1946) is the third, enlarged edition of a work that appeared in 1938. Another in the series is *Calvin und die Rechtfertigung* (Göttersloh, 1938).

Responding to Hans Engelland *Gott und Mensch bei Calvin* (Munich, 1934), Hans Otten attempts to define the place of predestination in Calvin's thought and connects it with his soteriology rather than with the doctrine of divine sovereignty: *Calvins theologische Anschauung von der Praedestination* (Munich, 1938). Lorraine Boettner in *The Reformed Doctrine of Predestination* (Grand Rapids, 1932) allows Calvin only twenty pages near the end. C. Friethoff, O.P., has compared Calvin with Aquinas on the decrees of God, merit, etc., in *Die Praedestinationslehre bei Thomas von Aquin und Calvin* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1926). On the author's interpretation, neither theologian was "infralapsarian." A similar topic has been treated by A. D. R. Polman in *Praedestinationsleer van Augustinus, Thomas van Aquino en Calvijn* (Leyden, 1936), and Paul Jacobs

-xxxviii-

has examined Calvin's doctrine of predestination in relation to man's responsibility: *Praedestination und Verantwortlichkeit bei Calvin* (Neukirchen, 1937). In the volume of the *Third Calvinist Congress*, pp. 21-47, Peter Barth treats Calvin's doctrine of predestination as based strictly upon scripture but suggests criticisms of his developed teaching of double predestination: "*Die biblische Grundlage der Praedestinationslehre bei Calvin*". The same volume contains "*Election and Vocation*" (75-91) by George S. Hendry; "*Predestination and History*" (118-26) by Donald Maclean; "*Predestination in the Institutes, 1536-1559*" (131-38) by Stephen Leigh Hunt; "*Erwählung und Verknüpfung*" (157-67) by Rudolf Grob; and "*La prédestination dans la dogmatique calviniste*" (207-35) by G. Oorthuys. Discussions of the papers are reported. Étienne Gilson in his Gifford Lectures, *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy* (New York, 1936), and in *Christianity and Philosophy* (New York and London, 1939) from a Thomist point of view considered various elements in Calvin's thought. Herbert Olsson *Calvin och Reformationens teologi* (*Acta Universitatis Lundensis*, Ny fjärd, XL, Lund, 1944) is a book of over 600 pages closely printed and fully annotated. Olsson makes extended comparison of Calvin and Aquinas with regard to the use of such concepts as *analogia entis*, *ordo naturae*, and *imago Dei*. It is to be hoped that this research will not remain locked in a language which few scholars are fortunate enough to read.

The doctrine of common grace in Calvin has been a favorite theme of Dutch Calvinist scholars under the influence of Abraham Kuyper and Herman Bavinck. Hermann Kuiper *Calvin on Common Grace* (Grand Rapids, 1930) describes common grace as "the lustre of God's image in all men," divides the topic up into three categories, and supplies many

citations of Calvin. Cornelius van Til has a shorter book on the topic, *Common Grace* (Philadelphia, 1947). K. Schilder in *Zur Begriffsgeschichte des "Paradoxen" mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Calvins und des nach-Kierkegaardischen "Paradoxen"* (Kampen, 1933) compares Calvin's, Kierkegaard's, and Rudolph Otto's use of paradox; he cites numerous related Dutch studies here unmentioned.

-xxxix-

Quirinus Breen stressed the Stoic element in Calvin's humanism. Édouard F. Meylan has an inquiry into the sources of Calvin's notion of *adiaphora*, which he connects with Cicero *De finibus*: "The Stoic Doctrine of Indifferent Things and the Conception of Christian Liberty in Calvin *Institutio Religionis Christianae*," *Romanic Review*, XXVIII (1937), 135-45. Roy W. Battenhouse in "The Doctrine of Man in Calvinism and in Renaissance Platonism", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, IV (1948), 447-71, discovers some "interesting affinities" with Ficino and Pico on the loss and restoration of the image of God in man, leading in Calvin to both aestheticism and asceticism. For divergent modern American attitudes to Calvin's theology, light can be found in Clarence Bouma "Calvinism in American Theology Today", with replies by Joseph Haroutunian and Wilhelm Pauck, *Journal of Religion*, XXVII (1947), 34-54. Haroutunian and Pauck acknowledge the value of Calvin's theology for today but treat Bouma's confessional and literalistic Calvinism as a perishing survival. D. Kromminga in a paper entitled "And the Barthians" in the volume of the First Calvinist Conference, pp. 65-90, criticizes the Barthian appropriation of Calvinism as eliminating from the realm of nature all correspondence between God and man. Cornelius van Til in *The New Modernism; an Appraisal of the Theology of Barth and Brunner* (Philadelphia, 1947) comes vigorously to the defense of the traditional formulae of Calvin interpretation.

#### IV. CHURCH, MINISTRY, WORSHIP, SACRAMENTS, ART

Calvin's doctrine of the church was treated at length by Doumergue and has received some attention in most of the general works noticed above. Imbart's sections on this topic have been rated as the most satisfactory parts of his book (*Bohatec*). Numerous special studies and articles have also been devoted to this theme. Peter Barth in "Calvin's *Verständnis der Kirche*", *Zwischen den Zeiten*, VIII (1930), 216-33, presents Calvin's teaching as opposed alike to individualistic sectarianism and to hierarchical Romanism, and as essentially eschatological. Henri Reubelt Percy's "The Meaning of the Church in the Thought of Calvin

-xl-

of Calvin" (Chicago, 1941) is a short extract from a doctoral thesis. In a paper read before the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Western Section, in 1941, "The Church in Sixteenth Century Reformed Theology", *Journal of Religion*, XXII (1942), 251-69, I presented the outlines of Calvin's doctrine.

A question much in discussion has been that of Bucer's influence upon Calvin's conception of church polity. Jacques Pannier in *Calvin ? Strasbourg* represented Bucer as rather fortifying than prompting Calvin's views. Gustav Anrich in *Strassburg und die calvinische Kirchenverfassung* (Tübingen, 1928) argued for the predominance of Bucerian elements in Calvin's polity. Wilhelm Pauck in "Calvin and Butzer", approving Anrich's position, affirmed that the Reformed type of church is Bucer's gift to the world through his "brilliant executive," Calvin. Jaques Courvoisier in *La notion d'église chez Bucer, dans son développement*

*historique* ( Paris, 1933), chapter vi, takes a similar viewpoint. Henri Strohl uses E. St?helin's two-volume work on Oecolampadius to show that the basis of Bucer's Strasbourg polity lies in the 1529 Basel regulations: "*La th?orie et la pratique des quatre minist?res ? Strasbourg avant l'arriv?e de Calvin*", *?tudes sur Calvin* 1935, 122-44. In this connection, Jaques Courvoisier has a comparative study in the same volume, 105-21: "*Les cat?chismes de Gen?ve et de Strasbourg*."

These studies involve reference to Calvin's view of the ministry, and to his ecumenical interests, subjects which have been increasingly inviting to scholars. Jacques Pannier in *Calvin et l'?piscopat* ( Strasbourg and Paris, 1927), no. 14 of *Cahiers de la RHPR*, in which journal it appeared ( VI [ 1926], 305-35, 43470), startled some Calvinists by a documented argument that the episcopate is "an organic element in integral Calvinism." James L. Ainslie's *The Doctrine of Ministerial Order in the Reformed Churches in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* ( Edinburgh, 1940) takes a contrary position; though a work of serious scholarship, it suffers from the omission of significant data (review in *Journal of Religion*, XXII [ 1942], 219-21). "The Doctrine of the Ministry in Reformed Theology", *Church History*, XII ( 1943), 77-97, by the present writer, was a paper read before the Alliance of Reformed Churches in 1942. (All three of these

-xli-

studies mingle with Calvin-materials evidence of later date.)

Meanwhile, stress has been laid upon the ecumenical aspect of Calvin's teaching and labor. In "Calvin's Efforts Toward the Consolidation of Protestantism", *Journal of Religion*, VIII ( 1928), 411-33, and in *Unitive Protestantism; a Study of Our Religious Resources* ( New York, 1930), I presented evidence of Calvin's concern for, and efforts to realize, church unity. Auguste Lecerf "*La doctrine de l'?glise dans Calvin*", *Revue de th?ologie et de philosophie, nouvelle s?rie* XVII ( 1929), 256-70, examined Calvin's ecumenism and its doctrinal limitations. Eug?ne Choisy has an article on "*Calvin et l'union des ?glises*" in the *Bulletin of the Soci?t? de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Fran?ais*, LXXXIV ( 1935), 72-90. Donald Maclean deals with "The Sovereignty of God and Ecumenical Life" in the Second Calvinist Congress volume, 121-25. In the first of Clavier *?tudes*, Calvin's concern for the ecumenical church is treated in relation to his doctrine of the Word of God. Ray C. Petr1 in "Calvin's Conception of the 'Communio Sanctorum'", *Church History*, V ( 1936), 227-38, examines Calvin's expressions of that doctrine and discusses its ethical implications. W. Kolfhaus in *Christusgemeinschaft bei Calvin* ( Neukirchen, 1939) treats Calvin's idea of communion with Christ as dynamic and discusses its place in his doctrine of the sacraments. Karlfried Fr?hlich takes a wide sweep of Calvin's teaching in a compact book, *Gottesreich, Welt und Kirche bei Calvin* ( Munich, 1930), a much superior sequel to his *Die Reichgottesidee Calvins* ( Munich, 1922). Fr?hlich has been castigated by Barthians and traditionalists, but the later book rests on good research and is richly suggestive. It enters upon the fields of ethics and politics and has a substantial section on church and worship.

Joachim Beckmann made Calvin a close follower of Augustine in *Vom Sacrament bei Calvin; die Sacramentslehre Calvins in ihren Beziehungen zu Augustin* ( T?bingen, 1926). Wilhelm Niesel , *Calvins Lehre vom Abendmahl im Lichte seiner letzten Antwort an Westphal* ( T?bingen, 1920), and Willem Frederik Dankbaar , *De sacramentsleer van Calvijn* ( Amsterdam, 1941), have further examined from divergent viewpoints the sources of Calvin's sacramental teaching, the resemblances and differences

between him and Augustine, his debts at this point to other Reformers, and his defense of his position against rigorous Lutherans. A book of first-rate importance is Alexander Barclay *The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper: A Study of the Eucharistic Teaching of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin* (Glasgow, 1927), which gives eight chapters to Calvin and makes an illuminating comparison of his doctrine with that of Rattramus. Peter Barth in "*Calvin zum Abendmahlsstreit*", *Christliche Welt*, XLIII (1929), 817-23; 922-29, referring mainly to the *Little Treatise on the Holy Supper*, shows points of difference between Calvin and Luther. Jean de Saussure study "*La notion R?form?e des sacrements*" is in *Etudes sur Calvin* (1935), 243-65; the article "*La sainte c?ne selon Calvin*" by E. Pache, *Revue de th?ologie et de philosophie religieuses*, XXIV (1936), 308-27, and the paper "*L'?lection et le sacrement*" by Auguste Lecerf in the *Third Calvinist Congress* volume, 252-62, call for mention in this context.

William D. Maxwell in *John Knox's Genevan Service Book* (Glasgow, 1931) has shed much light on the emergence of Calvin's liturgy in Strasbourg and its later use in Geneva. Maxwell *Outline of Christian Worship* (Oxford, 1936), 112-19 and the chapter (X) by John S. Whale on Calvin in the book by Nathaniel Micklem et al., *Christian Worship, by Members of Mansfield College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1936), are also valuable. Charles Schneider, assisted by the poet Ren?-Louis Piachaud, in *La restauration du Psalter Huguenot* (Neuch?tel and Paris, 1930), amid much else of interest, features the work of Claude Goudimel, musical contributor to the Geneva Psalter. Sir Richard Terry in *Calvin's First Psalter, 1539* (London, 1932), offers an authoritative edition with critical notes. Waldo Selden Pratt has a scholarly examination of Calvin's Psalter: *The Music of the French Psalter of 1562* (New York, 1939). Percy A. Scholes discusses Calvin's encouragement of music in a revealing book, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England* (London, 1934). Pierre Pridoux has an article which may be selected from much else written in this field, "*Le culte protestant et la musique*", *Revue de th?ologie et de philosophie*, N. S. XXXII (1944), 18-35.

Jean-Daniel Beno?t followed his *Direction spirituelle et protestantisme; ?tude sur la legitimit? d'une direction protestante* (Paris, 1940) with the notable treatise *Calvin, directeur d'?mes* (Strasbourg, 1947), in which he faithfully searches the Reformer's numerous letters of spiritual guidance and exhibits other proofs of his emphasis upon this function of the ministry. A. D. R. Polman brings under review a number of aspects of Calvin's ecclesiology in "*Vragen van den dag uit de correspondentie van Calvijn en anderen belicht*", *Gereformeerd theologisch tijdschrift*, XL (1939), 26-40, 67-93, 121-37, 169-79. Polman makes use of the material of the letters on the controversy with Rome, and on relations with Lutherans and Zwinglians.

The *Collected Papers* of Herbert Darling Foster shed light on the discipline of Geneva. A suggestive article in this field is "Church Discipline: A Comparative Study of Luther and Calvin", *Lutheran Church Quarterly*, VI (1933), 61-83, by James Jensen Raun.

L?on Wencelius has taken as his province Calvin's aesthetics and attitude to art. In "*L'Id?e de joie dans la pens?e de Calvin*", *RHPR*, XV (1935), 70-109, he discussed a neglected theme. Later came a series of articles entitled "*L'Id?e de mod?ration dans la pens?e de Calvin*", *Evangelical Quarterly*, VII (1935), 87-94; VIII (1936), 75-93, 297-317. These studies were

followed by two notable books, *L'esthétique de Calvin* ( Paris, 1937) and *Calvin et Rembrandt* ( Paris, 1937). Wencelius brings the fruits of a close examination of Calvin's works and thought to bear upon various aspects of the problem of Calvin's aesthetics and amply reveals in the Reformer a love of the beautiful in the works of God and man that has often been denied or overlooked. Rembrandt is represented as exhibiting Calvinist preconceptions (e.g., of law and grace in his use of light breaking from deep shadow), especially in his biblical scenes. Mary Paton Ramsay *Calvin and Art, Considered in Relation to Scotland* ( Edinburgh, 1938) is a competent short book written from a similar viewpoint.

-xliv-

## V. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL ETHICS

The vigorous assertion in the first decade of the century by Max Weber that modern capitalism was cradled, if not generated, in the teachings of Calvin, and the development, with some modification, of this thesis by Ernst Troeltsch in the second decade, offered an irresistible challenge to research both from the side of economic history and from that of Calvin scholarship. Weber *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* ( 1904-5; 2d ed., Tübingen, 1922) was translated by Talcott Parsons , *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* ( London and New York, 1930). Troeltsch *Gesammelte Schriften*, I ( Tübingen, 1923), incorporated the third edition of his *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* ( 1912); the work was translated as *Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* ( London and New York, 1931). Before the belated English translation of Weber's essay, Kemper Fullerton presented an excellent summary in the article "Calvinism and Capitalism", *Harvard Theological Review*, XXI ( 1928), 163-98. Weber drew his illustrations largely from Puritanism and never amply searched Calvin's own teachings, of which he held some serious misconceptions. Troeltsch laid emphasis on Calvin's encouragement of thrift and "taboo on idleness." Doumergue assailed the construction put upon his master's work by these writers, e.g., in his *Calvin*, V, 665ff. George O'Brien in *An Essay on the Economic Effects of the Reformation* ( London, 1923; reprinted Westminster, Md., 1944), within the general conception of the Reformation as destructive, characterized Calvin's authorization of interest as an example of "private judgment." Meanwhile Richard Henry Tawney *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* ( London, 1926; 2d ed., 1929) criticized without replacing Weber's thesis. Tawney's cautious introduction to Parsons' translation of Weber has a select bibliography. Freschi, in his *Calvino*, assailed Weber's assumption of a basic individualism in Calvin. Amintore Fanfani *Cattolicesimo e Protestantismo nella formazione storica del capitalismo* ( Milan, 1934), translated as *Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism* ( New York, 1936) weakened

-xlv-

Weber's position by evidence of pre-Protestant capitalism. Numerous studies of economic conditions in Calvinist and nonCalvinist areas of Europe in the sixteenth century and later have exposed the vulnerability of Weber's thesis. I mention only a few titles which contain a large element of Calvin interpretation.

The distinguished historian Henri Hauser, in *Les débuts de capitalisme* ( Paris, 1927) and (with Augustin Renaudet) *Les débuts de l'âge moderne* ( Paris, 1929; enlarged ed., 1938), has shown a competent knowledge of Calvin and his relation to economic life. Hauser's articles and published addresses on this theme include a consideration of Calvin's sanction of interest

in 1545, "*propos des idées économiques Calvin*", in *Mélanges offerts à Henri Pirenne*, I (Brussels, 1926), 211-24, and a more general study, "*L'économie calvinienne*", *études sur Calvin* (1935), 227-42. Hauser ascribes to Calvin two foundation principles of social and economic life, viz., the laicization of holiness and social relativism. He is essentially unfavorable to Weber's view: the attitudes that characterize "the spirit of capitalism" are precisely those which Calvin condemns in the language of revolutionaries of his time and ours. Henri Sée, whose *Le XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1926) has a useful chapter on Calvin, in *Les origines du capitalisme moderne* (Paris, 1926; *Modern Capitalism, Its Origin and Evolution*, London and New York, 1928) criticizes Weber's oversimplification. Calvin's cautious permission of moderate interest on money takes an important place in these discussions. It has been specifically treated by Karl Holl in *Festgabe Karl Müller* (Tübingen, 1922), 178-97: "*Die Frage des Zinsnehmens und des Wuchers in der reformierten Kirche*", reproduced in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, III (Tübingen, 1928), 385-403 (this volume has also Holl's able study, "Johannes Calvin", of 1909). Calvin, Holl notes, permitted interest only within strict limitation of love of neighbor. Conrad H. Moehlmann, in his presidential address before the American Society of Church History, "The Christianization of Interest", *Church History*, III (1934), 3-15, offers evidence of the relaxation of the rules against interest by Calvin's predecessors and contemporaries. André-E. Sayous has studied the question of capitalism in Calvin's Geneva: "*Calvinisme et capitalisme: L'expérience genevoise*"

-xlv-

*L'expérience genevoise*, *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, VII (1935), 225-44. He finds that the Calvinist discipline so restricted capitalism as to keep it in a primitive form. The concept of vocation in Calvin is closely treated in a number of these studies, and in a separate work by Willem Jan Aalders, *Roeping en beroep bij Calvijn* (Amsterdam, 1943). Aalders studies Calvin's use of *vocatio* and related words, and stresses the wholly religious motivation of his teaching on calling.

A scholarly treatment of Calvin's ethics as a whole has been provided in *John Calvin: The Man and His Ethics* (New York, 1931) by Georgia Harkness. This work is introduced by a brief biography of the Reformer, Part II relates his ethics to his theology. In Part III, "The Calvinistic Conscience and Man's Duty to Man," we have the first detailed objective exposition of the social teaching of Calvin. References to Weber abound and a chapter (ix) is devoted to a critical examination of his main contentions. Weber's thesis is pronounced inadequate but is not wholly rejected. It is rejected emphatically by Hector M. Robertson in *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism; a Criticism of Max Weber* (Cambridge, 1933). This author uses data of wide historical range: in the limited space he accords directly to Calvin he discusses cogently the topic of interest and usury. Frank M. Hnik, enlarging a study which appeared in *Czech* (Prague, 1934), gives a chapter to "The Social Consequences of the Theological System of John Calvin" in *The Philanthropic Motive in Christianity* (Oxford, 1938, chapter xii, pp. 174-210). He is largely dependent on Weber, Troeltsch, and Tawney. Albert Hyma *Christianity, Capitalism and Communism* (Ann Arbor, 1937) in chapters iii-vi treats the economic theories of Calvin and related topics. Here, and in his article "Calvinism and Capitalism in the Dutch Netherlands, 1555-1700", *Journal of Modern History*, X (1938), 321-43, Hyma uses and cites numerous Dutch studies not here reviewed, which belong essentially in the field of dispersed Calvinism. He quotes Calvin, particularly the Commentaries, in refutation of Weber and Troeltsch, and in corroboration, with additional emphasis, of Hauser's position.

Peter Barth simplifies Calvin's ethics by subjecting it closely

-xlvii-

to his theology in "Was ist reformierte Ethik?" in *Zwischen den Zeiten*, X (1932), 410-36. Ethics for Calvin is honoring God in our human life, and Christian vocation is following where God calls. A book of wide range but sound scholarship is Eug?ne Choisy's *Calvin, ?ducateur des consciences* (Neuilly, 1925), which lays emphasis on education for character in the school of Calvin. A minute point is examined by Peter Brunner in *Die Alkoholfrage bei Calvin* (Berlin, 1930). Among various articles in the *Evangelical Quarterly* we may note "Calvinism and Ethics" by George Johnson, V (1933), 82-93, and Gerrit H. Hooper's "Estimates of John Calvin", VI (1934), 189-210; the latter is mainly concerned with Miss Harkness' book.

The studies republished in the *Collected Papers of Herbert Darling Foster* (Hanover, N.H., 1929), with two exceptions, had appeared before 1918. They examine aspects of Calvin's ethics, church discipline, and political ideas and influence. The second paper is on "Calvin's Plan for a Puritan State in Geneva". Hans von Schubert contributed a chapter on Calvin to volume I of *Meister der Politik* (Stuttgart, 1922), edited by Erich Marecks and K. A. L. von Mueller, 467-98. The study deals with Calvin's part in political action, interpreted with the presupposition that Calvin was a French jurist who undertook to reform established Protestantism. Another study which calls attention to Calvin's attitudes on contemporary political issues is that of Klaus Rudolphi, *Calvins Urteil ?ber das politische Vorgehen der deutschen Protestanten nach seinem Briefwechsel* (Marburg, 1930). The author includes a detailed report on Calvin's activities at the conferences of Frankfurt, Worms, and Regensburg.

Hans Hausherr in *Der Staat in Calvins Gedankenwelt* (Schriften des Vereins der Reformation, Jahrgang 41, no. 136, Leipzig, 1923) notes that Calvin, unlike Luther, had no place for a supreme emperor. He points to similarities between Calvin and Machiavelli. Calvin, however, knew well medieval doctrines of natural law and the right of resistance: he made resistance not a right but a calling and obligation of the populares magistratus. Baron Hans in *Calvins Staatsanschauung und das confessionelle Zeitalter* (Berlin, 1924) sets Calvin politically between the medieval hierocracy and the Aufkl?rung and holds that a fresh renewal

-xlviii-

of political life came through the Renaissance and Calvin's religious affirmation of the state. Baron joins the exponents of Bucer's influence on Calvin in "Calvinist Republicanism and Its Historical Roots", *Church History*, VIII (1939), 30-42. The chapter on Calvin (viii) by W. R. Matthews in F. J. Hearnshaw *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of the Renaissance and Reformation* (London, 1925) treats his political ideas discriminatingly but on broad lines only. Calvin's political ideas receive careful attention in Robert H. Murray *Political Consequences of the Reformation; Studies in Sixteenth Century Political Thought* (London, 1926), chapter iii. Murray represents Calvin as favorable to representative government and gradually coming to sanction passive resistance to tyranny. J. W. Allen in *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1929), chapter iv, discounts democratic elements in Calvin. R. W. and A. J. Carlyle in *A History of Political Theory in the West*, VI, 1300-1600 (Edinburgh, 1936), offer a competent brief analysis (263-70). Georges de Lagarde in *Recherches sur l'esprit politique de la R?forme* (Paris, 1926) has an extensive examination of Calvin's political theory in which he finds contradictions and confusions

resulting from the laicization of the church and the spiritualization of the state. In Lagarde's view the Reformation destroyed the traditional theory of natural law. Henri Strohl in "*Le droit ? la r?sistance d'apr?s les conceptions protestantes*", *RHPR*, V ( 1930), 126-44, points to the "progressive preference" of Calvin for a republican r?gime. R. N. Carew Hunt in "Calvin's Theory of the State", *Church Quarterly Review*, CVIII ( 1929), 56-71, examines the question of theocracy in Calvin and holds that for the Reformer the government of God did not mean clerical domination. In a *Festschrift* for Paul Wernle, *Aus f?nf Jahrhunderten schweizerischer Kirchengeschichte* ( Basel, 1932), Peter Barth treats "*Calvins Lehre vom Staat als providentieller Lebensordnung*" (8094), stressing the relation of the state to Calvin's sharp antithesis between the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Satan, as these are eschatologically conceived. The state is providential also in the sphere of human responsibility. Leonard von Muralt in *Reformation und Gegenreformation* ( Zurich, 1932), which

-xlix-

is Band I of the *Geschichte der Schweiz*, edited by Hans Nabholz et al., 437-54, stresses the importance in Calvin's r?gime of his personal religious force rather than of law and relates the severity of the system, which seems unevangelical, to the perils of Geneva surrounded by potential aggressors. L. J. du Plessis argues that Calvin effected a democratic reformation by his assertion of a doctrine of grace which the Conciliarists had vainly sought through their radical teachings: "*Kalvijn over die staatsconstitutie*," in the *South African periodical Wagtoring*, III ( 1932), 11-18. Charles Mercier examines the question of Calvin and democracy in a careful study, "*L'esprit de Calvin et la d?mocratie*", *Revue d'histoire eccl?siastique*, XXX ( 1934), 1-53. He points to Calvin's rejection of proposals by Morelly and Ramus for a complete democratization of the French church, and to aristocratic tendencies in Geneva, while recognizing that Calvin gave great attention to the safeguarding of the liberties of the people and employed fully Aristotle's criticisms of monarchy. It has been pointed out by Pierre Mesnard, *Bulletin de ta soci?t? de l'histoire du protestantisme fran?ais*, LXXXIII ( 1934), 319-21, that Mercier strangely chooses to regard parliamentary ideas in Calvin as the reverse of democratic. In his *Evangelische Ethik des Politischen* ( T?bingen, 1936), Georg W?nsch, balancing views of Troeltsch and Karl Holl, finds in Calvin a tension between biblical legalism and a concept of special divine appointment of rulers, both authorities coming to men from without.

Pierre Mesnard in an ample work of scholarship, *L'essor de la philosophie politique au XVIe si?cle en France* ( Paris, 1936) presents a thoughtful interpretation of Calvin's ideas. His aim, like that of Savonarola, was not to conquer the state but to "galvanize it by the formidable electricity" of his spirit. His high concept of secular government was counterpoised by a high concept of the rights of the people and of personality, the whole subordinate to the Word of God. V. H. Rutgers, with some criticism of Emil Brunner, stresses Calvin's view of the essential character and divine commission of civil government, and points to his horror both of feeble governments and of the deification of the state--the latter point is made with reference

-1-

to Machiavelli and his disciple Mussolini: "*Le Calvinisme et l'?tat chr?tien*" in *Etudes sur Calvin* ( 1935), 151-72. Marc ?douard Chenevi?re's *La pens?e politique de Calvin* ( Geneva, 1937) is a comprehensive monograph reflecting the author's legal and theological training.

Working through Calvin's treatment of law, the state, the magistrate, forms of government, the people, Chenevière presents the Reformer's thought as far from the spirit of modern democracy. Calvin is neither medieval nor modern. He is misrepresented as democratic by liberal interpreters. His censure of monarchy is of its abuses only. Chenevière differs from Bohatec (next item) in his interpretation of Calvin's view of natural law, associating it with conscience rather than reason. It is not a group of principles (Stoic), nor a rational operation (Aristotelian), but an order given by the interior voice of conscience in specific circumstances.

The weightiest of Josef Bohatec's numerous studies on Calvin have to do with his conceptions of the state and of church-state relationships. His *Calvin und das Recht* (Feudingen, 1934) examines the Reformer's teaching on both natural and positive law and his connection with the civil law of Geneva. The last topic is resumed in an extended and technical study, "*Calvin et le procédure civile ? Genève*", *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4, serie XVII (1938), 229-302, where he concludes that Calvin's work fused Roman law with the customary law of Geneva without wholly eliminating the influence of canon law. Bohatec's other studies include "*Die Souveränität Gottes und der Staat nach der Auffassung Calvins*," Second International Calvinist Congress, 71-106 (where he suggests, from Calvin's teaching of the enabling of the magistrate by the Holy Ghost, the use of the word "pneumatocracy" instead of "theocracy" to describe his system); *Zur Eigenart des 'theokratischen' Gedankens bei Calvin*, in *Festgabe für E. F. K. Müller* (Neukirchen, 1933), 122-57; "*Die Entbundenheit des Herrschers vom Gesetz in der Staatslehre Calvins*," *Zwingliana*, VI (1934-37), 134-72; and *Calvins Lehre von Staat und Kirche* (Breslau, 1937). In the last-named of these, using ample space (more than 750 pages), Bohatec draws attention to the situations attending Calvin's utterances. Calvin's antimo-

-li-

narchical tendency and his "aristocracy-democracy" formula reflect opposition to French absolutism and to German political organization. In criticism of Troeltsch, Bohatec sees in Calvin a clear differentiation with fruitful intercourse between the *corpus Christi* and the social organism; both are from God and worthy of obedience. In this work Bohatec reverts to the problem of natural and positive law. He ascribes Calvin's distinctions between them to classical rather than medieval sources. Calvin (with Melancthon) regarded the Roman law as superior to other codes and compatible with natural law. The source of the latter, however, is not human reason but the will of God. Equity and love of neighbor are among its requirements. Bohatec assails both the opposed opinions of Ernst Troeltsch and Rudolf Sohm on Calvin's doctrine of the church, which he finds neither sectarian nor collectivizing, but one which involves both institution and community. The aim of church law and discipline was the cure of souls.

The labors of Chenevière and Bohatec have greatly extended our knowledge of Calvin's political thought. These writers, and others whose approach has been mainly from the theological side, such as Günter Gloede, have brought under fresh examination the Reformer's conception of natural law. Alfred Grobmann aimed to expound this topic in *Das Naturrecht bei Luther und Calvin* (Hamburg, 1935), but his thirty pages on Calvin fail to grapple adequately with the problem. I have tried, but with too great brevity, to state Calvin position, in "Natural Law in the Teaching of the Reformers", *Journal of Religion*, XXVI (1946), 168-82.

Albert Hyma has a general account of Calvin's political teaching in *Christianity and Politics* (New York, 1938), 141-54. Winthrop S. Hudson in *John Ponet (1516-1556), Advocate of Limited Monarchy* (Chicago, 1942) has frequent reference to Calvin and thinks that modification of his doctrine of obedience after the appearance of Ponet *Treatise of Politike Power* (1556) may have been affected by that work and by arguments of Knox and Goodman. In the article "Democratic Freedom and Religious Faith", *Church History*, XV (1946), 177-94, Hudson argues against Cheneviere's view that as representatives of God

-lii-

magistrates cannot be representatives of the people. "This is to create a problem that did not exist in the mind of Calvin," who wrote, "They are responsible to God and to men."

"Of making books" (and articles) "there is no end." This bibliography might be greatly, though perhaps unprofitably, extended. I have felt it unwise to list the many general works on church history and on the history of Europe in the age of the Reformation, and the compendiums of the history of political theory and of art and literature, that contain sections on Calvin. I have also omitted many special articles and chapters of books (including half a dozen of my own) that seemed to contribute too little to warrant notice.

## **Part 11, 1948-68**

During the last twenty years the attention given by scholars to the life, thought, and influence of Calvin has been fully maintained. The range of writers has widened, and the flow of books and research articles has increased. Many of the Reformer's works have been freshly edited, both in the original and in translation. The publication of many of his long-forgotten sermons has offered a new treasury of source material. Hundreds of studies have appeared on special aspects of his teaching and incidents in his career. Although the period has produced no comprehensive life of Calvin on the scale of Doumergue's seven ample volumes, a score of competently written short biographies, varying in outlook and emphasis, have enriched our knowledge of the man and his work, and there have been numerous studies simply devoted to the estimate of his personality. A resolute hostility to Calvin and all his actions can still be discovered, but on the whole he has been approached with less of ecclesiastical or traditional bias than ever before. Studies on his humanist learning, political and social teaching, and ecumenical churchmanship have increasingly revealed the full range of his multiple

-liii-

interests, while familiar areas of emphasis in his theology have begun to be closely reexamined in relation to the patristic and scholastic writings. Valuable contributions to the understanding of his thought have been made by Roman Catholic and other experts in the older theology. The tendency to bring him into comparison with Augustine, Aquinas, and Luther suggests Calvin's recognition as a doctor of the Western church.

In the numerous studies noted here some brilliant insights are to be found, but in general they are characterized rather by industrious scholarship than by any exciting novelty of interpretation. With enlarging knowledge, the scholars have not greatly changed the image of the man or altered historical judgments of his impact on Western culture and belief. But beyond question all their intensive labor has made Calvin more accessible to those who would like to know him, and better understood in the academic as well as the ecclesiastical world.

