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Art. I.—*Protestantism.*

"Is the Protestant religion the religion of Christ?" This is a very common question. It is usually considered a fair question. Yet it seems to us that there is a fallacy involved in it, which is made the foundation of an argument by those who hold the negative. Protestantism is a principle, or, if you please, a *doctrine* of religion, not a religion; and the question should be, whether the principle of Protestantism is consistent with the gospel of Christ. It is the principle by which those who dissent from the doctrine of Papal supremacy in matters of religion, are distinguished from those who hold to that doctrine. The pope claims to be the vicar of Christ, and the supreme judge of controversies in matters of religion, doctrine and morals. This claim was asserted at the Reformation, and was denied by the Protestants. Proofs are abundant. But take the following: Martin Luther said, *Certum in manu Papae aut Ecclesiae non esse statuere articulos fidei—imo nec leges morum seu bonorum operum.* This proposition was condemned by Leo X., A. D. 1520, by the bull which begins, *Exsurge Domine*. Dr. Gregory Kurtz, in his *Theologia Sophistica* (published at Bamberg, A. D. 1736, more than two hundred years after

other; nor shall any person be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles."

Kentucky, 1799.—Similar to Tennessee.

Ohio, 1802.—Similar to Kentucky.

Maine, 1819.—Similar to Tennessee.

Missouri, 1820.—"That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences: that no man can be compelled to erect, support, or attend any place of worship, or to maintain any minister of the gospel or teacher of religion, that no human authority can control or interfere with the rights of conscience; that no person can ever be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his religious profession, or sentiments, if he do not disturb others in their religious worship.

"That no person, on account of his religious opinions, can be rendered ineligible to any office of trust or profit under this state; that no preference can ever be given by law to any sect or mode of worship; and that no religious corporation can ever be established in this state"

The above may suffice as specimens of the whole.

Art. II.—1. *The Life of John Calvin, the great Reformer. By* Paul Henry, *Pastor of the French Church at Berlin.* Volume I. 1835.*

2. *Joannis Calvini, Theod. Bezae, Henrici IV. Regis, aliorumque illius aevi hominum Literae quaedam nondum editae. In memoriam sacrorum Genevensium ante tria saecula emendatorum ex autographis in Bibliotheca Ducali Gothana, edidit* Car. Gottl. Bretschneider, Th. et Ph. D. etc. Lipsiae, 1835. 8vo. pp. 228.

In our first number for the past year we announced our expectation of a forthcoming biography of Calvin. The first volume of this work lies before us, and we are happy to say that it fulfils our highest expectations. The history of the church, and more particularly the history of the reformation, have always received a prominent place in our journal,

* Das Leben Johann Calvins des grossen Reformators; von Paul Henry, Prediger an der Französisch-Freidrichstädtischen Kirche zu Berlin. Erster Band. Mit einem Bildnisse und einem *Fac simile* der Handschrift Calvins. Hamburg. 1835. pp. 624.

and we shall regard it as an inauspicious token, if we ever see this field of knowledge left untrodden by the theologians of our country. The author of this work is the Rev. Mr. Henry, the pious and learned pastor of a French Reformed church at Berlin. His labour of preparation has been indefatigable, as these results evince. For the grand excellence of the biography is that it has been constructed from original sources, existing chiefly in manuscript, in various European collections. The nature of these sources may be learned from what follows.

In addition to the numerous historical and biographical works, by friends and enemies, and other publications relative to the life and times of the Reformer, M. Henry informs us that he has spared no pains to gain access to the unexplored treasures of the great libraries. The reader may be surprised to learn, that, notwithstanding the repeated publication of Calvin's correspondence, there are hundreds of his letters which have never seen the light. Those of which Beza was the editor were a mere selection, and indeed a selection made on a principle which shuts us out from all the more interesting traits of the writer's character, because the publisher seems carefully to have winnowed out every thing of a domestic and personal nature. "I have therefore," says M. Henry, "obtained the use of the still unpublished letters which are in the library of Geneva, and have had them wholly and exactly transcribed by the assiduous labour of the Rev. Mr. Doudiet, who was freely admitted to the library by M. Diodati the librarian, and who from singular love for Calvin's memory devoted himself to the undertaking. Their number amounts to 554, of which there are 436 in Latin and 118 in French. Here is a biographical treasure; they may be looked upon as a diary of this great man; for he recorded the smallest occurrences for his friends and associates, almost daily, with his remarks, thus maintaining a close connexion with them. The autographs of those heretofore printed are very widely scattered, and few remain at Geneva."

The biographer further mentions as a surprising fact, that a large collection of Calvin's autograph epistles exists in Germany. This is the origin of the second work named at the head of this article. The great collection to which M. Henry has resorted, and which may be found at Geneva, consists of five volumes, folio. The first is almost entirely filled with autographs, with a few ancient copies; 196 in all. The

second contains later copies, among which are duplicates of those just mentioned. The third comprises autographs of various writings, and a number of dictated letters in other hands, often with autograph corrections and postscripts. The fourth, later copies, in number 132. The fifth, French letters, some autograph, but mostly copied, with autograph additions or emendations. As it regards the condition of the autographs, the paper is coarse; originally white, but made somewhat yellow by time; in folio, uncut, quite well preserved, and with a spacious margin on the left. The seal is in almost all cases despoiled of its wax, yet the impression is distinguishable.

Besides these there are at Geneva many autograph letters to Calvin from distinguished men, but without his replies. The latter may be hereafter discovered in different libraries. A great number are missing from the period between 1530 and 1537. The Geneva library contains 2023 of Calvin's sermons, from 1549 to 1560, scarcely any of which have been printed. These were taken down from his lips by various Scribes, and fill forty-four volumes. M. Henry states—upon the authority of Mr. M'Crie, who as we have heretofore said is completing for the press the biography of Calvin by his lamented father—that almost all the documents relative to the trial of Servetus have disappeared from the archives of Geneva.

The libraries at Gotha and Zurich furnished our author with many valuable sources of information. At this last place there are preserved 150 folio volumes of the reformer's writings. The state-registers of Geneva have also been consulted with pleasing and unexpected results.

Mere diligence and mere accuracy would be a great merit in such a work; M. Henry displays more. The portion before us, comprising a little more than thirty years of the reformer's life, is well planned and ably executed. In his style we discern no German convolutions, in his sentiments no mystical fog, in his opinions no neological error. He makes Calvin tell his own history, by using his own language; and in the articulations and connectives necessarily furnished by the biographer, he is so far from giving us jejune annals that we are constantly charmed and refreshed by the scenes which he suddenly throws in from cotemporary history. It is a beautiful specimen of what may be called Comparative Biography. We have not merely Calvin raised before our eyes, in the vivid colours of truth, but each of his

great compeers in turn. There is a gratifying absence of washy comment. In a word, we believe the whole protestant church has cause to thank M. Henry for his labours. We rejoice to know that a French version is in the course of preparation; and we shall await with anxiety the second volume, which is probably now in the press. Some collectanea from M. Henry's results will constitute all that we have to add upon the work.

It may serve a useful purpose to remark, that Calvin's extraordinary influence in the reformation began about the year 1530. He was born in 1509. One year earlier Luther, then twenty-five years of age, was established at Wittenberg. It will at once appear, that at the dawn of the reformation, in 1517, Calvin was eight years old, and that he was but ten, when Charles the Fifth was elected emperor. The family name was Cauvin, or Chauvin, and the Latin form Calvinus was fixed by the publication of his earliest work.

The reformer's father was Gerard Cauvin, *procureur fiscal* of the county of Noyon in Picardy, and secretary of the diocess. His grandfather is said to have been a cooper in the village of Pont l'Evêque, where Calvin had a number of relations, who in token of their zeal for the church, afterwards abandoned the name. From earliest infancy Calvin was trained to devotion, according to the rites and tenets of Romanism. It was his practice often to pray in the open air. In the preface to his commentary on the Psalms, he says that his father had dedicated him from his infancy to the church.*

Drelincourt gives us other particulars. "Calvin," says he, "was born at Noyon, at the place where now stands the House of the Stag, and was baptized in the church of St. Godobert. In his early youth he studied at the College *des Capettes*. Some have said that he was one of the singing-boys of the choir, others that he was a canon of Noyon, but I have been unable to learn that he was either. I have fully ascertained, however, that he was chaplain and curate, and that he obtained a benefice."† He was educated in company with the young Mommors, or Montmors, children of a noble family, indeed the most distinguished in that country. In recollection of this privilege, he dedicated his first work, which was a commentary on Seneca, to one of these early

* Theologiae me pater tenellum adhuc puerum destinaverat.

† Drel. Défense de Calvin, p. 158.

associates, Hangest abbot of St. Eloi. With these youth Calvin was sent by his father to the high school of Paris. Here he found Cordier, regent of the college *de la Marche*, a learned and pious instructer, who afterwards renounced popery and resided in Geneva, where he died in the same year with his pupil, at the age of eighty-six. In this good man many a reader will be pleased to recognise the acquaintance of his schoolboy days, *Maturinus Corderius;* whose simple but pious and fascinating colloquies convey the soundest principles in the purest Latinity, and have never yet been surpassed as a first book for children.

From the college de la Marche, he went to the collège Montaigu, and there enjoyed the instructions of a very acute Spaniard, who taught scholastic theology. In the dialectic exercises of this seminary he already evinced the perspicacity and judgment which distinguished him for life. "Unlike Luther," observes Henry, "who had naturally a more lively imagination, and who seems to have had a tendency towards enthusiasm, Calvin evinced a repose and earnestness of mind which were the fruits of thorough discipline, and converse with excellent teachers."

Our author laments that his researches have failed to discover any letters or records of this interesting period. "In his eighteenth year the living of Marteville was conferred on him; but irregularly, as he was then only in minor orders, having merely received the tonsure. He exchanged this benefice for that of Pont l'Evêque. In the extracts of Jacques Desmay, from the acts of the Chapter of Noyon, it is said: "He was received as curate of Pont l'Evêque, a parish where his grandfather resided, and where Gerard, son of the latter, was baptized. Thus were the sheep given in charge to the wolf." It seems that his father made use of his influence with the bishop, to obtain the means of giving his distinguished son an education. He was presented to the cure by Messire Claude de Hangest, abbot of St. Eloi. The juvenile pride which he felt in his promotion is expressed by his saying, 'I was made a pastor by a single disputation;' and though he was not ordained he preached a number of times to the people of this village. Of any ordination there is no trace in his history."*

* Henry, p. 34. Calvin (says Bayle) was never a priest, and entered the ecclesiastical state simply by means of the tonsure.—Quo loco (says Beza) constat J. ipsum Calvinum, antequam Gallia excederet, nullis alioqui *pontificiis*

It would be pleasant if we could from any authentic documents gain an insight into the university life of Calvin. But of the period between his 18th and 22d year, our reports are but fragmentary. He tells us in the preface above cited, that his father, who probably had some presentiment of the church troubles, and who observed the opulence acquired by the lawyers, recalled the young scholar from philosophy to jurisprudence. The works of Calvin show very plainly that he turned his legal studies to excellent account in his subsequent labours.

The earliest autograph of Calvin bears date May 6, 1528, when he was about 18 or 19 years old. It is a letter written to a friend, Nicholas Cheminus, from Noyon, whither he had returned from Paris or Orleans. As a curiosity we insert a translation:

"The promise which I made you at parting, that I would soon rejoin you, has kept me in a state of suspense, for while I was meditating a return, I have been detained by the illness of my father. But since the physicians held out the hope that he might be restored to health, I saw nothing else in my delay, except that my desire to see you, which was strong before, was greatly increased by the interval of a few days. But day after day has passed, until at length there remains no hope of life, and there is undoubted danger of death. Whatever may be the result, I will see you again. Salute in my name, Francis Daniel, Philip, and all your fellow-lodgers. Have you yet given your name to the professors of literature? Do not let your diffidence make you negligent. Farewell, Cheminus, my friend, dearer to me than life."