My selection of titles has been expedited by the aid of published bibliographies. These include many lists, here unmentioned, appended to the books and articles cited. Wilhelm Niesel's *Calvin-Bibliographie, 1901-1959* (Munich, 1960) provides an indispensable list of some 1600 titles for this entire period, a due proportion of which fall within the years 1948 and 1959. No characterization of the items is given, and some are undated, but titles are somewhat minutely classified, and an author index is appended. Useful for the first of our two decades are the articles by Edward A. Dowey, "Studies in Calvin and Calvinism Since 1948", *Church History*, XXIV (1955), 360-67, and "Studies in Calvin and Calvinism Since 1955", *Church History*, XXIX (1960), 196-204; the page numbers in each case embrace at the outset some studies on the Continental Reformation in general. Dowey's lists are selective, and on some items he gives extended comments. Largely within our period, too, is Harms R?ckert "Calvin-Literatur seit 1945", in *Archiv f?r Reformationsgeschichte*, L (1959), 64-74, which is also descriptive and offers a limited selection. Peter Vogelsanger has a short bibliographical article of value, "Neuere Calvin-Literatur", in *Reformatio*, 8 (1959), 362-66. The bibliographical apparatus in \*\*\*\*Emile L?onard's *Histoire g?n?rale du protestantisme* (3 vols., Paris, 1961

-liv-

65) presents a good selection of Calvin material, I, 352-68. This volume has been translated by Joyce M. H. Reid (London, 1965). Alfred Erichson *Bibliographia Calviniana* (Berlin, 1900) is now in a second reprint (Nieuwkoop, 1965). A list edited by Paul Claix, *Les livres imprim?s ? Gen?ve 1550-1600* (Geneva, 1966), records the appearance of numerous writings of Calvin during his later years and the evidence of their continued circulation after his death. Alexandre Cioranescu library guidebook *Bibliographie de la litt?rature fran?aise du seizi?me si?cle* (Paris, 1959) should be consulted by those interested in polemic and other writings concerning Calvin by his contemporaries.\*

## I. LIFE AND WORK OF CALVIN

The purpose of a well-proportioned narrative of Calvin's life with adequate attention to his writings is well served by Jean Rilliet *Jean Calvin, 1509-1564* (Paris, 1963). Rilliet writes with liveliness and brings a balanced judgment to bear on each phase of Calvin's activities, including his controversies. The Dutch work by Willem F. Dankbaar, *Calvijn, zijn weg en zijn werk* (Nijkerk, 1957), apart from chapter viii, entitled *Theologie*, is a narration of Calvin's life story and widening role, to his attainment of international Christian leadership. Louis Praamsma finds room in his biography *Calvijn* (Wegeningen, 1958) for a chapter on "Idelette," Calvin's exemplary wife, and one on his "veritable ecumenicity." Niesel has justifiably classified Fran?ois Wendel *Calvin: Sources et ?volution de sa pens?e religieuse* (Paris, 1950) under "theology"; it contains, however, a well-written sketch of his career. This distinguished work has been somewhat belatedly published in English, translated by Philip Mairet (London and New York, 1963). Jean Cadier's *Calvin, l'homme que Dieu a dompt?* (Geneva, 1958), translated by O. R. Johnson as *The Man God Mastered, a Brief Biography of John Calvin*

---

\* An apology is due for the omission below of all unprinted studies, many of which are now available in microcard or microfilm reproductions. I am aware of the high quality of many of these, but the time required to obtain and examine all such material was not available, and it seemed fairer to exclude them all than to enter a few only.

of John Calvin combines eager admiration with competent knowledge. *The History and Character of Calvinism* ( New York, 1954; 1957; with textual corrections and bibliographical postscript, 1967) offers in Part II an interpretation of Calvin's life and personality by the present writer. Albert Marie Schmidt *Jean Calvin et la tradition calvinienne* ( Paris, 1957), translated by Ronald Wallace, *John Calvin and the Calvinist Tradition* ( New York and London, 1960), discerningly though briefly narrates Calvin's life story. John H. Bratt as editor of *The Rise and Development of Calvinism* ( Grand Rapids, 1959) contributes the opening essay, "The Life and Work of John Calvin." Doede Nauta's brief but searching study, *Calvijn, leidsman en voorbeeld* (Kampen, 1955), has appeared in English as "Calvin, Leader and Example" in the *Free University Quarterly*, 1956, pp. 237-56. Basil Hall in *John Calvin, Humanist and Theologian* ( London, 1966), with a crisp economy of words, states essentials of Calvin's experience and work. T. H. L. Parker in his *Portrait of Calvin* ( London, 1954; Philadelphia, 1955) succeeds in revealing with remarkable clarity the person and achievement of the Reformer, but without attempting a full-scale biography. Brian A. Gerrish in *Reformers in Profile* ( Philadelphia, 1967) devotes a partly biographical chapter (pp. 142-64) to Calvin with attention to his personality, reforms, and teaching. *John Calvin, the Man and His Ethics*, by Georgia Harkness ( 1931), appeared in a revised edition ( New York, 1958). C. Augustijn *Calvijn* ( The Hague, 1966) appears in a series of "Helden van de geest" and is written in admiration of Calvin's powers and energy of mind. N. J. Hommes in *Mis?re en grootheid van Calvijn* ( Delft, 1959) shows Calvin's greatness despite his moods, and combats some adversaries. An enlarged edition of G?nter Gloede *Calvin: Weg und Werk* ( 1938) has been published ( Leipzig, 1953), and the condensed article "Calvin" in the *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon* (G?ttingen, 1956) is by Gloede. An article of similar length, by J. T. McNeill, is in the *Encyclopedia Americana*, volume 5, 1968. Among numerous short and introductory one-volume accounts may be mentioned R. Schippers, *Johannes Calvijn, zijn leven en zijn werk* ( Kampen, 1959), P. De Zeeuw, *Calvijn de Hervormer van Geneve* ( The Hague, 1965), and the Waldensian G. Tourn

G. Tourn's *Calvino e la riforma a Ginevra* ( Turin, 1965). Emmanuel Stickelberger's *Calvin: Eine Darstellung* ( 1931) has appeared in D. G. Gelzer translation, *Calvin, a Life* ( Richmond, Va., 1954; London, 1959). Notwithstanding frankly invented dialogue, this popularization has historical merit.

There has been continued attention to Calvin's early studies and experiences. Quirinus Breen *John Calvin: A Study in French Humanism* ( 1931) has been republished with an "Epilogue" ( Hamden, Conn., 1968). Another well-known book in this sector is Josef Bohatec *Bud? und Calvin: Studien zur Gedankenwelt des franz?sischen Fr?humanismus* ( Graz, 1950), which treats familiarly many humanists besides Bud? who helped to create the atmosphere Calvin breathed at Paris. In "Philosophical Elements in the Early Reformed Tradition", *Columbia Theological Seminary Quarterly*, LVII ( 1964), 46-61, Paul T. Fuhrmann stresses Calvin's admiration for Seneca and the Stoics. As these authors have stressed the Stoic element, Jean Boisset has shown the Platonic side of Calvin's heritage in his fundamental study *Sagesse et saintet? dans la pens?e de Calvin: Essai sur l'humanisme du R?formateur fran?ais* ( Paris, 1959). Alexandre Ganoczy, a Hungarian priest in Paris, has followed two weighty books on Calvin's thought with one entitled *Le jeune Calvin; gen?se et ?volution de sa vocation r?formatrice* ( Wiesbaden, 1966). This is a work of painstaking research. It covers the period

to 1536 and makes effective use of background and contemporary elements. In an interesting introduction by Josef Lortz, a "positive significance" for the church is ascribed to Calvin.

In different degrees most of the writers mentioned above have concerned themselves with the data of Calvin's conversion and the beginnings of his life-commitment. The date assigned for his *subita conversio* has tended to be set forward and is now usually given as between November 1, 1533, and May 4, 1534. This correction of Beza (and Doumergue) seems demanded by the evidence. Of treatises devoted to the conversion problem, Paul Sprenger *Das R?tsel um die Bekehrung Calvins* (Neukirchen, 1960) chiefly examines the use by Calvin elsewhere than in the one autobiographical passage of words there used, such

-lvii-

as "*conversio*," "*docilitas*," "*superstitio*." Fresh interest has arisen in Cop's rectorial address, November 1, 1533, to which Calvin was in some sense a party. This "Academic Discourse" was translated and annotated by Dale Cooper and Ford Lewis Battles in the *Hartford Seminary Quarterly*, 6, Fall issue, 1965. In the rich and varied Calvin volume *Regards contemporains sur Jean Calvin: Actes du colloque Calvin, Strasbourg 1964* (Paris, 1965) Jean Rott in a long article, "*Documents strasbourgeois concernant Calvin*" (pp. 28-73), has edited "*La harrangue de Nicolas Cop*" from a Latin text identified as Cop's own. The text is preceded by a detailed study designed to determine whether the author was Cop or Calvin. Rott votes for Calvin, but his fairly stated presentation of the contrary arguments is such as to weaken his own position. Ganoczy is one of those unconvinced.

Soon to be published by Brill in Leyden is an elaborate work by Ford Lewis Battles and Andr? Malan Hugo, *John Calvin's Commentary on the De Clementia of Lucius Annaeus Seneca*, with a long introduction, an English translation, and an ample body of notes shedding light on young Calvin's classical reading. In a volume edited by G. E. Duffield, *Courtenay Studies in Reformation Theology I: John Calvin*, Battles treats "The Sources of Calvin's Seneca Commentary" (pp. 38-66), calling attention to Calvin's debt to intermediaries, including Erasmus, Bud?, and Beroaldus of Bologna, for many of his classical quotations. A three-page table of sources is appended. In a cooperative work by E. Bourrilly et al., already in its second edition, *Calvin et la R?forme en France* (Aix-en-Provence, 1959), the first item, by Bourrilly, is on "*Humanisme et R?forme; la formation de Calvin*". The next essay is "*Les origines de la R?forme fran?aise*", by E. G. L'onard. Calvin's intimate relations with the reform party in France are illustrated in Robert M. Kingdon *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1533-1563* (Geneva, 1956). Not to be neglected in Calvin biography are such books on Geneva as J. Daniel Buscarlet *Gen?ve, citadelle de la R?forme* (Geneva, 1959), which gives central attention to Calvin's time, and two works by E. William Monter: *Studies in Genevan Government* (Geneva, 1964) and *Calvin's Geneva* (New York and London, 1967).

-lviii-

Calvin has become the subject of books for the young based on good information. Among them are *This Was John Calvin*, by Thea van Hanselma (Grand Rapids, 1959), Piet Adriaan de Rover's *Champion of Geneva, a Sketch of John Calvin for Young People*, translated from the Dutch by William D. Eerdmans, Sr. (Grand Rapids, 1959), and Denise Hourticq *Calvin, mon ami* (Geneva, 1963). Fictional treatments of Calvin include an arresting and imaginative

short play by Henri Lauderbach, *Post tenebras lux* ( Geneva, 1959), and Gladys H. Barr *The Master of Geneva, a Novel* ( New York, 1961).

The Calvin centenary dates of 1959 and 1964 have swollen the stream of scholarly output of these years, and most of what has appeared has been, not uncritically, favorable to the Reformer. But amid the laudatory utterances of the 1959 celebrations the cool-headed Fritz Blanke of Zurich sounded a warning against "unhistorical idealization" in his article *Calvins Fehler*, *Reformatio*, 8 ( 1959), 196-206. And the zealous antagonists of Calvin have not been idle. Stefan Zweig *Castellio gegen Calvin*, in English, *The Right to Heresy* ( 1936), was reprinted ( Boston, 1951). Under Zweig's influence Jean Schorer wrote, among other works, *Jean Calvin et sa dictature d'apr?s les historiens anciens et modernes* ( Geneva, 1948), employing Freudian analysis for controversial ends. An effective rejoinder was made by Henri Delarue and Paul F. Geisendorf in *Calvin, Stephan Zweig et M. Jean Schorer* ( Geneva, 1949). Oskar Pfister, a no less hostile critic, in writings of 1944 and 1948, had sought to convict the Reformer of a ruthless sadism. Pfister's strained misreading of his sources has been assailed by a number of writers, notably by Ernst Pfisterer in *Calvins Wirken in Genf* (revised ed., Neukirchen, 1957). But the work of denigration was taken up by others. Andr? Favre-Dorsaz in *Calvin et Loyola: Deux R?formes* ( Paris and Brussels, 1952) extols the spirituality of the Jesuit founder while representing Calvin as a sour and disordered personality with "erotic tendencies" and, though intellectually keen, a superficial theologian. Leon Cristiani in *Calvin tel qu'il fut* ( Paris, 1955) presents selected texts in support of a similarly adverse view, Henri Daniel Rops contributing an introduction in which Calvin is likened to Robespierre. Richard Stauffer

-lix-

Stauffer has come ably to Calvin's rescue in *L'Humanit? de Calvin* (Neuch?tel, 1964). In his introduction, Stauffer passes in review Calvin's principal calumniators, then proceeds to present Calvin in documented chapters as husband, friend, and pastor. Basil Hall, in chapter i of the volume of essays edited by Duffield mentioned above, writes on "*The Calvin Legend.*" In refuting some of the modern antagonists Hall shows evidence of the parroting by certain English writers of hoary invented misstatements prejudicial to Calvin. In the same volume Daniel Beno?t discusses "Calvin, the Letter-writer" (pp. 67-91), showing not his argumentative theology but his "mystical and yet dynamic faith," together with authentic glimpses of his vivid personality. In the Strasbourg *Colloque*, to which reference has been made (pp. 206-38), Richard Stauffer has ingeniously sought to break through Calvin's reticence by a close study of the passages in his sermons where he uses the first personal pronoun. These are studied with attention to the circumstances in which the sermons were preached. But they are found to be uttered in defense of his ministry, against opponents of genuine reform, or in personal avowals of divine grace, and they yield no reminiscences for the biographer. In *Calvins Urteil ?ber sich selbst* ( Zurich, 1950) Fritz B?sser endeavored to capture the Reformer's thoughts of himself and of his role. B?sser stresses his intense devotion to duty and features in evidence his teachings on the Ten Commandments. A. J. Visser in *Calvijn en de Jooden* ( The Hague, 1963) exculpates Calvin from anti-Semitism.

The Calvin-Servetus confrontation has entered largely into most treatments of Calvin's life and received special attention in numerous studies. Roland Bainton treats the topic in *The Travail of Religious Liberty* ( Philadelphia, 1951) in a chapter (pp. 54-71) entitled "The Peak of Protestant Intolerance: John Calvin". In articles under the title "*Documenta Servetiana*", *Archiv f?r Reformationsgeschichte*, XLIV ( 1953), 223-35, and XLV ( 1954), 99-108, Bainton

has edited essential texts. In the same journal, XLIX ( 1958), 196-204, R. Neuberger takes a long view of the issue: "*Calvin und Servet: Eine Begegnung zwischen reformatorischem Glauben und modernem Unglauben im 16. Jahrhundert*". Documents on Servetus and Castellio were edited

-lx-

under the direction of Br. Becker: *Autour de Michel Servet et de Sebastien Castellion* ( Haarlem, 1953). Charles Emile Delormeau in *Sebastien Castellion* (Neukirchen, 1953) and Richard M. Douglas in *Jacopo Sadoletto, 1477-1547: Humanist and Reformer* ( Cambridge, Mass., 1959) have shed new light on these adversaries of Calvin. From Robert Dean Linder study *The Political Ideas of Pierre Viret* ( Geneva, 1964) we see how far Calvin could differ from a colleague while retaining his friendship.

Other studies involving Calvin's personal relations as exhibited in his wide correspondence that are of biographical interest include E. W. Zeeden in a *Festschrift* for Hermann Aubin ( Lindau, 1956), "Calvins Einwirken auf die Reformation in Polen-Litauen" (pp. 233-59); Oskar Bartels, "Calvin und Polen" in the Strasbourg *Colloque, Regards contemporains*. . ., mentioned above, pp. 253-68; and A. M. Schmidt, *Calvin: Lettres Anglaises*, where the editor stresses Calvin's eagerness to secure live preaching and improved university education for the English. Biographers of Calvin now have also at their disposal Paul F. Geisendorf , *L'Universit? de Gen?ve 1559-1959* ( Geneva, 1959), the published volumes of the *Correspondance de Th?odore de B?ze*, "recueille par Hypolyte Aubert, publi? par Fernand Aubert et Henri Malan" ( Geneva, 1960--), and the *Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Gen?ve au temps de Calvin*, edited by R. M. Kingdon and J. F. Bergier with the collaboration of A. Dufour ( Geneva, vol. I, 1964; vol. II, 1962). Philip E. Hughes has supplied a translation of this source in one volume, *The Registers of the Pastors of Geneva in the Time of Calvin* ( Grand Rapids, 1966). Jan Weerda in *Holbein und Calvin, ein Bildfund* (Neukirchen, 1955) learnedly presents a fine portrait of Calvin, found in a castle near Bamberg, as possibly but not certainly by Holbein the Younger.

## II. WRITINGS OF CALVIN

A surprising expansion of the corpus of Calvin's writings has occurred as a result of the recovery of a large collection of his sermons that had been arbitrarily omitted from the *Operaomnia*

-lxi-

omnia. The tale is told by Bernard Gagnebin in the *Bulletin de la Soci?t? d'Histoire et d'Arch?ologie de Gen?ve*, 1955, under the title "*L'incroyable histoire des sermons de Calvin*". T. H. L. Parker in "*Calvini opera sed non omnia*", *Scottish journal of Theology*, 18 ( 1965), 194-203, discusses this new body of material and invites the cooperation of scholars in securing sound texts of the sermons. To edit them the series *Supplementa Calviniana* was planned, under Erwin M?lhaupt and collaborators, and began to appear in 1961. The series is published at Neukirchen under the auspices of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. Sermons found in distant libraries have been added to the neglected horde in Geneva. Volume I ( 1961), consisting of sermons on II Samuel, was edited by Hanns R?ckert. There have since appeared volume II, on Isaiah 13-29, ed. George A. Barrois, and volume V, on *Micah*, ed. Jean-Dardet Beno?t. Meanwhile, the old standard edition *Joannis Calvini opera quae*

*supersunt omnia* (its title a little tarnished) has been reissued in its entirety by Johnson Reprints Corporation ( New York and London, 1964). The *Institutio* of 1559 has appeared in new annotated translations. In that of Otto Weber, *Johannes Calvin: Unterricht in der christlichen Religion*, a work begun, as noted above, in 1936, and finally available in one ample volume (Neukirchen, 1955), thoughtfully chosen headings for Calvin's numbered paragraphs are introduced. *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, edited by John T. McNeill, translated by Ford Lewis Battles ( 2 vols., Philadelphia and London, 1960), has an introduction, interpretative and historical footnotes, and 200 pages of bibliographies and indexes. The paragraph headings are, with some exceptions, from Weber. This edition forms volumes XX and XXI of the "Library of Christian Classics." Ford L. Battles has assembled numerous supplementary notes and comments under the title *New Light on Calvin's Institutes: A Supplement to the McNeill-Battles Translation* ( Hartford, 1966). Battles is also at work on a computerized concordance to the Latin *Institutes*. The *Beveridge* ( 1845) translation of the *Institutes* has also been reprinted ( Grand Rapids, 1958). The French text of the 1560 *Institution de la religion chrestienne* has been meticulously edited by Jean-Daniel Benoît in a five-volume set

-lxii-

( Paris, 1957-63). The footnotes are textual, but volume V is entirely devoted to apparatus and includes indexes of authors and topics and a helpful glossary. Jean Cadier has presented the 1560 version in modern French (4 vols., each a "book," Geneva, 1955-58). Cadier, too, employs paragraph headings and appends extensive indexes. The Joannis Calvini *opera selecta*, edited by Peter Barth and Wilhelm Niesel, appeared in a second edition ( 5 vols., Munich, 1957). Jacinto Teran Spanish translation of the 1536 *Institutio*, with an introduction by B. Foster Stockwell ( 1935), has been republished in two volumes ( Buenos Aires, 1958). The current Dutch translation from the 1559 Latin edition is that of A. Sizoo, *Johannes Calvijn, Institutie of onderwijzing in christelijke godsdienst* ( 1931; and 3 vols., Delft, 1949). About thirty years after the first Japanese translation of the *Institutes* by Masaki Nakayama, a new and improved translation was undertaken by Nebuo Watanabe, under the auspices of the Japan Calvin Translation Society. This has been published in four volumes ( Tokyo, 1962-65). A letter from the secretary of the Society dated January 11, 1968, states that more than 20,000 copies of the new edition have been sold.

Books of selections from the *Institutes* in modern languages are numerous. Hugh Thompson Kerr *Compend of the Institutes of the Christian Religion* has been reissued ( Philadelphia, 1960). J. Van Andel has edited *Inst.*, III, vi-x, as *The Golden Booklet of the Christian Life* ( Grand Rapids, 1953). F. W. Strothman is the editor of *On God and Man: Selections From the Institutes of the Christian Religion* ( New York, 1956). B. Wielenga abridgement, *Institutie... verkort weergegeven*, appeared in a second edition (Kampen, 1958). William H. Keesecker in *A Calvin Treasury: Selections From the Institutes* helpfully uses a somewhat detailed topical arrangement. Otto Weber has edited a selection from Book III in *Leben aus Glauben* (Constance, 1959). Wilhelm H. Neuser *Calvin* (Gladbeck, 1954) is a small book of extracts. Selections to exhibit the structure and primary content of the *Institutes*, with an extended introduction, were prepared by this writer for the "*Chinese Christian Classics*" series, edited by Francis Jones. Ching Yu Hsu's translation of this appeared in two volumes ( Hong Kong, 1955; 1957). The

-lxiii-

major part of *Calvin on the Christian Faith* ( New York and Indianapolis, 1957), edited by John T. McNeill, is drawn from the *Institutes*.

Many editors and translators of selected Calvin texts have drawn from a much wider range, and some have essayed to comb the entire works of the Reformer to obtain materials for their special themes of research on aspects of his life and thought. Joachim Rogge has edited a work in three separately paginated parts, *Johannes Calvin, 1509-1564* ( Berlin, 1963-64), containing essays by various authors as well as classified short selections. Part I illustrates Calvin's developing theology, Part II his major doctrines, and Part III is entitled *Calvin der Schriptausleger, der Prediger, der Reformator, der Mensch*. Leroy Nix in *John Calvin's Teachings on Human Reason* ( New York, 1960) has roamed widely for illustrative passages, which he groups under special headings. Charles E. Edwards in *Devotions and Prayers of John Calvin* ( Grand Rapids, 1954) has drawn from the Commentaries on the Minor Prophets, devotional readings and prayers, which are paged to face each other. John H. Kromminga in *Thine Is My Heart: Devotional Readings From the Writings of Calvin* ( Grand Rapids, 1958) offers Calvin texts for daily devotions through the calendar year. J. Van Der Haar *Het geestelijke leven bij Calvijn* ( Utrecht, 1959) serves as a directive to Calvin passages on devotional piety. Ford Lewis Battles has resurrected in translation Calvin *Consilium de luxu* 10a, 203-6): "*Against Luxury and License in Geneva*", *Interpretation*, XIX ( 1965), 181-202, a tract indicative of a continuing Senecan influence.

Publication of translated editions of the Commentaries goes on apace. The English edition of 1845 has been reprinted in full ( Grand Rapids, 1948-50). A new series with fresh translations and notes is being edited by David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance with collaborators ( Edinburgh and Grand Rapids, 1959--). Otto Weber edits a new German translation, begun in 1938 but interrupted, and resumed in 1949 (Neukirchen). The Soci?t? Calviniste de France sponsors a new French edition under the editorship of Jules-Marcel Nicole, Andr? Malat, et al. ( Geneva, 1960--). Since 1959, the Japan Calvin Translation

-lxiv-

Society has been publishing units of its fourteen-volume series of the New Testament Commentaries. A selection in one volume, illustrating characteristic emphases in Calvin's teaching, was edited for the "*Library of Christian Classics*" (vol. XXIII) by Joseph Haroutunian, with the collaboration of Louise Pettibone Smith : *Calvin: Commentaries* ( Philadelphia and London, 1958). The texts are in a new translation, and Haroutunian in his introduction discusses "*Calvin as a Biblical Commentator*." Calvin unfinished Joshua Commentary has been interpreted by M. H. Woudstra in *Calvin's Dying Request to the Church* ( Grand Rapids, 1960).

The treatises and minor writings have also received the attention of editors and translators. The Beveridge translation of the *Tracts and Treatises* was republished with introduction and notes by Thomas F. Torrance ( 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1958; Grand Rapids, 1959). J. K. S. Reid has edited and translated *Calvin: Theological Treatises*, comprising sixteen selected items, in the *Library of Christian Classics*, volume XXII ( Philadelphia and London, 1954). Included are the *Short Treatise on the Holy Supper of Our Lord, The Necessity of Reforming the Church, and the Reply to Sadoleto*. John C. Olin has edited separately the last mentioned, using Beveridge version, in *A Reformation Debate; Sadoleto's Letter and Calvin's Reply*, with an appendix on "The Justification Controversy" ( New York, 1966). Father Olin has an annotated introduction, and the appendix supplies materials from the Council of Trent for

purposes of comparison. Günter Gloede has a new German edition of this tract: *Musste Reformation Sein? Calvins Antwort an Kardinal Sadolet* (Göttingen, 1956; Berlin, 1957). The *Petite traité de la sainte cène de Notre Seigneur*, text modernized by Harold Chatelain and Pierre Marcel (Paris, 1959), has an introduction by Jean Cadier. Paul T. Fuhrmann's *Instruction in Faith (1537) by John Calvin* (Philadelphia, 1949) is a well-annotated translation of the *Brève instruction chrestienne*, which has since appeared with an introduction by Pierre Marcel in French modernized by Pierre Courtial: *Brève instruction chrétienne* (Paris, 1957). A Japanese translation (1956) of this brilliant summary went through five printings in eight years. Henry Cole translation of *The Eternal Predestination of God and The Secret Providence of God*

-lxv-

*Predestination of God and The Secret Providence of God*, printed together as *Calvin Calvinism* (1855), has reappeared (Grand Rapids, 1950). J. K. S. Reid has presented a new scholarly translation of the former treatise with an introduction (London, 1961).

The Gaelic version of Calvin *Catechismus ecclesiae Genevensis* has been reproduced with a good historical introduction in English by R. L. Thompson: *Admchiol Ad Chreidimh* (Edinburgh, 1962). Rudolphe Peter has edited the first reprint since 1563 and 1564 of the three items in *John Calvin: Deux congregations et Exposition du catéchisme* (Paris, 1964). (The "congregations" were conferences, like the Zurich "Prophezei," in which these discourses on scripture were presented.) *Ma vraie façon de réformer l'église* (on Charles V Interim) has been edited by E. Fuchs (Geneva, 1957). Other minor republications include the *Advertissement contre rastrologie* (Paris, 1962) and the *Traité des reliques* (Paris, 1964). Bard Thompson in his *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Cleveland and New York, 1961) has included (pp. 197-210) Calvin *Form of Church Prayers*. A facsimile of the 1542 edition of this liturgy, *Le forme des prieres et chants ecclesiastiques*, has been issued, with a notice by Pierre Pidou (Cassel, 1959). Hugh Thompson Kerr *By John Calvin* (New York, 1963) has four of the tracts and a selection from the Letters. The valuable work by Rudolf Schwartz, *Johann Calvins Lebenswerk in seinen Briefen* (1909) has been republished (2 vols., Neukirchen, 1961-62). A complete English edition of the Letters is a desideratum. Even large libraries are often found to have only Bonnet's two-volume set which is halted at 1553, sometimes with the false statement on the index card that no others were published. The Philadelphia edition of 1858 in four volumes extends through Calvin's life but is far from complete.

Reference has been made above to the newly published sermons in *Supplementa Calviniana*. Edwin Mählaupt, who heads this project, has also published *Der Psalter auf der Kanzel Calvins: Bisher unbekanntes Psalmenpredigten* (Neukirchen, 1959). Charles Gagnebin uses largely sermon material in his *Calvin: Textes choisis* (Paris, 1948), in which Karl Barth writes

-lxvi-

a sententious preface. Leroy Nixon has edited *The Deity of Christ and Other Sermons* (Grand Rapids, 1950), comprising twenty sermons translated with conscientious literalness. From Calvin's 159 sermons on Job (which we have in Arthur Golding's Elizabethan English) Nixon has freshly translated twenty in *Sermons on Job by John Calvin* (Grand Rapids, 1952). To this volume Harold Dekker contributes a useful introduction. Nixon *The Gospel According to*

*Isaiah* (Grand Rapids, 1953) contains the seven sermons on Isaiah 53. T. H. L. Parker has also translated this series in *Sermons on Isaiah's Prophecy of the Death and Passion of Christ* (London, 1956). A *Selection of the Most Celebrated Sermons of Calvin* (1830), consisting of fourteen sermons on I and II Timothy and Titus, has reappeared as *The Mystery of Godliness and Other Sermons* (Grand Rapids, 1950).

#### IV. DOCTRINAL STUDIES

Some books listed in Section II above have extensive treatment of the Reformer's doctrines. Notable is the searching study in François Wendel *Calvin, the Origins and Development of His Religious Thought*. Wilhelm Pauck has an essay on the *Institutes in The Heritage of the Reformation* (Glencoe, Ill., 1950; 2d ed., 1961, pp. 61-72). A rich treasury of mature Calvin studies by Auguste Lecerf was edited after the author's death by André Schlemmer: *Études calvinistes* (Neuchâtel, 1949). Wilhelm Niesel *Die Theologie Calvins* (1938) was published in a revised edition (Munich, 1957), having been translated from the former edition by Harold Knight: *The Theology of Calvin* (London, 1956). A. Mitchell Hunter *The Teaching of Calvin* (1920) is also in a new edition (Los Angeles and London, 1950). Volumes of miscellaneous studies have been edited by numerous scholars. Jürgen Moltmann *Calvin-Studien* (Neukirchen, 1960) has nine contributors and includes essays on live issues in Calvin interpretation such as *Seelsorge*, church music, election, and calling (by the editor), and ecumenism. Joachim Rogge *Johannes Calvin*, Part I, mentioned above, has Werner Krusche "Die Theologie Calvins" (pp. 27-43) and an estimate by Fritz

-lxvii-

Schröter of Calvin's significance for church and theology today (72-97). Also in this volume Günter Gloede has a chapter, "Calvinus oecumenicus" (9-26). In the volume *Courtenay Studies*, edited by G. E. Duffield, noticed above, amid other specialties of interest T. H. L. Parker treats the story of the Commentaries in "Calvin the Biblical Expositor" (pp. 176-89). In *John Calvin, Contemporary Prophet* (Grand Rapids, 1959), edited by Jacob T. Hoogstra, the bearing of Calvin's thought on concerns of our time is explored in fourteen lectures, some of which will call for notice below. Harold Whitney *Profile of Calvin and the Institutes* (Brisbane, 1957) was republished under the title *The Teaching of Calvin for Today* (Grand Rapids, 1959). In the Strasbourg *Colloque Calvin* (pp. 8-16) Wilhelm Niesel briefly seeks out the theological and religious accents of the newly published sermons, "Der theologische Gehalt der jüngst veröffentlichten Predigten Calvins."

Edward A. Dowey enriched Calvin studies by his revised Zurich dissertation, *The Knowledge of God in Calvin's Theology* (New York, 1952), an orderly and independent work of research and exposition. T. H. L. Parker] in *The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God: A Study in the Theology of John Calvin* (London, 1952) likewise contributes to the clarification of this primary element in Calvin's theology. With these may be mentioned Maurice Neeser, *Le Dieu de Calvin d'après l'Institution de la religion chrétienne* (Neuchâtel, 1956). There is manifest, especially since Wendel's work of 1950, a marked interest in Calvin's debt to, or departure from, his theological predecessors of all centuries. In this connection Luchsius Smits has provided a highly useful instrument for Calvin interpretation by his detailed tabulation of Augustine-Calvin parallels in *Saint Augustine dans l'oeuvre de Jean Calvin* (2 vols., Assen, 1957-58). Remko Jan Moij in *Het Kerk--en dogmatisch element in de werken van Johannes Calvijn* (Wegeningen, 1965) gives attention to Calvin's attitude to the Fathers, on some of whom his mind changed. Karl Reuter in *Das Grundverständnis der Theologie Calvins*

(Neukirchen, 1963) examines closely his debt to late medieval theologians. Thomas F. Torrance in his contribution to the Strasbourg *Colloque Calvin*, "Knowledge of God and Speech About Him According to John Calvin"

-lxviii-

About Him According to John Calvin (pp. 140-60), places Calvin's thought and language in the setting of his nearer predecessors and teachers, particularly Major John. In volume III of *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, ed. A. Grillmeier (Würzburg, 1954), J. L. S. J. Witte, has a study of "*Die Christologie Calvins*" (pp. 487-529), which he finds, as do others, assuredly Chalcedonian. Father Witte is also the author of an elaborate work, *Het probleem individugemeenschap in Calvijns geloofsnorm* (2 vols., Franeker, 1949); the relations of the individual and the community present a problem which Calvin had to live with rather than resolve. E. David Willis in *Calvin's Catholic Christology; the Function of the So-Called Extra Calvinisticum in Calvin's Theology* (Leyden, 1960) examines the occurrence of numerous expressions of this doctrine (confessedly derived by Calvin from the scholastics, *Inst.* II, xiii, 4; IV, xvii, 30), and its function as used by him not only within his Christology but in his entire theology and ethics; and Heiko A. Obermann in a *Festschrift for Hanns Rüdiger, Geist und Geschichte der Reformation* (Berlin, 1966), pp. 323-56, presents a searching study in this area, "Die 'Extra' Dimension in der Theologie Calvins". Karl Barth *The Faith of the Church; a Commentary on the Apostles' Creed According to Calvin*, tr. G. Vahian (New York, 1958), is based upon a French work of 1943. John Frederick Jansen in *Calvin's Doctrine of the Work of Christ* (London, 1956) compares his teaching with that of the Fathers and of Luther and expounds his treatment of the "offices" of Christ as prophet, priest, and king. Jacob van Genderen contributes "*Calvijns dogmatisch werk*" as the first of four essays by Dutch scholars in *Zicht op Calvijn* (Amsterdam, 1953). The others deal with preaching, the community, business life, and Calvin's lasting influence in the Netherlands. Centenary lectures by Doede Nauta and three other scholars are published in *Vier redevoeringen over Calvijn* (Kampen, 1959). Wilhelm Albert Hauck in *Die Erwählten: Praedestination und Heilsgewissheit nach Calvin* (Göttersloh, 1950) sees the doctrine of predestination for Calvin as the ground of the Christian's assurance. Availing himself of earlier studies, Leroy Nixon has written *John Calvin, Expository Preacher* (Grand Rapids, 1950). John Murray has treated *Calvin on Scripture and Divine Authority*

-lxix-

on Scripture and Divine Authority (Grand Rapids, 1960) in terms of verbal inerrancy. In the work edited by John F. Walvoord, *Inspiration and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids, 1957), Kenneth F. Kantzer chapter, "*Calvin and the Holy Scriptures*," despite some qualifying quotations, finds in Calvin's exegesis "a rigid doctrine of verbal inerrancy." A contrary view is expressed in "The Significance of the Word of God for Calvin", by John T. McNeill, *Church History*, XXVIII (1959), 131-46, and by J. K. S. Reid in *The Authority of Scripture... the Reformation and Post-Reformation Understanding of the Bible* (New York, 1958). There is a vital study by Paul Traugott Fuhrmann, "Calvin the Expositor of Scripture", in *Interpretation*, VI (1952), 188-209. Brian A. Gerrish has a substantial article, "Biblical Authority in the Continental Reformation", *Scottish Journal of Theology*, X (1957), 337-60. H. Jackson Forstman in *Word and Spirit, Calvin's Doctrine of Spiritual Authority* (Stanford, 1962) treats "the dictation theory" as differing from that of "fundamentalists." Everett H. Emerson discusses "Calvin and Covenant Theology" in *Church History*, XXV (1956), 136-44, differentiating Calvin's concept of covenant from that of seventeenth-century covenant

theologians. Noteworthy in this area are Gottfried Wilhelm Locher *Testimonium internum: Calvins Lehre vom Heiligen Geist und das hermeneutische Problem* (Zurich, 1964); Hans-Heinrich Wolf revised dissertation, *Die Einheit des Bundes; das Verh?ltnis von Altem und Neuem Testament bei Calvin* (Neukirchen, 1958); and Anthony A. Hoekema research article "The Covenant of Grace in Calvin's Teaching", *Calvin Theological Journal*, II ( 1967), 133-60. Wilhelm Vischer has closely examined Calvin's theological interpretation and exegetical work on the Old Testament in "*Calvin, ex?g?te de l'Ancien Testament*", *La revue r?form?e*, 18 ( 1967), 1-20. On Calvin's view of the Atonement and reconciliation, Paul Van Buren has *Christ in Our Place* ( Edinburgh, 1957), a Basel thesis written under Karl Barth. "John Calvin's Polemic Against Idolatry", by John H. Leith, forms chapter 8 in *Soli Deo gloria*, Studies in Honor of William Childs Robinson ( Richmond, 1968).

Increased attention has been given to Calvin's teaching on

-lxx-

the Church, the ministry, and the Sacraments. Jacques de Senarclens , who in his *H?ritiers de la R?formation* ( Geneva, 1958), translated by G. W. Bromiley as *Heirs of the Reformation* ( Philadelphia, 1959), turns back frequently to Calvin, has a short treatise *De la vraie ?glise selon Calvin* ( Geneva, 1965). Alexandre Ganoczy in *Calvin, th?ologien de l'?glise et du minist?re* ( Paris, 1964) gives details on Calvin's doctrine and practice with respect to the variety of ministers and calls attention to "divergences" between Calvin's and the Roman Catholic concepts. Ganoczy has a few pages only on the "doctors" in Calvin's system. This topic is investigated by Robert W. Henderson in his Harvard dissertation, *The Teaching Office in the Reformed Tradition: A History of the Doctoral Ministry* ( Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 15-71. In the Strasbourg *Colloque Calvin* Willem F. Dankbaar returns to the discussion: "*L'office des docteurs chez Calvin*" (pp. 102-26). Erich Roth has examined Calvin's thought and practice on private confession: *Privatbeichte und Schl?sselgewalt in der Theologie der Reformation* (G?tersloh, 1952). T. F. Torrance has expounded Calvin's teaching on Baptism in "*L'enseignement baptismal de Calvin*", *Revue de th?ologie et de philosophie*, IX ( 1959), 121-52; also in German, *Calvin-Studien*, ed. Moltmann, pp. 95-129. Leo Georg Marie von Geusau in *Die Lehre von der Kindertaufe bei Calvin* (Bilthoven and Mainz, 1963) has an appendix on infant baptism according to Tridentine definitions. Leopold Schummer has examined Calvin's concept of penance in *Le minist?re pastoral dans l'Institution chr?tienne de Calvin ? lumi?re du troisi?me sacrement* ( Wiesbaden, 1965). H. Hasper has examined the basis in scripture and history of Calvin's use of congregational singing: *Calvijns beginsel voor den zang in den eredienst* ( The Hague, 1955).

*Calvin's Doctrine of Word and Sacrament* ( Edinburgh, 1965) by Ronald S. Wallace is a work of distinction. Max Thurian's interpretation of Calvin's eucharistic doctrine appears in his essay "The Real Presence", in *Christianity Divided*, ed. Daniel J. Callahan et al. ( New York, 1961). Joachim Rogge in *Virtus et res; um die Abendmahlswirklichkeit bei Calvin* ( Stuttgart, 1965) reviews related studies since 1926 and stresses Calvin's dynamic concept of the Eucharist as imparting spiritual energy. G. S. M.

-lxxi-

Walker has an essay in the Duffield collection noted above (pp. 131-48), *The Lord's Supper in the Theology and Practice of Calvin*. Paul Jacobs in the Strasbourg *Colloque Calvin* has an acute study, "*Pneumatische Reapr?sensz bei Calvin*" (pp. 127-39). G. P. Hartvelt *Verum*

*Corpus* ( Delft, 1960) takes its departure from this phrase in the Belgic Confession, art. 35. Perhaps the best-known work in this field is still Jean Cadier *La doctrine calviniste de la Sainte Cène* ( Montpellier, 1951). The volume by Kilian O. S.B. McDonnell, *John Calvin, the Church and the Eucharist* (Princeton, 1967) is a work of thorough research and wide horizons. Werner Krusche under the title *Das Wirken des Heiligen Geistes nach Calvin* (Göttingen, 1957) presents a full study of Calvin's theology of the Holy Spirit, with emphasis on the role of the Church as a means of salvation.

There are numerous studies on Calvin's ecumenical perspective and concern. Outstanding in this area is Willem Nijenhuis, *Calvinus oecumenicus* ( The Hague, 1958), in which this theme is systematically traced in his international correspondence. Gottfried Locher in *Calvin, Anwalt der Oecumene* (Zollikon, 1960) points up Calvin's devotion to the whole church and indicates the limits he set for fellowship with contemporary churches. Among other studies are "Calvin and Ecumenicity" by J. H. Kromminga in the volume *John Calvin, Contemporary Prophet*, edited by Jacob Hoogstra, (pp. 149-65); "Calvin as an Ecumenical Churchman", *Church History*, XXXII ( 1963), 379-91, by John T. McNeill, and the latter's revised edition of *Unitive Protestantism* (Richmond, Va., and London, 1964), pp. 173-221; "Calvin and the Union of the Churches" by Jean Cadier in the *Courtenay Studies*, ed. G. E. Duffield (pp. 118-30); and D. J. de Groot, *Om de eenheid en vrede der Kerk in Johannes Calvijns geschrift* ( Amsterdam, 1953). Scholars show rising interest in comparisons of Calvin's doctrines with those of Trent, giving attention to points of agreement as well as of difference. Robert P. Swierenga sheds fresh light on this in "Calvin and the Council of Trent, a Reappraisal", *Reformed Journal* ( March 1966) 33-37; ( April 1966), 16-20; ( May 1966) 20-23. Vatican II has brought the word "collegiality" into the common vocabu-

-lxxii-

lary, and the term is being applied to interpret not unfamiliar aspects of Calvin's view of church order. Alexandre Ganoczy wrote on "*La structure collégiale de l'église, chez Calvin*" in the book *La collégialité épiscopale*, introd. by Yves Congar ( Paris, 1965), and C. Van Der Woude has a separate booklet, *Het beginsel van de collegialiteit bij Calvijn en het tweede Vaticaans Concilie* (Kampen, 1966). In *Calvin, Contemporary Prophet* G. C. Berkouwer writes on "Calvin and Rome", pp. 185-96.

Henri Strohl *La pensée de la Réforme* (Neuchâtel, 1951) abounds in dispersed comparisons between Calvin and the other major reformers. Comparisons with Luther pervade most books about Calvin, and his relations with Lutheranism are being examined anew. A trend toward the affirmation of Calvin's agreement with Luther is represented by such studies as Hermann Noltensmeier's *Reformatrische Einheit: Das Schriftverständnis bei Luther und Calvin* ( Graz, 1953). Ernst Walter Zeeden in "*Das Bild Luthers in den Briefen Calvins*", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, XLIX ( 1958), 177-95, shows Calvin's high esteem of Luther as an apostolic personality but withal not infallible. Gerrit Cornelis Van Niftrik in *Luther en Calvijn over Het Avondmaal* (Assen, 1949) sees him sharing much common ground with Luther in rejection of Zwingli's views on the *Lord's Supper*. Pieter A. Verhoef in "Luther's and Calvin's Exegetical Library", *Calvin Theological Journal*, III ( 1968), 5-20, describes the exegetical writings in circulation and available to both reformers. Fritz Blanke, in a study comparable to Zeeden, "*Calvins Urteile über Zwingli*", an article that appeared in 1959 and was republished in Blanke *Aus der Welt der Reformation* ( Zurich, 1960), pp. 18-47, sifts Calvin's many utterances on Zwingli's opinions and person with evidence of qualified admiration for that "true knight of Christ."

Calvin's place among the inspirers of the modern worldmission has been freshly examined. In Hoogstra, *John Calvin, Contemporary Prophet*, J. Vanden Berg discusses "Calvin and Missions", pp. 167-83. Samuel M. Zwemer has an article "Calvin and the Missionary Enterprise", in *Theology Today*, VII ( 1950), 206-16. "The Geneva Mission to Brazil" is the topic of a study

-lxxiii-

by R. Pierce Beaver in *The Reformed Journal*, XVII ( JulyAugust 1967), 14-20.

Calvin's vivid awareness of history, seen from the viewpoint of Church history and of the divine eschatological purpose, is expounded from his writings by Heinrich Berger in *Calvins Geschichtsauffassung* ( Zurich, 1955). Elmore Harris Harbison in his volume *Christianity in History* (Princeton, 1964) has an essay on "Calvin's Sense of History" (pp. 270-88), in which he calls attention to the dynamism associated with Calvin's sense of the *kairos* and of destiny. In the same volume (pp. 249-62) Harbison treats "*The Idea of Utility in the Thought of Calvin*," with a comment by J. T. McNeill attached (pp. 262-69). In this lecture and in an informed and substantial chapter of his earlier work, *The Christian Scholar in the Age of the Reformation* ( New York, 1956), pp. 137-64, Harbison took the ground that Calvin's conscience was disquieted by his congenial scholarly labors. In *Studies in the Renaissance*, ed. William Perry ( Austin, 1954), Charles Trinkhaus writes on "*Renaissance Problems in Calvin's Theology*" (pp. 59-80), indicating some common ground between him and humanist writers, who themselves differed on man's moral ability. Carlo Calvetti in *La filosofia di Giovanni Calvino* ( Milan, 1955) sees Calvin's thought in the framework of an extreme, and original, pantheism. Jean Boisset in *Calvin et la souverainet? de Dieu* ( Paris, 1965) fortifies with appended texts his argument that Calvin has a "philosophical intention" in his theology, and introduces fruitful comparisons with Plato. "Calvin and Philosophy" is the topic of an article by Joseph C. McLelland , *Canadian Journal of Theology*, XI ( 1965), 42-53. John Dillenberger in *Protestant Thought and Natural Science* (Garden City, N.Y., 1960) and Edward Rosen in "Calvin's Attitude Toward Copernicus", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXI ( 1960), 431-41, have done much to set the record straight with respect to Calvin's attitude to, and limited knowledge of, the new science of his time. Despite invented utterances in condemnation of Copernicus, publicized by Frederick William Farrer and Andrew D. White, Rosen sees no evidence that Calvin ever heard of Copernicus. The chapter by Brian A. Gerrish on "The Reformation and the Rise of Modern Science" in the volume

-lxxiv-

Questia Media America, Inc. [www.questia.com](http://www.questia.com)

*The Impact of the Church Upon Its Culture* (Essays in Divinity II), ed. Jerald C. Brauer ( Chicago, 1968), pp. 231-65, sets these matters in the larger context of Calvin's theology. Heinrich Quistorp's *Die letzten Dinge im Zeugnis Calvins* ( 1941) has been translated by Harold Knight, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Last Things* ( London, 1955). Quistorp finds an inclination to spiritualize in Calvin's eschatology, checked, however, by the concreteness of the Bible language. T. F. Torrance in *Kingdom and Church* ( Edinburgh, 1956) has an illuminating essay, "*The Eschatology of Hope: John Calvin*," pp. 90-164. Aids to the understanding of Calvin's style and diction are frequently introduced incidentally by qualified scholars, and occasionally receive separate treatment. Quirinus Breen "John Calvin and the Rhetorical Tradition", *Church History*, XXVI ( 1957), 3-21, has been reprinted in Breen *Christianity and Humanism* ( Grand Rapids, 1968), pp. 107-29. Francis M. Higman

comes to the aid of readers and translators of Calvin French in *The Style of John Calvin in His French Polemical Treatises* (Oxford, 1967).

## V. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL ETHICS

The interest in Calvin's practical ethics has continued, and a good deal of theoretic fog has been dispelled. W. Kolffhaus in *Vom christlichen Leben nach Johannes Calvin* (Neukirchen, 1949) studied Calvin's response to such questions as penitence, asceticism, cultural life, and war. R. S. Wallace in *Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life* (Edinburgh and London, 1959) offers a well-planned work in six "parts" setting forth Calvin's integrated view of faith, piety, and social duty. Andr  Bi ler in *La pens e  conomique et sociale de Calvin* (Geneva, 1959) rose above the level of previous writers in this field by the range of his research not only in Calvin's writings but in the economic history of the era. A thoughtful supplement to this major work, by no means a summary of it, is Bi ler *L'humanisme social de Calvin* (Geneva, 1961), tr. Paul T. Fuhrmann, *The Social Humanism of Calvin* (Richmond, Va., 1964). His *Calvin, proph te de l' re industrielle* (Geneva, 1964) exhibits the historic

-lxxv-

dynamism of Calvin's social teaching, and its theological anchorage. Bi ler's concern with, and substantial refutation of, Max Weber's well-known theories is incidental but bears the authority of knowledge. More directly in refutation of Weber is Herbert Luethy, "Once Again, Calvin and Capitalism", an article in *Encounter*, XXII (1964), 26-38, one of a series of related articles in that journal. Bi ler has also explored an unfamiliar segment of Calvin ethics in *L'homme et la femme dans la morale calviniste* (Geneva, 1963). Winthrop S. Hudson assesses the work of various interpreters as well as Calvin own economic ideas in "Calvinism and the Spirit of Capitalism", *Church History*, XVIII (1950), 3-17. In *John Calvin, Contemporary Prophet* G. Gregg Singer has an essay on "Calvin as a Social and Economic Statesman", pp. 227-41, and W. Childs Robinson discusses "The Tolerance of Our Prophet," pp. 39-49. Jean Marcel Lechner in "Le Calvinisme social", *La Revue R form e*, VII (1956), 243-57, treats such topics in the life of Calvin's Geneva as the diaconate, medical care, social and educational work. Pieter de Jong in "Calvin's Contribution to Christian Education", *Calvin Theological Journal*, II (1967), 162-201, reviews from the sources the Reformer's theory and practice with regard to elementary education. Henri Meylan in the Strasbourg *Colloque Calvin*, pp. 161-70, writes on "Calvin et les hommes d'affaires", showing chiefly his relations with the businessmen of Geneva.

The numerous studies on Calvin's political ideas include Walter K ser, "Die Monarchie im Spiegel von Calvins DanielKommentar", *Evangelische Theologie*, XI (1951), 112-37; Doede Nauta, *Calvijn en de staatkunde* (The Hague, 1955); W. Stanford Reid, "Calvin and the Political Order", in the volume *John Calvin, Contemporary Prophet*, pp. 243-57; G. L. Mosse, *Calvinism, Authoritarian or Democratic?* (New York, 1957); E. Wolf, *Widerstandsrecht und Grenzen der Staatsgewalt* (Munich, (1956), containing "Das Problem des Widerstandsrechts bei Calvin", pp. 45-58. The present writer has an article, "The Democratic Element in Calvin's Thought", *Church History*, XVIII (1949), 153-71, a small book of selections with introduction and notes, *John Calvin on God and Political Duty* (New York, 1950; 2d ed., Indianapolis, 1956), and a published lecture, "John Calvin on Civil Government"

Questia Media America, Inc. [www.questia.com](http://www.questia.com)

Calvin on Civil Government, reprinted from the *Journal of Presbyterian History*, XLII (1964), 71-91, to form chapter 2 (pp. 22-45) of the volume edited by George L. Hunt, *Calvinism and the Political Order* (Philadelphia, 1965). William Mueller in *Church and State in Luther and Calvin; a Comparative Study* (Nashville, 1954) offers good material on each Reformer but little that is "comparative." Jürgen Baur in *Gott, Recht und weltliches Regiment im Werke Calvins* (Bonn, 1965) develops the ideas of *mutua obligatio* between ruler and ruled and of a cooperative relation between Church and State.

Pressure of time and defects of knowledge and judgment have no doubt left their marks upon this article. Scholars may wish to offer supplements and corrections. If I receive a considerable number of these, I shall try to write a suitable addendum.

JOHN T. McNEILL

Middlebury, Vermont September 1968

## JOHN CALVIN

### CHAPTER I CALVIN'S SPIRITUAL ANTECEDENTS

CALVIN belongs to the second generation of the reformers. His place chronologically, and, to a large extent, theologically, is among the heirs rather than with the initiators of the Reformation. At his birth Luther and Zwingli were already twenty-five years of age, Melancthon was about to take up a student's career at the University of Heidelberg, and Henry VIII. had just begun his eventful reign. None of these leaders had entered, indeed, upon his reformatory work; but the thorough development of the Reformation in Germany and in German-speaking Switzerland was achieved before Calvin reached the activities of manhood. Yet, in spite of his lateness in point of time, Calvin must be ranked among the most influential leaders in the gigantic struggle of the sixteenth century. He could not have done his work had not Luther and Zwingli gone before; but he was far more than a builder on other men's foundations. That work had its antecedents and was made possible by many predisposing influences. A brief glance, therefore, at the state of the land in which Calvin grew to manhood may be of service as exhibiting the soil and the atmosphere in which his early intellectual and religious life was nurtured.

The kingdom of France, at the beginning of the

sixteenth century, had many claims to eminence among the states of Christendom. In consciousness of national unity, in efficiency of governmental organisation, and in consequent influence on the politics of Europe, it could challenge favourable comparison with any of its contemporaries. Not so world-wide in the activities of its inhabitants as the newly significant kingdom of Spain, then feeling the fever stimulus of the great discoveries which marked the close of the fifteenth century, its growth was more natural, solid, and unforced than that of its portentous southern rival. Though the neighbouring kingdom of England could show the forms at least of more popular governmental institutions, the physical strength of England was reckoned far inferior to that of France. The great Holy Roman Empire, rich in commerce, cities, and soldiers, was much less able to use its strength than France by reason of its divisions and its lack of a national spirit. Though far from having attained the organic development of a modern state, France, in the early sixteenth century, was, with the possible exception of England, the most advanced of any European kingdom on the road toward modern national life.

The national tendencies characteristic of the French monarchy of that age had conspicuous embodiment in Francis I. (1515-1547), contemporary with whom Calvin was to do the formative portion of his work. A ruler of unbounded military ambition, anxious to win for France the post of highest influence in Europe, his personal charm, ready wit, eloquence, tact, and appreciation of scholarly and artistic merit gave him

-2-

deserved popularity. His social talents attracted a splendid court; but his easy morality and entire want of personal religion or of ethical seriousness unfitted him to appreciate the fundamental significance of the gigantic religious struggle which convulsed Europe during his reign. France, under him, had an aggressive, though largely unsuccessful, military policy, a brilliant court, and a high degree of national unity and internal prosperity.

The relations between the French Church and the monarchy had for centuries been close and cordial to a degree hardly equalled elsewhere in Europe. Church and King had aided each other against the nobility. While thoroughly orthodox, as the middle ages understood orthodoxy, and bitterly opposed to "heretics" at home like the Cathari and Waldenses, the French Church felt a greater hostility toward extreme papal claims than was general in other branches of Western Christendom. It possessed a strong sense of corporate unity, and of national or "Gallican" rights, which even the Papacy ought not to infringe. But the growing strength of the crown was leading to increasing control by the sovereigns over the Church, and this control was decidedly strengthened when, in 1516, Francis I. and Leo X. entered into the famous Concordat. The King was henceforth to nominate to the higher administrative and monastic posts in the realm. To the sovereign the Concordat brought a firmer grasp on the French Church; to the Papacy it secured an increase in revenue. But though the rights of the Church were thus in a measure sacrificed, it was exempt from many papal

-3-

interferences and exactions that bore heavily on other lands. There was not, therefore, in France that popular hatred of the Roman *curia* which was so widespread in Germany and there made possible the rapid growth of the Lutheran revolt.

It would be an error to suppose, however, that the spiritual state of the French Church was superior to that existing in lands where the crown enjoyed less influence. The same evils of externalism in the conception of religion, of emphasis on acts done, penances performed, pilgrimages accomplished, and indulgences won, rather than on the inward state of the soul and on the ruling purpose of the life, existed in France that were to be found elsewhere in Latin Christendom; and whatever of criticism may justly be passed upon the Roman Church of this period as a whole attaches equally to that of France. The growth of the power of the monarchy brought far less aid to the spiritual interests of the French Church than did a similar increase of royal authority south of the Pyrenees to that of Spain, since no French sovereign of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries manifested a religious zeal comparable with that of Isabella of Castile or even with that of the emperor, Charles V. The French kings enjoyed the control of the Church which their share in the appointment of its prominent officers afforded. They appreciated its possibilities as a source of revenue. They were ready enough to oppose changes which would in any serious way alter a fabric so useful to them. But they gave to political considerations the chief weight in ecclesiastical appointments; and the great evils of the

-4-

possession of office by the morally unfit and the heaping up of benefices in the hands of favourites,<sup>1</sup> who, however well intentioned, could give them no adequate spiritual care, continued to flourish unrelieved by any counteracting influence from the throne. France, as a whole, seems to have been fairly well content with its religious situation at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and, as compared with Germany or Spain, its sense of the need of betterment was undeveloped.

Foremost among the intellectual forces of France was still to be placed the University of Paris. That eminent seat of mediæval learning, to which all other universities of northern Europe looked up as their archetype, had enjoyed high academic fame since the beginning of the thirteenth century. Within its walls Aquinas, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, William of Occam, d'Ailli, and Gerson had taught. Its repute as a centre of theologic instruction had, indeed, been considerably dimmed by the beginning of the sixteenth

---

<sup>1</sup> Henry C. Lea, in *The Cambridge Modern History*, i. 659, gives a striking instance of pluralism contemporary with Calvin's life. Jean, son of Duke René II. of Lorraine, was born in 1498. In 1508, he entered into possession of the revenues of the bishopric of Metz; 1517 saw him bishop of Toul; 1518 brought the addition of Trouanne; 1521 added Valence and Die; 1523 Verdun. In 1524, he became archbishop of Narbonne. The year 1533 added the archbishopric Reims and made him primate of France. In 1536 he became bishop of Alby, and the next year archbishop of Lyons. He then gained the bishoprics of Mecon, Agen, and Nantes. Several of these posts he resigned to relatives; but many he continued to hold till his death in 1550. And, in addition, he was in possession of the "abbey of Gorze, Fécamp, Cluny, Marmoutiers, St. Ouen, St. Jean de Laon, St. Germer, St. Médard of Soissons, and St. Mansuy of Toul."

-5-

century, but was still great. Its theological faculty, known popularly as the Sorbonne, from the large concentration of its instructors in the College founded in 1253 by Robert de Sorbon,

regarded itself, and was widely reputed, of unimpeachable orthodoxy. Nor was it wanting in courage and independence. Its opposition to the Concordat, as recently as 1516, bore witness to the jealous concern of the University for the liberties of the French Church. But it was, nevertheless, on the whole a hindrance to progress. It stood strongly opposed to innovations in learning or in doctrine. Not that it wholly neglected the new learning that was crossing the Alps from Italy. Greek had been taught within its walls, though for a brief period, as early as 1458. In 1508, new interest in the Attic tongue had been awakened by the coming of Girolamo Aleandro, afterwards famous as an opponent of Luther at Worms. But, in spite of this measure of approval, the friends of classic studies felt that the University was hostile to them, that its dominant spirit was scholastic, and its methods antiquated. Its leaders looked upon Greek as the "language of heresies," and they condemned the teachings of Luther in terms of the utmost abhorrence.<sup>1</sup>

Yet, in the early years of the sixteenth century, the new learning was rapidly winning its way in France. In 1507, the printing of books in Greek was begun in

---

<sup>1</sup> See the letters of Henri Lorit and Valetin Tschudi in A. L. Herminjard, *Correspondance des r?formateurs dans les pays de langu? fran?aise*, i. 31, 38; Abel Lefranc, *Histoire du Coll?ge de France*, pp. 60-63, 68.

-6-

Paris, and two years later the leader of native French Humanists, Jacques Le F?vre, already famed for his studies on Aristotle and in mathematics, published his exposition of the Psalms which Luther was to use in his early years of teaching at Wittenberg. Among many distinguished pupils of Le F?vre, none was more eminent for scholarship than Guillaume Bud?, whose *Commentary on the Greek Language*, of 1529, gave him a European fame. To Bud?'s influence with Francis I. was due the establishment, in 1530, of the Royal Lecturers (*Lecteurs royaux*), at Paris, to give instruction in Greek, Hebrew, and mathematics, wholly in the spirit of the Renaissance, and with a zeal for the new learning that roused the hostility of the Sorbonne. From this royal foundation the Coll?ge de France was to grow. Indeed, under the reign of Francis I., the new learning had become distinctly fashionable. The King was conspicuously its supporter, and the roll of scholars, architects, and artists who found in him a patron is an ornament to his reign. Even more committed to the support of Renaissance men and methods was Francis's elder sister, Marguerite d'Angoul?me, whose increasing liberalism was ultimately to carry her into real, though not publicly announced, sympathy with Protestantism.<sup>1</sup> In Marguerite men of liberal ideas, generally, had a determined defender; and she afforded to many efficient protection, especially after her marriage, in 1527, to Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, had put her at the head of a little court at

---

<sup>1</sup> Abel Lefranc, *Les id?es religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre*, Paris, 1898, p. 123.

-7-

N?rac. With Francis, however, support of the new learning was based on admiration for humanistic scholarship rather than on conviction, and it ceased whenever the new leaven threatened the constitution or the doctrine of an organisation so useful to the French monarchy from a political and financial point of view as the French Church.

It was true in France, as elsewhere in Europe, that the new learning was leading to criticism of the existing state of the Church. From its standpoint the Sorbonne was amply justified in its opposition. The spirit of the Renaissance was that of a return from the scholarship of the later mediæval period to the sources. Begun with a revived interest in the writers of classical antiquity, it soon led men to investigate anew the sources of religious truth, and to go back of d'Ailli, Occam, Scotus, and Aquinas, to Augustine, and, even further, to the New Testament. The attempted return did not usually involve any hostile intention toward the established Church. Men like Erasmus, Ximenes, or Reuchlin believed that sound learning, the study of the Scriptures and of the Fathers, and earnest opposition to the superstition, ignorance, and maladministration rampant in the Church would effect all that was necessary for its betterment. They had no wish for revolution. In France this humanistic spirit of reform had its conspicuous embodiment in Le Fèvre, who, both by reason of his own services to the cause of religious awakening and the disciples whom he aroused to similar or even greater zeal, deserved the first place among the religious leaders of his native country in the

-8-

generation that preceded Calvin, and prepared the way for Calvin's more positive work.

Born at ?taples, in Picardy about the middle of the fifteenth century,<sup>1</sup> Jacques Le Fèvre was early attracted to Paris, where he learned Greek of a fugitive from Sparta, George Hermonymus. A journey to Italy, in 1488-1489, quickened his humanistic zeal, and his religious spirit was no less manifest in a sympathy with the mystical type of piety. A little man, modest, kindly, gentle, of a life that did honour to his priestly vows, he won friendship by his personal qualities as much as he attracted admiration by his zeal for scholarship. His disciples were destined to the most various parts in the Reformation struggle; but they seem to have held him in singular affection. Among those who honoured him as their teacher were Guillaume Briçonnet, sprung from one of the eminent noble houses of France, and to be bishop of Meaux; Guillaume Budé, instrumental, as has been seen, in the establishment of the Royal Lecturers; François Vatable, one of the first teachers of Hebrew on that foundation and to be Calvin's instructor; Gérard Roussel, the later confessor of Marguerite d'Angoulême, and bishop of Orlon, for a time Calvin's friend; Louis de Berquin, destined to die at the stake for his Protestant faith; and Guillaume Farel, to be the fiery preacher of

---

<sup>1</sup> The usual and more probable date is "about 1455," e.g. G. Bonet-Maury in Hauck *Realencyklopædie für protestantische Theologie*, v. 714; but Professor E. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin, les hommes et les choses de son temps*, Lausanne, 1899, seq., i. 539-541, has an interesting argument favouring the conclusion that at his death, in 1536, he was 100 years old.

-9-

Evangelical doctrines in French Switzerland, and Calvin's intimate associate.

It was by reason of Briçonnet's appointment as abbot of the great Parisian monastery of St. Germain-desPrés, in 1507, that Le Fèvre came to make that religious foundation his home for the next thirteen years. There, aided by its noble library, he turned to the study of the Bible in a singularly fresh spirit. In 1512, he published a Latin translation of and commentary upon Paul's Epistles which shows clearly the development of his thought. Le Fèvre did not break

with the Roman Church as an organisation,--that he never did. He still held to many of its characteristic doctrines. Yet, five years before Luther's theses, he had come to deny the justifying merit of good works, to hold salvation to be a free gift from God, to doubt the doctrine of transubstantiation, and to imply a belief in the sole authority of the Scriptures.<sup>1</sup> But these assertions, though clear, were the utterances of a quiet, scholarly mystic, who saw no incongruity between his views and a cordial support of the Church as it then existed; and it is no wonder that few perceived what he failed to see. His book made no sensation; and he continued his peaceful career, holding with ever-increasing firmness the affection of his friends and pupils, and gaining, through the good offices of Briçonnet, the regard of Francis I. and of Marguerite.

Meanwhile Luther was beginning his reformatory

---

<sup>1</sup> For discussions, from somewhat divergent points of view, of the extent of Le Fèvre's Protestantism, see Herminjard, *Correspondance*, i. 239; and Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, i. 81-86, 542-551.

-10-

work in Germany, and, by 1519, that land was filled with the noise of the battle. His books soon reached France. The Sorbonne, under the lead of its syndic, Noël Bédard, condemned his views in April, 1521. Criticisms of the Church which had passed well-nigh unnoticed now appeared dangerously "Lutheran." Le Fèvre himself came under suspicion. In 1517 and 1518, he had put forth a scholarly study denying the identity of Mary Magdalene with Mary, the sister of Lazarus and the Mary who anointed the Saviour's feet. In itself, this might seem an academic question; but it denied the current teachings of the Church, it practically asserted the right of private Biblical interpretation, and it was an invasion by one who was only a master of arts of a field thought to be fittingly open only to a doctor of theology. Under the suspicion which the rise of Luther had instilled, Le Fèvre was now attacked by Bédard, and his opinion on the problem of the Marys was condemned by the Sorbonne about seven months after it had denounced the Saxon reformer.

About a year before the condemnation of his book, however, Le Fèvre had left Paris for the friendly home of Briçonnet, who, since 1516, had been bishop of Meaux. The bishop was a worthy disciple of Le Fèvre in purpose. He saw the need of reform, and held the humanistic belief that a return to the sources--the study of the Bible and the preaching of Biblical truth--would right the evils of the Church. He perceived no need of revolution, nor did he, any more than Le Fèvre, grasp the seriousness of the situation. But he was willing to do much more than most humanists

-11-

to use the remedies in which he believed; and in his reformatory convictions and his efforts alike, he had the powerful sympathy of Marguerite. He now began the work in earnest. Under his encouragement and that of Marguerite, Le Fèvre published, in 1523, a translation of the New Testament which grew by 1530 to a version of the whole Bible. This was, indeed, far from being the first translation of the Scriptures to be made or printed in France; but those that had gone before had been marked by the abbreviations and modifications popular in the middle ages. Le Fèvre now gave a careful version of the Vulgate, enriched here and there by

comparison with the Greek.<sup>1</sup> Though in no sense a great translation, Le Fèvre's work undoubtedly furthered extensive reading of the Scriptures in France.

Briçonnet was inaugurating, meanwhile, an active campaign of preaching in his diocese, aided by Roussel, Vatable, Farel, and Michel d'Arande, all of whom had caught their inspiration from Le Fèvre; but he soon found himself in great difficulties. By the champions of the existing order he was looked upon as little better than a Lutheran. On the other hand, the new preaching could not be confined to simple expositions of the Scriptures. The humanistic reformatory course was one almost impossible to hold in practice, save as an individual attitude. Farel inveighed against the Papacy,

---

<sup>1</sup> Reuss and Berger in Hauck, *Realencyklopädie*, iii. 126-131; Doumergue, i. 98; *The Cambridge Modern History*, ii. 283. The New Testament had been printed in French at Lyons about 1477; and the whole Bible, modified as above mentioned, at Paris about ten years later.

-12-

and was probably dismissed by Briçonnet in 1523;<sup>2</sup> But iconoclastic acts, wholly distasteful to Briçonnet, Roussel, and most of his friends, soon occurred. In December, 1524, Jean Le Clerc, a wool-carder of Meaux, tore a copy of a papal bull from the cathedral door and affixed instead a declaration that the Pope was Antichrist.<sup>1</sup> Briçonnet denounced the acts of Le Clerc and his possible associates in January, 1525;<sup>2</sup> but the political situation soon made his position impossible. The great defeat of the French at Pavia, in February, was followed by the captivity of the King in Spain, whither Marguerite went to join him in August. The Parlement of Paris was now able to oppose Briçonnet unhindered. His preachers were forbidden and Le Fèvre's translations ordered burned.

Briçonnet felt that the situation was beyond his solution. He was not a man of the highest courage; but had he been more daring than he was he might well have thought that his mild reformatory efforts had resulted in attempts more revolutionary than he anticipated or relished. He now issued, on October 15, 1525, two synodical decrees<sup>3</sup> condemning Luther's doctrines and books and deploring the "abuses of the Gospel" by those who denied purgatory and rejected prayers to the saints. His reformatory work at Meaux was over. The same month Le Fèvre and Roussel

---

<sup>1</sup> He was whipped and branded at Paris. On July 22, 1525, he was burned at Metz for the destruction of a shrine.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to the clergy of Meaux, Herminjard, i. 320.

<sup>3</sup> Herminjard, i. 153, where they are dated 1523, though with hesitation. On the true date see Doumergue, i. 110.

-13-

were compelled to fly for safety to Strassburg; but Briçonnet himself continued in possession of his office till his death in 1534. Fortunately the royal favour followed the fugitives. On his return from Madrid, in 1526, Francis recalled them. To Le Fèvre he gave the post of teacher to his children and librarian of the Châteaufort of Blois. Here the aged scholar laboured on his

translation of the Bible; but the growing tension of the ecclesiastical situation led the ever-kindly Marguerite to effect his transfer to the safety of her court at Nîrac in 1530, and there Le Fèvre died six years later. Roussel did further work as a reformatory preacher in France, and, as will be seen, influenced Calvin at a crisis in that reformer's history; but he was even more of a mystic quietist than Le Fèvre. Like Le Fèvre and Briçonnet, he saw the need of reform, without desiring or appreciating the necessity of revolution, or being willing to pay the cost.<sup>1</sup> Aided by Marguerite, he accepted the bishopric of Oloron, and died about 1552, in good repute for fidelity in the spiritual administration of his diocese.

Yet if Le Fèvre, Briçonnet, and Roussel were thus disposed only to a humanistic type of reform that did not break with Rome, and proved inadequate to the struggle, there were those who entered into the spirit of the German revolt and wished to effect a similar revolution in France. Most of these radical reformers were from the mercantile and wage-earning classes; but a few men of learning and rank were to be found among

---

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Farel, August 24, 1524, Herminjard, i. 271.

-14-

them. Of Le Fèvre's stormy pupil, Guillaume Farel, something has already been said, and there will be abundant occasion to speak further of him in this narrative. The most eminent in station among the early uncompromising reformers of France was Louis de Berquin, a noble of Artois, and, like Farel, a disciple of Le Fèvre. A man of dignified bearing, scholarly attainments, and high character, Berquin won the friendship of Marguerite and Francis I., and became a member of the royal council. A little later he gained the rather timid regard of Erasmus.<sup>1</sup> A translator of Erasmus and Luther, and himself a writer in favour of reform, he was an object of attack from 1523 onward; but was at first saved by the friendship of Marguerite and of her royal brother. That favour Francis I. failed to extend to Berquin at last, probably because he became convinced that Berquin's attack on so useful an institution as the crown found the French Church to be was too serious; but his end came in death by fire on April 16, 1529, on condemnation by the Parlement of Paris,--a sentence hastily passed and executed to prevent possible interference by the King. When a nobleman of such connections and influence was thus made to suffer, it was evident that scant mercy could be expected from the French courts by heretics of lower social rank. In the death of Berquin French Protestantism of the thorough-going type lost its most conspicuous representative. Yet he cannot be called a leader. He

---

<sup>1</sup> His story is well told by H. M. Baird, *History of the Rise of the Huguenots*, i. chap. iv. For Erasmus's estimate, see Herminjard, ii. 188.

-15-

was no organiser. He seems to have had little missionary force. He fought largely alone; and he left the reform movement little stronger save for the courage of his example.

The vast majority of the radical reformers of France were, however, from the humbler walks of life, and their conduct in many instances was such as to exasperate rather than attract. Iconoclastic excesses, such as had been exhibited at Meaux, were repeated in many places,

notably at Paris in 1528. The Gallic spirit is more impulsive than the German, and though iconoclasm was common enough in many lands during the Reformation age, it showed its injudicious, aggravating face nowhere more plainly than in France, where the imagebreakers, instead of representing, as in some lands, a popular revolution, were but a handful as yet among a hostile and angered population.

By 1530, the French reform movement, in both its types, was slowly and somewhat irregularly growing. Its humanistic form appealed to men of culture. Where the new learning had penetrated, in the court and among student circles, there was not a little sympathy with such efforts as Le Fèvre had led. A critical attitude toward mediæval doctrines and practices, that yet did not break with Rome, was extensive, especially among the younger race of scholars. The radicals found little sympathy among the humanistic reformers. If the latter were inadequate to their task, the former were as yet incapable of widely commending their cause. The great lack of the French reformatory movement was a leader whose controlling mind could knit its scattered and

-16-

divergent forces. Such a leader must appeal to the world of scholarship, and yet go further in opposition to Rome than the humanists had done. He must be as firm as the radicals in hostility to the Papacy, and yet be able to show that iconoclastic excesses were incidental, not characteristic. He must present a type of theology congenial to non-German religious thought. Such a leader it was to find for the first time in Calvin. That the intellectually and politically divided forces opposed to Rome, or to Roman abuses, not merely in France, but ultimately in Switzerland, the Netherlands, Scotland, and to a large degree in England, also, were knit into spiritual unity; that the theology of the Reformation was given an interpretation congenial to the non-German mind; and that a great type of ecclesiastical organisation was developed in which the churchly independence characteristic of Romanism, but forfeited by most of the reformers, was preserved, and combined with a lay participation in church government unknown to the Latin Church, were to be the results of his work.