Beza relates that Gerard Cauvin died when the son, aged 23, was studying at Bourges. Up to this time the young man had no knowledge of either Greek or Hebrew. He first became acquainted with the Bible in the translation of his relative Robert Olivetan. As soon as he came to understand the errors of the papists, he renounced his benefice. When it was determined that he should study law, he went from Paris to the university of Orleans, and placed himself under Pierre de l'Etoile, or Petrus Stella, president of the

ordinibus unquam initiatum aliquot ad populum conciones habuisse.—An undue importance has been given to this statement. Beza does not say that Calvin was never ordained; he merely denies that, at a certain time, he had received *popish* orders. By protestants and papists, he is repeatedly called a *Presbyter*.

parliament of Paris, the acutest jurist in France;* and afterwards at Bourges under the famous André Alciat. But in the midst of laborious studies he felt his soul drawn towards the Scriptures. In this state of mind he received benefit from an excellent man whom he fell in with at Bourges. This was Melchior Wolmar, a German, who instructed him in Greek, and made such an impression on his mind, in confirmation of his evangelical principles, that he began to broach the new doctrines in sermons. In his preface to the second epistle to the Corinthians, he records his grateful recollection of this preceptor, whom he regarded as a great instrument towards his conversion.

But as our purpose is to give anecdotes rather than history, we shall interrupt the narrative, and content ourselves with saying, that while at Orleans, he frequently read lectures, during the absence of the professors, and that the degree of Doctor was conferred on him without the ordinary fees. It was his custom, after a frugal supper, to sit up half the night, and the next morning, as he lay in bed, to reconsider all that he had been learning. These vigils increased his erudition, but they probably contributed to his constant diseases and premature death. After the conclusion of his university course he remained a short time in Paris.

With respect to the great change in his religious sentiments, he has recorded that such was his attachment to popish superstitions, that he was with difficulty extricated from the mire, and that God subdued his mind to docility by a sudden conversion.† His early experience was less clouded by melancholy and alarm than was that of Luther. Yet he was not entirely exempt from such trials. He declares that during these first conflicts, while he was still in some degree entangled with superstitious observances, as often as he descended into himself, or raised his heart to God, he was seized with extreme horror, which no purifications or satisfactions could relieve. And the more he examined his case, the greater was the goading of his conscience, so that his only solace was an illusive self-forgetfulness. The genuineness of the work of which he was at this time the subject is manifest in the zeal with which, in a time of peril, he preached the gospel through France, and in the unequalled works which he produced but a short time after. The faith which

* Le plus aigu jurisconsulte de France.

† Animum meum, subita conversione ad docilitatem subegit. Pr. ad Psal.

he depicts is the assured persuasion of primitive times. The device of his seal is characteristic; it represents a hand stretching forth a burning heart, and expresses the total surrender of his powers, which was always his ruling principle. If we may credit his own testimony, the indomitable courage which marked his course, and which his enemies called ferocity, was the result of Christian faith. For in various connexions he represents his natural disposition as fearful and shrinking. The same statement he repeated on his death-bed. "I confess myself to be by nature of a timid, soft, and shrinking mind." And elsewhere he says: "Being naturally rustic and shamefaced, and always loving repose and tranquillity, I began to look for some retreat, and some way of escape from the crowd; but I was so far from accomplishing my wish that on the contrary all my hiding places became like public schools."* Accordingly in the year 1532, while as yet the reformed Christians in Paris held all their meetings very secretly, Calvin felt himself constrained to give up all other pursuits, and to devote himself entirely to the propagation of the gospel. He preached in the little assemblies, constantly closing his addresses with the words "If God be for us, who can be against us?" Concerning these labours, Pasquier, a contemporary and a catholic thus writes. "In the midst of his books and studies he was in the highest degree on the alert for the advancement of his sect. We have seen our prisons overflowing with poor persecuted creatures, whom without ceasing he exhorted, consoled, and strengthened by letters; and messengers were never wanting, to whom the doors were open, notwithstanding every precaution of the gaolers. These were the measures which he employed at the outset, and by these he gained over, foot by foot, a portion of our territory."†

We pass over the first publication of Calvin, the Commentary upon Seneca de Clementia, with the remark that it bears date April 4, 1532, and that it was meant to awaken in the mind of Francis I. sentiments of humanity towards the persecuted protestants. The effort was as fruitless as that of Seneca himself to conciliate Nero. In that very year Fran-

* De mon coté d'autant qu'estant d'un naturel un pen sauvage et honteux j'ai tonjours aime requoi et tranquillité, je commençai a chercher quelque cachette, et moyen de me retirer des gens. Pref. aux Ps.

† Pasquier, Recherches de la France, L. 8. p. 769.

cis bound himself to the pope by a new league. A letter written to Bucer from Noyon, shows that at this early date Calvin began to have connexions with Strasburg, and also that his reforming zeal was ardent. In reference to a fugitive who was charged with being an Anabaptist, he says: "If my prayers, if my tears avail any thing, I beseech thee, Bucer, lend him thy aid. In his distress he betakes him to thee. Thou wilt be the orphan's helper. Suffer him not to fall into the extreme of misery," &c.

The year 1533, with the two following, was a season of change and of danger. A daring procedure of Calvin brought him into collision with the theological rulers at Paris. Nicholas Cop, the newly elected rector of the Sorbonne, pronounced on All Saint's day, a public discourse. To the astonishment of every body it contained a defence of the gospel and of justification by faith. Upon inquiry it was discovered that the real author was John Calvin. Information was laid before the parliament, the rector was arrested, and sergeants were sent to take Calvin, from the college de Forneret, where he then lived. But being forewarned he escaped, according to some in a basket let down from the window, and according to others in the disguise of a vine-dresser. By the seizure of his papers many of his friends were placed in jeopardy. He fled to the queen of Navarre, who received him affectionately, pacified the king, and protracted the truce. Under her auspices he went into Saintonge, and employed himself in writing short sermons to be delivered on Sundays by the curates. Soon after this we find him at Nerac, the residence of the queen of Navarre. Here he became acquainted with Lefevre d'Estaples, Stapulensis, who had fled from the rage of the Sorbonne. This aged man predicted the future eminence of the young reformer. During his short residence in Angoulême, and while under the roof of Louis du Tillet, he made the first sketch of his Institutes. In 1533 he returned to Paris, notwithstanding the persecution; but the fury manifested against the reformed was so great, that he resolved to leave his native country; which he did soon after the publication of his Psychopannychia, in 1534. Hastening from Paris to Orleans he proceeded to Basle, where about the beginning of August 1535 he is supposed to have published the first edition of the Institutes, concerning which bibliography has raised so many doubts. Into Basle he entered in a state of abject destitution, having on the way been robbed

of every thing by his servants or guides. He now became known to some of the German reformers. They loved him at once for his earnestness, cordiality of temper and remarkable conscientiousness. Among the valuable friends whom he found at Basle may be named Simon Grynaens, a philologist and divine, who lectured on the classics and the Scriptures; and Wolfgang Capito, who had begun the reformation in this city and was now engaged in the profound study of the Hebrew tongue.

The Institutes of Calvin were expressly dedicated to the king of France. The author's grand aim was to present to this prejudiced and fanatical prince a complete vindication of the reformed, and if possible to be instrumental in bringing him to the truth. Beza relates, that the influence of his sister the queen of Navarre had extended so far that Francis had at one time determined to send for Philip Melancthon, and to hear his defence of the faith. But about the end of 1534 all this was frustrated by the indiscreet zeal of certain persons, who had indulged in bitterness of invective.* Francis was always anxious to show himself a devout catholic, and he chose the most effectual method for doing so when he bared his arm for persecution. A number of indecorous pasquinades against the mummeries of the papists were printed, and even thrown into the palace at Blois. Here was a pretext. There were at Paris a number of Calvin's friends and hearers who were fit subjects of persecuting cruelty. The narrative given by our author, in the fourth chapter, of the life and death of several humble holy men is peculiarly interesting, and should be here inserted if space allowed. While Farel was thundering at Geneva, there were several preachers labouring at Paris, such as Girard Roux, Coraud and Berthaud. They were forbidden to preach, and changed their method for that of private instruction. The Sorbonnists forbade this also. Girard was thrown into prison and Coraud confined in the bishop's house. The printed tracts, which they next used as their last resort, were deemed a pollution to the city, and on the 29th of January 1535, the king joined in a solemn lustration carrying in procession the idol of St. Genevieve, the tutelary goddess of the Parisians. To complete the pleasing ceremony six men were burnt alive. Their constancy was unbroken. Of these men M. Henry gives interesting bio-

* Beza. Hist. eccles. p. 15.

graphical notices. This was but the prelude to the tragedy which soon ensued. M. Henry justly observes that in our days of peace we are almost incredulous as to the cannibal fury of Romish persecutors. During the whole reign of Francis and that of his successor, the executions continued. Such was the emergency when Calvin, having for this purpose expatriated himself, directed his Institutes to the bloody and hypocritical monarch. On the celebrated Dedication which precedes the work he laid out all his strength. It is a masterpiece of argument, courage and address, and for its style might be cited as a classic. By our author it is well said that it will remain for ages among the jewels of the Christian church. It takes ranks by the side of the early apologies, and is an irrefragable defence of the evangelical church. Our author gives it almost entirely in a version, but no one who has even a smattering of Latin or French should read it in any other language. In the world of letters there have been, it is said, only three truly great Prefaces; that of Thuanus to his History—that of Casaubon to his Polybius—and that of Calvin to his Institutes. The last is, as a French author well observes, a tribute worthy of so great a king, a vestibule worthy of so great an edifice, and a composition worthy of more than than a single perusal.* It moved the heart of Francis quite as little as the confession penned by Melancthon moved the heart of Charles. For we scarcely credit Beza's surmise that the king never read it. His confidence in the queen of Navarre forbids such a supposition. The time of his visitation passed, and he knew not the things that belonged to his peace. Soon after his death arose the two great parties which rent the kingdom—then followed the domination of Catharine of Medicis—the Bartholomew's day—and the fanatical wars of the League.

The "Institutes of the Christian religion," when first published, was but the germ of the great work which we now possess. It was a small octavo of some five hundred pages.† Whether first written in French or Latin is a vexed question in bibliography. We are convinced by Mr. Henry's argument that it was originally in French. According to Beza it appeared in 1535, while the author resided at Basle. It is believed however that no man living has beheld this edition.

* Morus, Panegerique, p. 108. Inst. ed. Icard. Mélange critique de feu M. Ancillon. Basle 1689. T. 2. p. 65.

† Neque enim densum hoc et laboriosum opus, quale nunc exstat, sed breve duntaxat enchiridion tunc in lucem prodiit. Pr. ad Psalm.

The edition always cited is that of 1536. To those who regard this as the first, it is a sufficient reply that Calvin declares that the first was anonymous, whereas this of 1536 has his name. The edition of 1536 was extant, according to Gerdes, at Brunswick, and Geneva, but the first forty-two pages were wanting in the Geneva copy; which moreover is no longer to be found. There are complete copies at Berne and Zurich. It would seem that the primary edition was seized and suppressed. This may explain a remark of Samarthanus, a professor at Poitou, when he says to Calvin, April 1527, "I lament that while you are snatched from us, the other instructer Calvin, I mean your Institutions, has not reached us. I envy Germany for possessing what we cannot obtain." Bayle does not consider the Basle edition, *per Thomam Platerum et Balthasarem Latium*, as the first, and also opposes Moreri who speaks of an edition of 1534. M. Henry's explanation is this. The events which occasioned the work occurred towards the end of 1534, the persecution about the beginning of 1535. As every part of the work, except the elaborate preface, was prepared with an almost impatient rapidity, and as the exigency was urgent, we can scarcely believe that the ardent writer would have delayed the publication a whole year. He may have laboured upon it in February, March and April; carried it through the press in May, June, and July ; and issued it in August. But still more conclusively. The edition extant at Zurich has the author's name in three places. At the end is the date *Mense Martio anno* 1536, which does not tally with the date of the dedication 10 *Cal. Sept.*, or August 23, but without the year. The prefatory address to Francis, which was a principal part, points to the prior edition, which might have appeared in August 1535. It was natural for Calvin to address the king in his vernacular tongue, and as it was his principle to publish all his works in both languages, we conclude that he did not begin with the Latin.

"In a French edition of 1566," says our author, "I have in fact found the Preface to Francis I., in Calvin's ancient style, with the subscription—*Basle le Premier d'Aout* 1535; so that this epistle must necessarily be of that year. In the old Latin copies, as in that of 1561, printed during Calvin's lifetime, and which now lies before me, the date is 1536; the later French copies refer to 1535, the later Latin to 1536. The date of the day varies. This French edition is now lost, and the Latin which I have before me is a trans-

lation, which appeared in 1536, and which as it thrice names the author, cannot be the original."