-17-

## **CHAPTER IV**

# **RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT AND CONVERSION**

IN approaching the subject of the religious development and conversion of Calvin a theme of much difficulty is encountered. Not that the final result is in any way obscure. No religious leader of the Reformation age stands more clearly defined than he in all the traits of the spiritual character of his maturer years. But the process by which Calvin passed from the status of a student supported by funds drawn from Roman ecclesiastical foundations, and reckoned as of the Roman clergy even if in no clerical orders, to that of a leader of Protestantism, is exceedingly difficult to follow in detail, partly by reason of Calvin's own reticence in regard to all that concerned his inward experiences, partly because his earliest biographers unintentionally, but none the less effectively, distorted the facts of his early religious life, and partly, also, in consequence of the varying interpretations which modern

historians have placed on such scanty indications of the stages of his spiritual development as have survived. Nor are those who have recently treated of the matter at one as to what they understand by his "conversion." Is that to be regarded as implying simply his attainment of views now considered distinctive of Protestantism; or can nothing be properly given that name that does not involve a deliberate separation from the

-70-

Roman communion? The answer given to this question makes not a little difference in the dating assigned to this crucial episode in Calvin's religious history.

Calvin's most distinct account of his spiritual development was written in middle life, and occurs almost incidentally in the Preface to his noble *Commentary on the Psalms*, published in Latin in 1557, and in French the year following. It is at nearest almost a quarter of a century later than the experiences that it pictures. The struggles of the writers of the Psalms, especially of David, recall to him his own combats, and induce him to compare his own trials with those of the Jewish poet-king:<sup>1</sup>--

It is true that my estate is much humbler and lower [than David's], and there is no need that I should stop to demonstrate the fact; but as he was taken from caring for beasts and raised to the sovereign rank of royal dignity, so God has advanced me from my humble and lowly beginnings so far as to call me to this most honourable office of minister and preacher of the Gospel. From the time that I was a young child, my father had intended me for Theology; but afterwards, because he perceived that the science of Laws commonly enriches those who follow it, this hope caused him promptly to change his plan. That was the reason why I was withdrawn from the study of Philosophy, and why I was set to learning Law. Though I forced

---

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxxi. 21-24. The Latin and French versions are there given in parallel. Both are thought to be from Calvin's pen. I quote from the French.

-71-

myself to engage faithfully in it in order to obey my father, God finally made me turn about in another direction by his secret providence.

And, in the first place, because I was so obstinately addicted to the superstitions of the papacy that it was very hard to draw me from that deep slough, by a sudden conversion He subdued and reduced my heart to docility, which, for my age, was over-much hardened in such matters. Having consequently received some taste and knowledge of true piety, I was forthwith inflamed with so great a desire to reap benefit from it that, although I did not at all abandon other studies, I yet devoted myself to them more indifferently. Now I was greatly astonished that, before a year passed, all those who had some desire for pure doctrine betook themselves to me in order to learn, although I myself had done little more than begin. For my part, I commenced to seek some hiding-place and means of withdrawing from people, since I have always loved quiet and tranquillity, being by nature somewhat shy and timid; but so far was I from succeeding in my wish that, on the contrary, all retreats and places of retirement were as public schools for me. In short, while I have always had this aim of living privately without being known, God has so led me and guided me by various vicissitudes that He has never let me rest in any place whatever, but, in spite of my natural disposition, He has brought

me forth into the light, and, as the saying is, has thrust me onto the stage.<sup>1</sup> And, in fact, when I left the land of France I came to Germany of set purpose to the end that there I might live in some inconspicuous nook as I have always wished.

---

<sup>1</sup> An English equivalent is lacking for Calvin's expression "*et fait venir en jeu, comme on dit.*"

-72-

Earlier in date of composition, though much less definitely of a biographic character, are certain passages in Calvin brilliant *Reply to Jacopo Sadoletto*, of 1539. The Roman cardinal had pictured a Catholic and a Protestant as rendering account of their religious principles and motives before the bar of God's judgment, to the decided disadvantage of the reformer.<sup>1</sup> Calvin takes up the same figure and puts into the mouths of a Protestant minister and of a common member of his flock most skilful defences of Protestant principles, written with consummate literary art and by no means to be considered wholly autobiographic,<sup>2</sup> yet of such spiritual earnestness and verisimilitude that they are undoubtedly to a considerable extent drawn from his own religious experience.

Called to answer before God, the minister may make reply:<sup>3</sup>--

They charged me with two of the worst of crimes,-heresy and schism. And the heresy was that I dared to protest against dogmas which they received. But what could I have done? I heard from Thy mouth that there was no other light of truth which could direct our souls into the way of life than that which was kindled by Thy Word. I heard that whatever human minds of themselves conceive concerning Thy Majesty, the worship of Thy Deity, and the mysteries of Thy religion, was vanity. I heard that their introducing into the Church instead of Thy Word,

---

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, v. 379-381.

<sup>2</sup> Lang, *Bekehrung*, pp. 31-36; but comp. Doumergue, i. 347-350.

<sup>3</sup> *Opera*, v. 408; Henry Beveridge translation, Tracts, Edinburgh, 1860, i. 50.

-73-

doctrines sprung from the human brain, was sacrilegious presumption. But when I turned my eyes towards men, I saw very different principles prevailing. Those who were regarded as the leaders of faith neither understood Thy Word, nor greatly cared for it.... They had fabricated for themselves many useless frivolities, as a means of procuring Thy favour, and on these they so plumed themselves that, in comparison with them, they almost condemned the standard of true righteousness which Thy law recommended --to such a degree had human desires after usurping the ascendancy, derogated, if not from the belief, at least from the authority, of Thy precepts therein contained. That I might perceive these things, Thou, O Lord, didst shine upon me with the brightness of Thy Spirit; that I might comprehend how impious and noxious they were, Thou didst bear before me the torch of Thy Word; that I might abominate them as they deserved, Thou didst stimulate my soul.

The solemn justification ascribed to the layman by Calvin bears fewer marks of the author's personal struggles. Some of its touches, especially regarding the Bible, reflect the experience

of the "common man of the people" rather than that natural to an inquisitive student at Paris and Orleans. But it would seem to be the order-loving, legally trained, precedent-seeking Calvin that speaks for himself in these words:<sup>1</sup>--

When, however, I had performed all these things [i.e. had sought forgiveness for sin in accordance with the teachings of the Roman Church], though I had some intervals of

---

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, v. 412; *Tracts*, i. 56.

-74-

quiet, I was still far off from true peace of conscience; for, whenever I descended into myself, or raised my mind to Thee, extreme terror seized me--terror which no expiations nor satisfactions could cure. And the more closely I examined myself, the sharper the stings with which my conscience was pricked, so that the only solace that was left to me was to delude myself by obliviousness. Still, as nothing better offered, I continued the course which I had begun, when, lo, a very different form of doctrine started up, not one which led us away from the Christian profession, but one which brought it back to its fountain-head, and, as it were, clearing away the dross, restored it to its original purity. Offended by the novelty, I lent an unwilling ear, and at first, I confess, strenuously and passionately resisted; for (such is the firmness or effrontery with which it is natural to men to persist in the course which they have once undertaken) it was with the greatest difficulty that I was induced to confess that I had all my life long been in ignorance and error. One thing, in particular, made me averse to those new teachers--viz. reverence for the Church. But when once I opened my ears, and allowed myself to be taught, I perceived that this fear of derogating from the majesty of the Church was groundless. For they reminded me how great the difference is between schism from the Church and studying to correct the faults by which the Church herself was contaminated.

A hint as to one of Calvin's earliest acquaintances with Protestant discussion, and as to a difficulty which operated with others to set him in opposition toward Protestant claims, appears to be contained, also, in the following passage from his *Second Reply to Westphal*,

-75-

published in 1556, many years after the experience to which it refers:<sup>1</sup>--

For when I was beginning to emerge from the darkness of the papacy, having gained a slight taste of sound doctrine, I read in Luther that nothing was left of the Sacraments by Colampadius and Zwingli save bare and empty figures. I confess that I was so alienated from their books that I long abstained from reading them. Afterwards, before I undertook to write, they moderated something of their former vehemence, having discussed together at Marburg, so that the thicker fog was somewhat scattered even if it was not yet fully clear weather.

The implication would seem to be that Calvin had run across one of Luther's discussions of the Supper, before the Marburg Colloquy,--that is before October, 1529.

From Calvin's positive statements regarding his religious experience several conclusions may with confidence be drawn. It is evident that he regarded his "conversion" as the sovereign

work of God. Nothing less, he felt, than divine power could have wrought the change which he recognised as having taken place in him. It had been brought about by an immediate and transforming intervention of God himself. Nothing stood or could stand between his soul and God. Equally plain is it, also, that this transformation in the fundamental habit of his mind by a power outside himself had been, in his apprehension, "sudden." It had been a change of view no less unlooked for than supernatural

---

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, ix. 51.

-76-

in its origin. And it is clear, too, that, within the year following this experience, Calvin had become a leader in Evangelical, or at least humanistically reformatory, circles in the community in which he was. This publicity, to whatever extent it may have reached, was distasteful to him, and he would have preferred a life of literary ease; but the same divine power that had effected the initial transformation in him, now, as it seemed to him, forced him into conspicuity and increasing leadership. If to these positive details drawn from his Preface to the *Commentary on the Psalms* the less certainly autobiographic intimations of the *Reply to Sadoleto* may properly be added, it is clear that this "sudden conversion" had as an important factor-probably as its central experience--the recognition of the Scriptures, and of the Scriptures alone, as the very voice of God. God speaks, and he can but listen. And this speaking for Calvin is through the Word,-not through the Church, or even primarily within, though it will be found that in his developed theology Calvin gives weight to the inward testimony of the Spirit. This strenuous conviction regarding the absolute and exclusive divine authority of the Scriptures, characteristic of the Reformation generally, but held by Calvin more clearly, perhaps, than by any other of the reformers, is the logical outcome of that return to the sources which was the ground-note of the Renaissance. With most of those who had thus far sought a betterment of religious conditions in France its full significance was but dimly apprehended; with Calvin it was fundamental. But one can well believe that,

-77-

before his order-loving mind could feel that only in the Scriptures is final divine truth to be found, Calvin had to struggle with that "reverence for the Church" and sense of the sanctity of accepted views of the Sacraments which were part of his race-inheritance. His lawyer-grasp must have a document on which to base its deductions. The authority must be tangible and objective, and this he found in the Scriptures; but before he could deny to the Roman Church any authoritative interpreting function, or reject its long series of precedents and decisions, he must needs pass through a struggle the outcome of which seemed to him the intervention of a power no less than that of God. It is fair, also, to infer from the *Reply to Sadoleto* that a sense of sinfulness and of the inadequacy of the common mediæval theories of the way of salvation, ending in glad acceptance of relief from the burden through the way known as justification by faith alone, was an integral part of the experience which he called his "conversion." In a measure, at least, his pathway was similar to that of Luther; though a comparison to Augustine would perhaps be truer.

But, if the general features of Calvin's religious development are thus made at least presumptively plain by his own statements, very weighty questions yet remain unanswered. When and where did this great transformation occur? Who were the human instruments, if

any, in it? Was its power that of a revolution in the whole spiritual man leading to immediate action; or was it a sudden energising of a will thus far lacking strength to put into vital practice convictions

-78-

already long held as intellectual verities? To these queries most various answers have been and are still given by competent scholars.

According to the representations of Calvin's friends and oldest biographers, Beza and Colladon,<sup>1</sup> Calvin's transition to Protestantism began with the influence of his relative, Pierre Robert Olivétan; and was already so advanced by the time that he entered on the study of law at Orléans, early in 1528, as to be an important factor in that decision to substitute jurisprudence for theology. Influenced by Olivétan, the youthful Calvin began the study of the Scriptures and withdrew himself, in a measure at least, from the Roman worship. According to their representation, this must have happened before Calvin was nineteen years old. Arrived at Orléans, Calvin vigorously continued his study of the Bible, and made himself a leader among those seeking religious reform. While a student at Bourges he preached at Lignières, and on coming to Paris, where he wrote his *Seneca*, he became acquainted with all the reformers there, and his relations with Estienne de la Forge, the noble Evangelical merchant who was to seal his faith by martyrdom in 1535, and with Nicolas Cop, are cited as examples of this reformatory activity.

A modification of this interpretation of the beginnings of Calvin's Protestantism was presented by the Catholic historian, Florimond de Rmond.<sup>2</sup> Anxious to find in

---

<sup>1</sup> *Lives*, of 1564, 1565, and 1575, in *Opera*, xxi. 29, 54, 55, 121, 122.

<sup>2</sup> *La naissance, progr?z et d?cadence de l'h?r?sie*, Paris, 1605, p. 882. The author died in 1601.

-79-

Germany rather than in his native land the source of Calvin's "heresy," he affirmed that its initiation was due to Melchior Wolmar at Bourges. Among more modern historians, Henry was firmly of the opinion that Wolmar was the prime human factor in Calvin's conversion.<sup>1</sup> It is easy, moreover, to combine the report of Beza with the representation given by Rmond, and to hold, as Merle d'Aubign? and many other historians have done, that Olivétan began and Wolmar ably continued the Evangelical development of the reformer.

Within the last third of a century, and especially during the last twenty years, Calvin's statements, the affirmations of his earliest biographers, and such hints as can be derived from his letters and the [Commentary on Seneca](#) have been subjected to much patient scholarly analysis. Yet the conclusions reached exhibit great variety of critical deduction.

To the Old-Catholic German historian, F. W. Kampschulte, writing in 1869, the "traditional view" seemed "wholly erroneous that Calvin had been completely won for the Reformation during his university years, and had even stood forth with great success as its defender and furtherer."<sup>2</sup> The evidence of the letters shows the contrary. Kampschulte reaches the conclusion:<sup>3</sup>--

We recognise that Calvin long found himself in a state of uncertainty and vacillation regarding religious questions.

---

<sup>1</sup> [Leben Johann Calvins](#), i. 38 ( 1835).

<sup>2</sup> [Johann Calvin](#), i. 233.

<sup>3</sup> [Ibid.](#), pp. 240, 241.

-80-

His earlier dependence on the religion of his fathers had been shattered by the impressions which he had received during his university days, as well as by his theological studies. The former peace was gone; the forms and spiritual remedies of the Catholic Church no more gave him full satisfaction. What he experienced in his family was not fitted to strengthen him in the faith of the Church. His father died, excommunicate. His older brother, Charles by name, although a clergyman, fell into conflict with the spiritual authorities and was laid under ecclesiastical censure by them. One of his nearest relatives, Robert Olivetan, was devoted to the principles of religious innovation, and early sought, it is said, to win him for them. It was hard permanently to withstand so many points of attack. ... There were already in the capital and elsewhere actual congregations of Evangelical believers, who had wholly broken with churchly tradition and were ready to pledge property and life for their new religious convictions. At Paris Calvin came into close relations with some of them, notably with a respected and well-to-do merchant, de la Forge, whom he extolled in his later writings. Should he have less courage than these men, and persist in his determination to lead a quiet life? Without acting against his conscience he could not.... It is difficult to determine the date of this decisive change. Yet we shall not think ourselves in error if we place it in the second half of the year 1532.

Twelve years after Kampschulte published his volume, a Dutch scholar, Allard Pierson, put forth the most radical criticism of the accepted view of Calvin's conversion yet offered,--a criticism that has secured comparatively few followers.<sup>1</sup> Not only does he deny to

---

<sup>1</sup> *Studien over Johannes Kalvijn*, Amsterdam, 1881, pp. 58-109.

-81-

Calvin the authorship of Cop's inaugural discourse of November 1, 1533, but he finds no certain proof of Calvin's Protestantism before August 23, 1535,--the date of the Preface to the *Institutes*.

In 1888, Abel Lefranc, now Professor in the Collège de France at Paris, presented in his remarkable study of Calvin's youth an interesting modification of the traditional view, and supported it with great learning. His investigations marked a decided advance in the knowledge of Calvin's family and early environment. Calvin's transition to Protestantism, he concluded, was a very gradual process, however sudden in its decision at the end, for which the way was prepared by his native surroundings and family experiences.<sup>1</sup> His father's excommunication and his elder brother's breach with the Noyon clergy aroused in Calvin the spirit of protest which was natural to the Picard character, and had its illustration in Le Fèvre, Roussel, and others from the same territory. To these influences were added the positive

Evangelical exhortations of Olivetan from 1528, onward; and that young reformer, who had had to seek protection in Strassburg by May of the year just mentioned, was the cause, Lefranc held, of a gradual and mysterious propagation of reformed ideas at Noyon, which soon won such following that the Chapter did not dare too vigorously to oppose it. But while the way was made ready for Calvin's Protestantism by the influences that came from his native city, as well as by the experiences of the University, it was long before he became fully an adherent of the new faith, or

---

<sup>1</sup> *Jeunesse*, pp. 21, 24, 31, 37, 39, 41, 97-99, 112, etc.

-82-

could engage in a "great stroke" in its behalf such as Cop's Address, Calvin's authorship of which Lefranc fully accepts:--

The<sup>1</sup> truth is that, long before inclined by his own nature, prepared by his education, the situation of his family, his relations, his studies, he did not declare himself openly a Huguenot until the time when all these circumstances unitedly forced him to do so almost against his will, and when, so to say, he could no longer do otherwise.

Calvin's decisive conversion was above all a question of logic and reflection, in which sentiment had no part.... In all probability, and as far as it is possible to determine so intimate a growth of ideas, this change must have taken place in the second half of the year 1532.

Two years after Lefranc, in 1890, Henri Lecoultre, a young Swiss scholar, now no longer living, took up the problem once more.<sup>2</sup> In criticism of Lefranc he rejected the thought of any direct influence tending toward Protestantism upon Calvin derived from the family or early environment at Noyon. Gerard Cauvin's troubles were pecuniary, not religious; Charles Cauvin's "heresies" did not appear till 1534; nor is the existence of a Protestant movement in Noyon demonstrable before that year, by which time Calvin was a decided adherent of Evangelical views. Possibly Gerard Cauvin's insistence that his son should study law may have been, in its consequences, a step of high importance toward ideas of reform; but it was in no

---

<sup>1</sup> *Jeunesse*, pp. 41, 97, 98.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue de thologie et de philosophie*, Lausanne, 1890, pp. 5-30.

-83-

way so intended by the father. But Lecoultre agrees with Lefranc in admitting the influence of Olivetan and the Calvinistic authorship of Cop's Address. With Lefranc he holds that Calvin was long intellectually convinced of the truth of Protestant doctrine before being willing to break with the Roman Church; but he differs from the scholar just named in refusing to see conclusive evidence of that conversion in any act earlier than Calvin's formal breach with the ancient communion by his resignation of his benefices in May, 1534:<sup>1</sup>--

What was the day of that sudden conversion? What was its immediate occasion? We do not know; perhaps we may never know. But its meaning need not be doubtful; it is neither a conversion of intellect, nor a conversion of feeling, but a conversion of will. It did not give him conviction regarding Protestant dogmas,--that he possessed already; it did not inspire in him a warm interest for the things of the kingdom of God,--he was already filled with it; it made vital an arrested resolution to conform his conduct scrupulously to his convictions, and to break all connection with the errors which he had already abjured in the depths of his heart. The first external evidence of this conversion, the first at least known to us, is a sacrifice of which Calvin never boasted, and of which Theodore Beza seems to have had no knowledge. The archives of Noyon prove that on May 4, 1534, Calvin resigned, in his native city, all his ecclesiastical benefices. This act, the natural consequence of which was voluntary exile, was needed to make of Calvin a real Protestant, for genuine Protestantism

---

<sup>1</sup> *Revue de th?ologie et de philosophie*, Lausanne, 1890, pp. 27, 28.

-84-

does not consist only of the doctrines of justification by faith and of the supreme authority of the Scriptures. It implies, as its name indicates, an energetic protest, formulated in the name of these doctrines, against ecclesiastical abuses of every kind.

The careful sketch of Calvin's life by the late Rudolf St?helin, printed in 1897,<sup>1</sup> without entering as deeply into the question as the discussions just cited, expresses disbelief in his authorship of Cop's Address, and concludes, in view of Calvin's letter written on October 27, 1533, of which some account has been given,<sup>2</sup> that the future reformer "cannot have come to the break with the Catholic Church... before the first months of the year 1534."

But during the same year that St?helin's biographical article appeared, a no less able German-speaking scholar, August Lang of Halle, published one of the most thorough investigations of the circumstances of Calvin's conversion yet attempted.<sup>3</sup> In Lang's opinion, as in that of Lecoultre, influences from Noyon can have had little direct connection with Calvin's conversion. And, furthermore, the allegations of Beza and Colladon, made much of by Lefranc and accepted by Lecoultre, regarding the instrumentality of Oliv?tan, Lang regards as resting "on very unsafe ground." Wolmar's share in Calvin's religious transformation is quite as unsupported. Calvin thanked him for initiation into,

---

<sup>1</sup> Hauck *Realencyklop?die f?r protestantische Theologie*, iii. 654683.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Bekehrung Johannes Calvins*, Leipzig, 1897.

-85-

the knowledge of Greek,--he said nothing regarding any indebtedness to his old teacher for religious instruction. In fact, as a student Calvin exhibited no special interest in religion. His letters and the *Commentary on Seneca* show that "the Bible is still a dosed book for Calvin because his heart does not beat for it. We must, therefore, lay aside all attempted explanations which would place the beginnings of the conversion of the great Biblical theologian in his student years as thoroughly astray. Before the year 1532, and we may go yet further, to

perhaps the middle of 1533, the religious question is as good as non-existent for him." But a "change first appeared in the second half of the year 1533"; and it had its most conspicuous early manifestation in Cop's Address, Calvin's authorship of which Lang strongly defends. That transformation is best explained as occasioned by the activity of the reform party in Paris in 1533, and especially by the acquaintance of Calvin with G?rard Roussel, who, though never breaking with the Roman Church, was preaching doctrines to all intents Protestant. It is inconceivable also, Lang thinks, that a man of iron will and strenuous conscientiousness, as Calvin always was, could have remained for years intellectually convinced of the truths of Protestantism and yet not subject his action to his conviction, as Lefranc and Lecoultre would have it. His was no mere conversion of the will. Calvin's own statements that he "was obstinately addicted to the superstitions of the papacy," and that his "heart was over-much hardened,"<sup>1</sup> show that both

---

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 49.

-86-

intellect and will were active in the transformation. "As soon as his understanding was convinced, the newly-won knowledge must almost of itself arouse the will to eager activity." To Calvin, his conversion appeared the direct work of God, the results of which were "the certainty that God speaks in the Scriptures, and the recognition that all truth is contained in them; and that therefore their study and their dissemination are the worthiest object of the talents and zeal of a man's whole life." This conviction made of the humanist a Bible theologian.

The problem has not, however, rested with the solution that Lang has offered; for the traditional view, in a somewhat modified form it is true, has found a defender of great learning and force in ?mile Doumergue, Professor of the Theological Faculty at Montauban in France, the first volume of whose monumental biography of Calvin appeared in 1899.<sup>1</sup> To Doumergue the statements of Beza and Colladon as to Calvin's Evangelical beginnings carry great weight. Oliv?tan initiates him into Evangelical principles as early as 1528. This was Calvin's "sudden conversion." It was, indeed, but a beginning; but it led Calvin to the study of religious questions, and to read, for instance, the Lutheran exposition of the Lord's Supper earlier than the Colloquy at Marburg ( 1529). At Orl?ans and even more at Bourges, Calvin came into contact with Wolmar, and, though Calvin speaks only of Greek as the subject of their study, it is probable that they read the Greek Testament together,

---

<sup>1</sup> See i. 116, 117, 181-83, 337-352.

-87-

and inconceivable that they could do so without religious instruction being given by the teacher to the pupil. Wolmar's influence Doumergue views as "decisive." It confirmed and greatly extended the work begun by Oliv?tan. And Doumergue furthermore holds that Calvin's statement, "Before a year passed all those who had some desire for pure doctrine betook themselves to me in order to learn,"<sup>1</sup> refers to his student days at Orl?ans and to his friends there like Daniel and Duchemin, at whose instance it may be believed he preached, not as a Protestant, but as a reformatory Catholic, at Ligni?res. Evidence of Calvin's interest in

religion Doumergue sees in his citation of the Scriptures and of the Fathers in the *Commentary on Seneca* as well as in his purchase of a Bible for Daniel; and he thinks there would have been a good many more such tokens had not Calvin's correspondence been searched after the Address of Cop. But Calvin's religious development appears to Doumergue gradual, taking him through the stage of the partial Protestantism of a *Le F?vre*; and it was not till the views were reached that are shown in Cop's Address, in Calvin's authorship of which Doumergue is fully confident, that his conversion, suddenly begun years before, was evidently completed. The termination of the gradual process of Calvin's conversion by his arrival at the full Protestant position Doumergue would place apparently in the months immediately following the publication of his *Commentary on Seneca*,--that is, in 1532.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 72.

-88-

Calvin's conversion still proves a theme rewarding study, and in 1905, an elaborate monograph appeared from the pen of Professor Karl M?ller<sup>1</sup> of T?bingen, not only discussing the whole subject anew, and with much dissent from Doumergue, but subjecting the claim that Calvin wrote Cop's Address to a painstaking examination leading to its denial. M?ller holds it as probable that Oliv?tan influenced Calvin in the direction that *Le F?vre* represented as early as Calvin's undergraduate days, and brought him into connection with Evangelical circles at Orl?ans. Wolmar, in M?ller's opinion, may later have been the agent through whom Calvin was led during his second or third stay in Paris into association with similar reformers there. But his "sudden conversion," M?ller believes, may have taken place in connection with the Roman services held on account of the pest in which he shared in Noyon on August 23, 1533, when he may have seen the inconsistency of his principles with participation in Roman worship. The chief element in that conversion he regards as a submission of Calvin's will to that of God.

Yet the discussion has not rested here, for in the early part of 1906 Professor Paul Wernle of Basel has taken it up,<sup>2</sup> examining principally the sources of Beza and Colladon's Lives of Calvin. He concludes that their assertions regarding Calvin's religious development

---

<sup>1</sup> *Calvins Bekehrung*, in *Nachrichten von der k?nigl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu G?ttingen*, pp. 188-255.

<sup>2</sup> *Noch einmal die Bekehrung Calvins*, in the *Zeitschrift f?r Kirchengeschichte*, xxvii. 84-99.

-89-

are simply their interpretations of the scanty allusions in Calvin's own writings, and that almost nothing of original value on this question is to be derived from them. In his opinion we have no direct knowledge of Calvin's religious history during his studies in law at Orl?ans or Bourges, nor can any connection of Wolmar or Oliv?tan with that development be proved from the sources at our disposal.<sup>3</sup> Wernle inclines to M?ller's association of Calvin's "conversion" with the inward questionings aroused by participation in the Roman service of August, 1533, at Noyon.

It must be clear that a main cause of the wide divergency of these conclusions regarding the time and nature of Calvin's conversion is to be found in the scantiness of the evidence. Calvin's own reticence, to say nothing of the remoteness of the time at which he wrote from the events to which he cursorily alludes, the even greater removal in point of time of his earliest biographers, and the fragmentary remains of his correspondence, leave much room to conjecture and give but an imperfect foundation for the erection of a structure of solidly buttressed historical facts. To the present writer none of the careful interpretations just cited is wholly satisfactory; but he can offer his own attempted reconstruction only with the consciousness that it is equally tentative and fallible.

---

<sup>3</sup> Wernle would trace Beza's statement regarding Olivetan's influence simply to Calvin's allusion to his acquaintance with that reformer as "*vetus nostra familiaritas*" in his Preface to Olivetan's translation of the Bible (*Opera*, ix. 790).

-90-

It would seem that Calvin's family experiences must have done not a little to loosen the hold of the Church upon him, even if it be thought that Lefranc has claimed too much. To have a father and a brother fall into open conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities, even though the causes were only financial and disciplinary, must certainly have disposed a boy just passing into manhood toward an attitude of criticism. This need not have gone far; but it must have left the mind in some degree open to discussion of the claims of the establishment with which his relatives were in controversy, even though that controversy was with a local Chapter and in no sense with the Church as a whole. Furthermore, the statement of Beza and Colladon that Calvin's initiation into Reformed sentiments was effected by Olivetan is so definite that it must reflect the impression prevalent among Calvin's friends during his later life, and have some probable basis in fact. Mistake here is far less likely than regarding the date and extent of Calvin's early religious activity. The long acquaintance of Calvin with Olivetan is witnessed by Calvin's own description, in 1535, of their friendship as *vetus nostra familiaritas*.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to find a place for this influence later than 1528, except on the improbable supposition that it was by letters of which we have now no hint, written after Olivetan had fled from Orleans to Strassburg in the spring of that year.

---

<sup>1</sup> Preface to Olivetan's French Bible, *Opera*, ix. 790. This seems to the writer a sufficient justification for Beza's conclusion even if it is, as Wernle believes, only Beza's conjecture from the phrase itself.

-91-

Supposing Olivetan's influence to fall in Calvin's early days at the University of Orleans, it came at a time when the young scholar was not merely escaping from the severities and mediocrity of the College de Montaigu into greater liberty of advanced student life, and the more humanistic atmosphere of Orleans, but at a season when Gerard Cauvin's difficulties with the Chapter at Noyon had developed and that ambitious father had determined that his son should exchange theology for law. The statement of Beza that Calvin turned to the study of law partly because of opposition to the old Church, receives, however, no confirmation from Calvin's own writings, which represent it as a step taken merely in deference to his father's wishes. Yet Olivetan, or some other impelling cause, seems to have led Calvin, if one

can judge from his declaration to Westphal,<sup>1</sup> to look into one of Luther's fiery discussions of the Lord's Supper at this time; though with the result that he was more antagonised by such Protestant polemics than attracted. He began to know something now of the questions at issue; but to hold as Doumergue does, that this initiation, slight even in that historian's opinion, deserves the name of a "sudden conversion" seems an error.

At Orléans and at Bourges Calvin undoubtedly found himself in an atmosphere favourable to the humanistic ideas of churchly reform. Sympathy with the thought of a betterment of the Church by education, preaching, purer morals, and, above all, by a return from mediocrity to the sources of Christian truth, such as Erasmus had urged, was widespread in France,

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 76.

-92-

and nowhere more so than in the universities. It involved no intention to break with the historic Roman Church. The Cops at Paris, Daniel and Duchemin at Orléans, to speak only of Calvin's friends, were of this way of thinking. Le Fèvre, Briçonnet, Roussel, and Marguerite d'Angoulême had even made it fashionable. Calvin must have felt its influence about him, and undoubtedly sympathised with it. It is quite possible that Wolmar may have contributed to the development of these reformatory sympathies; but proof is wanting of any further service on his part to Calvin than instruction in Greek. Earnest and serious-minded always, and the holder of an ecclesiastical benefice, it is not impossible that some basis of truth may underlie the report of Beza and Colladon that he preached on occasion at Lignères, though, if so, it could not have been, as even Doumergue has pointed out, as a Protestant.<sup>1</sup>

But to regard Calvin as a centre of Evangelical religious activity during his stay at Orléans and Bourges, as Beza does, and as the spiritual guide of Daniel and Duchemin as Doumergue interprets Beza's statement, seems unwarranted for several reasons. Calvin himself says that his activity as a religious instructor was after his "sudden conversion,"<sup>2</sup>--an event which, it will be seen, took place not about 1528, but subsequently to his first period of study at Orléans with which we have now to do. Moreover Beza apparently drew from Calvin's own statement just referred to his

---

<sup>1</sup> I. 191, 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 72.

-93-

knowledge of the activity which he mistakenly ascribed to this period.<sup>1</sup> And, chief reason of all, the remains of Calvin's correspondence show him in no such light. It is not a sufficient answer to say with Doumergue<sup>2</sup> that the search and seizure of Calvin's letters which Beza and Colladon report as having taken place, to the peril of his friends, after Cop's Address, proves the existence of letters of a different sort and that what remain are the "non-Evangelical," and therefore harmless residuum. To say little of the fact that the existence of letters showing Evangelical activity late in 1533 would prove nothing as to such activity in 1528, Calvin's letters sent to his friends were not seized with his papers, since they were not in his, but in the friends' possession. It is well-nigh a moral impossibility that side by side with the cordial

student-like, but religiously colourless letters which have survived of Calvin's earliest correspondence, there could have been another series in which the writer took the totally different rôle of religious adviser. Nor is Calvin's interest in religious questions any more actively

#### CALVIN.

Itaque aliquo verae pietatis gustu imbutus tanto proficiendi studio exarsi, ut reliqua studia, quamvis non abjicerem, frigidius tamen sectarer. Necdum elapsus erat annus quum omnis purioris doctrinae cupidi ad me novitium adhuc et tironem discendi causa ventitabant.

#### BEZA.

Interea tamen ille sacrarum literarum studium simul diligenter excolere, in quo tantum etiam promoverat ut quicumque in ea urbe aliquo purioris religionis cognoscendae studio tangebantur ad eum etiam percontandum ventitarent.

---

<sup>1</sup> Compare Calvin with Beza, *Opera*, xxxi. 22 with xxi. 122.

<sup>2</sup> I. 354, 355.

-94-

evident in his *Commentary on Seneca*. True he quotes the Bible three times--and three times only--but the passages thus relatively few in proportion to the mass of his citation are of no significance as bearing on the burning religious problems of the times.<sup>1</sup> In fact Lang's contention seems sustained that certainly till after the publication of the *Commentary* just cited, in April, 1532, Calvin's interest in religious questions was inconsiderable compared with his zeal for humanistic scholarship.

But between that publication and Cop's Address of November 1, 1533, a great change had taken place in Calvin, and the query naturally arises whether it is not this change that he describes as his "sudden conversion." His account of that experience shows that he regarded it as a crisis of the utmost significance, wrought by nothing less than divine power. Can that "conversion" have been only the beginning of a long period of gradual development, as Doumergue would have it,--an experience to be dated in 1528? It is Doumergue's opinion that Calvin states distinctly, in the passage already often cited,<sup>2</sup> that his conversion occurred while engaged in the study of law under his father's command. The phrase used does not seem to the present writer to demand that interpretation. He says that God "finally" (*finalement, tandem*) turned

---

<sup>1</sup> He cites Prov. xvi. 14, as illustrative of royal anger; Romans, chapter xiii., as proving that "the powers that be are ordained of God," and I. Peter ii. 18, as enjoining duties on masters toward their servants.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 72; *Doumergue*, i. 344.

-95-

him. It is as if Calvin anticipated the reader's question why, if he studied law, he was not a lawyer. God "at length" interfered; but he speaks as if much had happened before that interference occurred. Be this as it may, the conclusion is much more certain that is to be

drawn from Calvin's statement, in the same passage, that, "before a year passed, all those who had some desire for pure doctrine betook themselves to me in order to learn, although I myself had done little more than begin. For my part, I commenced to seek some hiding-place and means of withdrawing from people." Calvin here speaks not as a student attendant on classes, but as one able to find a home for himself where he will. His search for a quiet resting-place fits in much more naturally with the months of wandering after Cop's Address than with student life at Orléans or Bourges. Furthermore, the relative indifference which Calvin declares he felt after his conversion to studies other than religious, is hard to conceive as previous to the publication of the *Commentary on Seneca*, which reveals on every page unwearied zeal in the mastery of the Greek and Latin classics. A just conclusion seems to be that Calvin's conversion must have occurred between the completion of that *Commentary* and the delivery of Cop's Address, and probably toward a year before the latter date, that is late in 1532 or early in 1533.