This incomparable work, at once Calvin's first and last, as M. Henry remarks, was received with an ardour for which the author thus expresses his gratitude in his French preface to the edition of 1559. "As I had no expectation that the first edition of this book would have had so favourable a reception, as God in his inestimable goodness has given it, I prepared it with some carelessness, and sought nothing so much as brevity. But finding in process of time that it enjoyed a popularity, which so far from expecting, I had not even ventured to desire, I felt myself so much the rather obliged to discharge myself more ably and fully towards such as accepted my doctrine with affection; for it were ungrateful in me not to comply with their desire according to my limited capacity. Hence I have not only endeavoured to do my duty when the said book was first reprinted, but at each successive edition I have enlarged and enriched it. And though I have no cause to repent of the labour then employed, I confess that I never satisfied myself, until I had digested it in the order which you here behold, and which I trust you will approve. And in truth I may allege in order to your approbation that in serving the church of God I have not spared to make use of all my powers. For last winter when a quartan ague threatened to take me out of this world, the more my disease pressed me, the less I spared myself, that I might complete this book, which surviving after my death might evince how much I had desired to requite those who had already been profited by it." In allusion to those who threatened and calumniated him, he further says: "Now the devil, with all his band, deceives himself if he thinks to discourage or crush me by the charge of such frivolous falsehoods."*

In the history of Calvin's mind nothing is more remarkable than the uniform consistency of his opinions through life. The alterations of which he speaks above are not changes in doctrine. The tenets of his first humble volume were the tenets of his life; and his system, Minerva-like, sprang from his powerful intellect symmetrical and full armed. The original work contained the massy and compacted framework of the whole; it was produced in exile, in trouhlous

* Or le diable et toute sa bande se trompe fort, s'il cuide m'abbatre ou descourager en me chargeant de mensonges si frivoles.

times, at the risk of life itself, and by a young man of twenty-five years. "True to the doctrine which he first delivered to us," says Beza, "he never altered any thing; and this can be said of few theologians within our memory."—"He formed no retractations," says Joseph Scaliger; "though he wrote so much; this is wonderful. I leave you to judge whether he was a great man."*

A most pleasing episode in this history is that which relates to Renata duchess of Ferrara. Upon this we can merely touch. This magnanimous lady was all her life a defender of Protestants, and a friend of Calvin. She was the daughter of Louis XII. and Anne of Bretagne, and was born the same year with Calvin. Hercules II. duke of Ferrara, her husband, was a weak and vicious prince. The duchess had become acquainted with literature at the French court, and at Ferrara she devoted herself entirely to the study of geometry, philosophy, astronomy and the languages, and collected around her learned men, among whom was the distinguished Morati, who had embraced the reformed religion. She was unwilling to leave her church precipitately, and therefore made theology her special study. At first her attachments were strong in favour of Luther; she afterwards adhered to Calvin, as did most of the Italian protestants, perhaps chiefly in consequence of their ignorance of German. The duchess Renata was not favoured with an attractive person, but was eminent for every accomplishment of mind. The intelligence had reached Calvin that free opinions enjoyed a sanctuary beyond the Alps, and he was ready to believe that a door was here opened for the introduction of the gospel. About the end of March 1536, as is supposed, having completed the publication of his Institutes in Latin, he proceeded to carry it into Italy. "Either invited by the liberal-minded duchess, or merely judging it necessary to confirm her faith, he found this visit effectual in gaining her over to his views. She now attached herself not to the Lutheran but the Reformed party. He travelled under the assumed name of Monsieur Charles d'Espeville, which he used through life in his letters, in cases where his proper name would have endangered his correspondents. His great plan for Italian reformation was frustrated, and he dared not prolong his visit. The inquisition soon pursued him. To use his own words,

* Nullas contexit retractationes, tam multa tamen scripsit, mirum illud est. Arbitrio vestro an vir magnus fuerit judicium permitto. Scaligeriana secunda.

he saw the frontiers of Italy only to bid them farewell. Of this journey we have scarcely any memorials, but we have some accounts from Ferrara, where it is interesting to see the celebrated young man introduced to a polished circle of accomplished spirits. Here he met with Madame de Soumise, her daughter Anne de Parthenai, and her son, who was afterwards one of the leaders of the reformed in France. In later years he was a correspondent of Calvin. Here he found also the poet Clement Marot, who like himself had been forced to fly from France, after having been harboured sometime at Bearne by the queen of Navarre. Introduced by Madame de Soumise he became secretary to the duchess. It is not easy to determine what protestant teachers were in Ferrara, at the time of Calvin's visit, but it is known that the reformed doctrine was diffused by the men of talent whom the duchess summoned around her. The university possessed liberal scholars, such as Celio Calcagnini, Lelio Giraldi, Marco Flaminio, and there is a statement that even in 1528 a number of preachers proclaimed the truth at Ferrara. Calvin found therefore a field prepared to his hand. But in 1536 the duke of Ferrara entered into a treaty with the pope, a secret article of which engaged him to exclude all Frenchmen from his court; the duchess was constrained to part with Madame de Soumise and her family. Marot fled to Venice. It is probable that it was this cause which likewise drove Calvin from Ferrara."*

Upon his return he made up his mind to take a final leave of his native land. Hastening for the last time to the beloved Noyon, he greeted the place of his birth, sold his little patrimony, arranged the domestic affairs, and with his brother and sister, Antony and Marie, proceeded through Savoy on his way towards Germany. This retreat was not a cold or heartless expatriation. In his flight he thus addresses a friend: "I am driven out of the land of my birth. Every footstep to the borders costs me tears. But since the truth may not dwell in France, neither may I. Her destiny will I share." Providence was thus leading him to a retreat whence he might with impunity cast the weapons of truth over the battlements of France. As he passed on his way he came to Geneva, intending to remain there but a single night. He called to see the preacher Viret. "It was my purpose," says Calvin, "to stay but a night, for every thing

* Henry, p. 155.

was in disorder, and the city was rent by hateful factions. But I was discovered by a man who afterwards went back to popery (du Tillet) and by Farel, who was inflamed with an incredible zeal for the propagation of the gospel, and who exerted all his powers to retain me." Calvin replied, in the spirit of a youthful missionary, that he "was unwilling to tie himself to any single church, but wished to serve all, wherever he might go. If he remained he should have no time for study, and he was not one of those who could be always giving out, and never taking in." Upon which Farel answered: "Now in the name of Almighty God, do I delare to you, since you make your studies a pretext, that unless you address yourself with us to this work, the curse of God will rest upon you, for seeking your own honour, rather than that of Christ." As the voice near Damascus, says our biographer, thundered through the heart of Saul, so did these words penetrate the conscience of Calvin, so that he never forgot them. As late as 1557 he says, "I was at last retained at Geneva, by Master William Farel, not so much by counsel and exhortation as by an awful adjuration, as if God from on high had stretched out his very hand to arrest me. Under the terror of which I desisted from my purposed journey, yet in such a manner that, conscious of my diffidence and timidity, I declined any fixed charge."*

In looking back through three centuries, we must acknowledge this as the great epoch in the life of Calvin, and in the history of the Reformed Church.

He was now elected preacher and teacher of theology. At first he accepted the latter only. In the following year the magistracy pressed upon him the pastoral charge; for Farel in his burning zeal embraced this occasion to fly to the relief of the Neûchatel church. Calvin was at this time twenty-seven years of age; he laboured in Geneva twenty-eight years. He came thither poor, and seems at first to have had no regular stipend. It is only in February of the year following that we find a minute of the council, that he should receive six golden crowns.† In 1549, in a letter to Bullinger, he says: "Had I regarded my own life or private ends, I should

* Lequel mot m'espouvanta et esbranla tellement, que je me desistai du voyage que j'avois entrepris, en sorte toutefois que sentant ma honte et ma timidité, je ne voulus point m'obliger à exercer quelque certaine charge. Pr. ad Ps.

† Registres du 13 Fevr. 1537. On donne six ecus au soleil à Cauvin soit Calvin, vû qu'il n'a encore guères reçu.

instantly depart. But when I consider, *of what moment this corner is*, with respect to the spread of the gospel, I am with reason absorbed in the care of this." The sagacious glance of Calvin descried from the first the vantage ground afforded by this field; *quantum hic angulus momenti habeat.*"*

From this moment we must regard Calvin as united in a sacred triumvirate with Farel and Viret, men of God who differed quite as much from one another as from their great leader and associate. And here we would gladly insert the whole of M. Henry's admirable comparative delineation of the three. Indeed it is an excellency of his animated biography that it presents us scarcely any thing in a state of absolute insulation, but throws into the back ground of every picture a gratifying view of those portraits which relieve and illustrate the central figure. We have in former articles dwelt long and largely on William Farel, the scourge of popery, the learned, eloquent, heroic, impetuous, overwhelming founder of the Genevan church. Of Peter Viret, we may take space to say, that he was the gentler personification of the same evangelical zeal. He was born at Orbe in 1511. He studied at Paris, where he became acquainted with Farel, and soon appeared as a reformer among the Swiss. The deputies of Bern sent him to Geneva as a co-worker, and here he joined with Farel in opposing the catholic Furbity. He left Geneva, but returned in 1536. He was afterwards called to Lausanne where he filled the first pastoral office. Except a short residence at Geneva during Calvin's absence, he spent the whole time until 1558 at Lausanne. Persecuted for his disciplinary innovations he then retired to Geneva, and afterwards for his health to the south of France. The church at Nismes elected him pastor, as in 1563 did the church of Lyons, where he presided in the synod. Thence he repaired to the queen of Navarre at Orthez, where after teaching theology he died in 1571; about seven years after Calvin. He published a Commentary on the Gospel of John, in 1553; the work is rare.

In this connexion may be named Theodore Beza, a man of great learning, taste, eloquence and piety; "howbeit he attained not unto the first three." Of a softer temperament

* It is needless for us to record the history of Farel's labours in opening a way for the reformation at Geneva, as we have already furnished our readers, in two articles, with the details of his life. See *Biblical Repertory* for 1833, page 145; and for 1834, page 214.

than Calvin, he nevertheless was one with him in opinion and in heart. He was endowed with great sensibility, poetic genius, ready elocution, address, and external grace.

The classical epigram of Beza is familiar, but will bear frequent repetition:

> Gallica mirata est Calvinum ecclesia nuper,
> Quo nemo docuit doctius:
> Est quoque te nuper mirata, Farelle, tonantem,
> Quo nemo tonuit fortius:
> Et miratur adhuc fundentem mellea Viretum,
> Quo nemo fatur dulcius.
> Scilicet aut tribus his servabere testibus olim,
> Aut interibis Gallia!

In such men Calvin found an unspeakable solace in times which tried men's souls. In the beginning of the Commentary on Titus, he records his affection. "Inasmuch as in relation to you (Farel and Viret) I sustain a relation resembling that which St. Paul held to Titus, this similitude has seemed to lead me to choose you above all others, to whom to dedicate these my labours. At any rate it will afford our contemporaries, and perhaps those who come after us, some monument of our holy friendship and alliance. Never, I suppose, have two friends in the common relations of life lived together in so close a friendship, as we have enjoyed in our ministry. I have discharged the functions of a pastor with you both; yet so far from any appearance of envy, it seemed as if you and myself had been one."*

This friendship endured until death. When Calvin lay on his dying bed in 1564, Farel in a letter to a friend reverts to this earliest interview with Calvin. Though I have received no certain tidings of the decease of our most dear and intimate friend Calvin, yet the rumours I hear, as well as the condition in which I left him, oppress me greatly. O that I could be taken in his stead, and that a spirit so useful might be spared long to serve in health the churches of our Lord! And blessed and praised be He who of his grace brought me to meet him where I had never thought of such a thing, there arrested him, and made use of him, contrary to all his previous purposes; and that especially by my instrumentality, since in the name of God I constrained him to undertake labours which were worse than death (les affaires

* Tant s'en faut qu'il y eut aucune apparence d'envie qu'il me sembloit que Vous et moi n'étions q'un.

qui estoient plus dures que la mort); although he repeatedly besought us in God's name to have pity on him, and leave him to serve God with zeal as he had ever done."

The same Farel, then aged eighty years, did not forbear to go on foot from Neûchatel to Geneva to embrace his dying friend; although he had received from Calvin the following affecting lines: "Fare thee well, my best and dearest brother! As it is the will of God that you should survive me, be mindful of our friendship, which has been a blessing to the church of God, and will bring forth fruit for us in heaven. My breath is feeble—I am every moment looking for my dissolution; content to live and die in Christ, who in life and in death is his people's gain. Farewell, once more, to you and all the brethren!" Let the reader pause and ask if this dying saint is that steeled and heartless dogmatist whom his enemies have portrayed. For Beza's account of this remarkable friendship, we refer to his memoir of Calvin.*

"One may almost wonder," says M. Henry, "that the happiness of such attachments should be the lot of a man so rigid in his opinions, firm almost to impenetrability, and prone to the excess of indignation. It shows that his character had other aspects, developed in private relations, and which were less apparent in his public acts; such as overflowing confidence and affection towards his friends. The highest reverence must be excited by his whole course of life, which was little else than a sacrifice, and complete forgetfulness of self. Even his excesses were mostly the result of an extraordinary conscientiousness; and these foibles were easily forgiven by those who knew him."

By the people of Geneva he was welcomed with enthusiasm. After his first sermon crowds hastened to his lodgings, testified their satisfaction, and exacted a promise that he would again preach on the day following. He immediately sat down to labour with his brethren, in laying the basis of that discipline which has since become noted, and in preparing catechisms and other works for the instruction of the people. In November 1536, he received a letter from Bucer, who, as it would seem, had already discerned his lofty genius, and his competency to the work of pacification. The solidity, distinctness and moderation, which he manifested in his works had established his reputation in France

* See Beza's Life of Calvin, prefixed to the Halle edition of Calvin's Commentaries, p. 13.

and Germany. The theological tenets of the two countries had their distinguishing features, yet there was a family likeness among these children of God, and the traits were strongly similar, *quales decet esse sororum.* Bucer exalts Calvin in his encomiums, and with profound respect invites him to a correspondence on the matters of difference. He declares that the Lord had set him apart to be of great advantage to the church. It well became him to promote unity. He presses on him the example of Paul, whose sacred conferences tended to this harmony, and who journeyed over land and sea to bind the churches in concord. He asks Calvin to name the place where they may meet, at Basle, Berne, or even Geneva, "that we may conscientiously examine the truths, in which you indeed may be established, but concerning which, by reason of our weakness, we stand in need of explanations."

We pass to the memorable year 1537. It dawned in perfect serenity, but before the lapse of many months storms arose from several quarters. The Anabaptists came in and made an uproar. "I" says Calvin, "who am, I acknowledge, of a weak and timorous nature, have nevertheless been forced to make my first acquaintance with these tempestuous waves." Then appeared once more the notorious Caroli, a preacher of loose morals and ungovernable animosities, who afterwards returned to the church of Rome.* This fanatical man charged the Genevan ministers with Arianism. The only colourable pretence for this was the omission of the words *Trinity* and *Person* in their symbolical formulary. The first inquiry took place at Lausanne. The accused ministers demanded a synod, which was held at Berne. Large correspondence ensued between the churches. At the synod Calvin adduced the catechism of Geneva. But this did not satisfy Caroli. "He declared us suspected persons," says Calvin, "so long as we declined subscription to the Athanasian creed. I replied that it was not my custom to receive any thing as the word of God, before I had well considered it." At this synod there were present a hundred ministers from Berne, twenty from Neûchatel, and the three from Geneva. Calvin pronounced an elaborate defence. The Genevan confession was presented without the words above cited. "Caroli insisted on the subscription of the three early creeds, the apostolic, the Athanasian and the Nicene.

* See *Biblical Repertory*, for 1833, page 161; and for 1834, page 214.

This they declined, lest their example might introduce to the church a tyrannical precedent, by which any one might be charged with heresy, who would not speak in the words, or according to the pleasure of another. The synod recognised the Genevan confession upon the Trinity and the sacraments as *sancta et catholica*."*

Caroli was deposed and banished; he afterwards made peace with the protestants, but ended by going to Rome. His calumnies, however unfounded, produced some distrust among the Swiss and German churches. On the part of Calvin it was merely a contest for liberty. In his Institutes he admits that the use of the terms *Trinity* and *Person* is necessary. In the first edition he had himself employed the word *Trinity*.† The reason why he did not simply adduce this work as in exculpation, is that he generously chose to make common cause with his colleagues. As a further vindication he published a Latin version of the Geneva catechism. In the preface he laments that "no innocence, no sincerity is safe from such imputations."‡

Other works were written and issued by him during the same year. In all of these is shown the excellence which Beza commemorates. "Among other excellent virtues with which the Lord had liberally endowed this holy man, there were two relating to matters of dispute, which are remarkable; namely, a marvellous dexterity of mind in apprehending at once the precise difficulty of the question (le nœud de la matière) and suddenly resolving it; and with this, such an integrity of conscience as led him to shun all vain and sophistical subtletics and all ambitious ostentation, and ever to seek the pure and simple truth."

From Calvin's vicinity to France he could not but live under a constant and lively impression of the wrongs suffered by the protestants of that kingdom, many of whom were put to death. And on the other side he was rendered anxious lest the whole cause of evangelical reform should suffer from the pertinacity with which the German brethren insisted upon consubstantiation. His disquietude is expressed in a letter to Bucer, which our author obtained from the Berne archives, and which he gives at length. In this he complains

* Calvin's words are notable. "Tantum nolebamus hoc tyrannidis exemplum in ecclesiam induci, ut is haereticus haberetur, qui non ad alterius praescriptum loqueretur."

† Inst. L. 1. c. 13. 2—5.

‡ Nulla innocentia, nulla simplicitas a suspicionibus satis tuta.

of Luther's violent temper, and of the temporising policy of Bucer himself, whom he warns with brotherly candour. "If Luther," says he, "can embrace us with our confession, nothing could be more grateful to me; yet he is by no means the only member of Christ's church who is to be regarded. We should be cruel and barbarous to an extreme, if we could overlook the thousands who are trampled on under the pretext of that union. Though I have the fullest persuasion of Luther's piety, I scarcely know what to think of him; and I would fain disbelieve what is said of him by some who are his friends in other respects, I mean that his firmness is not without a mixture of obstinacy." He laments his pertinacity, and says: "Nothing can be safe so long as this desire of pre-eminence rages. The past must all be forgotten. For not only has he been delinquent as it regards contemptuous vituperation, but also in the grossest ignorance and error. How absurdly did he meet us in the outset, when he said that the bread was the body itself! And if now he holds that the body of Christ is involved in the bread, I judge him still to be in the foulest error. What say the other adherents of this doctrine? Are they not even worse than Marcion in their opinion of Christ's body? Therefore if you avail any thing with Martin, either by favour or influence, cause him to seek the subjugation of those with whom he has hitherto waged a warfare so inauspicious, to Christ rather than to himself, and also to submit to that truth against which he has clearly offended."—"If then you demand of the Swiss that they lay aside their obstinacy, do your own part by influencing Luther to be less imperious."—"I am aware of your ordinary plea for moderation, and that you will say that the minds of the simple must not be alienated from religion by contentious disputes; and that we may employ every means consistent with piety to win such persons. Let me reply in my wonted manner: 'Si vis omnibus facere Christum plausibilem, tibi non esse fabricandum evangelium.'"

With Bucer Calvin always stood on the best terms of friendly confidence, believing him to be an eminent follower of Christ, though he regarded him as too much disposed to sacrifice truth for the sake of tranquillity. Seventeen years after these events he says of him in a letter to Peter Martyr: "In his desire to assuage the fierceness of Luther and his friends he humbled himself to a degree of servility, so that he was perplexed at every word. Another necessity drove him to tergiversation because he wished to conceal the dis-

honour of his former unskilfulness, about which I often rebuked him. For there was no one, I think, who more freely or sharply remonstrated with him in this respect, urging that he would dare with more simplicity to avow what he believed. Such however was his anxiety to conciliate the Saxons, that he never came forth to open day."

The first attempt at reformation in Geneva took place in August 1535: there was a more solemn recognition of the truth in May 1536, before Calvin's arrival. The council of 200 in November of the same year ratified the confession offered by Farel and Calvin. A third sanction, by the council and assembled people, occurred in July 1537. Yet it was in many only an outward change, and for twenty years the council and the higher classes were involved in a storm of war against licentiousness and anarchy. The ministers had a strict notion of moral discipline. The magistrates forbade every amusement which had a vicious tendency. Some cases were extreme. Thus a milliner was put under arrest during three days for having fitted out a bride with too much luxury. The mother and two female friends, who had accompanied the bridal party to church were also punished. A gambler was exposed in the pillory with his pack of cards hung about his neck. An adulterer was banished for a year, and with his partner in crime was driven by the hangman through the whole city. Yet we find in 1537 a syndic re-elected, although he had previously been deposed for incontinence, and three days imprisoned. He was elected six times afterwards. Such influence had the Libertine party, who conjointly with those called the Independents, conflicted with the government. The movement-party looked with an evil eye on the ministers, who brandished over them the rod of discipline. "Our duty," says Calvin, "seemed to us to extend beyond the mere preaching of the word. Still greater assiduity must be employed towards those whose blood, if they perish, will be required at our hands. And if these cares gave us solicitude, we were filled with anguish as often as the seasons of communion occurred; because, although we doubted of the faith of many, all without exception came forward. And these ate and drank God's wrath rather than the sacrament of life." The same faction which opposed strict discipline, was equally zealous against the abrogation of unscriptural ceremonies. They demanded of the council the adoption of certain resolutions passed by a synod at Lausanne, which enjoined festivals such as Christmas and Ascen-

sion, and the use of fonts and of unleavened bread at the eucharist. The object of this new zeal was to find an occasion against the pastors. During the agitation of these questions Farel and Calvin indulged in some political remarks; this was forbidden by the council.* Coraud, an aged preacher from Paris, inveighed against the order, and was silenced by the magistracy. Feeble and blind, but full of his youthful zeal, he caused himself to be led to the pulpit, and thundered against these oppressions. He was imprisoned and his friends tried in vain to obtain his enlargement.

The city was in an uproar; pacifying measures availed nothing with the Libertines who were now in the ascendant. Calvin, Farel, and Coraud declared that so long as they were debarred from the due exercise of discipline they would not administer the Lord's Supper. This determination is closely connected with the whole texture of Calvin's discipline, as his principle was, that those should be excluded from ordinances who by the proper church authorities were deemed unworthy. The syndics availed themselves of these circumstances to collect the people, and by the influence of their partizans to expel from the city the three faithful ministers of Christ. These were ordered to leave the city within three days. When Calvin received the order he said, "If I had served men I should now be a great loser; but it is well that I have served him who always bestows on his servants what he hath promised." After some wanderings Calvin repaired to Basle, and Farel to Neufchatel. The following extracts from a letter of Calvin to Farel will prove interesting in this connexion. "I easily augur, from the prelude we have witnessed, what our opposers will eventually attempt. As they have by their passion precluded every semblance of peace, they will consider it good policy to render us (already lacerated in public and private) as hateful as possible to all good people. But if we are only persuaded that they cannot curse us unless God will, we can never doubt as to the divine intention. Let us therefore abase ourselves, lest we be found fighting against God to our further abasement. In the meantime will we wait upon God, for soon does the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim become a fading flower. I desire that you would give yourself less anxiety for me. From Bucer's letter you will see what he thinks. He has

*The minute in the register is: On defend aux prédicatuers et en particulier à Farel et à Calvin de se mêler de politique.

also written to Grynaeus, but the contents of the epistle I have not yet learned. Yet I augur that he grows more manful as he supposes that I am coming to him, which however I shall not do unless under the pressure of some greater necessity. Grynaeus salutes you most kindly, and asks your indulgence of his silence, as he is much occupied. Since I began I have seen the letter from Bucer, in which he says, that we must carefully avoid coming together, since he suspects that we would mutually incite each other to a line of conduct which each of us is too ready to pursue. And he desires that I should go to no place where this irritable mind would be in danger from much disquietude."