Calvin's conversion, moreover, does not appear to have been, as Lefranc and Lecoultre hold, one of the will only. It was, whenever it occurred, an enlightening of the understanding, no less than a

-96-

determination to act. Henceforth to the eager young humanist religion became the chief concern. If we ask for the human agents in this transformation, however, the answer is difficult. The situation in Paris in the summer and autumn of 1533 was extremely favourable to the spread of Reformed opinions. Lang's suggestion of the Paris Lenten preacher of that year, Gérard Roussel, as Calvin's guide into the freer faith is not impossible. Roussel and Calvin were certainly friends in 1533, and on the strength of this friendship, Calvin upbraided Roussel, in 1537, for lack of courage to refuse a bishopric and leave the Roman communion.<sup>1</sup> But, if our conjecture as to the date of the conversion is at all justified, it may more probably have taken place at Orléans during Calvin's second sojourn there, when representative of the Picard "nation"; and as to its human agents, if any, it is in that case hard to say. Calvin himself referred it to the agency of God; and, if we have understood his letter to Sadoletto aright,<sup>2</sup> it was the conviction that God spoke directly to him through the Scriptures that formed the central element in that experience. That conviction might have come to such a man as Calvin in the quiet of his study with no less force than if impressed upon him by public discourse or friendly exhortation.

If, then, Calvin had come, by November, 1533, to doctrinal positions now universally recognised as characteristic of Protestantism, and the logical outcome of which was soon to be separation from Rome, it by no

---

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, v. 279-312; xxi. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 73.

-97-

means follows that he recognised the full consequences of his beliefs or regarded himself as a Protestant. On August 23d he was present at a meeting of the Chapter at Noyon. On October 27th, he could express himself to Daniel in a way that showed that he held himself in full sympathy with the humanistic reformers.<sup>1</sup> He also sent to Daniel a treatise of Roussel for

confidential circulation, and he may well have shared Roussel's hope that the Church of France might be reformed from within by purer preaching and truer doctrine, without breach of its historic continuity. Nothing more radical than this is necessarily involved even in Cop's Address. Certainly it was not till the following May that Calvin resigned his benefices.

It was an ancient custom of the University that the newly elected incumbent of the annual office of rector should give an inaugural oration before the academic world and such of the general public as chose to be present in the Church of the Mathurins on All Saints'. The new rector, Nicolas Cop, Calvin's warm friend, had sufficiently followed his distinguished father's profession to have graduated as Bachelor in Medicine; but, since 1530, he had taught philosophy in the Collège Sainte-Barbe. The brief rectorate of only twenty-one days since his election had seen him actively intervening in the religious questions of the hour as a supporter of Marguerite d'Angoulême and of the freer type of preaching which she countenanced. When the conservatives of the University had desired to condemn that queen's *Le miroir de l'âme p?cheresse*, and had

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 68.

-98-

been called to account by King Francis, as has been already narrated,<sup>1</sup> Cop had summoned the Faculties to consider the royal letters on October 24th, and had shown himself a determined and successful defender of the queenly author in the heated debate that followed. He had therefore already entered the lists as a champion of reform as represented by Marguerite d'Angoulême, and he now determined to make his inaugural oration tell in the same cause. He would make a declaration of significance against conservatism and in favour of reform; and so bold was the utterance, considering the time and place of its delivery, that it became at once the sensation of the hour.

Pierson has, indeed, queried whether Cop's Address is really known to us.<sup>2</sup> His criticism has, however, been destructively answered by Lang.<sup>3</sup> A letter of Bucer, probably in January 1534, to Ambrose Blaurer of Constance, speaks of the delivery of an oration by Cop, with such insistence on justifying faith as to cause his flight.<sup>4</sup> Consonant with this contemporary testimony as to the nature of Cop's Address are the statements of Colladon in his *Life of Calvin* of 1565.<sup>5</sup> That the Address which we now have is that pronounced by Cop is furthermore attested by an annotation in a sixteenth century hand on the manuscript

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Studien over Kolvijn*, pp. 72-78.

<sup>3</sup> *Die ?ltesten theologischen Arbeiten Calvin's*, in the *Neue Jahr- b?cher f?r deutsche Theologie*, ii. 273-282 (1893).

<sup>4</sup> Herminjard, iii. 129.

<sup>5</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 56.

-99-

of a portion of it now in the Library of Geneva,<sup>1</sup> and is borne out by its contents. There is therefore no reasonable question that Cop's academic oration of November 1, 1533, has been preserved.

While Cop's Address is therefore well known, Calvin's authorship of it is by no means certain. In favour of that authorship may be urged the facts that Colladon evidently believed the work to be that of Calvin when, about 1570, he prepared Calvin's papers for the press;<sup>2</sup> but, above all, that the fragment of the Address now in the Library at Geneva is indisputably in Calvin's handwriting.<sup>3</sup> Against it are the considerations that the style seems hardly equal to Calvin's usual brilliant Latinity; that Colladon, in his *Life* of 1565, speaks only of Calvin's friendship with Cop, not of any authorship of Cop's Address; and that only in his final *Life*, that of 1575, does Beza declare that "Calvin furnished it."<sup>4</sup> These facts raise the question whether Colladon's attribution of authorship to Calvin, witnessed by his inscription on the manuscript, was not simply a deduction from a discovery, after his

---

<sup>1</sup> The hand is certainly that of Nicolas Colladon, *Herminjard*, iii. 418; M?ller, *Calvins Bekehrung*, pp. 226, 228. The fragment at Geneva, containing the first sheet, is printed in *Herminjard*, iii. 418-420; *Opera*, ix. 872-876; and given in photographic facsimile by M?ller, op. cit. The whole Address is printed (poorly) from a manuscript in the *Thomas-archiv* (now *Stadtarchiv*) at Strassburg, in *Opera*, xb. 30-36.

<sup>2</sup> So even M?ller holds, p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> *Herminjard*, iii. 420; *Opera*, ix. Preface, lxxii; Lang, op. cit., p. 274; M?ller, p. 224, who cites the emphatic testimony of the present director of the Geneva Library, M. H. V. Aubert.

<sup>4</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 123.

*Life* of 1565 was written, of that manuscript in Calvin's well-known handwriting. Professor M?ller, to whom this striking suggestion is due, has furthermore presented evidence that the complete form of the Address preserved in Strassburg is not a perfected oration based on Calvin's manuscript as its first draft, as Lang held, but that both are copies of a now lost original.<sup>1</sup> Calvin may simply have desired to preserve his friend's work.

Whether Calvin actually composed any part of Cop's Address is therefore at best doubtful. The weight of evidence certainly now inclines to the negative side. But of Calvin's hearty interest in the Address there can be no question,--the existence of the manuscript in his handwriting is sufficient evidence of that, if of no more. Even though not his composition, it can hardly have been delivered without consultation between the two friends. It is impossible to suppose Calvin ignorant of it. In view of his intimacy with Cop it may therefore properly be cited as a witness to the religious development which Calvin had attained at the date of its delivery. It is no less interesting in its revelation of the books by which the spiritual life of the circle of which Cop and Calvin were members had been fostered.

Its form is that of a sermon. The Address opens with an apostrophe to "Christian Philosophy,"--that is to the Gospel, as ascertained by a study of its sources, and distinguished from current scholastic theology. As

<sup>1</sup> Lang, op. cit., p. 28; M?ller, pp. 231-237.

-101-

Lang has discovered,<sup>1</sup> both the phrase and the treatment are borrowed from Erasmus. The thought and not a little even of the language of this introduction rest back on Erasmus's Preface to the third edition of his Greek New Testament, published in 1524. This "Christian Philosophy," the orator declares, shows us that we are sons of God. To proclaim it, God became man. Those who have its knowledge exceed other men as men in general are superior to beasts. It is the worthiest of sciences. It reveals the remission of sins by the mere grace of God. It shows that the Holy Spirit, who sanctifies the heart and guides to life eternal, is promised to all Christians. It gives peace to distressed minds and leads to good and happy living. Having thus praised the Gospel as a whole, the speaker remarks that some selection from its wealth must be made if the limits of a discourse are to be observed, and he therefore takes as his text a verse from the Gospel read in the appointed service of the day: "Blessed are the poor in spirit." The introduction concludes with a brief invocation of the aid of Christ as "the true and only intercessor with the Father," that the discourse to follow "may praise Him, may savour of Him, may breathe Him, may call Him to mind"; and, having said this, it adds the then customary salutation to the Virgin,--a combination that illustrates the partially developed status of the reform movement at Paris.

If the writer of the discourse thus reveals the influence of Erasmus in his introduction, the first part of

---

<sup>1</sup> Bekehrung, pp. 44-46; *Opera*, xb. 30-31.

-102-

the body of the Address which follows shows even greater use of a sermon preached by Luther, on occasion of the same church festival, probably in 1522, in which the German reformer, in treating of the Beatitudes, had discussed the relations of Law and Gospel.<sup>1</sup> Thanks to a Latin translation, by Martin Bucer of Strassburg, of the collection of Luther's sermons in which this has a place, it had been accessible to the learned world since 1525, and later editions had been issued in 1528 and 1530. Though not expressly mentioned, it may have been one of the volumes of the reformers, which Berthold Haller found more or less openly for sale at Paris in August, 1533.<sup>2</sup> In words modelled on this discourse of Luther the Parisian speaker tells his hearers: "The Law drives by commands, threatens, urges, promises no goodwill. The Gospel drives by no threats, does not force by commands, teaches God's utmost goodwill towards us." He encounters, as Luther does, the objection that Christ had said in the passage under consideration, "For great is your reward in heaven." Are not the Beatitudes then a new law, the keeping of which earns a reward? No, they set forth the Gospel; and the author explains with an illustration all his own, likening him who lives deserving of the Beatitudes to a son who has striven in a father's lifetime to do that father's pleasure, and who receives an inheritance, which may be called a reward of faithful sonship, though in no sense a debt due for filial service. The author then

---

<sup>1</sup> Lang, *Bekehrung*, pp. 47-54; *Opera*, xb. 31-33.

<sup>2</sup> Herminjard, iii. 75.

pays his respects to the "sophists"--unquestionably the conservative Roman theologians of the University of Paris--who "contend perpetually about trifles" to the neglect of "Christian Philosophy."

The speaker invokes the blessing of the peacemakers on the controversies of the time. "Would that in this our unhappy age we restore peace in the Church by the Word rather than by the sword." But the orator evidently foresees the impossibility of the fulfilment of his desire, and exclaims, "Twice blessed are they who endure persecution for righteousness' sake"; and he closes with a fervently expressed wish that God "may open our minds that we may believe the Gospel."

That this lofty and spiritually-minded Address was a carefully planned manifesto in behalf of Protestantism is an opinion that has often been expressed. Of its boldness there can be no question. But its wisdom, under the circumstances of its delivery, is not so evident. The reform movement had been growing by the tolerance of the King and the support of his gifted sister, largely because it had not, at Paris, greatly passed the bounds of orderly discussion. True, it had had its martyrs like Berquin, but the favourable situation of the movement in the year 1533 was due in no small degree to a comparative moderation which had not forfeited the goodwill of the King. Anything likely to exasperate the situation was, we can now see, certain to lead to repression of the innovating forces. But that was not then so apparent. Cop may have believed that the royal authority would support him as it had

already aided Roussel through Marguerite d'Angoulême.

Much more probably there was no deep and farsighted plan behind the Address. It grew, almost on the moment, out of the impulsive enthusiasm of a young man who, suddenly called to a great position in the University, had found himself a leader in resistance to an attempt to discipline the scholarly, reformatory, and popular Queen of Navarre, and the humanistic reformers whom she favoured. The opportunity to continue before a larger public the discussion of the principles involved in the University session of October 24th, of which their minds were full, and in which the young rector had borne a conspicuous part, is a sufficient explanation of Cop's action and of Calvin's aid if such aid was given. Protestant in doctrine as the Address is, and opposed to the "sophists" of the Sorbonne, it betrays no evidence that its author thought that he was putting himself outside the communion of the Roman Church. Ideas and expressions are borrowed from Luther; but the German reformer is not mentioned, and it is his doctrine of the way of salvation, not his breach with the Papacy, that interests him. Yet the Address clearly shows the sources from which Cop and probably Calvin were drawing their spiritual life. The New Testament, Erasmus, and Luther had already made Calvin a Protestant in most of his beliefs, and would inevitably place him on the Protestant side when lines of division should be more closely drawn.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE "INSTITUTES," ITALY, AND ARRIVAL IN GENEVA

AT Basel Calvin found a lodging in the home of Catherine Klein, who seems for years to have received student guests, in the eastern suburb of the city,--that of St. Alban.<sup>1</sup> Here, as Calvin himself says, he "lived as it were concealed and known to few people,"<sup>2</sup> hidden under the name of Martinus Lucanius. The city afforded not merely a safe retreat, but abundant opportunities for study and publication. The reasons which had induced the now aged Erasmus to make it his home, availed to attract many a less known scholar. Under the leadership of Johann ?colampadius, whose death had occurred more than three years before Calvin's arrival, Basel had been thoroughly committed to Protestantism; and the work thus begun was being ably continued by the chief pastor, Oswald Myconius. Here, though living very quietly, Calvin began some important friendships,--with Myconius, with Pierre Viret, to be his associate in the reformation of French-speaking Switzerland, and with Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's noble successor in the spiritual leadership of Z?rich. Calvin was, also, in friendly relations with Farel, though this ultimately momentous

---

<sup>1</sup> Peter Ramus, in Doumergue, i. 488.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera*; xxxi. 24.

-127-

acquaintance may have been earlier begun. He studied Hebrew, it is probable, under the eminent guidance of Sebastian M?nster.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile he stood in cordial fellowship with Pierre Robert Oliv?tan, whose relations to his conversion have given rise to so much discussion. Oliv?tan had been labouring, since 1532, among the Waldenses who found protection in the valleys of the southern Alps, and he had been preparing with their approval and at their expense a translation of the Bible into French. When its printing was completed at Neuch?tel, in June, 1535, it appeared with two commendatory Prefaces from Calvin's pen.<sup>2</sup>

Yet the chief event of Calvin's stay at Basel was the completion and publication of the first edition of the *Institutes*, the preparation of which had been begun at Angoul?me. As it was to be put forth after considerable delay at the printer's, in its original Latin dress, in March, 1536, it was not merely<sup>3</sup> a handbook of theology which marked its young author as the ablest interpreter of Christian doctrine that the Reformation age had produced, but it was prefaced by a bold yet dignified and respectful Letter addressed to King Francis which at once placed Calvin at the head of French reformers and revealed him in the highest degree as a man of leadership. French Protestantism had had its mystics, its fanatics, its compromisers, and its

---

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, i. 488, 489, 505; Baumgartner, *Calvin h?bra?sant*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera* ix. 787; Herminjard, ii. 451-454; iii. 294, 348.

<sup>3</sup> The circumstances of its publication, etc., are best discussed by Doumergue, i. 589-595; see also *Opera*, iii. vii-xlvii.

-128-

martyrs, but it had been lacking in men who could speak soberly, convincingly, and boldly in its name. In Calvin, such a leader made himself heard through the Letter to the King. That letter bore date of August 23, 1535, and, as it is evident that its composition was subsequent to the practical completion of the doctrinal treatise to which it was prefixed, it is plain that the manuscript of Calvin's notable volume was essentially finished when he was not yet two months entered on his twenty-seventh year.

To judge from his own statements, Calvin would have been content to have laboured peacefully at Basel on the production of the *Institutes* longer than was to be the case, and to have issued them at last as a practical, dispassionate treatise setting forth the Christian system as he saw it revealed in the Scriptures. The purpose of the *Institutes* was expository. Calvin was, above all else, in his own view, an expounder of the Word of God. Writing in 1541, he said of his treatise:<sup>1</sup>--

Although the Holy Scriptures contain a perfect doctrine, to which nothing can be added,... still every person, not intimately acquainted with them, stands in need of some guidance and direction as to what he ought to look for in them.... This cannot be better done in writing than by treating in succession of the principal matters which are comprised in Christian Philosophy. For he who understands these will be prepared to make more progress in the school of God in one day than any other person in three

---

<sup>1</sup> Preface to the French ed., Beveridge's translation.

months.... With this view I have composed the present book.

As it came forth, it was not merely a calm doctrinal exposition, but, thanks to the Letter prefixed, a noble, dignified, yet none the less passionate, defence of a persecuted cause. The desire to defend that cause and its supporters by the Letter determined the author to issue his volume when he did without waiting for its further elaboration. He must vindicate the character and faith of his associates. Once more, as it seemed to Calvin, the providence of God had thrust him into a publicity which he could not avoid and still be faithful to his duty.

The severe repression with which the King followed the posting of the Placards was viewed with disfavour by the Protestants of Germany, whose goodwill Francis wished to retain as possible allies in his rivalries with Charles V. To justify his persecution of French Protestants in the eyes of their German fellow-believers, Francis issued a public letter on February 1, 1535, addressed to the estates of the Empire,<sup>1</sup> in which he charged the Protestants of France with anarchistic aims designing an "overthrow of all things." Any government must resist such a "contagious plague that looked toward the foulest sedition." The whole tone of the royal argument implied that there was a vast gulf between the sober, orderly German Protestants and the rabid revolutionists of France. Calvin must have had rise before his imagination, as he reflected

---

<sup>1</sup> Text in Herminjard, iii. 250-254.

on this presentation, the martyred figure of his Parisian friend, that generous, peaceful, honourable merchant, Estienne de la Forge, who had suffered sixteen days after the date of the King's letter. He could not leave such calumnies unanswered. Writing twentytwo years after the event, he thus described the publication of the *Institutes*: <sup>1</sup>--

Leaving my native country, I removed to Germany, planning that, concealed in some obscure corner, I might enjoy long denied peace. But while I was in retirement at Basel evil and lying pamphlets were spread abroad to suppress the indignation that the fires in which many pious men had been burned in France excited here and there among the Germans, to the effect that those so cruelly treated were no other than Anabaptists and turbulent men who would overturn by their perverse insanities not religion only, but all political order. Seeing this done by the tricksters of the Court, I felt that my silence would be treachery and that I should oppose with all my might not only lest the undeserved shedding of the innocent blood of holy martyrs should be concealed by false report, but also lest they should go on in future to whatever slaughter they pleased without arousing the pity of any. These were my reasons for publishing the *Institutes*: first, that I might vindicate from unjust affront my brethren whose death was precious in the sight of the Lord; and, next, that some sorrow and anxiety should move foreign peoples, since the same sufferings threatened many. Neither was it that thick and elaborate work it now is, but only a little hand-book that then appeared, nor had it any other aim than to witness to the

---

<sup>1</sup> Preface to *Psalms, Opera*, xxxi. 23.

faith of those whom I saw evilly reviled by impious and faithless flatterers.

It was, indeed, as Calvin said, relatively a small volume as originally issued. Yet it numbered five hundred and nineteen pages. Their dimensions being however, only six and a quarter by four inches, it could be readily carried in a fair-sized pocket. In typography, it was a credit to the printers, Thomas Platter and Balthasar Lasius, and to the publisher, Johann Oporin, who stood behind them; and its sale was considerable, for in March, 1537, a year after its publication, Oporin could report to Calvin that so much was it in demand that no copies remained at Basel, and not more than fifty at Frankfort, whither a supply had been sent for sale at the great fair. A new edition was being eagerly sought.<sup>1</sup>

The letter to King Francis is one of the few masterpieces of apologetic literature. Courteously and respectfully, yet as one aware of his legal rights as a subject, and conscious that his sovereign has duties as a ruler which have not been fulfilled, Calvin argues the case for himself and his Protestant fellow-believers. It is no cringing seeker for toleration that here speaks, nor is it a fanatic uttering a tirade against persecutors; but the voice is of one convinced of the justice of his cause and skilled to reply to criticisms of it with carefully trained and lawyer-like acuteness and cogency of statement. It is as convincing as it is brilliant.

The Protestants, who have been so cruelly slandered,

---

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, iv. 208.

Calvin tells the King, are being condemned on mere rumour. However humble their persons, justice demands that the sovereign examine into their cause the more urgently because it involves<sup>1</sup>--

such mighty interests as these: how the glory of God is to be maintained on earth inviolate; how the truth of God is to preserve its dignity; how the kingdom of Christ is to continue amongst us compact and secure. The cause is worthy of your ear, worthy of your investigation, worthy of your judgment-seat.... Take but a cursory view, most valiant King, of all the parts of our cause, and count us of all wicked men the most iniquitous, if you do not discover plainly that "to this end we labour and suffer reproach, because we put our hope in the living God;" because we believe it to be "life eternal" to "know the only true God and Jesus Christ" whom He has sent. For this hope some of us are in bonds, some beaten with rods, some made a gazingstock, some proscribed, some most cruelly tortured, some obliged to flee; we are all pressed with poverty, loaded with dire execrations, lacerated with abuse, and treated with the greatest indignity. Look now at our adversaries.... The true religion which is handed down in the Scriptures, and which ought to have stood unchanged among all men, they readily permit both themselves and others to be ignorant of, to neglect and despise; and they deem it of little moment what each man may hold concerning God and Christ, or may not hold, provided he submits his opinion with implicit faith to the judgment of the Church.... Nevertheless, they cease not to assail our doctrine, and to accuse and defame it in what terms they may, in order to render it either hated

---

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, i. 11, 13, 14, Beveridge's translation slightly amended.

or suspected. They call it new, and of recent birth; they carp at it as doubtful and uncertain; they ask by what miracles it has been confirmed; they query if it be fair to receive it against the consent of so many holy fathers and the most ancient custom; they urge us to confess either that it is schismatical in giving battle to the Church, or that the Church must have been almost dead during the many centuries in which nothing of the kind was heard. Lastly, they say there is little need of argument, for its quality may be known by its fruits, namely, the large number of sects, the many seditious disturbances, and the great licentiousness which it has produced.

Having stated his opponents' criticisms, Calvin proceeds, like an able attorney, to refute them in order. The doctrine he defends is not new, save to his enemies; it is the very Word of God. It is not doubtful, save to those that are ignorant of it. It needs no fresh miraculous confirmation, since it is the same Gospel "the truth of which is confirmed by all the miracles which Christ and the Apostles ever wrought." The Fathers, at least of a purer age, though not without much human error, are even more on the side of the reformers than those who pretend to do them special reverence; and in numerous instances, which Calvin cites, they have opposed doctrines or practices now obtaining in the Roman communion. Custom is no fitting test of truth, for "human affairs have scarcely ever been so happily constituted as that the better course pleased the greater number." Nor do Protestants hold the Church to have been dead;--those who seek reform have a truer

definition of what the Church really is than their opponents:<sup>1</sup>--

The hinges on which our controversy turns are these: first, in their contending that the form of the Church is always visible and apparent; and, secondly, in their placing that form in the see of the Church of Rome and its hierarchy. We, on the contrary, maintain that the Church may exist without any apparent form; and that the form is not ascertained by that external splendour which they foolishly admire, but by a very different mark, namely, by pure preaching of the Word of God and rightful administration of the sacraments.

In so defining the "notes of the Church," Calvin stood on the general Protestant basis, expressed, for instance, six years before in the Augsburg Confession. To the allegation that the new preaching brought disorder, he replies: "The blame of these evils is wrongfully charged upon it, which ought to be ascribed to the malice of Satan"; and he concludes with the appeal:<sup>2</sup>--

Magnanimous King, be not moved by the absurd insinuations with which our adversaries are striving to frighten you into the belief that nothing else is wished and aimed at by this new gospel (for so they term it) than opportunity for seditions and impunity for all vices. God is not the author of division, but of peace; and the Son of God, who came to destroy the works of the devil, is not the minister

---

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, i. 20, 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 25, 26.

of sin. We are undeservedly charged with desires of a kind for which we have never given even the smallest suspicion. ... [Your] good will, we are confident, we should regain, would you but once, with calmness and composure, read this our confession, which we wish to serve with your majesty instead of a defence. But if the whispers of the malevolent so possess your ears that the accused are to have no opportunity of pleading their cause; if those vindictive furies, with your connivance, are always to rage with bonds, scourgings, tortures, maimings, and burnings, we, indeed, like sheep doomed to slaughter, shall be reduced to every extremity; yet so that, in our patience, we will possess our souls, and wait for the strong hand of the Lord, which doubtless will appear in time, and show itself armed, both to rescue the poor from affliction, and to take vengeance on the despisers. Most powerful and illustrious King, may the Lord, the King of kings, establish your throne in justice and your rulership in equity.

Calvin had spoken the word which French Protestantism needed to have said in its defence; and henceforth no man could doubt his leadership in its cause.

The *Institutes* themselves, to which this Letter was prefixed, were, indeed, far from the perfection of logical treatment and inclusiveness of view which were to characterise the final form attained in the edition of 1559; but they were even now sufficiently significant.<sup>1</sup> Calvin's work follows the ancient popular order of religious instruction which had served Luther for an

---

<sup>1</sup> Text in *Opera*, i. 27-252; for comparison with later editions see *Ibid.*, li-lviii, and also K?stlin, "*Calvins Institutio nach Form und Inhalt*", in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, for 1868, pp. 7-62, 410-486.

-136

outline in drafting his short *Catechism* of 1529, and was determined in its sequence by the elementary teachings which every Christian child had long been expected to learn by heart. In the first four of his six chapters he therefore treats of the Law, as set forth in the Ten Commandments; Faith, as embodied in the Apostles' Creed; Prayer, as illustrated in that of our Lord; and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. To these he joins two further chapters, one treating of the "False Sacraments" which Roman teaching had added to the primal two, and the other of "Christian Liberty, Ecclesiastical Power, and Civil Administration." This order of discussion was not only historically familiar, but it gave to Calvin's legally trained mind the advantage of basing much of his exposition on definite documents generally believed to be of absolute authority. Yet Calvin's treatment is far from being confined to an exposition of these documents alone. Its range is broad, and it deserves the description which the publishers, more probably than Calvin, placed on the titlepage of the first edition of the *Institutes*,--that of "containing well-nigh the whole sum of piety." Between the first three chapters and their successors a certain difference of style and atmosphere may also be noted. The earlier portion is less polemic, more simple and calm; while the closing chapters are more vivacious and controversial in tone and reflect more strongly the heat of the quarrel with the ancient Church. The supposition is natural that they were written after Calvin's rising indignation at the misrepresentation of his fellow-believers had led him to modify his earlier plan

-137-

of a peacefully wrought-out work of Christian instruction. Yet the whole volume is remarkably well-poised and exhibits everywhere great self-control on the part of its author. Its denunciatory epithets are much fewer than in its later editions. As compared with them, however, it shows more of a departure from the classics-loving Calvin who had commented on Seneca. Though Ambrose, Augustine, and Plato are quoted, Calvin makes far less use of the Fathers and the great writers of Greece and Rome than in the subsequent editions of the *Institutes*.

In its doctrinal outlook, the first edition of the *Institutes* might well appear a product of the German Reformation, especially as that movement had developed in the Rhine Valley. Most of the peculiarities of Calvinism are discoverable, but they are not so prominent or so sharply put as in later editions. Yet there is already in clear evidence that profound consciousness of the reality and authority of God which marks all Calvin's thought. Next in emphasis is its doctrine of salvation through reconciliation by faith in Christ. "All the sum of the Gospel is contained in these two heads: repentance and remission of sins."<sup>1</sup> Election is briefly set forth as a basis of confidence of salvation and as determining membership in the invisible Church; but it is not given quite the central position that seems logically to belong to the doctrine, and reprobation is simply mentioned. From election, the perseverance of those thus chosen is clearly deduced.

The treatise begins, like the later editions of the

---

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, i. 149.

-138-

*Institutes*, with the declaration that religious truth is almost entirely comprehended in the knowledge of God and of ourselves,--of God, that He is infinite wisdom and goodness, and the source of all good everywhere, for whose glory all things are made, a just Judge and yet merciful to those that seek Him,--of ourselves, that, since the loss of that original perfection in which Adam was created, the whole human race has been totally corrupt and justly exposed to the wrath of God. Hence any effort to merit righteousness is unavailing; but God forgives sins and gives a new heart to the humbly penitent, through and for the sake of Christ, if they accept His gifts with "certain faith." The Law, therefore, is not our rule of salvation, but a "looking-glass" which shows us our condition. Calvin then explains the several commandments and concludes that the Law has three main uses,--it shows what God justly requires of us, it admonishes those whom nothing but fear of punishment will move, and it is "an exhortation to the faithful," furnishing them a rule for learning what is "the will of God" to which it is their purpose to conform. This third use of the Law as a discipline for Christian believers is a mark of Calvinism as distinguished from Lutheran interpretations. Though having no confidence in good works as of a saving value, the Christian will look for them in his life as "the fruit of the Spirit of God," done by God through him, and the evidence that he has "passed from the kingdom of sin to the kingdom of righteousness." His assurance of salvation is based on the divine election thus witnessed.

-139-

In his second chapter, "*On Faith*," Calvin distinguishes between an intellectual recognition of God's existence and of the historic truth of the Scripture narrative,--a possession "unworthy the name of faith,"--and a belief which places "all hope and confidence in one God and Christ," "doubting nothing of the goodwill of God towards us." The basis without which this faith cannot be sustained is declared to be the Scriptures. Calvin then discusses the Trinity, and proceeds to the explanation of the Apostles' Creed. The "holy catholic Church" he defines as "the whole number of the elect"; but, since this invisible Church cannot be exactly perceived by us, we may in the judgment of charity hold to be of it "all who by confession of faith, example of life, and participation in the sacraments confess the same God and Christ as we."

Since men have nothing of good in themselves, they must look to God for all blessings, and hence Calvin devotes his third chapter to Prayer. Its first condition is humility, its next "certain faith." The merit is not in the prayer, nor in the dignity of him who offers it, but in the divine promise, which will be fulfilled to him who prays in equal faith, as truly as to Peter or to Paul. It is to be offered to God in the name of Christ only,--not to or through the saints; and public prayer should be in a tongue understood by all the congregation. Private prayer may be spoken or without words; but true prayer has always two elements, petition and giving of thanks. Calvin then expounds the Lord's Prayer as a model of what prayer should be.

-140-

With his fourth chapter Calvin takes up the Sacraments, which he defines as "external signs by which the Lord sets forth and attests his goodwill towards us in order to sustain the

weakness of our faith." No sacrament is without the preceding divine promise, to which it witnesses. It is like the seal to a document, valueless in itself, but confirming that to which it is attached. Two sacraments only have been thus divinely instituted,--Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism serves to strengthen our faith in God's remission of our sins, and as a confession of Him before men. It is to be administered to infants as well as to adults; and in the simple way the Scriptures indicate. Whether by immersion or sprinkling may well be left to the usages of different countries. Like Baptism, the Lord's Supper is "an exercise of faith, given to maintain, excite, and increase it." It is the attestation and witness of God's promise. It gives assurance that whatever is Christ's is ours, whatever is ours is His. "All the energy of the sacrament is in these words, 'which is given for you.'" Having said this, Calvin brings to mind the "horrible dissensions" which had been manifested in the recent controversies between Lutherans and Zwinglians regarding the nature of Christ's presence in the Supper. His own view, which he argues with great acuteness, is that "the sacrament is something spiritual." It is the very condition of the existence of a physical body that it can be in but one place. Hence, in the Supper, Christ is "truly and efficaciously," but not physically, present; "not the very substance of his body nor the real and natural body of Christ is there

-141-

given, but all things which Christ bestows as benefits to us by His body." Though asserting thus in the clearest terms that Christ's presence in the elements is one of spiritual power only, Calvin gives the impression of standing in closer sympathy with Luther than with Zwingli in his estimate of the nature and worth of the Supper. He then goes on to reject the Roman conception of the mass in most energetic terms, and urges that communion should be observed with simple ritual, and at least once a week,--a fact which should be weighed by those who criticise the Sunday worship of Calvinism as too bare and too purely intellectual. If a much less frequent observation became the rule in the Reformed Churches, it was not by Calvin's intention.

In his fifth chapter Calvin carries his warfare yet more vigorously against the Roman system, attacking with great vivacity of style and keenness of argument the claims of Confirmation, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, or Marriage to be called sacraments at all. As God alone can create a sacrament, since He alone can give the promise of which it is the witness, so His Word alone reveals the Sacraments that He has instituted; and, tried by this test, the five just enumerated are found wanting. Calvin discusses each at length, treating naturally with especial fulness that of Penance, and criticising in its connection auricular confession, satisfaction, a treasury of good works, indulgences, and purgatory. Treating of orders, Calvin holds that the Scripture "recognises no other minister of the Church than a preacher of the Word of God, called to

-142-

govern the Church, whom it calls now a bishop, now a presbyter, and occasionally a pastor." Orders are simply this calling, which should be accomplished with the consent of the Church to be served, and the advice of one or two neighbouring ministers as to the fitness of the candidate. Whether this consent of the Church should be expressed by a meeting of the whole congregation, or the votes of a few elders, magistrates, princes, or a city government, Calvin leaves to be determined by circumstances. Imposition of hands may properly be used in setting the minister apart for his work, but is in no sense a sacrament.

Calvin's concluding chapter takes up the theme of Christian liberty. It consists, he holds, in a freedom which raises the Christian above the "Law" as a test of obedience, though, since we are called to sanctification, the Law remains an admonishing and stimulating influence. From this principle it follows that Christian "consciences submit to the Law not as if compelled by the force of the Law, but free from the yoke of the Law itself, they obey the will of God voluntarily." Hence, to the Christian, the Law is a rule of life. A third element in Christian liberty is freedom in the use of those gifts of God which are often called indifferent things. "Nor is it anywhere forbidden to laugh, or to enjoy food, or to add new possessions to old and ancestral property, or to be delighted with musical harmonies, or to drink wine,"--a phrase which reveals Calvin as anything but an ascetic; but he adds, "that is, indeed, true; but when the abundance of possessions leads one to be wrapped up in enjoyments

-143-

and to immerse one's self in them, to intoxicate mind and soul with present pleasures and always to seek after new delights,--these things are as far as possible from a proper use of the gifts of God." "The sum is, that 'We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak and not to please ourselves.'" For his proper guidance, man is placed in this world under a double government, spiritual and temporal. That spiritual kingdom has only one King, Christ; and one law, the Word of the Gospel. Its officers are "ministers" of that Word, and have no right to add to or take from the prescriptions therein contained. "The Church is to be heard, they say. Who denies it, since she proclaims nothing save from the Word of God? If they demand anything more, they know that the words of Christ give no support to their demand." Of pastors, and all other church officers, Calvin declares, "All their function is bounded by the ministry of the Word of God, all their wisdom by the knowledge of that Word, all their eloquence by its preaching." Holding this principle, Calvin necessarily finds no authority in the decrees of councils or in the promulgations of church fathers and bishops, save as they conform to this one divine standard of faith and practice.

Calvin then proceeds to vindicate civil government from the criticisms of it as no fit employment for Christian men, often directed against it by the Anabaptists and other radical reformers of his day. It is established by divine authority "to order our life for the society of men, to conform our conduct to civil justice,

-144-

to reconcile us one with another, to nourish and preserve common peace and tranquillity." The duty of the magistrate is not merely to see that "public peace be not disturbed, and each safely possess his own," but to guard lest "idolatry, sacrilege against the name of God, blasphemies against His truth, or other public offences against religion should break out or be spread among the people." Severe punishments are often necessary, but clemency is the chief ornament of a ruler. The collection of taxes and the waging of just wars are not forbidden to the Christian magistrate, any more than the establishment of such laws as equity and the teaching of God's Word counsel. The punishments by which laws are sanctioned may vary with times and places, but their purpose is always the same. They condemn what God condemns. To these laws and magistrates, even to rulers of vicious and tyrannical character, full obedience is due, save where the command contradicts the revealed will of God. Where God has spoken, no other voice deserves the slightest heed.