M. Henry makes some observations on this whole affair, which have a special interest to us as Americans. "In all this difficult transaction Calvin demeaned himself aright. Even at the outset he would not recognise the authority of the council to exclude the pastors from their right of deciding on spiritual matters. Indeed this is one of the greatest mistakes of the reformation, which is not yet amended. The secular authorities in other countries, like the council in Geneva, made encroachments, in order that the church might be subject to the state, as before the reformation the state had been subject to the church. From one extreme point they went to its opposite. In other matters, the forms and worship which the ministers then established have been continued in the Reformed churches, after the Geneva model. This, for instance, accounts for the use of unleavened bread in our church; for when Calvin was reinstated he declined all further controversy on this point. Before his first arrival Farel had abrogated all festivals, except Sunday. He was zealous for his early arrangements. On these indifferent things Calvin laid no stress; but he was proportionally more tenacious of ministerial prerogatives. He justly attributed his banishment to the hostility of the people, council, and clergy to church discipline, without which it was his most sincere opinion, no church could exist. 'They charge us,' said he, 'with a desire to bring in a new popery, and to tyrannise over the free church.'"

We next find Calvin at Strasburg, which had received the principles of the Reformation in 1525. The academy there was at this time flourishing under the auspices of Sturmius. The chief labourers were Sturmius, Bucer, Capito, Hedio, and Niger. Calvin was received with open arms, and honoured with municipal privileges. During two or three

years which he spent in Strasburg he began his exegetical works, and continued to enrich his Institutes. All his correspondence shows that his theological views were becoming more extensive, while his piety had a correspondent increase. He forgave his enemies, and cultivated an humble mind. By here founding the French church, which became a model, and by enlarging his circle of friends, especially among the Lutherans, he had a door opened during this period of rest for wider influence. It had been his desire to go into private life: "When," says he, "I was first relieved from my official labours, I meant to rest; but that distinguished servant of God, Martin Bucer, as Farel had done before him, adjured me in the name of God, to undertake a new station. He adduced the case of Jonah, which so terrified me that I assumed anew the office of a teacher. And though I was still the same man as before, shunning publicity as much as possible, I was carried to the imperial diet, and, nolens volens, was presented to the view of a multitude."

In all his letters he shows the absence of malevolence towards his antagonists, and of jealousy towards his successors; still looking with paternal and unalterable affection on his flock, and sending them every counsel which could promote the discipline he had at heart. He writes to Farel: "We have in our little church solemnized the Lord's Supper for the first time after the custom of the place, and have determined to do so once a month. Capito and Bucer desire me to greet you and our brethren most affectionately. The latter is about to undertake a journey which is laborious at this season. He is going to the landgrave, whom he will accompany to Saxony. He is to treat with Luther and the Saxons respecting church property. I have given him a letter to Philip [Melancthon], praying him to join me in a full collation of our respective tenets. I add twelve articles, and if he agree with me in these, I can in this affair ask no more of him and Luther. When I shall have heard from him I will inform you."

In a letter to Pignaeus he shows his sentiments respecting the Geneva business. "It has been of set purpose that I have not communicated publicly with my brethren about the late events. And even if I had not been sure that every word I should write would be wrested to a bad sense, I should still have determined to repel by silence the execrations of my foes. I also felt persuaded that in this I should have the acquiescence of my brethren. But now, when I

cannot avoid it, I address you concerning the basis of my faith. Nevertheless I cannot yet wring from myself any thing like an accusatory epistle to the consistory. I value the peace of the church too highly to wish any interruption of it on my behalf.* Your reasons might move me if there were not only truth in the accusation but such dignity in the accuser as would carry weight, for then silence might inflict a stigma on my official station. But I see no end to struggles, which aim to pacify such cabals. If I were not restrained by the interests of Christ and the church, they would soon reap the fruits of their insolence. But I should be morose indeed to all good men, if I were not content with the witness of a good conscience toward God, and with the judgment of the church."—"It is therefore a mattter of indifference to me whether these enemies fill their dens with their barking or not; though I am persuaded it will not long be thus. For I hope the day is not far off, in which truth and justice will gain a hearing."

It was about the same time that Coraud, the venerable blind preacher, who was banished with Calvin, was removed by death; not without the dreadful suspicion that he had been murdered. The event deeply penetrated the heart of Calvin. He thus speaks of it in a letter to Farel, October 24th, 1538.

"I have been so prostrated by Coraud's death that I can set no bounds to my distress. None of my daily employments are sufficient to withhold my thoughts from constantly recurring to this subject. The mournful sufferings of the day are succeeded by more poignant anguish of the night. Not only am I tormented by broken rest, an evil to which habit has in some degree reconciled me, but I am almost destroyed by a total inability to sleep, which more than any thing else is prejudicial to my health. My principal grief arises from the atrocity which has taken place if our suspicion is just; and there seems no room left for doubt. To what lengths will our posterity go, if such things occur in our first attempts! And how do I fear, lest this crime should be presently visited in some great judgment on the church. It is no small token of God's wrath, that while there are so few faithful servants, the church should be deprived of one who was among the best. Dear brother, what can we do,

* Pluris est mihi ecclesiarum tranquillitas, quam ut velim mea causa interpellari.

but bewail our misfortune! Yet the consolation is never wanting. It is some comfort that all evince by their sorrow and mourning their opinion of his virtue and probity. Yet our adversaries do not gain a single hair by his death. For he stands before the tribunal of God as the witness and accuser of their iniquity, and with a voice more loud than when it made the earth to shake, will proclaim their everlasting misery. We, whom God has still allowed to remain, will calmly pursue the way which he trode, until we have finished our course. And however great may be the difficulties which oppose us, none of them shall hinder us from attaining that rest into which he has already entered. Without the support of this hope, our circumstances might well lead to despair. But since the truth of God remains firm and immoveable, we will stand at our watch until at length that kingdom of God which is now hidden shall appear."

While at Strasburg, besides serving the French church, Calvin read theological lectures. He either preached or lectured every day. Here he expounded the gospel of John. He attended on all the disputations in the gymnasium. In promoting discipline, holy living and concord, he found such discouragements, that he said to a correspondent: "As for me, I see no end, and my soul would despair, were I not held up by the consideration that one should not forsake the work of God, happen what may." During his absence from Geneva the people had quarrelled with their new ministers. Calvin immediately wrote to them in strong terms, enjoining upon them the duty of honouring those who were over them in the Lord His liberality of sentiment appears in this, that he exhorts the Genevese to go to the communion, even in cases where the minister might be unworthy: "I will explain to you, in a few words," he writes to Pignaeus, "the reasons of this judgment. Wherever Christ rules, there is a church, even if errors exist. Baptism can be administered only in the church. There is a church, wherever the truth is preached, and on this it stands as on a base. Even if the doctrine is mingled with some errors, I am satisfied, if fundamental doctrine is maintained. And thus even in Geneva may the pious and the orthodox participate in the sacraments. Those who have a good conscience need not absent themselves on account of the abuses of others, provided that the communion be solemnized agreeably to the Lord's word. The Israelites and also the early Christians partook of the sacraments even in the gloomiest periods of the church. I

neither intend, nor think it needful, to pursue the whole subject further. But I will never be induced to be the author of a schism, until I shall have been convinced that the church has undeniably departed from the worship of God, and the preaching of the word."*

In 1539, when the pillars of the Genevan reformation were removed, the pope found a good opportunity for an adroit attempt. For this purpose he made a prudent choice of Cardinal Sadolet, of Carpentras in Dauphineé, a man of genius, learning, wit, and unblemished morals. This prelate wrote a letter to the people of Geneva, which, had it been in the vernacular tongue, would have produced great impression. There was no one in the city who could answer it. Here the magnanimity of Calvin shone forth. Separated as he was, and that most injuriously, from this fickle people, he declared that he could never cease to love them as his own soul, nor to regard his ministerial union with them as dissolved by nothing short of death. He instantly wrote a reply to the cardinal, in which all his powers reveal themselves with splendour. Alexander Morus justly says: "If any one would know the beauty and force of Calvin's style, let him read his reply to cardinal Sadolet, which cannot fail to touch his heart, and to render him a better and a holier man."†

In the minds of all the reformers there was an inexpressible longing for a solid union between the German and Swiss churches. In the prosecution of measures for an amicable adjustment, Calvin went over into Germany. He attended the conferences at Frankfort in 1539, and at Hagenau and Worms in 1540. Afterwards he visited Ratisbon. At Frankfort he met with Melancthon, to whom it will be remembered he had sent twelve articles for his opinion. "These (says he) I had sent to him in order to sound him, as to the reality of any difference between us. But before he wrote to me in reply, I met him at Frankfort, and he

* Ego nunquam adducar, ut schismatis sim autor, donec Ecclesiam plane a Dei cultu ac Verbi praedicatione defecisse cognovero.

† The following little specimen of his appeal to Sadolet is Ciceronïan, and may gratify our Latin readers: Aures arrigamus ad illum tubae clangorem, quem ipsi quoque mortuorum cineres e sepulchris suis exaudient. Mentes animosque intendamus ad illum judicem, qui sola vultus sui illustratione reteget quicquid in tenebris latet, omniaque humani cordis arcana patefaciet, et solo spiritu oris proteret omnes iniquos. Tu nunc vide quid pro te ac tuis serio respondeas; causam sane nostram, ut Dei veritate suffulta est, ita justa defensio minime deficiet. In the Pithoeana, it is said that Calvin made a point of reading all of Cicero's works, once every year. Teissier Elog. d. h. sav. T. 2. p. 445.

declared to me that my words precisely expressed his opinions."* No one can read the detailed history of the reformation without remarking that Melancthon and Bucer were respectively the peacemakers of the two churches, and that Luther was quite as necessary to back Melancthon, as Calvin was to corroborate Bucer. Calvin knew and loved them both, but he seems to have found an intellectual and literary congeniality in the former. On his return to Strasburg he writes to Farel: "I had no thought of the journey until the day before, but learning from Bucer's letter that he could do nothing for our persecuted brethren, I was filled with a desire to go, in order that their safety might not suffer by any neglect—a thing which often occurs in the hurry of business—and to talk with Philip about religion and the church. Both reasons will strike you as weighty. Capito and the others advised the step. And then the party was agreeable, for Sturmius and a number of other good friends accompanied us."—"With Philip I had a long conference. I had previously written to him upon the subject of a union, and sent him certain articles touching the principal matters. To these he assented without exception, but added that there were other men who demanded something more palpable, and with such obstinacy, not to say tyranny, as to place him in danger, whenever they observed that he varied from them in sentiment. And though he did not believe that an actual union could be effected, he still hoped that this harmony of feeling, by whatever means, might continue until the Lord should bring both parties to the unity of truth. As it regards himself, doubt not that he agrees with us."—"Philip thinks that in the midst of such storms there is nothing better than to go before the wind, in the hope, that when we have a little rest from external foes, there will come a favourable time in which we may direct attention to measures for amending our interior discipline. Capito calls God and men, heaven and earth to witness, that the church is lost, unless we are speedily relieved from these grievous circumstances; and as he sees no signs of this, he wishes for death. But if the Lord has himself called us, and of this we cannot doubt, he will give us his blessing, even though every thing goes against us. Let us then use all means, and if all means fail, let us not the less go forward

* Illos enim ad eum miseram, quo expiscarer, an aliquid esset inter nos dissensionis. Antequam responderet conveni eum Francofordiae, testatus est mihi nihil se aliud sentire quam quod meis verbis expressissem.

till our very last breath. When I perceive how sorely you disquiet yourself, I wish to be with you, that I might give you consolation."

In another letter to the same, after describing the Diet, and the princes, and the proposals for a truce, with the view of promoting religious harmony, he mentions an invitation given by Henry VIII. to Melancthon, whom this monarch wished to see at London. "There is no doubt," he proceeds, "that a deputation will be sent, but they are unwilling to send Melancthon, on account of their distrusting the excessive mildness of his character. Yet he agrees with me, and makes no secret of his opinions. He has protested to me in the most solemn terms that this want of confidence is groundless. And in truth, as I believe I have seen into his very heart, I should as little hesitate, in dealing with those who would take advantage of remissness, to place reliance on him as on Bucer. For Bucer burns with such zeal to propagate the gospel, that he likewise is too ready to be contented with cardinal points, and too yielding in those which strike him as secondary, even though they are really important."—"I have told Philip that this array of ceremonies is greatly displeasing to me, and that to me they savour of Judaism. When I pressed him with arguments he would not deny that there were by far too many external rites which were either unmeaning or useless. But, said he, this is rendered unavoidable by the pertinacity of the canonists, who adhere to the ancient prescriptions. The upshot of the whole was, that Luther was as little pleased with the imposition of ceremonies as with our extreme repugnance to them."—"Bucer only goes so far as this; he will not agree that we should be divided from Luther by these merely external trifles. The alliance with the Germans involves nothing which could offend a pious heart. Why, I pray you, do they not unite the powers which God has bestowed, for the common defence of the gospel?"

Ecce iterum Crispinus adest! Caroli appears once more upon the stage. He had, as we said, gone back to the Romish church, but finding himself uncomfortable, he made an attempt at reconciliation with the Reformed. Farel, with characteristic magnanimity, was ready in a moment to pour coals of fire on his head by consenting to treat with him. Caroli professed contrition for his former errors, and recognised the evangelical doctrine as true. But the Neufchatel classis would not receive him, as Farel had agreed to do,

and the Bernese demanded of him a full retraction. Caroli left Berne in a fume of passion, and betook himself to Strasburg, where Calvin's sagacity in a moment unmasked him. Though greatly offended, Calvin endeavoured to win the man over by entreaties; it was however a futile attempt. The correspondence of Calvin with regard to Farel's hasty reception of this apostate is interesting. This will appear from the following extracts. Calvin to Farel, October 8, 1539. "Yesterday in the evening Henricus returned. On rising from table I went to Bucer, and read to him your letter, which gave him the greatest pleasure; especially as showing your mildness toward Caroli. He declares that he could scarcely have been brought to embrace him with such forbearance. When he comes to Basle it is to be feared that he will meet with harsher treatment from Grynaeus." He goes on to say that the brethren of Strasburg maintained their conferences with Caroli, without Calvin's participation, fearing that his asperity might frustrate the object. Caroli's admissions of error were exceedingly slight and suspicious. When at length Calvin was called in, he declared that he would feel satisfied with a frank confession. But the other brethren admitted a series of articles which greatly wounded Calvin's feelings. These were brought to him late at night. "When they were read (says he) I was thrown into greater agitation than I have experienced during the whole year. The next morning I sent for Sturmius. I explained to him the grounds of my dissatisfaction, and he conversed with Bucer. They invited me to Matthias's house, that I might acquaint them with my grievance. There I sinned greatly, for I was unable to be moderate, my whole mind being so filled with choler, that I overflowed with bitterness. And indeed there was some cause for indignation, if it had only been kept within bounds.* I complained that when Caroli had concluded all, and the affair was ended, they should ask my subscription to the articles, and themselves approve them, without giving me a hearing. What chiefly agitated me was that in these articles Caroli had said that he left to God those injuries which had driven him to his defection. The conclusion of my answer was that I would die sooner than sign the paper. Upon which arose such warmth on both

* Illic graviter peccavi quod non potui modum tenere, ita enim totam mentem meam occupaverat bilis, ut omni ex parte acerbitatem effunderem. Et erat sane aliqua indignationis causa, si adhibita fuisset moderatio.

sides, that I really could not have been sharper towards Caroli himself if he had been present. At length I left the room. Bucer, after pacifying me in some degree by conversation, brought me back to the company; and I agreed to weigh the matter before my final answer. After I came home, I was seized with a surprising paroxysm, and found no relief but in sighs and tears, being the rather distressed that you had been the cause of those evils. For they repeatedly upbraided me by adducing your mildness, urging that you had welcomed Caroli, and that it was stubborness in me to resist the influence of such a previous decision. Bucer played every possible part to soften my mind, and from time to time brought up your example in reproof. Your inadvertence, or facility, is inexcusable, and to be frank, who is there that would not wish you greater zeal, firmness and reserve? Suffer me to console myself by charging you with a fault which has occasioned me so much suffering. If I could have summoned you before me, I would have turned upon you all that excess of indignation which I poured upon the others. Now that we have re-admitted him, we must abide by it. Maintain now that forbearance which you have manifested prematurely. As I know that you are long since familiar with my asperity, I will make no apology for treating you with incivility. As it regards Sadolet's letter, act according to your pleasure, but let us know what that is."

About a fortnight later, he says: "Forgive me, beloved brother, for not writing to you after that tempestuous letter which was pressed from me while my anger was in its first glow. I scarcely know what it was that I wrote. Yet this I know, that I did not use moderation, for my only solace in my distress was the opportunity of wrangling with you, who by your excess of facility had involved me in these embarrassments."

We cite these passages, perhaps at the hazard of some misapprehension, but every candid judge will discern in them not merely the infirmity but the greatness of Calvin's soul; the infirmity of an irascible mind, the greatness of being ready to unbosom himself with such frankness of confession.*

From the diet at Hagenau, whither Calvin went in 1540, he sent letters to his friends, which shewed a thorough in-

* Caroli went once more to Rome, where he died in a hospital, a victim of the most infamous disease.

sight into all the diplomatic intrigues of the powers there represented. Upon his return to Strasburg, we find him busily employed in writing upon the question of the Lord's Supper. Our notice of this must be merely incidental, as we hope to find an occasion for discussing the subject at greater length. It is pleasing to observe the relation of the two great reformers to one another at this time. Calvin writes to Farel: "Crato, one of our engravers, has lately returned from Wittenberg. He brought a letter from Luther to Bucer, in which he says: *Present my reverent salutations to Sturmius and Calvin. The books of the latter I have read with singular pleasure.* Philip also writes thus: *Luther and Pomeranus salute Calvin and Sturmius. Calvin has won great favour.* And Philip directed the bearer of the letters to add, that certain persons, in order to exasperate Martin, had pointed out to him the severe manner in which I had written of him and his party. He looked at the passage and felt at once that he was the person reflected on; and in the conversation which ensued, he said: *I hope Calvin will ere long think better of us; yet it is but right to bear a good deal from such a genius.* If we are not mollified by such moderation we must be made of rock. For my part I am broken down. And therefore I have written an apology which shall be inserted in the preface of the Epistle to the Romans."

On the same subject, but in another connexion, Calvin writes to the same friend, with reference to the protestants of Zurich: "These good people are filled with jealousy whenever any one dares to set Luther above Zuingle, as if we should no longer have any gospel, if any thing were derogated from Zuingle. And yet there is in all this no injustice to him. For if the two men be compared, you know how immeasurable is Luther's superiority. Zebedei's poem gave me therefore no pleasure, in which he does not think he has praised Zuingle according to his deserts, unless he says it were a sin to wish for a greater man.—It were certainly wicked not to think honourably of so great a man, but there is a boundary even to panegyric, and this the writer has greatly overleaped. I at least am so far from coinciding with him, that I have myself seen a number greater than Zuingle; I hope to see others and wish to see all greater. I pray you, dear Farel, if any one had thus exalted Luther, would not the men of Zurich have cried out that Zuingle was mortally injured? Fools! you will say—but mark, this

is all for your private ear." It was during this period that Calvin's work *de Coena* appeared. It was irenical in its nature, and tended to narrow the debateable ground between the Lutherans and the Reformed. M. Henry justly observes that in almost every instance the proposals of pacification have come from the Reformed. In 1631 the Synod at Charenton determined that Lutherans should be admitted to the communion without doctrinal examination. In the meantime the powers at Rome trembled lest this union should be effected.

The name of the Socini is too well known, as having become connected with a seductive heresy. The elder of these, Laelius Socinus, or Sosinus, was a man of great genius and accomplishments. He became an exile from Italy, and died at Zurich in 1562. We find the following extract from a letter, of uncertain date, addressed to him by Calvin. It refers to the doctrine of divine predestination.

"*To Laelius Sosinus—of Siena in Italy—a man sufficiently light and captious.*—I have always been as averse as any mortal can be, to mere paradoxes, and have little pleasure in subtleties, but nothing shall ever hinder me from the ingenuous profession of all that I learn from the word of God. In the school of this Master nothing is taught but what is useful. For all future time my only rule in philosophizing shall be to acquiesce in his simple teaching."—"If it is your pleasure to wing your way through airy speculations of this sort, you must allow me, as an humble disciple of Christ, to meditate on those things which tend to the edification of my faith; and I shall henceforth endeavour to secure this by being silent, that I may escape your vexatious disputations. I greatly lament, that since the Lord has endowed you with liberality of mind, you should not only employ yourself fruitlessly in things of no value, but allow yourself to be corrupted by destructive falsities. And to repeat my former protestation, I again solemnly warn you, that unless you speedily correct this prurience of inquiry, there is reason to fear lest you call down heavier anguish. If under colour of kindness I should connive at a fault which appears to me highly injurious, I should act towards you a cruel part. I am therefore willing to give you some offence by my asperity, rather than to see you inextricably entangled in these pleasing snares of speculation. The time, I trust, will arrive, when you will thank me for having thus violently aroused you. Farewell, dearest brother, and if you

find me more objurgatory than is just, impute it to my affection for you."

This seems the proper place to say that in 1539 was published the enlarged edition of the Institutes. Though the author's last revision was bestowed on that of 1559, yet as the changes were merely superficial, the former is justly regarded as the perfect fruit of his mature studies. M. Henry furnishes his readers with a careful analysis of the whole. Of this celebrated work we have the following opinion from the pen of a leading rationalist of Germany. "It contains," says Bretschneider, "a treasure of excellent thought, acute developments of doctrine, and refined observation, and is composed in a style at once elegant, animated and eloquent. The only analogous work possessed by the Lutheran church is the celebrated *Loci communes* of Melancthon, which as it regards compactness, rich veins of argument, polemical strength, and systematic completeness, does not approach the work of Calvin."*

"Theological genius," says the biographer, "implies three endowments which were united in Calvin in the highest degree; first, fulness of faith or the lively acknowledgment of the truth from an inward revelation; secondly, power of reason competent to conceive the given truth, to reduce the mass of thought to unity, and to dissect it by the acuteness of an intellect which reveals or dissolves every difficulty, and is equal to controversial effort; and finally exegetical talent and tact, to found the whole structure on the firm basis of the gospel. Calvin possessed, in addition, dignity and energy of discourse. We see more justly the keenness of his collected mind when we consider the rudeness and darkness of the age, in which without assistance he arrived so early at the right interpretation of Scripture, and cast so clear a light on the doctrinal system as to place himself higher in the knowledge of the truth than many fathers of the church, while he grounds himself solely on the Scriptures. It was this which led Scaliger to say: Solus inter theologos Calvinus. The value of the work is indicated by the fact that through translations it has become the common property of all Europe. It has been translated by Icard into modern French, by Pascalis into Italian, by Cyprian de Valera into Spanish, by Norton [and Allen] into English; by various hands, especially by divines of Heidelberg university, into

* Reformat. Almanach, p. 107.

German; by Agricola into Dutch; and besides all these there are versions into Hungarian, Greek, and even Arabic." We can only refer, without further quotation, to the biographer's extended and judicious survey and critique of this work, and of Calvin's exegetical labours.

In 1539 appeared also the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. These expository works were his delight. "If," says he, "God has given me any dexterity in the exposition of Scripture, I am sure that I use all fidelity and diligence in rejecting mere subtleties, which are unedifying. These truths when accompanied by an artless simplicity (d'une simplicité naifve) are more effectual, and more fitted to nourish the children of God, who are not content with the husk but wish to enjoy the kernel. In truth the fruits I have received from my other expositions of Scripture have given me so much joy that I desire to spend my whole life in the same labours."*

His judgment of other expositors is hinted in a letter to Viret, of May 19, 1540. "Capito lectures upon Isaiah, and might be useful to you, but that he dictates nothing to his hearers. Zuingle is not without address, but he sometimes takes too great liberties, and often departs widely from the sense of the prophets. Luther is never anxious to investigate the grammatical and historical signification, but satisfied when he can deduce practical instructions from the text. No one has more diligently employed himself in this department than Oecolampadius; and yet he is not always correct. Although you are destitute of aids, I trust the Lord will not forsake you."

"Calvin commented on all the books of Scripture with the exception of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Esther, Nehemiah, Ezra, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and the Revelation." This is M. Henry's statement: but he should have added the two lesser Epistles of John and the Epistle of Jude. He was engaged on the historical books late in life. That of Joshua was his last study. His printed expositions were substantially what he had pronounced in the lecture room. Here the exercise was not merely intellectual; it was a religious service. Calvin opened every lecture with the following prayer: "The Lord grant that we may attend to the mysteries of his wisdom, that we may truly

* Pref. Min. Proph.

profit, in the fear of his name, to his glory, and our edification. Amen."