Such, in the barest outline, is the remarkable handbook of Christian belief with which Calvin accompanied his defence of French Protestantism. Though greatly to be enlarged and improved in the later editions on which he was unweariedly to labour till within five years of the close of his life, it stood forth, even in this early form, not merely as by far the most significant treatise that the reformers of France had yet produced, but without a superior as a clear, logical, and popularly apprehensible presentation of those principles for which

-145-

all Protestantism contended. It was far more than a theoretic exposition of Christian truth. Though in form not strictly a programme for action, it could easily yield the basis of a new constitution for the Church, and of a regulation of the moral life of the community. The felicity of its style, the logical cogency of argument, the precision of statement, which marked the volume, were Calvin's own. The moral enthusiasm which shines through it was a kindling force. As a treatment of Christian doctrine, it was fresh and original. But it was even more a carefully wrought-out exposition of the Christian life, novel and inspiring in its clearness and earnestness.

Such qualities do not exclude, however, a large degree of indebtedness to those who had thought before him on these themes, and especially to his immediate predecessors in the leadership of the Reformation. Calvin's mind was formulative rather than creative. Given the fundamental principles of the Reformation, he could carry them to their logical consequences with a keenness of insight and a clearness of statement such as none of his contemporaries could equal; but it may be questioned whether in the development of Christian doctrine he could have done the path-breaking work accomplished by the first generation of the reformers.

Calvin's indebtedness to Luther was, of course, great. It is Luther's doctrines of faith alone and of the way of salvation that the *Institutes* present; and, in spite of divergencies of the highest significance from the view of Christ's presence in the Supper taught by the Saxon

-146-

reformer, it is Luther's conception of the Sacraments, as attestations of the divine promise designed to strengthen our trust, that marks Calvin's definition of these Christian ordinances. Calvin's whole theological work was made possible only by the antecedent labours of Luther. But in many doctrinal details it is easy to trace an indebtedness not so much to Luther directly as to the German Reformation as it fashioned itself in the minds of the reformers of southwestern Germany. Calvin had little spiritual kinship to Zwingli. He stood nearer to Luther than to the reformer of Germanspeaking Switzerland. But he owed much to Martin Bucer of Strassburg.<sup>1</sup> Such a sympathy in interpretation of the principles of the Reformation was natural to a young Frenchman by reason of the geographical proximity of the Rhineland and consequent readiness of intercourse; but in Calvin's case it seems more than a general indebtedness to influences widely prevalent in the region of which Strassburg was the centre. Views characteristic of Bucer, and which Bucer had put forth in his *Evangelienkommentar*, the first edition of which had appeared in 1527, Calvin had dearly made his own, so that there is reason to believe that Bucer's work had been used in his studies preparatory to the *Institutes*. Some colour is given by this acquaintance to the claim that a correspondence had been begun with the Strassburg reformer by Calvin before his flight

---

<sup>1</sup> See R. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Erlangen, 1898, ii. 379-383; and, especially, August Lang, *Der Evangelienkommentar Martin Butzer's*, Leipzig, 1900, passim.

-147-

from France, though reasons have already been adduced showing this opinion to be improbable.<sup>1</sup>

Calvin's centration of his theology about the two conceptions of the universal agency of God in salvation and of the divine predestination was of the essence of Bucer's thinking; and Calvin's treatment of election, clearly apparent in the first edition of the *Institutes*, as the basis of that confidence enjoyed by those living the Christian life which distinguishes them from nonChristians, was already taught by Bucer, with whom, as with Calvin in the first edition of the *Institutes*, election was a doctrine to strengthen practical Christian living far more than an abstract explanation of the divine government of the universe. With Bucer, Calvin defined faith as "*persuasio*,"--a certainty of conviction; and as with Bucer the "glory" or "honour" of God are phrases frequently employed to denote, for example, the purpose "for which all things in heaven and in earth are created." As with Bucer, man is powerless to achieve any good thing,--all of worth is from God; but in Bucer and Calvin alike, by a kind of over-riding of logic by the demands of an ardent practical piety, the Christian life is looked upon as a strenuous, warmhearted, self-denying effort to realise in one's self the blessings and the character which the divine election has made ours.<sup>2</sup> The whole Reformation age made much of election, as was natural in an epoch characterised by a mighty revival of Augustinianism, but the pietistic use of the doctrine as the basis of

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Lang, *op. cit.*, pp. 194, 195.

-148-

confidence and the encouragement to struggle for high attainment in the Christian life was more markedly a trait of Bucer than of any of his contemporaries among the reformers of the first generation, and was to be made by Calvin a prime characteristic of the churches which felt his moulding touch.

But besides this indebtedness to older reformers who were still living when Calvin *Institutes* were first published, the young thinker took much, consciously or unconsciously, from the later schoolmen. Thus he owed to Scotus, doubtless without realising the obligation, the thought of God as almighty will, for motives behind whose choice it is as absurd as it is impious to inquire. To Scotus, also, was due the conception that the power of God accompanies, rather than exists in, the Sacraments. And from the general feeling of mediæval Latin Christendom that the Church is independent of the State, Calvin probably derived the conviction which was to make his theory of the relation of the Church to organised political society one involving far greater freedom than that of any other of the reformers, whatever limitations that theory was afterwards to exhibit in Calvin's Genevan practice. To point out these obligations is, however, in no way to detract from the merit of the youthful theologian. He built his edifice of Christian thought with utmost skill; but, in so doing, he did not reject

the plans on which older labourers had wrought or the materials which their patient efforts had gathered.

On the publication of the *Institutes*, in March, 1536, or perhaps on the completion of the revision of the

-149-

proofs in the previous month,<sup>1</sup> Calvin set out from Basel, accompanied by his friend du Tillet, for a brief visit to Ferrara, the object of which was to meet the duchess, Ren?e, wife of Ercole II. He travelled under the disguised name of Charles d'Espeville, evidently reminiscent of the territory from which part of his ecclesiastical revenue at Noyon had been derived. The occasion and circumstances of this journey to Italy are obscure and have given rise to a mass of fable and conjecture; but a sufficient reason is to be seen in the existence of a state of affairs at the court of Ferrara which gave promise, for the time being, that the reform movement would there find a welcome. To aid the cause he had at heart was doubtless Calvin's purpose in crossing the Alps.

Ren?e, who was almost the same age as Calvin, was the daughter of King Louis XII. of France, and regarded her mission in Italy as the defence of French interests, even at the expense of long-continued disputes with her husband. Proud of her birth and nationality, she had a generous welcome for such Frenchmen as sought her aid, and was accustomed to reply to critics of her kindness: "They are... of my nation, and if God had given me a beard on my chin, and I were a man, they would all be my subjects... if this evil salic law did not bind me too firmly."<sup>2</sup> In mental

---

<sup>1</sup> Beza and Colladon, *Opera*, xxi. 30, 58, 125. The literature treating of this journey, which is extensive and controversial, is well considered by Doumergue, ii. 3-94; see also C. A. Cornelius, *Historische Arbeiten*, Leipzig, 1899, pp. 105-123.

<sup>2</sup> Brant?me, (*Euvres*, viii. 111.

-150-

traits she much resembled her cousin, Marguerite d'Angoul?me, possessing the same love of letters, the same desire to aid those who were advancing the cause of learning, and similar religious opinions, being probably largely an adherent of the newer views at heart all her life, as she openly became after her return to France as a widow. But, like Marguerite, she remained during her sojourn in Italy in outward conformity to the Roman Church, and was claimed by either side in the struggle. Like that of Marguerite, also, her court was a place of refuge for many whom the persecuting policy of Francis I. compelled to fly from France; and in the spring of 1536 it sheltered, among others, the Protestant poet Cl?ment Marot, whose name had been seventh on the list of those under suspicion as having guilty knowledge of the Placards of October, 1534, which had cost French Protestantism so heavily. The suspicion with which these fugitives were regarded by the churchly authorities at Ferrara was confirmed by an act of one of Marot's companions, like him suspected of connection with the Placards, a young singer known as Jehannet. On Good Friday, April 14, 1536, he had walked out of the church, at the time of the adoration of the Cross, in evident disapproval of the service.<sup>1</sup> Arrested and examined by torture, he declared many of Ren?e's prot?g?s adherents of the newer views. Most of those thus implicated promptly left Ferrara; but investigation continued,

and, on May 4, another of the French recipients of the duchess's bounty, Jean de Bouchefort, a clergyman who had come from the

---

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin*, x. 36, 37; xxxiv. 291; Doumergue, ii. 52.

-151-

diocese of Tournay, was arrested under a charge of "Lutheranism." The court of Ferrara might well seem to an eager French reformer a hopeful field for sowing Evangelical ideas, or even for inducing a duchess already so favourable to French refugees to take an open stand in support of the faith which many of them cherished. A young humanist, such as Calvin was, would, moreover, gladly embrace an opportunity of seeing Italy, and this desire Beza presents as one of Calvin's motives.<sup>1</sup>

How far Calvin's hopes may have reached or just what he attempted in Ferrara, it is impossible to say. His visit was brief. He was later wont to say that he had entered Italy only to leave it; and, though his stay has been variously estimated, it was probably at most from the middle of March to the latter part of April. The arrest of Jehannet appears to have induced him and du Tillet, as it did many other foreign visitors, to leave the dangerous city. Calvin was no rash seeker of peril. He met Ren?e, and made the acquaintance of others in her circle. It is inconceivable that he did not make plain his position to her, and labour to win her to a more positive Evangelicalism, so far as brief opportunity permitted; but his character and mission were not generally revealed. The learned German physician at the court of the duchess, Johann Sinapius, with whom Calvin formed an acquaintance at Ferrara, remained in ignorance;<sup>2</sup> and, if he did not know, it is evident that Calvin kept his dangerous secret

---

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Sinapius's letter, *Herminjard*, vi. 3; Cornelius, *Historische Arbeiten*, p. 107.

-152-

from the world at large. His departure from Ferrara was unhindered. The story of a seizure by the Inquisition and an escape from its clutches, first recorded by Muratori, and since often repeated, in dramatic form for instance by Merle d'Aubign?, and with greater care of investigation by Fontana, is legendary,-the dates involved showing that, whatever the experience may have been, its hero was not Calvin.<sup>1</sup>

Though brief, Calvin's visit to Ferrara was not without result. His unusual power of attracting associates and rendering them friends was once more manifested. In spite of doubts cast upon the success of his intercourse with Ren?e,<sup>2</sup> it seems to have paved the way for the correspondence which, though not begun till at least a year later, was to continue till Calvin's death. But, if his success in turning the duchess to a public support of the Evangelical cause was not what he may possibly have hoped, he won the devoted friendship of a brilliant young French lady of the little court, Fran?oise Boussiron, daughter of the lord of Grand-Ry in Poitou, and soon to become the wife of that Johann Sinapius of whom mention has been made. To her Calvin became a spiritual adviser, and with her, and soon with her husband, he remained in correspondence. Writing to Calvin from his later home in Germany, in 1557,

more than two years after her death, Sinapius could say: "She honoured you as long as she lived,

---

<sup>1</sup> Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, 1749, x. 275; Merle d'Aubign?, *La r?formation en Europe au temps de Calvin*, v. 567; Fontana, *Renata di Francia*, 1889, passim; Doumergue, ii. 54-56.

<sup>2</sup> Cornelius, p. 107; compare Doumergue, ii. 57, 729-731.

-153-

and loved you, and you, in turn, regarded her as a sister."<sup>1</sup>

A frequent subject of Calvin's discussions with the little group into brief association with which he came at Ferrara must have been the proper attitude to assume toward the services of the ancient Church. That, he tells Ren?e in a letter written very possibly in 1537, had been a subject of conversation, unquestionably at Ferrara, between him and her almoner, the adroit and unstable Fran?ois Richardot.<sup>2</sup> To Richardot he showed a "treatise," which may possibly have been the just published *Institutes*, but which was more probably one of two burning letters of entreaty and denunciation written, so Colladon recorded, on this Italian journey,<sup>3</sup> though not to be given to the public till they were put forth at Basel, early in 1537, by the same printers that had issued the *Institutes*.<sup>4</sup> The first of these letters, and probably the one shown to Richardot in manuscript, was addressed to an "excellent man and close friend" who has always been identified with Calvin's intimate associate at Orl?ans, Nicolas Duchemin, though it is evident that the author had in view the general body of those unwilling or afraid to carry Protestant convictions to what seemed to him their logical conclusions, rather than a single reader. He answers the question, certainly a very pressing one in those days of persecution,

---

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xvi. 375; Doumergue, ii. 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xi. 326; on date, Doumergue, ii. 729.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xxi. 60; see also Calvin letter, *Herminjard*, vi. 200.

<sup>4</sup> The Preface was dated January 12, 1537. Both are given in *Opera*, v. 233-278; and are respectively entitled *De fugiendis impiorum sacris* and *De sacerdotio papali abjiciendo*.

-154-

whether a man of Evangelical convictions could give the sanction of an outward conformity to much of the Roman ritual, notably to "that head of all abominations, the mass," with a decided negative. No man, he argues, can rightfully offer anything less than a conscientious obedience to God's commands as set forth in His Word. "This is specially forbidden you, that any one should see you sharing in the sacrilege of the mass, or uncovering the head before an image, or supporting any superstition whatever of a nature whereby the glory of God is dimmed, His religion profaned, His truth corrupted." Such a position was undoubtedly logical and heroic; but one cannot wonder that many could not reach it, nor can one blame these "Pseudo-Nicodemites" as much as Calvin and his age were wont to believe they deserved. The martyr spirit is not given to all; nor had Calvin been the least cautious of men in avoiding danger by overt action in Catholic lands. Calvin's other letter was addressed "to an old friend, now a prelate," who was undoubtedly that eager humanistic reformer of 1533, G?rard Roussel, to whom Calvin himself had owed much, but who had never broken with the Roman

Church, and had recently received the bishopric of Oloron. Nowhere in his writings does Calvin show more passionate indignation. To him, evidently, Roussel was one who had turned from the good cause, and had made shipwreck by accepting office in a communion marked by greed and avarice. His friend had become a traitor. Calvin's indignation is easy to understand. Roussel had changed, however, far less than he supposed.

-155-

The advance toward militant Protestantism had been in Calvin himself; and Roussel carried his always incomplete yet real Evangelical ideas to his bishopric, where he continued to do much the same work as when Calvin had formed the now despised friendship with him at Paris.

The change for the worse in the situation of the French refugees at Ferrara consequent upon Jehannet's overt action induced Calvin and du Tillet to leave a city that had now become dangerous, for the safety of Switzerland. By what route they made their way over the Alps, probably early in May, 1536, we do not know; but a persistent tradition has asserted that Calvin engaged in Evangelical missionary activity in Aosta, the southern terminus of the St. Bernard pathway across the mountain barrier between Italy and the valley of the upper Rhone. Like all that relates to Calvin's Italian journey, this tradition has given rise to controversy.<sup>1</sup> Anything like a prolonged activity at Aosta is impossible; but the Alpine valley was the scene of much religious agitation in 1535 and 1536, and it is conceivable that Calvin may have chosen the St. Bernard route and have made a brief stay at Aosta to see with his own eyes the religious situation and the prospects of the Evangelical cause. At present it must

---

<sup>1</sup> Set forth and defended by Jules Bonnet in *Calvin au val d'Aoste*, Paris, 1861, the story was destructively and effectively criticised by Albert Rilliet, *Lettre ? M. J.-H. Merle d'Aubign?*, 1864. The evidence is gone over anew by Doumergue, ii. 85-94. See also Eduard B?hler, "Calvin in Aosta," in the *Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub*, xxxix. 189-195; and the *Bulletin* for March and April, 1905, pp. 177-183.

-156-

remain a matter of conjecture, though Calvin's connection with Aosta is probably purely legendary. What is certain is that Calvin and du Tillet reached Basel in safety, and there separated, du Tillet going to Neuch?tel and Geneva, and Calvin taking his journey to Paris for a brief sojourn in France, that he might put in order his few business interests in that land and bring back his brother and sister with him, to find a home in the Protestant atmosphere of Strassburg or Basel.<sup>1</sup>

That Calvin was thus able peacefully to return to a capital from which he had been compelled to flee less than three years before was due to the exigencies of French politics. Francis had entered but a few months on the persecutions following the Placards when he turned largely from them to begin cultivating the German Protestants as possible allies in the new war with Charles V. that was to break out early in 1536. In June, 1535, he invited Melancthon to visit the French court. On July 16th following, he issued the Edict of Coucy, permitting those charged with heresy to return, provided they would desist from their errors and abjure them within six months. On May 31, 1536, these privileges had been confirmed.<sup>2</sup> Availing himself of this grace, Calvin was in Paris by June 2, 1536, for on that day he gave a power of attorney

to his younger brother Antoine, who, ten days later, joined at Noyon with his elder brother, Charles, in a sale of lands which had belonged to their parents.<sup>3</sup> The granting of this

---

<sup>1</sup> Colladon, *Opera*, xxi. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera*, xb. 55, 58; Doumergue, ii. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Documents in full in Lefranc, *Jeunesse*, pp. 205-208.

-157-

power of attorney makes it well-nigh certain that Calvin himself did not go to Noyon. From Paris, his business completed, he set forth, accompanied by Antoine and his sister Marie, for Strassburg; but knowing, as he himself later recorded, that the direct route was barred by the war, Calvin made a long detour, probably by way of Lyons, reaching Geneva in the latter half of July, and intending to pass only a single night in the city before resuming his journey to the Rhineland.<sup>1</sup> Recognised by an acquaintance, in all probability du Tillet, his presence was made known to Guillaume Farel, who was struggling to maintain the Evangelical cause in the recently reformed city. Farel, always fiery and eloquent, urged and adjured Calvin to stay and aid in the difficult endeavour. It was a moment of far-reaching decision, for Calvin recognised as he believed the divine call, and, if God had spoken, His voice was to be obeyed. "Farel kept me at Geneva," he said, writing of the event, "not so much by advice and entreaty as by a dreadful adjuration, as if God had stretched forth His hand upon me from on high to arrest me."<sup>2</sup> That the task was hard and unexpected was no reason why that divine summons should be disregarded. God, he thought, had set before him the work to be done. He would enter on it.

---

<sup>1</sup> Preface to *Psalms*, *Opera*, xxxi. 26. On time of arrival at Geneva see Herminjard, iv. 74, 75; Doumergue, ii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Opera*, xxxi. 26.

-158-

## CHAPTER XV

# CALVIN'S THEOLOGY

WITHIN the brief compass allotted to this volume no adequately comprehensive treatment can be given to so extensive a theme as Calvin's theology; but its salient features must at least be cursorily described. As has already been pointed out, Calvin built on the general foundation laid by the reformers who had preceded him. To Luther and to Bucer he owed the basal elements of his own theologic structure. Without their antecedent work--certainly without that of Luther--his would never have been accomplished. Yet he so clarified and systematised Evangelical theology, and so stamped his own genius upon its presentation, that he ranks pre-eminently as the theologian among the reformers, and as one of the three or four greatest expounders of religious truth in Christian history. This work has its illustration in his Commentaries, and minor treatises; but above all in the *Institutes*, which came to its completeness in the classic edition of 1559.<sup>1</sup>

Foremost in Calvin's system was his emphasis on the great thought of God. His sovereignty extends over all persons and events from eternity to eternity. His

---

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, ii. The quotations in this chapter are from Beveridge translation, Edinburgh, 3 vols., 1845-46.

-409-

will is the ground of all that exists. His glory is the object of all the created universe. He is the sole source of all good everywhere, and in obedience to Him alone is human society or individual action rightfully ordered. His honour is the first object of jealous maintenance by the magistrate, or of regard by the citizen. Good laws are but the embodiment of His will; and complete surrender to Him is man's prime duty and only comfort. His kingly sovereignty, His glorious majesty, His all-perfect and all-controlling will are the highest objects of man's adoration, and the prime concern of all human interest. By His permission kings rule, and for each member of the human race He has an unalterable and supremely wise plan from all eternity. Infinitely transcending the world of created things, in honour, dignity, and power, God touches it, and all human life, at every point with His righteous law and majestic sway. "Our very being is nothing else than subsistence in God alone."<sup>1</sup> To know Him is the supreme object of human attainment.

But how is God to be known? Calvin answers that sufficient knowledge of Him is implanted in the human mind to leave the wicked without excuse, but this natural theology is supplemented and made clear by "another and better help,"--that of the divine revelation in the Scriptures, the writers of which were "sure and authentic amanuenses of the Holy Spirit."<sup>2</sup> By these alone is God adequately made known. "There is an inseparable relation between faith and the Word, and

---

<sup>1</sup> *Institutes*, Bk. I, chapter i., section 1.

<sup>2</sup> IV. viii. 9.

-410-

these can no more be disconnected from each other than rays of light from the sun."<sup>1</sup> "The full authority which [the Scriptures] ought to possess with the faithful is not recognised, unless they are believed to have come from heaven, as directly as if God had been heard giving utterance to them."<sup>2</sup> This conviction can, indeed, be fortified by arguments drawn from their arrangement, dignity, truth, simplicity, and efficacy; "still it is preposterous to attempt, by discussion, to rear up a full faith in Scripture." Our confidence "must be derived from a higher source than human conjectures, judgments, or reasons; namely, the secret testimony of the Spirit."<sup>3</sup> The Bible is therefore no arbitrary body of truth to be accepted on the authority of the Church or of external miracles. It approves itself to men by its own clear illumination; by the response of the soul enlightened by the Spirit of God to the voice of the same Spirit speaking through its pages. That testimony carries with it acceptance of all that the Scriptures contain. "Those who are inwardly taught by the Holy Spirit acquiesce implicitly in Scripture."<sup>4</sup> It is no mere Christian consciousness selecting and appropriating truth wherever truth can be found; it is Truth itself awakening recognition of its clear, ample, and final authority in the divinely

enlightened soul. In this doctrine of the absolute and unique authority of the Word of God, Calvin stood on ground

---

<sup>1</sup> III. ii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> I. vii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> I. vii. 4.

<sup>4</sup> I. vii. 5.

-411-

common to all the reformers; and his teaching as to the immediate witness of the Holy Spirit had been anticipated, though less clearly by Luther;<sup>1</sup> but his presentation of this cardinal principle of the Reformation is the amplest that it had yet received, and may be said to be its classic expression. Far more than Luther, however, Calvin treated the Scriptures as a new law regulative of the Christian life.

While God is thus the source of all that is good, man in his present fallen state is in himself wholly bad. As created in Adam--and Adam with Calvin as with Augustine is a personage of great significance--man was made in the image of God, with all the good endowments and qualities therein implied; but he fell by "infidelity," ambition, and pride, together with "ingratitude," and that fall involved all the race in original sin,--"a hereditary corruption and depravity of our nature, extending to all the parts of the soul, which first makes us obnoxious to the wrath of God, and then produces in us works which in Scripture are termed works of the flesh."<sup>2</sup> The consequences are a total depravity of all human nature. "The soul, when plunged into that deadly abyss, not only labours under vice, but is altogether devoid of good."<sup>3</sup> As with Augustine, so in Calvin's conception, man is absolutely unable to aid himself in his fallen estate; nor has he even a co-operant part, as with Melancthon, in a sal-

---

<sup>1</sup> F. Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*, 3rd ed., pp. 373, 431.

<sup>2</sup> II. i. 4, 8.

<sup>3</sup> II. iii. 2.

-412-

vation begun and made possible by God. "The will is enchained as the slave of sin, it cannot make a movement towards goodness, far less steadily pursue it. Every such movement is the first step in that conversion to God, which in Scripture is entirely ascribed to divine grace."<sup>1</sup> True, God has not so left man in his ruin as to deprive him of all aid to righteous action. "Whatever excellent endowments appear in unbelievers are divine gifts.... He visits those who cultivate virtue with many temporal blessings,... [but] those virtues, or rather images of virtues, of whatever kind, are divine gifts, since there is nothing in any degree praiseworthy which proceeds not from Him."<sup>2</sup> In an evil plight, all men are incapable of themselves of real good; their condition is one of deserved, yet helpless, condemnation.

From this hopeless state some men are undeservedly rescued by the mercy of God. The means by which this deliverance is effected is by the work of Christ; by which in His threefold office of prophet, priest, and king He wrought salvation for them. "Christ, in His death, was offered to the Father as a propitiatory victim." "Not only was the body of Christ given up as the price

of redemption, but that which was a greater and more excellent price--that He bore in His soul the tortures of condemned and ruined man."<sup>3</sup> He paid the penalty due for the sins of those in whose behalf he died. Yet this propitiation of the Father implied no

---

<sup>1</sup> II. iii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> III. xiv. 2.

<sup>3</sup> II. xvi. 6, 10.

-413-

diversity of feeling between the persons of the Trinity. With Scotist emphasis on the unconditioned will of God as the highest object in the universe, Calvin declares that even "Christ could not merit anything save by the good pleasure of God."<sup>1</sup> His sacrifice was of value because the Father chose to put value on it, and to order it as the way of salvation. Hence Father and Son were at one in providing, offering, and accepting the ransom. "The love of God" is its "chief cause or origin."<sup>2</sup>

But all that Christ has wrought is without avail unless it becomes man's personal possession. "So long as we are without Christ and separated from Him, nothing which He suffered and did for the salvation of the human race is of the least benefit to us." "He must become ours and dwell in us." He is "our Head."<sup>3</sup> This indwelling is effected by faith on man's part; but this faith, which, as with Paul and Luther, is no mere acceptance of historic facts or of a system of belief, but a vital union in a new life between the believer and Christ, is due to nothing in man, but has its origin in "the secret efficacy of the Spirit."<sup>4</sup> Its consequence and inseparable accompaniment is repentance. While genuine disciples may at times be assailed by doubts, "full assurance" is a proper attribute of this faith, doubts must be temporary, and "he only is a true believer who, firmly persuaded that God is reconciled and is a kind Father to him, hopes every thing from

---

<sup>1</sup> II. xvii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> II. xvii. 2. Compare G. B. Stevens, *The Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, pp. 153, 154.

<sup>3</sup> III. i. 1.

<sup>4</sup> [Ibid.](#)

-414-

His kindness, who, trusting to the promises of the divine favour, with undoubting confidence anticipates salvation."<sup>1</sup>

The consequence of this faith is the Christian life. "Christ cannot be known without the sanctification of His Spirit, therefore faith cannot possibly be disjoined from pious affection."<sup>2</sup> That life, far more than in Luther's conception of it, is one of struggle and effort in which the Law, though no longer the test of acceptance with God, is the stimulus to endeavour. "The whole lives of Christians ought to be a kind of aspiration after piety, seeing they are called unto holiness. The office of the Law is to excite them to the study of purity and holiness by reminding them of their duty."<sup>3</sup> Calvin thus saves himself, in spite of his doctrines of election, irresistible grace, and perseverance, from any possible antinomianism. He leaves room for a conception of "works" as strenuous and as effort-demanding as any claimed by the Roman

communion, though very different in relation to the accomplishment of salvation. "We are justified not without; and yet not by works, since in the participation of Christ, by which we are justified, is contained not less sanctification than justification."<sup>4</sup> "If the end of election is holiness of life, it ought to arouse and stimulate us strenuously to aspire to it, instead of serving as a pretext for sloth."<sup>5</sup>

Calvin is next confronted by the evident fact that

---

<sup>1</sup> III. ii. 15, 16.

<sup>2</sup> III. ii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> III. xix. 2.

<sup>4</sup> III. xvi. 1.

<sup>5</sup> III. xxiii. 12.

-415-

men are very unlike in their reception of the Gospel. "Among a hundred to whom the same discourse is delivered, twenty, perhaps, receive it with the prompt obedience of faith; the others set no value upon it, or deride, or spurn, or abominate it."<sup>1</sup> Holding, as Calvin does, that all good is from God, and viewing man as helpless to initiate or resist his conversion, Calvin can but ascribe this dissimilarity to "the mere pleasure of God." He was not peculiar in this view. The Reformation age was markedly one of revived Augustinianism. In its essential features the doctrine of election had been equally the property of Luther and Zwingli. Melancthon, under the influence of his belief in the power of the human will to co-operate with or resist the divine leadings, was swinging away from it, and was ultimately to lead the Lutheran churches in the direction that he pointed out; but an acceptance of predestination was widely characteristic of the theology of the age. Yet the use which Calvin made of the doctrine is far more vital than that of Luther, for example. To Luther the prime question was always, how are men saved? When he asked why, and he did not often ask the question, he gave the Augustinian answer. To Calvin, as to Bucer before him, the problem of the origin of salvation was of much more fundamental importance, and this significance was strengthened by his controversies with Bolsec. Yet it is an error to describe predestination as the "central doctrine" of Calvinism,<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> III. xxiv. 12.

<sup>2</sup> A. Schweizer, *Die protestantischen Centraldogmen*, i. 57; see R. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, ii. 397.

-416-

though it became so under his successors and interpreters. Its prime value for him was always its comfort as giving assurance of salvation to the Christian believer.

Calvin advanced beyond Augustine in two ways. The great African theologian had represented God as active in election to life only. The lost were simply passed by and left to the deserved consequences of sin. To Calvin's thinking, election and reprobation are both alike manifestations of the divine activity. In Augustine's estimate, not all believers even are given the grace of perseverance. With Calvin all in whom God has begun the work of

salvation would have it brought to complete fruition. Calvin's severe logic, insistent that all salvation is independent of merit, led him to assert that damnation is equally antecedent to and independent of demerit. The lost do indeed deserve their fate; but "if we cannot assign any reason for His bestowing mercy on His people, but just that it so pleases Him, neither can we have any reason for His reprobating others but His will." The sole cause of salvation or of loss is the divine choice:<sup>1</sup>--

The will of God is the supreme rule of righteousness, so that everything which He wills must be held to be righteous by the mere fact of His willing it. Therefore, when it is asked why the Lord did so, we must answer, Because He pleased. But if you proceed further to ask why He pleased, you ask for something greater and more sublime than the will of God, and nothing such can be found.

---

<sup>1</sup> III. xxii. 11; xxiii. 2.

-417-

Whether this Scotist doctrine of the rightfulness of all that God wills by the mere fact of His willing it leaves God a moral character it is perhaps useless to inquire. The thesis here advocated has always had its earnest supporters and its determined critics. But of the comfort which Calvin and his disciples drew from the doctrine of election there can be no question. To a persecuted Protestant of Paris it must have been an unspeakable consolation to feel that God had a plan of salvation for him, individually, from all eternity, and that nothing that priest or king could do could frustrate the divine purpose in his behalf. Nor was it less a source of strength to one profoundly conscious of his own sinfulness to feel that his salvation was based on the unshakable rock of the decree of God Himself. Reprobation, too, gave an explanation for the hostility of rulers to the Evangelical cause, and for the great number of those who, in that age, as in any epoch, were notoriously irreligious of life. Calvin was far too politic a man to suggest that a Henry II. or a Catherine de' Medici were of the reprobate; but it must have been a grim satisfaction for those under their persecuting sway to believe that they and others like them "were raised up by the just but inscrutable judgment of God, to show forth His glory by their condemnation."<sup>1</sup>

Calvin's doctrine of the Church has often come under our notice in this volume. It is the means by which we are nourished in the Christian life. "To those to whom [God] is a Father, the Church must also be a

---

<sup>1</sup> III. xxiv. 14.

-418-

mother."<sup>1</sup> Following the line already marked out by Wyclif, Huss, and Zwingli, Calvin defines the Church in the last analysis as "all the elect of God, including in the number even those who have departed this life."<sup>2</sup> But, besides its application to this invisible fellowship, the name "Church" is properly used of "the whole body of mankind scattered throughout the world who profess to worship one God and Christ, who by baptism are initiated into the faith, by partaking of the Lord's Supper profess unity in true doctrine and charity, agree in holding the Word of the Lord, and observe the ministry which Christ has appointed for the preaching

of it."<sup>3</sup> Whoever alienates himself from it is a "deserter of religion." Yet to leave the Papacy is in no sense to leave the Church, for "it is certain that there is no Church where lying and falsehood have usurped the ascendancy."<sup>4</sup> Calvin admits, however, that even in the Roman communion some vestiges of the Church exist, though in ruins.

This visible Church is properly governed only by officers of divine appointment made known in the New Testament. These are pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons,--partly clerical and partly lay office-bearers, for in Calvin's system the recognition of the rights of the layman, characteristic of the whole Reformation movement, comes to its completest development. This recognition receives further illustration in that the offi-

---

<sup>1</sup> IV. i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> IV. i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> IV. i. 7.

<sup>4</sup> IV. ii. 1.

-419-

cers of the Calvinistic churches, unlike those of the Roman, Anglican, Lutheran, and Zwinglian communions, properly enter on their charges only with the assent of the congregation that they serve. Their "call" is twofold,--the secret inclination which has God as its author, and their election "on the consent and approbation of the people."<sup>1</sup> Peculiar circumstances at Geneva disposed Calvin to regard that "consent of the people" as there expressed by the city government; but elsewhere, especially where Calvinism was face to face with hostile civil authority, the system developed its more normal form.

One main object of the establishment of church officers is discipline, the importance of which in the Calvinistic system, as contrasted with other theories of the Church current in the Reformation age, there has been frequent occasion to point out. "As the saving doctrine of Christ is the life of the Church, so discipline is, as it were, its sinews." It "is altogether distinct from civil government"; and belongs "to the consistory of elders, which [is] in the Church what a council is in a city." "The legitimate course to be taken in excommunication... is not for the elders alone to act apart from others, but with the knowledge and approbation of the Church, so that the body of the people, without regulating the procedure, may, as witnesses and guardians, observe it, and prevent the few from doing anything capriciously."<sup>2</sup>

This ecclesiastical independence which Calvin em-

---

<sup>1</sup> IV. iii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> IV. xi. 1, 6; xii. 1, 7.

-420-

phasised more than any other of the reformers and for which he fought with such intensity and persistence at Geneva, was very far, however, from implying that civil government had no duties toward the Church. Minister and magistrate were alike charged with the administration of government in the name of God. Further than excommunication the Church could not go. When that failed or was insufficient for the enormity of the offence, as in case of flagrant

heresy or crime, the magistrate, as equally charged with maintaining the honour of God, must apply his civil penalties. His duty it was to defend, support, and care for the Church, though in its proper sphere the Church was to be independent of his control. Calvin thus took up into his system the characteristic theory of the middle ages regarding this matter, carefully guarding it, however, from becoming, as the mediaeval contention too often was, an assertion of the supremacy of the Church over the State. It was to become the view of Puritanism and to have ample illustration, for instance, in the early history of New England.

Characteristic of Calvin is his doctrine of the Sacraments, and of the Lord's Supper in particular. Nowhere was his desire for the union of divided Protestantism more evident than in the treatment of these vexed questions, in spite of the heat of his later polemic with Westphal and Hesshusen.<sup>1</sup> He stood, as has already been pointed out, in an intermediate position between Luther and Zwingli. To Calvin the value of a sacrament is that of a seal attesting God's grace. "It

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 398.

-421-

is an external sign, by which the Lord seals on our consciences His promises of goodwill toward us, in order to sustain the weakness of our faith, and we in turn testify our piety towards Him."<sup>1</sup> Baptism "is a kind of sealed instrument by which He assures us that all our sins are so deleted, covered, and effaced that they will never come into His sight."<sup>2</sup> The benefit is not wrought by the sacrament itself; it accompanies it, and is received only by the predestinate. "From this sacrament, as from all others, we gain nothing, unless in so far as we receive in faith." To them it is a perpetual witness to forgiveness, so that there is no room for the Roman doctrine of penance. "The godly may, ... whenever they are vexed by a consciousness of their sins, recall the remembrance of their baptism, that they may thereby assure themselves of that sole and perpetual ablution which we have in the blood of Christ."<sup>3</sup> The rite, Calvin argues at great length, and with much use of the analogy of circumcision, is to be administered to infants as well as to those of years of intelligence.

In Calvin's conception, as in that of the Roman and Lutheran communions, whatever else the Lord's Supper may signify, it is "a spiritual feast, at which Christ testifies that He Himself is living bread on which our souls feed for a true and blessed immortality."<sup>4</sup> The

---

<sup>1</sup> IV. xiv. 1. See a most valuable brief treatment of Calvin's views in Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, ii. 401-409.

<sup>2</sup> IV. xv. 1.

<sup>3</sup> IV. xv. 4, 15.

<sup>4</sup> IV. xvii. 1.

-422-

heart of the discussion in the Reformation age was, however, as to the nature of Christ's presence in this sacrament. Luther had insistently asserted, in substantial agreement with the older Church, that that presence is physical. Zwingli rejected all physical presence, made the chief value of the Supper its memorial character, and reduced the nourishment of the

participating soul to a stimulation of faith in His death for us. To Calvin's thinking, as to Zwingli's, it seemed impossible that Christ's physical body could be at the same time in heaven and in many places on earth. "Let no property be assigned to His body inconsistent with His human nature."<sup>1</sup> But Calvin's religious feeling revolted, no less than Luther's, from any representation that did not imply a true presence of Christ in the Supper and that "only makes us partakers of the spirit, omitting all mention of flesh and blood." "By the symbols of bread and wine, Christ, His body and His blood, are truly exhibited to us."<sup>2</sup> Yet this participation is spiritual and by faith. "It is enough for us, that Christ, out of the substance of His flesh, breathes life into our souls, nay, diffuses His own life into us, though the real flesh of Christ does not enter us."<sup>3</sup> Christ "breathes" into the disciple "power"; He "feeds" him. But only the disciple receives. "I deny," said Calvin, "that it can be eaten without the taste of faith, or, (if it is more agreeable to speak with Augustine,) I deny that men carry away

---

<sup>1</sup> IV. xvii. 19.

<sup>2</sup> IV. xvii. 7, 11.

<sup>3</sup> IV. xvii. 32.

-423-

more from the sacrament than they collect in the vessel of faith."<sup>1</sup> Calvin's relations to Luther and Zwingli have been well defined by a recent writer:<sup>2</sup>--

If one asks whether Calvin's doctrine approaches nearer to Luther or to Zwingli, the decision is usually rendered, through credal interests, in favour of the latter. But if one observes that, in contrast to the purely subjective commemorative interpretation of Zwingli, Calvin accepts a special presence of the living Christ, together with the religious inworking thereby caused, in the manner of Luther, we may, nevertheless, conclude,--while recognising the permanent dissimilarity,--that in religious comprehension of the sacrament Calvin stands nearer to Luther than to Zwingli.

The doctrinal positions just enumerated contain the main emphases and chief peculiarities of Calvin's theology, though they by no means exhaust the round of his teaching. On such themes as the judgment, the resurrection, or future rewards and punishments, he stood on the common basis of the religious thought of his age, and had little, if anything, novel to offer for their elucidation.

In Calvin's exposition the theology of the Reformation age rose to a clearness and dignity of statement and a logical precision of definition that have never been surpassed. A logician of critical acumen, a lawyer by training, a master of Latin and of French expression, a

---

<sup>1</sup> IV. xvii. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Seeberg, op. cit., ii. 404.

-424-

humanist, a student of history and of Christian antiquity, Calvin brought to the service of Christian theology gifts which must always make the *Institutes* a classic presentation of doctrine. But to recognise the transcendent qualities of his work is by no means to assert its

perpetuity. His system has been no exception to the general rule of modification and supersession which seems essential to all progress even in the apprehension of the deepest of Christian verities. Calvin's system has stood the test of time better than most expositions of religious truth; but it has suffered a general attrition, and though the degrees in which its various aspects are now rejected are very unequal, it is nowhere held in its pristine integrity; while the larger part of the Protestant world, even in the churches which most honour his memory, has turned far aside from it.

Most universally abandoned is Calvin's conception of the duty of civil rulers to guard the purity of the Church. A trial like that of Servetus has happily long been impossible; and the first name on the list of subscribers to Servetus's monument at Geneva is that of the Consistory of the present Genevan Church which traces its historic continuity from his foundation. His doctrines of election and reprobation aroused profound dissent in the early seventeenth century, and Arminianism preserves the memory and the results of the protest then initiated; and even where these explanations of God's ways with men are nominally maintained they are held in reality with far less than his rigour and with little of his sense of satisfaction. His valuation of discipline has been wholly rejected. No modern Christian

-425-

community would tolerate the iron inquisitorial rule which he laid on Geneva; and discipline, even in its milder forms, instead of being thought of as a prime duty of the ministerial office is now regarded as one of the most difficult and seldom-to-be-employed means of Christian edification.

More widely accepted in theory, perhaps, but none the less generally abandoned by modern Christian thinking, is his view of human nature as utterly depraved. The appeal of evangelists and the training of the Sunday School and of the catechetical class alike now addresses itself to those whom they regard as indeed enfeebled by sin and in grievous need of divine aid, but not hopelessly incapable of turning to or of accepting the light. Much modern thinking, in churches which still regard Calvin as their spiritual ancestor, denies that men are, even in their worst state, other than wandering children of God, needing to be made conscious of their sonship, but in no sense useful in their destruction only. Nor has the modern Christian world followed Calvin in confining all revelation to the Scriptures. The protest begun by the Quakers in the seventeenth century has become common property. The thought of the Reformation age that a God who rules the world by the constant activity of His providence, and whose Spirit works how and when and where He will, has yet confined all revelation to long closed Scriptures is recognised as inconsistent. The light is seen to have been and to be much more widely diffused than Calvin imagined, and to have shone not merely in ages but among peoples who, to his think-

-426-

ing, had been consigned by God's decree to utter darkness.

Nor is Calvin's estimate of the Scriptures themselves that of the modern Christian world. Their writers are almost nowhere now viewed as "amanuenses" of the Holy Spirit. The human element in them, though in very varying degrees of apportionment, is everywhere recognised as real. A degree of progress in revelation, of which he never dreamed, is universally admitted. With many even their inspiration, in the sense in which he understood it, is denied.

His interpretation of patriarch, psalmist, and prophet is inconsistent with that evolutionary philosophy under the light of which the present age believes that it has come to truer and worthier views of man's religious development. His ideal Adam, so marvellous in endowments, and so fateful in relation to the race, has been very generally relegated to the legendary explanations of the origin of evil; his restriction of salvation to those under the light of the Gospel little accords with the modern sense of the extent of the divine compassion. His theory of the Atonement gives to it a significance as a penal satisfaction now widely abandoned. His emphasis on the sovereignty of God has been increasingly displaced by a clearer conception of the divine Fatherhood.

To the present Christian world Calvin's representations of the divine dealings with men seems not without considerable elements of hardness and even of cruelty. That they so appear, is, it may be hoped, to be ascribed to clearer apprehensions of the Gospel and of the message, life, and significance of Christ.

-427-

But while Calvin's system as a whole can no longer command the allegiance it once claimed, its value in the progress of Christian thought is not to be minimised or forgotten. It laid a profound emphasis on Christian intelligence. Its appeal was primarily to the intellect, and it has trained a sturdy race of thinkers on the problems of the faith wherever it has gone. It has been the foe of popular ignorance, and of shallow, emotional, or sentimental views of Christian truth. Equally significant as an educative force has been its insistence on the individual nature of salvation. A personal relation of each man to God, a definite divine plan for each life, a value for the humblest individual in the God-appointed ordering of the universe, are thoughts which, however justly the social rather than the individual aspects of Christianity are now being emphasised, have demonstrated their worth in Christian history. Yet perhaps the crowning historic significance of Calvinism is to be seen in its valuation of character. Its conception of the duty to know and do the will of God, not, indeed, as a means of salvation, but as that for which we are elected to life, and as the only fitting tribute to the "honour of God" which we are bound to maintain, has made of the Calvinist always a representative of a strenuous morality. In this respect Calvin's system has been like a tonic in the blood, and its educative effects are to be traced in the lands in which it has held sway even among those who have departed widely from his habit of thought. The spiritual indebtedness of western Europe and of North America to the educative influence of Calvin's theology is well-nigh measureless.

-428-

## **CHAPTER XVI**

# **Calvin'S LAST DAYS.--HIS PERSONAL TRAITS AND CHARACTER**

AS has already been pointed out, Calvin's position in Geneva was absolutely assured from the time of the defeat of the Perrinists in 1555. Whatever dangers thenceforth threatened him and

his system were from without the city, not from within. He had triumphed within its walls. His conception of a city obedient to the will of God in Church and State, served by an educated body of ministers, disciplined by ecclesiastical watch and strict magisterial supervision, and taught by excellent schools had been largely realised. Not but that there was much for the Consistory to reprove and for the Little Council to punish in the lives of the citizens. The iron discipline and drastic inquisitorial inspection of Genevan morals were now given their fullest development; but the ideal of a perfected society for which Calvin had striven was now clear, and, to many, seemed to have been more fully realised than at any previous time in Christian History. Geneva stood in the thought of a large section of Evangelical Christendom as a model Christian commonwealth.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Calvin's last days are well described by Colladon and Beza, who were contemporary witnesses, *Opera*, xxi. 95-118, 160-172. A careful, though too critical, estimate is that of Kampschulte, ii. 354-387;

-429-

Calvin was now almost universally honoured by the inhabitants of the city not only as its most eminent resident, but as a well-nigh infallible interpreter of that Word of God which the new generation of citizens had been taught by him to regard as the ultimate law of public and private conduct and belief. By his critics outside of Geneva he was called its "pope," "king" or "calif." A simple-minded refugee, who spoke of him as "Brother Calvin," was quickly reminded that in Geneva "Master Calvin" was the only fitting form of address.<sup>1</sup> His voice oftenest spoke the disciplinary sentences of the Consistory. It was he who expressed the wishes and the criticisms of the ministers to the Little Council. He was largely consulted in affairs of State. His advice greatly influenced the political relations of the city.

Yet Calvin's ripened fame and power brought no change in title or in official position. He was still simply one of the city pastors, a preacher at Saint-Pierre, and a teacher of theology. His clothing was very plain, his house scantily furnished for one in his station.<sup>2</sup> Though considerable sums of money passed through his hands, especially in the form of gifts for needy refugees, his administration was to the utmost scrupulous, he refused presents even from the city government, and his

---

and full, though over-laudatory, accounts are those of E. St?helin, *Johannes Calvin*, ii. 365-471; and Adolf Zahn, *Die beiden letzten Lebensjahre von J. Calvin*, Leipzig, 1895.

<sup>1</sup> Kampschulte, ii. 376, 387.

<sup>2</sup> Colladon, *Opera*, xxi. 113. An inventory of the furniture allowed him by the city, made in 1548, may be found, *Ibid.*, xiii. 135. The whole matter is carefully discussed by Doumergue, iii. 491-508.

-430-

salary barely sufficed to meet the very modest demands of his own living and the cost of a freely bestowed but exceedingly simple hospitality. His whole estate amounted to less than two hundred *?cus*, the equivalent in value perhaps from fifteen hundred to two thousand dollars, including the worth of his library.<sup>1</sup> He had enough, however, for his modest wants and was satisfied with his thoroughly unostentatious *m?nage*.

In personal appearance, Calvin "was of medium height, of a rather pale and dark complexion, with eyes clear even to his death, which evidenced the sagacity of his mind." Greatly emaciated in later life by illness, his face was little changed to the last.<sup>2</sup> The slight figure, with the strongly marked features, broad, high forehead, bright eyes, and rather scanty beard, must always have carried an impression of scholarly refinement; but Calvin's chief graces were those of the intellect and spirit,--vivacity, clarity, impressive earnestness, keen penetration, felicitous and striking characterisation. Men felt an intellectual and moral masterfulness in him, perhaps the more strongly because its physical embodiment so imperfectly bespoke its greatness. Calvin's capacity for work was prodigious. When not in extreme ill-health,<sup>3</sup>--

he preached every day of each alternate week; he lectured three times each week on theology; he was at the Consistory

---

<sup>1</sup> Colladon, *Opera*, xxi. 113; see also, the notes of the Strassburg editors, *Ibid.*, xx. 301; and Doumergue, iii. 481-483. Calvin's will named 225 *cus* of bequests.

<sup>2</sup> Colladon, *Ibid.*, xxi. 105; Beza, *Ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> Colladon, *Ibid.*, p. 66.

-431-

on the appointed day, and spoke all the remonstrances; what he added at the Conference on the Scriptures every Friday which we call the Congregation,... was equal to a lecture; he was not neglectful in the visitation of the sick, in special remonstrances, and in other innumerable concerns having to do with the ordinary exercise of his ministry.

Beza reckoned his sermons at two hundred and eighty-six annually and his lectures as only a hundred less in number.<sup>1</sup> To these must be added his constant work on his *Institutes* and other theological treatises, his long and frequent consultations with those who sought his counsel, and above all his correspondence, some account of the voluminous extent of which has already been given.<sup>2</sup> Such a multiplicity of duties left scanty opportunity for special preparation. He worked with great rapidity, and, even in expository lectures, took nothing but the text of the Scriptures into the desk. Here his retentive memory stood him in good stead. All that he had ever read was at ready command. Nor was he less observant of men. Though he mingled little in familiar intercourse with the people of Geneva, and must have been to most of them rather a remote and awe-inspiring figure, he constantly surprised his associates in the Consistory by his recollection of past offenders and his minute accuracy as to previous censures. A large proportion of his letters and of his scholarly writing was dictated, and interruptions seemed rarely to break the chain of his thought or compelled

---

<sup>1</sup> Kampschulte, ii. 376, from Beza, *Tract. theol.*, ii. 353.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 378.

-432-

him to read over what he had said before the visit or the new demand upon his attention compelled the suspension of his task.<sup>1</sup>

While he could at times display much oratorical skill, as in the crisis of December, 1547, of which some account has already been given,<sup>2</sup> Calvin in general spoke with great simplicity, brevity, and directness. He avoided rhetorical ornament. Clarity and logical strength added an intellectual impressiveness to the weight of his thought, while his evident earnestness of conviction lent an emotional force to his quiet delivery. He spoke slowly, and could therefore easily be followed by those who would take notes. Much of his work as a commentator owed its preservation to the zeal of his auditors, who wrote from his oral delivery what he afterwards prepared for the press.<sup>3</sup> His sermons and lectures always commanded a crowded congregation.

Calvin kept long hours in his study. "He slept little"; by five or six in the morning his books were brought to him in bed and his amanuensis was ready. Much of the morning, even on days on which he preached, he lay on his couch, believing a recumbent position better for his weak digestion; but always at work. After the single meal which constituted his daily repast in the latter part of his life, he would walk for a quarter of an hour, or at most for twice that time, in his room and then return to the labours of the study. Sometimes, chiefly when urged by his friend, he would

---

<sup>1</sup> Colladon, *Opera*, xxi. pp. 108, 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 70, 132; xxix. 238; Kampschulte, ii. 376-378.

play a simple game, quoits in his garden, or "clef" on the table in his living-room.<sup>1</sup> He was not indisposed to good-humoured chaffing. He was not insensible to a pleasant garden or a cheerful outlook from his windows. But his few recreations were briefly enjoyed.

Calvin's acquaintance was vast, but his intimate friends were few. With Farel, Viret, and Bullinger he remained for years in constant correspondence. Beza was to him as a son in his last days.<sup>2</sup> His brother Antoine, the Colladons, Trie, des Gallars, Michel Cop, Laurent de Normandie, a few of the refugees and magistrates, enjoyed his full confidence. His fascination of manner for his friends was always marked. If he had none of the genial *bonhomie* of Luther, he was no misanthrope. His comparative isolation of spirit was that of a man oppressed with multitudinous burdens, compelled to husband his strength to the utmost, of aristocratic tastes, and with little leisure or inclination for anything which did not bear on the accomplishment of his task. With his few familiar friends, however, he stood on terms of cordial intimacy.

From the time of his prolonged illness in the autumn and winter of 1558-59, Calvin's health, never vigorous at best, and long undermined by overwork, anxiety and want of exercise, was evidently gravely impaired. That illness left its mark in a lameness that at times involved

---

<sup>1</sup> Colladon, *Opera*, xxi. pp. 109, 113. Doumergue, iii. 527-563, has made the utmost possible of this side of Calvin's character. In the game of "clef" the keys were pushed on a table, the aim being to bring each contestant's nearest to the further edge without falling off.

<sup>2</sup> "Optimus ille meus parens," Beza styled him. *Letter to Bullinger*, March 6, 1564, *Opera*,

distress; and a yet more serious sequence was manifest in pulmonary hemorrhages. The severe indigestion from which he had suffered since the days when he was an unsparing student at Paris and Orl?ans now increased so as to compel the rigidly abstemious diet, the long hours on the bed, and the semi-invalid life of which some account has been given. His old enemy, protracted headaches, doubtless the result of his digestive weakness, often attacked him.<sup>1</sup> By 1563, Calvin's feeble frame was rapidly breaking. In the autumn he was for two months confined to the house. His indigestion was now marked by severe attacks of colic. He suffered from renal calculus and gout; and other distressing symptoms appeared.<sup>2</sup> He still laboured at his books and correspondence, he still preached and lectured; but with increasing difficulty. The brave spirit was master of the feeble body and he was carried to the familiar pulpit in a chair, when no longer able to walk. But a shortness of breath that seemed to his contemporaries an indication of advancing pulmonary tuberculosis was now manifest. On February 2, 1564, he lectured for the last time in the Academy; four days later he preached his last sermon. For a little longer he attended the Friday "Congregation" where he was not obliged to speak at length. On March 27th, he was carried to the City Hall and appeared before the Little

---

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *letter of October 14, 1560, to Bullinger, Opera*, xviii. 217; Colladon, *Opera*, xxi. 89, 94.

<sup>2</sup> Calvin himself gave a minute account of his symptoms in a letter of February, 1564, to the physicians of Montpellier, *Ibid.*, xx. 252; see, also, Colladon, *Ibid.*, xxi. 94. Doumergue discusses them fully, iii. 509-526.

Council to present his friend, Nicolas Colladon, as rector of the School. At the April communion, which fell on the second, he was present, borne in a chair, and not only partook of the consecrated elements, but joined in singing the psalm as much as his feeble voice would permit.<sup>1</sup>

Calvin felt that his end was near. He was ready and even eager to go. "Lord, how long!" was the exclamation constantly on his lips. He seemed continually in prayer.<sup>2</sup> On April 25th, he made his will, leaving most of his little property to his brother, Antoine, and Antoine's children, but remembering the School and the relief of poor strangers.<sup>3</sup> Two days later, the Little Council appeared before him in his sick-room, and heard from the familiar voice a characteristic exhortation, expressive of gratitude for what they had done for him, of friendship, and of desire for forgiveness for any faults and excess of vehemence on his part; but pointing out clearly their short-comings, since "each has his imperfections," and urging humble dependence upon God.<sup>4</sup> The day following he received the Genevan ministers, and spoke to them a farewell remarkable for its biographic allusions:<sup>5</sup>--

When I first came to this Church it had well-nigh nothing. There was preaching and that is all. The idols were sought

---

- <sup>1</sup> Colladon, *Opera*, xxi. pp. 96-98; Beza, *Ibid.*, p. 161.  
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 104.  
<sup>3</sup> In French, *Opera*, xx. 298; in Latin, *Ibid.*, xxi. 162; in English trans., Schaff, vii. 828.  
<sup>4</sup> *Opera*, ix. 887; xxi. 164; Schaff, vii. 831.  
<sup>5</sup> *Opera*, ix. 891; xxi. 166; Schaff, vii. 833.

-436-

out and burned; but there was no reformation. All was in confusion. That good man Master Guillaume [Farel] and the blind Coraud were indeed here....I have lived in marvellous combats here. I have been saluted in mockery of an evening by fifty or sixty gun-shots before my door. Fancy how that could shock a poor student, timid as I am and as I confess I have always been. After that I was hunted from this city and betook myself to Strassburg. Having dwelt there some time, I was recalled, but I had no less difficulty than before in seeking to fulfil my office. They set dogs on me, crying, "Scoundrel," and my cloak and legs were seized. I went to the Council of Two Hundred when they were fighting,<sup>1</sup>...and when I entered they said to me, "Sir, withdraw, it is not with you we have to do." I said to them, "No, I shall not! Go on, rascals, kill me and my blood will witness against you, and even these benches will require it."...I have had many faults which you have had to endure, and all that I have done is of no value. The wicked will seize upon that word, but I repeat that all that I have done is of no value, and that I am a miserable creature. But, if I may say so, I have meant well, my faults have always displeased me, and the root of the fear of God has been in my heart. You can say that the wish has been good; and I beg you that the ill be pardoned, but if there has been good in it that you will conform to it and follow it.

As concerns my doctrine: I have taught faithfully, and God has given me grace to write. I have done it with the utmost fidelity, and have not to my knowledge corrupted or twisted a single passage of the Scriptures; and when I could have drawn out a far-fetched meaning, if I had studied subtilty, I have put that [temptation] under foot and have

---

<sup>1</sup> He refers to the tumult of December, 1547, *ante*, p. 309.

-437-

always studied simplicity. I have written nothing through hatred against any one, but have always set before me faithfully what I have thought to be for the glory of God.

These are the words of one already much broken by illness, dwelling in memory on the perils of the past, which had burned their bitterness into his soul; but they speak forth Calvin's characteristic humility before God, his conscious rectitude toward men, and his ruling motive to exalt the divine will. The sensitive, easily wounded spirit, and the unbending determination of purpose, so curiously combined in him, equally appear in them.

From this farewell address to his ministerial associates to his death nearly a month elapsed. On May 2d, Calvin wrote to his well-tried friend Farel the last letter he was ever to send to any correspondent:<sup>1</sup>--

Farewell, best and truest brother. If God wills that you remain the survivor, live mindful of our union, which has been useful to the Church of God, so that its fruit abides for us in

heaven. I am unwilling that you weary yourself for my sake, for I draw breath with difficulty, and constantly await its failing me. It is enough that I live and die unto Christ, who is gain to those who are His in life and in death. Again, farewell, [to you] together with the brethren.

In spite of the infirmities of age,<sup>2</sup> of which Calvin showed such tender consideration in this letter, Farel

---

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xx. 302.

<sup>2</sup> Farel was seventy-five; but seemed older to his friends, e.g. Colladon, *Opera*, xxi. 103.

-438-

could not let his younger associate pass from earthly companionship without looking upon Calvin's face once more. He hastened from Neuchâtel, visited and supped with Calvin, and preached, under the burden of his grief, to the people of Geneva. But the sands of Calvin's life had not yet quite run out. On May 19th, the day when the Genevan ministers fulfilled the curious quarterly duty of mutual criticism which Calvin had made part of the ecclesiastical constitution, he had them assemble at his house, was carried to them in a chair, spoke briefly with them, and feebly tried to join in the common meal with which it was the amicable custom to close the trying session. It was a final effort to discharge his ministerial duty and to express his fraternal regard. He never rose from his bed again.

On Saturday, May 27, 1564, about eight in the evening, the end came. Conscious and intelligent to the last, he fell peacefully asleep. The next day, as the *Ordonnances* provided,<sup>1</sup> they buried his body about two in the afternoon, wrapped in a shroud and encased in a plain wooden coffin, without pomp or elaborate ceremony "in the common cemetery called Plain-palais," his grave being marked by a simple mound like that of his humbler associates in death. It was his wish that his burial should be thus modest, and that no gravestone should mark his resting-place; but he could not prevent, nor would he have desired to prevent, the spontaneous outpourings of the inhabitants of Geneva, pastors, professors, magistrates, and citizens, to do him

---

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xa. 27.

-439-

honour at his burial.<sup>1</sup> And there in some now undeterminable spot in the ancient Genevan acre of God rests all that was mortal of the reformer.

Calvin was not fifty-five years of age. The thought is natural that his career was prematurely cut short, and that had he lived he might have done much more. Yet, to a degree unusual even in the experience of longlived men, his was already a completed work, and it may well be doubted whether a score of years of added life would have increased materially its power and significance. His theological system had long been complete. His conceptions of the Church and of its relations to the State had not merely long been familiar to the public, but had been as fully realised in Genevan practice as it was possible to anticipate that they would ever be. His system of discipline was in high efficiency. The Genevan schools had been crowned by the Academy. His ideal of the Reformation had become that of a large part of western Europe,

and had extended to Germany, Poland, and Hungary; but its guidance had passed beyond the control of any one man, however gifted. Even in Geneva, it was probably desirable that the further direction of the ecclesiastical life of the city should come under more conciliatory leadership. The battle had been fought, as he alone could fight it. Another, devoted to his ideals but less warlike, such as Beza, could now better maintain what had been won. Calvin's work was essentially finished.

Calvin's character is one of lights and shadows. He

---

<sup>1</sup> Colladon, *Opera*, xxi. 106; Beza, *Ibid.*, p. 169. A comparatively modern stone bearing the letters J. C. has been placed as a memorial.

-440-

was the son of his age and of the land of his birth. He was a lawyer by training. With the clarity of mind native to the Frenchman, he combined the skill of the advocate and the reverence for system of the jurist. He made all his experiences and learning tributary to his development. As a recent biographer has well said of him:<sup>1</sup>--

Few men may have changed less; but few also have developed more. Every crisis in his career taught him something, and so enhanced his capacity. His studies of Stoicism showed him the value of morals; and he learned how to emphasise the sterner ethical qualities as well as the humaner, and the more clement by the side of the higher, public virtues. His early Humanism made him a scholar and an exegete, a master of elegant Latinity, of lucid and incisive speech, of a graphic pen, and historical imagination. His juristic studies gave him an idea of law, through which he interpreted the more abstract notions of theology, and a love of order, which compelled him to organise his Church. His imagination, playing upon the primitive Christian literature, helped him to see the religion Jesus instituted as Jesus Himself saw it; while the forces visible around him--the superstitions, the regnant and unreproved vices, the people so quickly sinning and so easily forgiven, the relics so innumerable and so fictitious, the acts and articles of worship, and especially the Sacraments deified and turned into substitutes for Deity--induced him to judge the system that claimed to be the sole interpreter and representative of Christ as a crafty compound of falsehood and truth.

---

<sup>1</sup> A. M. Fairbairn, in *The Cambridge Modern History*, ii. 363.

-441-

That he was a creative theologian of the highest rank may well be questioned. He owed much to Augustine, and to the type of thought which Scotus had impressed on the later middle ages. His debt to Bucer was large. Without Luther his work could not have been done. But as a systematiser of Christian truth he stood without a rival in his century. He best taught men the answer to make to Roman claims; and, under his logic, theology attained once more a classic presentation. Yet he was much more than a theologian. As an organiser he was at his best, at least in intention. To quote Fairbairn's happy phrase, he sought to answer the question: "How could the Church be made not simply an institution for the worship of God, but an agency for the making of men fit to worship Him?"<sup>1</sup> His answer had its evident faults. His methods were

largely those of inquisitorial discipline, of State support, of force; but his answer was the best given in his age.

Calvin's own judgment of himself was that he was shy and timid by nature. To this opinion he often gave expression;<sup>2</sup> and there is no reason to doubt its truth as an analysis of his inward feeling. But his moral, and even his physical, courage is beyond doubt. Once convinced of the rightfulness of a course of action, no perils led him to swerve from its pursuit. The spirit was master of the flesh and of the mind. His chief faults were a supersensitive self-consciousness which led him to feel slights and criticisms far too keenly, and a quickness of temper which often overcame him to the loss of

---

<sup>1</sup> *The Cambridge Modern History*, ii. p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *Opera*, xxi. 102; xxxi. 21-24.

-442-

self-control. Of this infirmity a characteristic example has already been cited.<sup>1</sup> He was himself fully conscious of the weakness, and it was no less clearly recognised by his friends.<sup>2</sup> His nerves, racked by constant struggle and by long illness, were easily rasped. In his lightly aroused exasperation, he often expressed himself, even to his intimates, with acerbity. To his enemies, for example to Castellio and Servetus, he was hard and vindictive. Much of this asperity was the result of semi-invalidism; but much, also, was the fruit of the conviction--a source, indeed, in no small degree of his strength--that his work was fully that of God. So intense was this identification of his own interests with those of the Master he would serve, that he thanked his physician for aid in recovery from illness less on his personal account than as a service rendered to the Church; and he regarded attacks upon himself as a danger to the cause of the Gospel.<sup>3</sup> It was easy for such a temperament to see in a criticism a serious offence and in an opponent an enemy of God.

Calvin undoubtedly appeared in different aspects to his contemporaries, and this diversity has led ever since his time to widely various estimates of his character. To his opponents he was the stern, unrelenting enemy,--the "king," "pope" or "calif." To the majority of his supporters he was the admired leader, the matchless logician, the wise commander in a great cause, the inspirer of courage and of martyr-zeal; but a figure

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Colladon, *Opera*, xxi. 117; Beza, *Ibid.*, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> *Opera*, xii. 68; xiii. 598; compare Kampschulte, ii. 383.

-443-

somewhat distant and awesome. To his intimates, he was the affectionate, if quick-tempered and sometimes censorious friend--a man to be loved as well as revered.

But whether friend, disciple, or foe, none could fail to recognise Calvin's transcendent ability. He might be slandered, the worst of motives might be imputed to him by traducers, but none who knew him could doubt his devotion to his cause. With all his frequent arrogance towards men, Calvin's spirit was humble towards God. To do and to teach His will was undoubtedly

his prime intention; and if Calvin too often identified the divine purpose with his own wishes the error does not detract from the sincerity of his consecration. He submitted to his long bodily enfeeblement as from the wise hand of God. In the crises of his life, his conversion, his first settlement in Geneva, and in his return to the difficult ministry in that turbulent city, he sacrificed ease, scholarly honours, and personal inclination to what he deemed the imperative voice of God. He put God first. In the strength of the conviction that God had chosen his task, he fought his battles and did his work. It is this crowning trait that was expressed in the declaration of the Genevan Little Council, standing under the shadow of his recent death: "God gave him a character of great majesty,"<sup>1</sup>--and that must ever remain Calvin's highest claim to personal regard.

---

<sup>1</sup> R. St?helin, in Hauck *Realencyklop?die*, iii. 683.

-444-

## INDEX

### A

Academy, the, of Geneva, [360](#)[367](#).  
Ailli, Pierre d', [5](#), [8](#).  
Aiscelin, Gilles, [36](#).  
Alciati, Andrea, [51](#), [52](#), [59](#).  
Aleandro, Girolamo, [6](#).  
Aliodi, Claude, [199](#), [200](#).  
Amadeus V., of Savoy, [160](#).  
Amadeus VIII., of Savoy, [164](#).  
Amboise, the Tumult of, [386](#).  
Ameaux, Benofte, [295](#).  
Ameaux, Pierre, case of, [295](#)[297](#), [302](#), [325](#), [329](#).  
Anabaptists, in Geneva, [201](#), [202](#), Calvin wins, [221](#); mentioned, [124](#).  
Andelot, Fran?ois d', [386](#).  
Angoul?me, Calvin in, [109](#)-[111](#).  
Angoul?me, Marguerite d', see Marguerite.  
Anthony of Navarre, [379](#), [386](#).  
Aquinas, Thomas, [5](#), [8](#).  
Arande, Michel d', [12](#).  
Arneys, Antoine, [330](#), [331](#).  
Arnoullet, Balthasar, [330](#).  
Artichauds, the, Party in Geneva, [255](#)-[257](#), [281](#), [292](#), [353](#).  
Articles, the Genevan, of 1537, [184](#)-[192](#).  
Aubert, Henri, [351](#).  
Audin, Vincent, [xiii](#).  
Augustine, [416](#), [417](#), [423](#).

### B

Babinot, Albert, [121](#).  
Bab?uf, Fran?ois No?l, [21](#).  
Baduel, Claude, [365](#).  
Balard, Jean, [178](#), [189](#), [265](#).

Baudoin, François, [42](#).  
 Baum, Johann Wilhelm, [xi](#).  
 Baum, Pierre de la, Bishop of Geneva, [164-166](#), [171](#), [172](#), [175](#).  
 Beaugency, the Count of, [63](#).  
 B?da, No?l, Parisian theologian, [11](#), [36](#), [37](#), [49](#), [67](#).  
 B?rauld, François, [362](#), [363](#).  
 Bern, Canton of, alliance with Geneva, [165](#); favors Protestantism, [167](#); its halting policy, [175](#); aids Genevan independence, [176](#); supports Protestantism in Lausanne, [183](#), [196](#); aids Caroli, [196](#); declares Calvin orthodox on the Trinity, [200](#); hampers Calvin's Genevan work, [205-208](#); the Bernese "ceremonies" in Geneva, [208-213](#); tries to aid Calvin, [213-215](#), [248](#), [251](#); in quarrel with Geneva, [253-255](#); opposes Servetus, [340](#); supports Calvin's opponents, [309](#), [346](#), [347](#); aids the Perrinists, [353](#), [356](#), [357](#); opposes Genevan discipline at Lausanne, [362](#); loses territory, [373](#).  
 Bernard, Jacques, [245](#), [257](#), [258](#), [284](#), [285](#).  
 Berquin, Louis de, the Protestant martyr, [9](#), [15](#), [16](#), [104](#).  
 Berthelier, François Daniel, [311](#), [354](#).  
 Berthelier, Philibert, the elder, Genevan patriot, [165](#), [311](#).  
 Berthelier, Philibert, the younger, Genevan party leader, Bolsec's story of, [117](#); character and aims, [311-314](#); in the case of Servetus, [333](#), [334](#), [336](#); contest regarding excommunication, [335-340](#), [344](#), [345](#); fears French refugees, [348-](#)

-445-

Berthelier--Continued. [350](#); fall and condemnation, [350-356](#).  
 Beveridge, Henry, [xii](#).  
 Beza, Theodore, *Life of Calvin*, [xii](#); on Calvin's censoriousness, [42](#); on Calvin's studies and ill-health, [48](#); on Calvin's conversion, [46](#), [79](#), [92](#); on Calvin's activity in Angoul?me, [111](#); on Calvin's attitude toward the plaguestricken, [287](#); arrival in Geneva, [314](#); teaches in Lausanne, [362](#); settles in Geneva, [363](#); at the Colloquy of Poissy, [387](#); personal relations to Calvin, [379](#), [434](#); on Calvin's industry, [432](#); succeeds Calvin, [440](#).  
 Blanchet, Pierre, [285](#), [286](#).  
 Blaurer, Ambrose, [379](#).  
 Bodley, Thomas, [366](#).  
 Boisseau, Jean, [121](#), [122](#).  
 Bolsec, J?r?me Herm?s, charges against Calvin, [116-119](#); quarrel with Calvin, [315-320](#); banished, [319](#); mentioned, [335](#), [340](#), [345](#).  
 Bonaventura, [5](#).  
 Bonna, Pierre, [351](#).  
 Bonnet, Jules, [xii](#).  
 Bouchefort, Jean de, [151](#).  
 Bourges, University of, [51](#).  
 Boussiron, François, [153](#), [154](#).  
 Bray, Guy de, [388](#).  
 Brazil, colony in, [401](#).  
 Bri?onnet, Guillaume, Bishop of Meaux, reformatory work, [914](#); mentioned, [93](#), [168](#), [195](#).  
 Bucer, Martin, Calvin's letter to, [65](#), [66](#); Calvin's theological indebtedness to, [147-149](#); suspects Calvin temporarily, [201](#); criticises Calvin, [215](#); invites him to Strassburg, [217](#);

liturgy, [222](#); theological instruction, [227](#); in Calvin's dispute with Caroli, [231](#), [232](#); on Calvin's marriage, [235](#); at the Colloquies, [239](#), [240](#); Calvin's sympathy with, [260](#), [262](#); mentioned, [103](#), [184379](#), [442](#).