In 1540 Calvin published a French version of the whole Bible, but it was not altogether original, being a revision of the translation by Olivetan. Some of the biographer's remarks on this event are very striking. "Compare (says he) the two great reformers, and the palm of learned scriptural interpretation must be awarded to Calvin, and Luther resumes his elevation only when we take into view his popular version of the Bible. The Reformed of Germany did not appreciate this work, and in 1602 John Piscator of Herborn made a second German translation, which, being slavishly literal, like that of Tremellius, had no success. When at our day we survey these manifold attempts, and consider how many essays are made even now towards a French version, and all without satisfaction, we cannot but regret that Calvin never undertook the work single-handed, so as to furnish the French church and the French language with a translation marked with his originality and authority, and inspired by the very breath of the Most High. It was he alone who could have undertaken a work of this nature, popular and practical, and requiring not mere erudition but the depth of Christian life, a heart intimately touched with the subject, and feeling the fulness of grace and the misery of man, as they can be felt only in periods of trial, when the soul lifts itself to God, and by means of the struggle discovers the right expression. Hence I should prefer the first ancient French version, with some emendations, to all modern ones. And that of Luther, notwithstanding its acknowledged errors, will continue to be the best for the Christian, until in some season of conflict, trial and genius, a translator shall arise, who shall soar above the rest of the world, with all its refined, accurate, and heartless niceties. At present, the most learned man is unable to translate a single Psalm in such a manner as to fall devoutly on the ear of a congregation, nor can a poet compose a hymn to the glory of God which shall lift up the soul. We have scientific oratorios, but where have we a melody, like those of the olden time, to penetrate the heart? 'Our admiration of Luther's version,' as Everhard observes,' is heightened, when we consider that he had to give the first shape to his language. He is the Dante of the High German tongue. Like Dante, he culled from all the German idioms the most significant and euphonic, and reconstructed these agreeably to the analogy of his vernacu-

lar Meissen dialect. His language is still the basis of our classical diction; a proof of his success in the experiment.'"

Calvin also had an acknowledged influence on the formation of the French language, but he might have gained mastery over its whole structure, and made it other than it is. Then, instead of the Academy and the Parisian stage, Calvin would have been the standard, as Luther has been in Germany; if, when the Reformed were yet numerous, he had embalmed in a beautiful and popular work the noble naiveté of the antique French before Louis XIV. This is what all the so-called Romantic school are vainly attempting —the natural grace of antiquity as opposed to the stiffness of the modern classics. It is what we find in Montaigne, and many earlier writers who employed adventurous expressions and impressive phrases, but which, alas! the excess of cultivation has, we scarce know why, obliterated.

The attempts about this time at effecting a union between the Romanists and the Protestants deserve a moment's attention. The emperor desired to accomplish this by a conference. Preliminaries were settled at Hagenau. The communication began at Worms. The emperor dissolved the conference in order to resume the discussion more solemnly at Ratisbon, in 1541. Calvin was present at the transactions, and was altogether dissatisfied with the concessions of Melancthon and Bucer; in which he had the concurrence of Luther. It was during these proceedings that he gained his nearest access to Melancthon, whom he loved while he rebuked him. On the critical point of transubstantiation, Calvin expressed himself boldly. He thus writes to his bosom friend: "Though I was not a commissioner, I allowed no fear of giving offence to hinder me from objecting freely to this real presence; I affirmed that the adoration of the host was insufferable. Believe me, these are transactions in which firm souls are needed to corroborate the others. If we could rest satisfied with a divided Christ, we might soon come to terms. Philip and Bucer are now manufacturing ambiguous and disguised formulas upon transubstantiation, in order to catch the adversaries in mere mist. This I dislike, even if there were any probability of its success. They hope that if the door can only be thrown open for the truth, all this matter will soon become plain. And thus they go on, hopping over difficulties, and making no scruple of equivocal expressions; than which nothing can be more injurious. Yet I testify to you, and to all pious people, that they are

men of a noble spirit, and have nothing in view but the promotion of Christ's kingdom; nevertheless they are both too temporising."

It is delightful to contemplate the mutual affection of Calvin and Melancthon. As it regards temperament, each appears to have had the supplementary quality which was necessary to the other. Calvin though more bold than Melancthon was less heroic than Luther, and sometimes melted into gentleness. "The amiable aspect of his character," says M. Henry, "has even till our day been overlooked." He fully understood the excellencies of his German brother, and fraternally reprimanded him, when he shrunk from duty. Writing to Melancthon, on a certain occasion, Calvin says. "Would God we could confer together. I know your candour, ingenuousness, and moderation; your piety is attested by angels and the world. In times of wretchedness and conflict, it would be no small solace to me to embrace you before we leave this world." When Calvin's faithful reproofs had for a short time offended Melancthon, we find the former thus addressing him: "Our attachment, which springs from a community of religious feeling, must be unalterable and eternal. The good of the church is connected with our harmony."

After the death of Melancthon, Calvin addresses his spirit in this touching apostrophe: "And thou, O Philip Melancthon! For I invoke thee, who now livest with Christ in God, awaiting the day when we shall be gathered to you in blissful quiet. Thou hast a hundred times said, when weary with labours and oppressed with trials thou hast laid thy head affectionately in my bosom, *O that I might die upon this breast!* A thousand times since, have I wished that we could meet. Thou wouldst certainly have been more daring in conflict, and more prompt in despising the malice of men, and their false accusations. And thus might have been restrained the dishonesty of many, who grew more audacious in insult by reason of what they deemed thy timidity."*

At the very time when Calvin was on his journey to Worms, with Capito, Bucer, and Sturmius, the people of Geneva, repenting of their misdeeds, were taking measures to recal him. Some of his personal enemies had been removed by signal dispensations of Providence. One of the

* De v. partic. Chr. in coena contra Heshusium. Op. 724.

malignant syndics had been convicted of sedition, and was killed by a fall from a window, as he was trying to escape. Another had been found guilty of murder, and was beheaded. Two others, detected in a conspiracy, had fled. Farel and Calvin were now, in a season of calm reflection, viewed in a true light, and invited to return. The Neufchatel people absolutely refused to part with Farel. The council at Geneva wrote a letter to Calvin which he showed to Bucer and the brethren, and the latter replied to it, saying, that "one sentiment had constantly ruled in Calvin's breast, namely, the desire for their salvation, even if this should cost his greatest exertions, yea, his very blood." But they added that they were all about to visit Worms, on business of the greatest public importance, and they counselled them to send for Viret and Farel. The Genevese made a second application, but the Strasburg brethren employed the intervention of Bucer, Sturmius and Capito to dissuade Calvin.

The people of Geneva, still not disheartened, prevailed on the churches of Zurich, Berne, and Basle, to plead their cause. In May, 1541, the act of condemnation was solemnly rescinded. Ami Perrini, a former syndic, proceeded from Strasburg to Worms, in order to show the reformed ministers there, how favourable an opportunity was now afforded for propagating the gospel in France; which had such an effect, that Bucer and his colleagues changed their whole plan, and urged upon Calvin the duty of an immediate return to Geneva. Bullinger wrote a pressing letter to the church at Strasburg, urging them to acquiesce. Viret, who was engaged at Geneva for six months, joined with Farel in beseeching Calvin to resume his labours among them. The effect of these concurrent solicitations on the mind of Calvin was a state of perplexity and agitation which he declared no words could describe.

In a letter to Farel, he says: "It has certainly been good news to me that a measure of peace has been established at Geneva. I have only to wish that they had united themselves in the Lord, for, as you have said, so long as the Lord is not our band of union, the union is accursed. It is on more than one account that I have constantly told you, that the mere thought of a return terrifies me. Not only am I alarmed, at your persevering demands—though I acknowledge this is the chief source of my distress—but there are other reasons. —The further I advance, the clearer is my view of the precipice from which the Lord has delivered me."

Jacob Bernhard, one of the preachers at Geneva, also wrote to him, informing him that Henricus and himself were left without assistance, and that he had advised the weeping people to commit their case to God in earnest prayer, and to ask of him such a pastor as their necessities demanded. "And to speak truly," he adds, "I did this without the hope that you would be the pastor granted. The people joined with the greatest devotion. The next day the two hundred were convened and all demanded Calvin. The general council was summoned on the day following—and every voice was raised for Calvin—'We desire for our preacher Calvin, that righteous, learned man.' Seeing this, I could only praise God for his works, since the stone which the builders refused has become the head of the corner. Come, therefore, reverend father in Christ! You are ours—God the Lord has given you to us. All sigh for your return. You shall behold what delight your presence will communicate to all. Hesitate not to come and see in Geneva a people renovated by divine grace, through the instrumentality of Viret.—God grant that you may not hesitate to come. Give your aid to our church, else the Lord God will require our blood at your hands—for you should be with us the watchman of the house of Israel."

In a trial of this nature, which many ministers of the gospel know how to estimate, Calvin exhibited that conscientiousness and resignation which continued to characterize him to the close of life. Again he addresses Farel, in October, 1540. "You know that during this season I have been so full of disquiet and anguish as to have lost half my self-control. Why I am unwilling that what I now confide to your bosom should transpire, you will at once perceive. When I remember the misery which I suffered at Geneva, I inwardly tremble at the slightest intimation of a return thither; not to mention the distress we constantly endured in common while labouring together. I am well aware that sufferings await me, and that if I live for Christ my life must be a conflict. But in the recollection of my pains of conscience and the agonies which there destroyed all my peace —forgive me if I regard that place with apprehension. Next to God you can best witness, that I was retained only by the yoke of my vocation, which, as imposed by God himself I durst not shake off. So long, therefore, as I was bound fast I was willing to endure every thing rather than entertain the thought of change, which often crept in. But now being by God's grace liberated, who can blame me, for hesitating to

plunge again into the vortex from which I have suffered such injury? I have, moreover, forgotten the art of ruling great masses of people; here I have to do with men who for the most part honour me as their pastor and teacher, and if even this is burdensome—how much more the other!—Nevertheless these are not hinderances which can withhold me from obeying my vocation; for the more my soul recoils from it, the more am I suspicious of myself. Allow me, therefore, to abstract myself from the consultation; beg our friends not to consult my opinion;—and that they may be more unbiassed and conscientious in their deliberation, I conceal from them a great part of my emotions. I protest, however, that I am not dealing craftily with God, nor am I seeking any subterfuge, for as I desire the good of the Genevan church, I am ready to suffer a hundred deaths, rather than, by abandoning, to betray them."

A noble Christian letter! Can any reader fail to discern in it an apostolic self-renunciation? Notwithstanding the hostile array which awaited his efforts in furtherance of discipline, he was willing to throw himself into the hottest of the fight. There was perhaps no other among the reformers, not even Zuingle, indomitable hero as he was, who could have 'wielded at will that fierce democraty.'

To Nicholas Pareus, his substitute at Strasburg, he wrote from Worms: "As to the call to Geneva, my mind is in such a state of darkness and confusion, that I scarcely dare to think of what I am to do. For when, as it frequently happens, I yield to such reflections, I can find no way of escape. Therefore so long as I am involved in such anguish, I have reason to distrust my own judgment, and willingly commit myself to the guidance of others. Meanwhile let us pray to God that he would show us the path of duty."—The decisive influence on Calvin's mind seems here, as in many other cases, to have come from Farel. Writing to the latter, he thus expresses himself, in terms which show his deference for the judgment of his friend. "In truth the thunder and the lightning, which in a wonderful manner, to me inexplicable, you have launched against me, have thrown me into perturbation and terror. It is known to you that while I dreaded this call, I have not fled from it. Why then was it needful for you to fall upon me with such force—in a manner scarcely compatible with friendship? My last letter you say scarcely left you a ray of hope. If this was indeed so, pardon my inadvertence. My intention was only to excuse myself for

not coming at once; being prevented by this indispensable journey. And as I had no such scheme as you ascribe to me, I assure myself of your forgiveness as soon as you shall have examined and understood the affair." And subsequently, he says, "even now, although I am gaining composure by degrees, I am but imperfectly relieved. Indeed, I am ashamed to acknowledge, that sighing and grief have in them a certain satisfaction, which makes one almost unwilling to be all at once consoled." The deputies from Geneva found Calvin at Worms: "Here," says he, "there fell from me more tears than words, so that they were convinced of my sincerity. In two instances I was constrained to be silent and to withdraw."—"I now offer my slain heart as a sacrifice to God. I have always conjured these friends to forget me and to keep in view only the glory of God and the welfare of the church. Though I am not very inventive, I should have been at no loss for evasions, but I knew that I was dealing with God, who penetrates all such disguises. Therefore I subdue my spirit, bound and repressed to the obedience of God."