Bud?, Fran?ois, [348](#), [349](#).

Bud?, Guillaume, [7](#), [9](#), [54](#).

Bud?, Jean, [348](#), [349](#).

Bullinger, Heinrich, of Z?rich, acquaintance with Calvin begins, [127](#); on church-discipline, [192](#), [344](#); letter from Haller, [372](#); the Z?rich Consensus, [395](#)-397; Calvin's intimacy with, [354](#), [379](#), [434](#).

Bungener, F?lix, [xiii](#).

Bure, Idelette de, Calvin's wife, [236](#), [237](#).

## C

C?sar, Julius, [159](#).

Calvin, the, family, [22](#).

Calvin, Antoine, brother of John, early life, [25](#)-27; beneficed, [30](#); at Paris, [55](#); sale of lands, [157](#); accompanies John to Geneva, [158](#); at Strassburg, [233](#), [235](#); a burgher of Geneva, [300](#); divorce, [357](#); gift through, [373](#); remembered in brother's will, [436](#); mentioned, [434](#).

Calvin, Charles, brother of John, early life, [25](#), [26](#), [29](#); beneficed, [30](#); pecuniary negligence, [55](#); quarrel with the Noyon Chapter, [56](#); accused of heresy, [57](#), [114](#); possible influence on his brother, [81](#)-83; sale of lands, [157](#); dies excommunicate, [57](#);

Calvin, G?rard, see Cauvin.

Calvin, Jacques, Calvin's son, [237](#).

Calvin, Marie, see Cauvin.

Calvin, John, descent, [22](#)-26; birth, [26](#); at school in Noyon, [27](#); friendship with the Hangest family, [27](#); beneficed, [29](#), [43](#); early student life in Paris, [30](#)-43; friendships, [39](#)-41, [49](#), [51](#), [109](#)-111, [121](#), [127](#); alleged censoriousness, [42](#); turns to study of Law, [44](#), [47](#); at Orl?ans, [47](#); at Bourges, [51](#); begins Greek, [52](#); death of his

-446-

Calvin--Continued. father, [52](#); a humanist in Paris, [53](#), [55](#); the *Commentary on Seneca*, [57](#)-62, [69](#), [79](#), [88](#), [95](#); second stay in Orl?ans, [62](#)65; at Noyon in 1533, [66](#); third stay in Paris, [66](#); conversion, [66](#)-105; relation to Cop's Address, [68](#), [82](#), [83](#)-89, [95](#)-101, [105](#); flees from Paris, [107](#), [108](#); at Angoul?me, [108](#)-111, [120](#); begins the *Institutes*, [111](#); visits Le F?vre, [112](#); resigns his benefices, [113](#), [114](#); imprisoned at Noyon, [115](#); legend of his branding, [116](#)-119; at Poitiers, [120](#)-123; administration of the Supper, [122](#); at Orl?ans, the *Psychopannychia*, [123](#)-125; flight from France, [126](#); life at Basel, [127](#), [128](#); *Prefaces* to Oliv?tan's translation of the Bible, [128](#); first edition of the *Institutes*, [128](#)149; *Letter* to King Francis, [128](#), [130](#), [132](#)-136; doctrine of the *Institutes*, [136](#)-146; indebtedness to older theologians, [146](#)-49; journey to Italy, [150](#)-157; attitude toward Roman worship, [154](#)-156, [380](#), [381](#); was he in Aosta? [156](#); last visit to Paris, [157](#); arrival in Geneva, [158](#); begins work there, [182](#)-184; at Lausanne, [183](#); the Genevan *Articles* of 1537, [184](#)-192; the *Catechism* of 1537, [184](#), [193](#); the Genevan Confession, [184](#), [194](#), [204](#), [205](#); attacked by Caroli, [195](#)-201; accused of Arianism, [197](#)-201; disputes with Anabaptists, [201](#), [202](#); difficulties at Geneva, [205](#)-211; banished from Geneva, [211](#)215; life in Strassburg, [216](#)244; poverty, [219](#), [220](#); pastor of French Church, [220](#); wins Anabaptists, [221](#); his liturgy, [221](#)-225; hymns, [225](#), [226](#); a teacher of theology, [227](#), [228](#); the *Institutes* revised, 1539, [229](#); *Treatise on the Supper*, [230](#); again in controversy with Caroli, [230](#)-233; his marriage, [233](#)-237; his child, [237](#); at the

Colloquies, [238-243](#); acquaintance with Melanchthon, [238-242](#); opinion of Eck, [240](#); thanked by Marguerite d'Angoulême, [242](#); relations with Luther, [243](#), [244](#); generous attitude toward Geneva, [246-250](#); his *Reply to Sadoletto*, [73-75](#), [78](#), [243](#), [250-252](#); invited to return to Geneva, [258](#)<sup>262</sup>; provided with house and salary, [263](#), [264](#); the *Ordonnances*, [265-274](#); the *Catechism* of 1542, [275](#); was he a civil legislator? [275-277](#); his position in Geneva, [278](#); rigor, [281-283](#); pastoral changes effected, [285-287](#); the plague in Geneva, [286-288](#); dispute with Castellio, [288-291](#); struggle with rising factions, [292-324](#); writes against the "Spirituels," [294](#); the case of Ameaux, [295](#)<sup>297</sup>; tavern regulation, [297](#); plays, [298](#); baptismal names, [299](#); in quarrel with Perrin and the Favres, [30-314](#); the case of Gruet, [306](#), [307](#); Maigret, [308-310](#); his personal courage, [309](#); dispute with Bolsec regarding predestination, [315-320](#); dispute with Trolliet, [320](#), [321](#); in peril of the loss of his cause, [322-324](#); commentaries and treatises from 1540 to 1553, [323](#), [324](#); the contest with Servetus, [325](#)<sup>344</sup>; his *Refutation of the Errors of Servetus*, [343](#); attacked by Castellio, [343](#); struggle over Berthelier's excommunication, [338-340](#), [344](#), [345](#); his orthodoxy questioned, [345-347](#); overthrow of the Perrinists, [350-356](#); difficulties with Bern, [356](#); domestic trials, [357](#); care

-447-

Calvin--Continued. for Genevan industries, [359](#); favors interest-taking, [359](#); foundation of the Academy, [360-367](#); illness of 1558-59, [367](#), [368](#); edition of the *Institutes* of 1559, [368](#); his later commentaries, [369](#), [370](#); favors from the Genevan government, [373-375](#); his acquaintance and correspondence, [378](#)<sup>380</sup>; relations to France, [380](#)<sup>387</sup>; to the Netherlands, [387](#), [388](#); to England, and Scotland, [388-393](#); to the Swiss churches, [395-397](#); the Zürich Consensus, *ibid.*; controversies with Westphal and Hesshusen, [75](#), [398](#); relations to Germany, [398-401](#); missions and Protestant union, [401](#), [402](#); services to civil liberty, [403-408](#); his theology, [409-428](#); his doctrine of God, [409](#), [410](#); the Scriptures, [410-412](#); of man, [412](#), [413](#); salvation, [413-415](#); predestination, [415-418](#); the Church, [418-421](#); the Sacraments, [421-424](#); value of his theology, [428](#); his last days, [429-444](#); dress, property, and appearance, [430](#), [431](#); industry, [431-433](#); oratory, [433](#); amusements, [434](#); acquaintances, [434](#); long ill-health, [48](#), [182](#), [228](#), [229](#), [312](#), [367](#), [368](#), [434-436](#); last activities, [435](#)<sup>437</sup>; will, [26](#), [436](#); last letter, [435](#); death, [439](#); burial, [439](#), [440](#); work not unfinished, [440](#); character, [440-444](#).

Calvin, John, not the reformer, [118](#).

Capito, Wolfgang, [217](#), [218](#), [227](#), [260](#), [326](#).

Caraccioli, Galeazzo, [348](#).

Caroli, Pierre, disputes in Geneva, [173](#); controversies with Calvin, [195-201](#), [209](#), [230](#)<sup>233</sup>, [329](#).

Castellio, S<sup>t</sup>bastien, courage of, [286](#); quarrel with Calvin, [288](#)<sup>291</sup>; criticises the death of Servetus, [291](#), [343](#), [345](#); mentioned, [316](#), [361](#), [443](#).

Catechisms, Genevan, of 1537, [184](#), [193](#); of 1542, [275](#).

Catherine de' Medici, [418](#).

Cauvin, G<sup>er</sup>ard, Calvin's father, career, [23-30](#); wishes his son to study law, [44](#), [71](#); quarrel with the Noyon Chapter, [45](#), [46](#); influence, [81-83](#), [91](#), [92](#); death, [52](#); mentioned, [40](#).

Cauvin, Jacques, [23](#).

Cauvin, Marie, [26](#), [158](#), [233](#).

Cauvin, Richard, [23](#), [31](#).

Chaillou, Antoine, iii.

Champereaux, Aim?, [284](#), [291](#).  
 Champion, Antoine, [164](#).  
 Chandieu, Antoine, [385](#).  
 Chapeaurouge, Ami de, [203](#), [206](#), [254](#).  
 Chappuis, Jean, [173](#), [299](#).  
 Charlemagne, [18](#).  
 Charles V., Emperor, union efforts, [238](#)-242;  
 mentioned, [4](#), [157](#), [175](#), [183](#), [303](#), [308](#), [312](#), [323](#).  
 Charles III., of Savoy, [165](#).  
 Chauvet, Raimond, [291](#).  
 Chevalier, Antoine, [364](#).  
 Choisy, Eugene, [xvi](#).  
 Chrestien, Florent, [366](#).  
 Church, Calvin's doctrine of, [418](#)-421.  
 Colladon, Germain, [333](#), [348](#), [349](#), [434](#).  
 Colladon, Nicolas, settles in Geneva, [314](#); friendship for Calvin, [348](#), [434](#); *Life of Calvin*, [xii](#); on Calvin's family, [25](#); on Olivetan's influence, [47](#), [79](#); on Calvin's studious habits, [48](#); on authorship of Cop's address, [100](#); on letters of 1536-37, [154](#).  
 Collège of Geneva, see Academy.  
 Coligny, Admiral, [379](#), [386](#).  
*Compagnie*, the *Venerable*, [269](#), [289](#), [309](#), [315](#), [363](#), [385](#).  
 Comparet, the Brothers, [351](#)-355.

-448-

Confession of Faith, the Genevan, of 1537, 194, 204, 205.

Congregation, the Genevan, 269, 315, 316, 319, 435.

Connam, François de, 50.

Consistory, the Genevan, 271, 281-283, 301-304, 306, 309, 311, 322, 338-340, 344, 345, 429, 432.

Cop, Guillaume, 39, 54.

Cop, Michel, 40, 291, 298, 434.

Cop, Nicolas, friendship for Calvin, 40, 55, 68, 100, 101, 107; his Address, 68, 98-105; also, 83-86, 89, 94, 95, 113, 114, 119; flight from Paris, 106, 107, 126.

Coppin, "Spirituel," 293.

Coraud, ?lie, at Paris, 107, 108; work in Geneva, 200-207; banished, 212, 213; death, 217; mentioned, 245, 248.

Cordier, Mathurin, Calvin's teacher, 34; trials in Geneva, 247; teacher in Lausanne, 362; last days at Geneva, 364; mentioned, 37, 41, 49, 54, 259, 289, 361.

Corne, Amblard, 301.

Cornelius, Carl Adolf, xiv, xvi.  
Costan, Charles, 26.  
Costan, Jeanne, 26.  
Courtin, Michel, 46.  
Coverdale, Miles, 379.  
Cox, Richard, 379.  
Cranmer, Thomas, Archbishop, 379, 389, 403.  
Crespin, Jean, 349.  
Cunitz, Edouard, ix.  
Curtet, Jean, 203, 204.  
Czenger, Confession of, 395.

## D

Daguet, Pierre, 357-  
Dan?s, Pierre, 55, 57.  
Daniel, Fran?ois, 50, 51, 53, 55, 62, 63, 66, 88, 93, 110.  
Desfosses, Pernet, 204.  
Desmoulins, Camille, 21.  
Desmay, Jacques, 117, 118,  
Doumergue, ?mile, Life of Calvin, xvii; on Calvin's Seneca, 61; letter to Bucer, 65; on Calvin's conversion, 87, 89, 93; on Calvin's imprisonment, 115; on Bolsec's calumny, 116118.  
Doyneau, Fran?ois, 121  
Drelincourt, Charles, 118.  
Duchemin, Nicolas, 50, 52, 53, 55, 56, 59, 63, 88, 93, 154.  
Duguie, Antoine de la, 121.  
Dumont, Claude, 351.

Duns Scotus, see Scotus.

Dyer, Thomas H., xiii.

## E

Eck, Johann Maier of, 240, 242,

Edward VI., of England, 348, 379, 389, 391.

Église, Philippe de l', 285, 295.

Eidguenots, Genevan party, 202.

Elizabeth, of England, 364, 390.

Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, 356, 371-373.

Eppeville, 30.

Erasmus, Desiderius, Cop's address borrows from, 102, 105; mentioned, 8, 37, 39, 40, 43, 109, 168.

Erichson, Alfred, xi, 222.

Ercole, II., of Ferrara, 150.

Estienne, Robert, 314.

Estoile, Pierre Taisan de l', 47, 51, 52.

## F

Fabri, Adh mar, Bishop, 160.

Fabri, Christopher, 235, 249, 259.

Fabri, Jean, 276.

Fairbairn, Andrew Martin, xviii, 61, 441, 442.

Faith, Calvin's doctrine of, 414, 415.

Falais, the Sieur de, 315, 317.

Farel, Guillaume, early history, 9, 12, 15, 168; acquaintance

Farel--Continued.

with Calvin, 127; early work in Geneva, 169-174, 177-181; induces Calvin to stay, 158, 181, 182; the Articles of 1537, 184-192; the Confession, 184, 194, 204, 205; attacked by Caroli, 195-201; disputes with Anabaptists, 201, 202; trials and banishment from Geneva, 205-213; pastor in Neuchâtel, 217; relations to Genevan liturgy, 223-225; condones Caroli, 230-232; consulted regarding Calvin's marriage, 233-236; the "Guillermin" party, 246; reconciliation with Geneva, 248, 249; furthers Calvin's return to Geneva, 258-262; cannot himself return, 284; death of his nephew, 287; commends Castellio, 288; condemns Bolsec, 319; Calvin's declaration regarding Servetus, 329, 333; at Servetus's death, 341; Calvin's letters to, 379; farewell to Calvin, 438, 439.

Favre, Franchequine, 301-303, 306, 308.

Favre, François, 301-303, 306, 308.

Favre, Gaspard, 301-303.

Féray, Claude, 241, 261.

Ferron, Jean, 285.

Fontaine, Nicolas de la, 333, 335.

Forge, Estienne de la, 79, 119, 120, 131.

Fortet, the Collège, 54, 107.

Foster, Herbert Darling, 159, 163.

Fouquet, François, 121.

France, the Collège de, 7, 54, 82.

Francis I., of France, character, 2; patron of learning, 7, 37, 54; relations to Le Fèvre and Berquin, 14, 15, was Calvin's Seneca intended to influence him? 61; interferes in scholastic quarrels of 1533, 67; interferes after Cop's address, 107; Calvin's letter to, 128, 130, 132-136, 252, 378; invites Melancthon to France, 157; intrigues regarding Geneva, 175, 207; thanks Calvin, 242.

Francis II., of France, 372, 386, 387.

Frederick III., the Elector, 379, 399, 400.

Froment, Antoine, work in Geneva, 170.

Furbity, Guy, 171.

## G

Galiffe, Jacques August, xiv.

Galiffe, Jean Barth?lemy Gaifre, xiv.

Gallars, Nicolas des, 291, 434.

Geneston, Matthieu, 285, 291.

Geneva, till Calvin's coming, 159-181; the counts, bishops, and vicedominus, 160 ; the "Franchises," 160; the General Assembly, 160, 166, 178; the councils, 160, 161, 166, 178, 179; commercial and religious characteristics, 161-164; the "Eidguenots" and "Mamelouks," 165; alliance with Freiburg and Bern, 165; reformatory movements, 166181; gains independence, 176; sumptuary regulations, 178; state at Calvin's coming, 181; Calvin's early work in, 182215; the Articles of 1537, 184192; the Catechism of 1537, 184, 193; the Confession, 194, 204, 205; Anabaptists in, 201, 202; party divisions in, 202208; Bernese "ceremonies" in, 208-213; Calvin banished, 211-213; Calvin's return made possible, 245-262; "Guillermans," 246-248, 255-258; "Artichauds," 255-257; quarrel with Bern over lands

-450-

Geneva--Continued. of Saint-Victor, 253, 257; Calvin returns, 258-262; his home and salary, 263, 264; the Ordonnances, 265-274; the V?n?rable Compagnie, 269; the Consistory, 271; the Catechism of 1542, 275; recodification of laws, 275-277; reconciliation with Bern, 154244, 277, 278; was it a theocracy? 279; rigorous government, 281-283; the plague in, 286-288; parties in 1545, 192; case of Ameaux, 295-297; regulation of taverns, 297; plays, 298; baptismal names, 299; the refugees in, 300, 313, 314; Perrin and the Favres, 301-314; the Arquebusiers, 304; case of Gruet, 306, 307; Perrin and Maigret, 308-310; case of Bolsec, 315-320; approves the Institutes, 321; Perrin in power, 322-324; Servetus, 332342; contest over Berthelier's excommunication, 338-340; growing power of French refugees, 348, 350, 353; overthrow of the Perrinists, 350356; Calvin aids industrial development, 359; foundation of the Academy, 360-367; in political peril, 370-373; honors to Calvin, 373-375; Knox's estimate of 377; last honors to Calvin, 436-440, 444.

Gen?ve, Claude, 354.

Geroult, Guillaume, 330.

Gerson, Jean Charlier, 5.

God, Calvin's doctrine of, 409, 410.  
Goetz, Walter, xiv.  
Goulaz, Jean, 203, 204.  
Grindal, Edmund, Archbishop, 379.  
Gropper, Johann, 242.  
Gryn?us, Simon, 231, 379.  
Gruet, Jacques, 295, 306, 307.  
Guillermins, the, 246-248, 255258, 265, 269, 281.

## H

Hagenau, Colloquy at, 238, 240.  
Haller, Berthold, 103.  
Haller, Johann, 372, 379.  
Hangest, family of, 39, 41.  
Hangest, Adrien de, 27.  
Hangest, Charles de, Bishop of Noyon, 20, 45.  
Hangest, Claude de, 27, 28, 45, 58.  
Hangest, Ives de, 28.  
Hangest, Jean de, Bishop of Noyon, 20, 45, 53.  
Hangest, Joachim de, 28.  
Hangest, Louis de, 27.  
Harvey, William, 327.  
Hedio, Kaspar, 218, 227, 260, 379.  
Heidelberg, Catechism of, 399, 400.  
Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, 7.

Henry II., of France, persecution under, 382, 386; effect of his death, 372; mentioned, 305, 314, 371, 418.

Henry, Paul, Life of Calvin, xiii; on Calvin's Seneca, 61.

Herminjard, Aim? Louis, editor, xii.

Hermonymus, George, 9.

Hesshusen, Tilemann, 398, 399, 421.

Hooper, John, Bishop, 379.

Hugh, King of France, 19.

Hugues, Bezanson, 165.

Huguenots, the, Calvin's relations to, 380-388; their Confession, 385.

Huss, John, 419.

## I

Institutes, the, edition of 1536, 111, 128-149; edition of 1539, 229; edition of 1559, 368, 369;

-451-

Institutes--Continued. used in England, [391](#); its influence, [377](#), [425](#).

## J

James I., of England, [390](#), [407](#).

Jehannet, [151](#), [152](#).

John of Savoy, Bishop, [164](#), [165](#).

John Casimir, Elector, [400](#).

Jonas, Justus, [379](#).

Junius, Francis, [366](#).

Jussie, Jeanne de, [169](#), [170](#), [174](#).

## K

Kampschulte, Friedrich Wilhelm, writings, [xiv](#); on Calvin's *Seneca*, [61](#); on Calvin's conversion, [80](#), [81](#); on calumny against Calvin, [118](#).

Klebitz, Wilhelm, [399](#).

Klein, Catherine, [127](#).

Knox, John, relations to Calvin, [379](#), [390-393](#); estimate of Geneva, [377](#).

Kuntz, Peter, Bernese minister, [211](#), [214](#), [248](#), [251](#).

## L

Lambert, Denis, [183](#).

Lambert, Jean, [265](#).  
 Lang, August, writings, [xvi](#); on Calvin's conversion, [85](#), [86](#), [95](#); on Cop's address, [99](#), [101](#), [102](#); on Calvin's imprisonment, [115](#).  
 Lange, Jean, [346](#).  
 Lasco, John ?, [379](#), [394](#).  
 Lasius, Balthasar, [132](#).  
 Lausanne, Protestantism introduced into, [183](#); meeting with Caroli in, [196](#), [197](#); the school at, [362](#); ecclesiastical discipline in, *ibid.*; the "Five Scholars" of, [382](#).  
 Le Clerc, Jean, [13](#).  
 Lecoultre, Henri, on Calvin's *Seneca*, [58-61](#), [96](#); on his conversion, [83](#), [84](#).  
 Lect, Antoine, [301](#).  
 Le F?vre, Jacques, influence and character, [7](#), [9-15](#), [22](#); attacked, [36](#), [37](#); Calvin's visit to, [112](#); mentioned, [82](#), [89](#), [93](#), [109](#), [168](#), [170](#), [195](#).  
 Lef?vre, Robert, [21](#).  
 Lefranc, Abel, writings, [xv](#); on Calvin's conversion, [82](#); on calumny against Calvin, [116](#)[118](#).  
 Le Franc, Jeanne, Calvin's mother, [24-26](#).  
 Leo X., Pope, [3](#).  
 Le Vasseur, Jacques, [118](#)  
 Lewis IV., Elector, [400](#).  
 Libertines, alleged party in Geneva, [293-295](#).  
 Liberty, civil, debt to Calvin, [403-408](#).  
 Liturgy, Calvin's, [221-226](#).  
 Lobstein, Paul, [xi](#).  
 Loyola, Ignatius, [36](#).  
 Lullin, Jean, [206](#), [254](#).  
 Luneburg, the Duke of, [240](#).  
 Luther, Martin, influence on Calvin, [76](#); Cop's Address uses his sermon, [103](#); Calvin's indebtedness to, and sympathy with, [146](#), [147](#), [396](#), [421-424](#); relations with Calvin, [243](#), [244](#); mentioned, [1](#), [6](#), [10](#), [218](#), [416](#), [434](#).

## M

Maigret, Laurent, [308-310](#).  
 Maisonneuve, Jean Baudichon de la, [351](#).  
 "Mamelouks," Geneva party, [202](#), [353](#).  
 Man, Calvin's doctrine of, [412](#), [413](#).  
 Marcourt, Antoine, [119](#), [125](#), [217](#), [245](#), [257-259](#).  
 Marche, the Coll?ge de la, [34](#), [35](#).  
 Mare, Henri de la, Genevan minister, [212](#), [245](#), [257](#), [284](#), [285](#), [295](#), [297](#).  
 Marguerite d'Angoul?me, char-

-452-

Marguerite d'Angoul?me--Continued. acter and services to cause of learning, [7](#), [9-15](#); relations to Bourges, [51](#); favors reformatory preaching, [67](#); attacked, [68](#), [98](#), [105](#); alleged interest in Calvin in 1533, [108](#); protects Le F?vre, [112](#); acquainted with Froment, [170](#); thanks Calvin, [243](#); protects the "Spirituels," [293](#); mentioned, [151](#), [379](#).  
 Marot, Cl?ment, [151](#), [226](#).  
 Masson, Papire, [61](#).  
 Martyr (Vermigli), Peter, [379](#).  
 Mary I., Queen of England, [348](#).

Megander, Kaspar, [211](#).  
 Melancthon, Philip, invited to visit France, [157](#); suspects Calvin's orthodoxy, [201](#);  
 acquaintance with Calvin, [238](#)[242](#); cited by Trolliet, [321](#); approves death of  
 Servetus, [343](#); his "synergism," [416](#); mentioned, [1](#), [217](#), [379](#), [398](#), [399](#).  
 Merle d'Aubign?, Jean Henri, xiv.  
 Molard, Hudriot du, [271](#), [350](#).  
 Monathon, Jean, [254](#).  
 Montaigne, the Collège de, [36](#), [38](#), [48](#), [49](#).  
 Montaigne, Pierre de, [36](#).  
 Montchenu, the sieur de, [207](#).  
 Montmor, the family of, see Hangest.  
 Morand, Jean, Genevan minister, [245](#), [257](#).  
 Moreau, Simon, [287](#).  
 Morges, meeting at, [248](#).  
 Müller, Karl, writings, [xvi](#), [380](#); on Calvin's friends, [39](#); on his conversion, [89](#); on Cop's  
 address, [100](#), [101](#).  
 Münster, Sebastian, [128](#).  
 Musculus, Wolfgang, [379](#).  
 Myconius, Oswald, [127](#), [201](#), [379](#).

## N

Names, permissible in Geneva, [299](#).  
 Normandie, Laurent de, [314](#) [348](#), [349](#), [434](#).  
 Norton, Thomas, [379](#).  
 Noyon, account of, [18](#)-[22](#); Calvin's early life in, [26](#)-[30](#); visits to, [52](#), [114](#); imprisoned  
 in, [114](#)[116](#).

## O

Obry, Nicolas, [46](#).  
 Occam, William of, [5](#), [8](#).  
 Ochino, Bernardino, [379](#).  
 Olampadius, Johann, [127](#), [192](#), [326](#).  
 Olevianus, Kaspar, [366](#), [379](#), [399](#), [400](#).  
 Olivetan, Pierre Robert, related to Calvin, [40](#), [41](#); influence in Calvin's  
 conversion, [79](#), [82](#); [85](#), [87](#), [89](#), [90](#); translation of the Bible, [128](#); in Geneva, [169](#);  
 estate, [220](#); mentioned, [22](#), [66](#).  
 Oporin, Johann, [132](#), [216](#).  
*Ordonnances*, the Genevan, [265](#)[274](#).  
 Orleans, Calvin in, [47](#)-[50](#), [62](#)[65](#), [123](#)-[125](#).

## P

Paguet, François, [277](#).  
 Paris, the University of, [5](#), [31](#)-[43](#); Calvin in, [30](#)-[43](#), [53](#)-[62](#), [66](#)[69](#), [107](#), [108](#), [157](#);  
 Huguenot Church organized in, [384](#); the Synod of 1559 in, [385](#).  
 Paul IV., Pope, [372](#).  
 Peter the Hermit, [21](#).  
 Perrin, Ami, as a "Guillermin" leader, [255](#), [281](#); sent for Calvin, [258](#), [261](#); helps draft the  
*Ordonnances*, [265](#); quarrels with Calvin, [301](#)-[314](#); ambassador to France, [305](#), [308](#);  
 accused and tried, [308](#)-[310](#); his character, [310](#); a syndic, [312](#), [322](#); in power, [322](#)-[324](#); in  
 the case of Servetus, [336](#); defeated regarding the Consis-

Perrin--Continued. tory, [344](#); favored by Bern, [346](#); fears French refugees, [348-350](#); fall and condemnation, [350-357](#).  
Pernet, Jean, [351](#).  
Pertemps, Claude, [204](#), [255](#), [265](#), [281](#).  
Pflug, Julius, [242](#).  
Philip II., of Spain, [371](#).  
Philip, of Hesse, [379](#).  
Philip, of Savoy, Bishop, [164](#).  
Philippe, Claude, [301](#).  
Philippe, Jean, Genevan party leader, [203](#), [205](#), [206](#); his death, [256](#), [257](#), [281](#), [283](#), [301](#).  
Pierson, Allard, on Calvin's conversion, [81](#), [82](#); on Cop's address, [82](#), [99](#).  
Pighius, Albert, [239](#).  
Pistorius, Johann, [242](#).  
Place, Pierre de la, [111](#).  
Platter, Thomas, [132](#).  
Pocquet, Antoine, [294](#).  
Poissy, the Colloquy in, [387](#).  
Porral, Ami, [203](#), [207](#), [265](#), [281](#).  
Poupin, Abel, Genevan minister, [285](#), [298](#), [303](#), [306](#), [329](#).  
Prayer-Book, the English, Calvin's opinion of, [389](#), [390](#).  
Predestination, Calvin's doctrine of, [138](#), [148](#), [229](#), [315](#)<sup>319</sup>, [397](#), [414-418](#).

## Q

Quakers, the, [426](#).  
Quintin, the "Spirituel," [294](#).

## R

Radziwill, Nicolas, [394](#).  
R?mond, Florimond de, on Calvin's conversion, [79](#); on his life in Angoul?me, [110](#), [111](#); in Poitiers, [120-123](#).  
Ramus, Peter, [21](#).  
Randon, Jean, [364](#).  
Regensburg, Colloquy in, [238](#), [240-243](#), [262](#).  
Ren?e, Duchess of Ferrara, [150](#)<sup>154</sup>, [315](#), [379](#).  
Reuchlin, Johann, [8](#), [40](#).  
Reuss, Edouard, [xi](#).  
Richardet, Claude, [203](#), [206](#), [257](#).  
Richardot, Fran?ois, [154](#).  
Richebourg, Louis de, [241](#).  
Richelieu, Cardinal, [118](#).  
Rigot, Claude, [335](#), [336](#).  
Rihel, Wendelin, [228](#).  
Roget, Am?d?e, [xv](#).  
Rouscelin, [21](#).  
Roset, Caude, [265](#), [276](#).  
Roussel, G?rard, reformatory zeal, [9](#), [12-14](#); preaching in Paris, [67](#); Calvin circulates his writings, [68](#); influence in Calvin's conversion, [86](#), [93](#), [97](#); arrested, [107](#), [112](#); accepts bishopric of Oloron, [155](#), [156](#); Calvin criticises, [97](#), [155](#); mentioned, [22](#), [82](#), [104](#), [108](#), [109](#).

## S

Sacraments, Calvin's doctrine of the, [421-424](#); Calvin on, [76](#), [122](#), [141](#), [396](#).

Sadoletto, Jacopo, Cardinal, *Letter and Calvin's Reply*, [73-75](#), [77](#), [78](#), [243](#), [250-252](#).  
Sage, Charles le, [121](#).  
Saint-Aldegonde, Philippe de Marnix de, [366](#).  
Salvation, Calvin's doctrine of, [413-415](#).  
Sansoex, the sieur de, [263](#).  
Saunier, Antoine, [169](#), [180](#), [247](#).  
Savoie, Claude, [179](#).  
Schaff, Philip, writings, [xi](#), [xv](#).  
Schwarz, Diebold, [222](#).  
Scotus, Duns, [5](#), [8](#); Calvin's similarity to, [149](#), [418](#).  
Scriptures, the, Calvin's doctrine of, [410-412](#).  
Seeberg, Reinhold, quoted, [424](#).  
Segismund, August, King of Poland, [379](#), [394](#).  
Seneca, Calvin's *Commentary* on, [57](#).

-454-

Sept, Michel, Genevan party leader, [203](#), [246](#), [255](#), [256](#), [281](#).  
Servetus, Michael, his history and fate, [325-344](#); Calvin attempts to meet in Paris, [119](#);  
Calvin opposes, [119](#), [201](#); Castellio criticises his death, [291](#), [342](#); his expiatory  
monument, [342](#); mentioned, [443](#).  
Sinapius, Johann, [152](#), [153](#).  
Somerset, Lord Protector, of England, [379](#), [389](#).  
Sorbon, Robert de, [6](#).  
Sorbonne, the, [6](#), [11](#).  
"Spirituels," see Libertines.  
St?helin, Ernst, [xiv](#).  
St?helin, Rudolf, writings, [xvi](#); on Calvin's conversion, [85](#).  
Standonch, Jean, [36](#).  
Stebbing, Henry, [xiii](#).  
Stordeur, Jean, [221](#), [236](#).  
Strassburg, Calvin, in, [216-244](#), [361](#); its leaders, [218](#); the French Church in, [220](#); its  
liturgy, [222](#); theological instruction, [227](#); the plague in, [241](#); Servetus visits, [326](#); its  
attractions for Calvin, [260](#), [261](#).  
Sturm, Jakob, of Strassburg, [218](#).  
Sturm, Johann, of Strassburg, [217](#), [218](#), [227](#), [232](#), [239](#), [365](#), [379](#).  
Sulzer, Simon, [379](#).

## T

Tagaut, Jean, [362](#), [363](#).  
Tillet, Louis du, Calvin's friendship, with, [109-113](#), [120](#), [125](#), [126](#), [150](#), [152](#), [157](#), [158](#);  
breach with Calvin, [196](#), [215](#); offers aid, [219](#).  
Tourneur, Antoine, [56](#).  
Trechsel, Gaspard, [327](#).  
Trechsel, Melchior, [327](#).  
Trent, the Council of, [323](#), [402](#).  
Trepperau, Louis, [285](#).  
Trolliet, Jean, quarrel with Calvin, [320](#), [321](#).  
Trie, Guillaume, settles in Genova, [314](#); in the case of Servetus, [330-332](#); a burgher of  
Geneva, [349](#); mentioned, [434](#).

## U

Ursinus, Zacharias, [399](#).

## V

Vandel, Pierre, Genevan party leader, opposes Calvin, [205](#), [215](#), [306](#), [311-314](#); character, [310](#); favored by Bern, [346](#); fears French refugees, [348](#)[350](#); fall and condemnation, [350-357](#).

Vatable, François, Calvin's teacher, [9](#), [12](#), [22](#), [55](#), [57](#).

Vatines, Jean de, [27](#).

Vernou, Jean, [121](#).

Véron, Philippe, [121](#).

Viret, Pierre, beginnings of Calvin's friendship with, [127](#); early work in Geneva, [171](#)[173](#), [180](#); introduces Protestantism into Lausanne, [183](#), [209](#); quarrel with Caroli, [196](#); marriage, [233](#); reconciliation with Geneva, [249](#), [251](#); aids Calvin's return, [259](#), [265](#), [284](#); Castellio complains to, [290](#); Servetus appeals to, [329](#); driven from Lausanne and settles in Geneva, [362](#), [363](#); mentioned, [236](#), [305](#), [346](#), [379](#), [434](#).

Villegagnon, Nicolas Durand, [401](#).

## W

Waldenses, the, [169](#), [243](#), [382](#).

Weiss, Nathanaël, [xviii](#).

Werly, Pierre, [171](#),

Wernle, Paul, [xvi](#); on Calvin's conversion, [89](#).

Westphal, Joachim, controversy with Calvin, [75](#), [76](#), [398](#), [421](#).

Westminster, the *Confession and Catechisms* of, [390](#).

-455-

Whitgift, John, Archbishop, [391](#).

Whittingham, William, [26](#), [379](#).

Wolmar, Melchior, friendship with Calvin, [39](#), [49](#), [51](#); teaches Calvin Greek, [52](#), [54](#); possible influence in Calvin's conversion, [80](#), [85](#), [87](#), [89](#), [90](#).

Worms, the Colloquy in, [238](#), [240](#), [259](#), [261](#).

Wyclif, John, [419](#).

## X

Ximenes, Cardinal, [8](#).

## Z

Zanchi, Jeronimo, [379](#).

Zb?d?e, Andr?, [259](#), [346](#).

Zell, Matthias, [232](#).

Z?rich, the Consensus of, [395](#)[397](#).

Zwingli, Huldreich, Calvin's relation to, [396](#), [421-424](#); on excommunication, [192](#); mentioned, [1](#), [416](#), [419](#).

-456-