In this whole conflict it is easy to perceive the firmness of Calvin's convictions and purposes. He knew the temper of that little republic, and its liability to licentious faction. He knew that they would become restiff at the first tension of the cords of discipline. And he knew that he could not answer it to God, if after one failure, he should allow the slightest relaxation. He was therefore resolved from the very first to oppose a front of steel to every libertine encroachment. The 13th of September was the day of his return. He was received with a sort of triumph by the people and the magistracy, who sent a herald to escort him. He had prepared himself to pronounce a discourse in vindication of himself and his colleagues, but this was needless as the people voluntarily confessed their fault. The protocol of Sept. 20th informs us that he was urgently invited to spend his life with them, and that the council presented him with a coat.*

From this presentation of a coat we will take occasion to go into a branch of our subject which more than any other has lain in darkness until this publication of Henry's, we mean the private circumstances, manners and character of

* E. d. Reg. le. 13. et 20. Sept. 1541. On prie tres instamment Calvin de rester ici pour tonjours et on lui donne un habit de drap.

Calvin. While he resided at Strasburg his means must have been very narrow. His correspondence was expensive; he scrupulously avoided receiving any thing from his friends; but in order to live, we find him from time to time selling his books. A little incident illustrates our remarks. The Waldenses had sent commissioners to Calvin. As these men were returning, he writes to Farel: "The Waldensian brethren owe me a crown; in part for money lent them, in part for what I gave the courier. I have requested them to pay it over to you. If they have done so, retain it as so much towards what I am indebted to you; the remainder I will pay when I can. At present I have not a single farthing. It is surprising how much money I have to expend for extraordinaries, so that I must live by my little property, if I would not burden my brethren." In a subsequent letter, he says: "I declare to you, it is pleasant to me to see that the brethren take so friendly an interest in me, as to be ready to relieve my straits out of their own substance. Surely, I cannot but rejoice at such proofs of affection, but I have resolved not to avail myself of their goodness, nor of yours, unless I should be oppressed by greater necessities. Wendelinus, the printer, to whom I have sent my little book, will give me enough for my extraordinary expenses. My books, now at Geneva, will satisfy my host until next winter. For the future, the Lord will provide. Heretofore, when I had innumerable friends in France, there was not one who offered me a farthing, though by doing so they might have acquired the reputation of generosity at a very cheap rate, as it could have cost them nothing to proffer what I should certainly have refused.—I regret that the crown is lost."

In another letter, to the same, he again mentions the books which he had left at Geneva. "If you are able to sell any of the books, do so, and send the remainder to Basle. As the printer complains that my work goes off slowly, and that he has more on hand than he needs, I have written to him to send you a hundred copies."

From every account we learn that his manner of life was not only simple but poor. Indeed his poverty appears to have been conscientiously maintained. He received, only to give away. When drawing the ideal image of a wife, he requires that she be *parca*, frugal. Poor as he always was, we constantly find him refusing gratuities. In order to illustrate this, we may be allowed to anticipate. In Geneva he retained no more than was necessary for his economical liv-

ing. His yearly stipend was fifty crowns, about eighty bushels of corn, two barrels of wine and his lodging,* which was thought a considerable salary. But after making every allowance for the depreciation of money, we perceive that it was but a narrow living, from the fact that the council found it necessary at times to lend him a helping hand. True to his principles, he threw off ten crowns in 1546, when he was sick, and in 1553 two more which had been given him for his expenses to Berne, as a public agent. On Dec. 28, 1556, the council sent him fuel for his room. In May 1560 they presented him with a cask of the best wine, because what he had was poor. In 1563 he declined receiving twenty-five crowns for the expenses of his sickness, earnestly beseeching the council not to force them upon him. He even vowed that he would never enter their pulpit, if they again disregarded his feelings in this manner. He further renounced twenty-five crowns, nearly half his living, in order to fulfil his conscientious determination to accumulate nothing.

He once appeared before the council in some debate with an Anabaptist, who treated him opprobriously, and after exhausting his other sources of abuse, charged the Genevese pastors with luxurious living. He then called Calvin a niggard—"at which (says Calvin) there was a general laughter; for all remembered how much I had this very year declined to receive from themselves, and so seriously that I protested I would never preach there again unless they desisted; and they knew that I had not merely refused their extraordinary munificence, but had remitted a portion of my dues, not less than twenty crowns." In 1558, when his colleagues were suffering from poverty, and could not even send their children to school, he went to the council and caused them to bring down his salary to the same amount with theirs.† Henry observes that he can find in no manuscript, notice of the sale of any unpublished work to the booksellers.

Even Catholic writers have observed and mentioned this trait of rigour. Florimond de Raimond says: "Under a body dry and attenuated he ever had a fresh and rigorous mind, prompt at rejoinder, and bold in attack. He was a

* The protocol of 1541 says: Gage considerable accordé a Calvin parcequ'il est très savant. et que les passans lui coutent beaucoup.

† The subsequent records say, Jan. 12, 1577, and June 11, 1575: Gratification à l'un des respectables ministres dont la misère va au point qu'il fait souvent des repas sans pitance.

great faster, even in old age—never in mixed company—perpetually retired. Calvin is almost without a parallel. When engaged upon his Institutes he often passed whole nights without sleep and whole days without food." And, as our biographer observes, this is the more striking when placed in contrast with the almost convivial life of Luther, whose beaker was daily filled with wine from the cellar of the council, and who discoursed almost as freely on sacred things at the table as in the church.* At the same time it is but just to say, that Luther was no richer than Calvin. Erasmus has said *Lutherus pauper multos facit divites.* Their motto was that of the apostle's—*Poor, yet making many rich.* And the reader may safely be left to judge whether in our time and country we have gained much by the exchange of these indigent men, for moneyed, manufacturing, banking, stockjobbing ministers, clerical directors of iron-works, and cotton-works, and mercantile adventures; preachers of self-denial, whose names and notes are familiar in Wall-street, and who with more than missionary zeal, extend their operations to the Great West, adding field to field, and winning over the tracts of that wealthy country not more by the gospel than by skilful speculation. Ere long the story of popish bishops and cardinals will have been antiquated and needless.

When cardinal Sadolet was once travelling through Geneva incognito, he was seized with a desire of seeing the reformer who had written against him. He expected to find him in a palace, or at least a sumptuous dwelling, surrounded by a retinue of servants. What was his surprise when a small ignoble house was pointed out, and when, on his knocking, the door was opened by Calvin himself, clad in the simplest garb. The cardinal, astonished to find in such circumstances so celebrated a man, could not refrain from expressions of wonder. But Calvin begged him to observe, that in his actions he had not taken counsel of flesh and blood. He had previously said to this very Sadolet: "I do not willingly speak of myself, but since you do not suffer me to be silent, I will say what is not inconsistent with modesty. If I had sought my own aggrandizement, I should never have retired from your faction."

Notwithstanding all this, Calvin found it frequently neces-

* The reader may find Calvin's opinions on this subject, in the Institutes, Book IV. c. 4, § 8.

sary to meet the calumnious charge that he was amassing wealth. "Every one knows (he thus writes to Piperinus) how frugally I live at home. They see that I go to no expense in my dress. My only brother is not worth much, and what he has is not from me. Where then can this great wealth of mine be buried? Still it is rumoured that I have fleeced the poor. The most worthless must confess that this is a mere invention, for that which pious people give to the poor never passes through my hands. Eight years ago a man of rank died who had deposited in my house two thousand gold crowns, without any receipt from me. As soon as I heard that he was likely to die, although he wished the money to be at my disposal, I declared that I could not undertake the responsibility. I therefore persuaded him to send eight hundred crowns to Strasburg, for the relief of the unfortunate refugees in that city; and at my request he nominated certain safe persons, among whom the remainder should be divided. I totally refused to receive a sum, by no means contemptible, which he wished to give me. But I see what prompts my adversaries to these slanders; they measure my spirit by their own, not conceiving that with such opportunities I could refrain from hoarding. But truly, though I have not been able during my life to avoid the reputation of wealth, death will at length free me from the stigma." And so it came to pass; for his whole property at the time of his decease was found to be only two hundred crowns. From his numerous books, often dedicated to princes and nobles, he realized no gain, not even a present, if we except a silver ewer which he received from one de Varennes. It is observed by M. Henry, who makes his whole work a parallel between Calvin and Luther, that the German reformer, in like manner, read all his lectures without fee, and received no money for his publications.

In looking a little further into the private life and manner of the Reformer, we are struck with the delicacy and wisdom with which he treated all that relates to the state of wedlock. In the year 1539 and 1540, notwithstanding the labours demanded by his Commentary on the Romans, his treatise de Coena, his academical and pulpit discourses, journeys, letters, and municipal affairs, he found time to think of marriage. It is first hinted in March, 1539, to Farel, in a letter which depicts the wife he should wish. Again, in Feb. 1540, after dwelling on political news, he adds: "Amidst all these great commotions I still have so much tranquillity that I am

venturing to entertain thoughts of matrimony. There has been proposed to me a young lady of quality, superior to me in rank, and wealthy. From this alliance I am withheld by two considerations; first, that she does not understand French, and secondly, that I fear she will make too much account of her birth and education. Her brother, a truly pious man, has insisted on it; simply because his love to me has blinded him to his own interests. His wife rivals him in similar zeal for the union; so that I should have been almost forced to the alliance if the Lord had not delivered me. For when I answered, that I would not proceed unless the young lady should engage to learn our language, she asked further time for deliberation. Soon after this, I despatched my brother, together with a worthy man in company, to sue for another. And if the latter answers to her reputation she will bring an ample dowry without any money; for she is highly praised by those who know her. If she consent, which we confidently hope, the nuptials will not be later than the 10th of March. I wish you could be here to add your benediction; but I have harassed you so much during the year past, that I dare not ask it. If, however, any one of the brethren intend to visit us, let him select such a time as to allow him to take your place. Yet I am only making myself ridiculous, if I should be disappointed. But trusting that the Lord will be with me, I am making arrangements as for a certain event."

Three weeks after this, he again writes to Farel: "O! that it were allowed me lovingly to pour my feelings into your bosom, and once more to enjoy your counsel, that we might have better preparation. You have the best occasion to come, if our hopes concerning the marriage be realized; for we expect the young woman immediately after Easter. But if you will give us full assurance that you will come, the marriage shall be put off until your arrival, as we have abundant time to inform you of the day." From the Geneva MSS. we find that the day was fixed, and Farel engaged, but the bride was missing. "I am afraid," says Calvin to Farel, "if you wait for my nuptials, it will be long before you come. The bride is not yet found, and I doubt whether I shall seek any further."

The excellent woman who eventually became his wife was found by him at Strasburg; and was the widow of a man who had been rescued by Calvin from the errors of the Anabaptists. Her name was Idelette de Bures. Beza calls her a dignified, honourable, and refined woman, and she was

worthy to accompany the great reformer in his stormy pilgrimage. The period of their earthly union was only nine years. On comparing Idelette de Bures with Catharine von Bora, the wife of Luther, we perceive the former to have had the pre-eminency in rank and accomplishment. The sentiments of Calvin on this subject are apparent from a letter to Farel: "Call to mind what my expectations are concerning a wife. I do not belong to the insane lovers who dote on the very faults of one whose person has captivated them. I shall find the only beauty which attracts me, if she is modest, docile, exempt from pride, frugal, patient, and likely to have a care of my health."

After the fashion of the times he chose to have the wedding as festive as was consistent with moderation, and accordingly invited to it the consistories of Neufchatel and Valenciennes. These consistories sent deputies. As to the character of his wife, we have his own testimony—and he seldom indulged in eulogy or used superfluity of language—that she was "singularis exempli foemina." By her former marriage she had several children; by the second, one son, who died soon after birth. Catholic writers have dwelt with an unfeeling severity on the unfruitfulness of this union. Thus the Jesuit Brietus says: "He married Idelette by whom he had no issue, lest the life of so infamous a man should be propagated." The falsehood of the allegation is shown by many authentic witnesses. Drelincourt, after mentioning a repetition by Papyrius Masso, Jacques des May, and Florimond de Raimond, of the assertion that, "although Idelette was young and beautiful, these nuptials were condemned to a perpetual sterility,"—adds, "but M. de Béze says in his life of Calvin that he had a son who died immediately after his birth; and Calvin says the same in his reply to Baudoin." The words of Calvin, last referred to, are truly touching, and evince the dignified moderation which usually characterized his replies. "Baudoin," says he, "upbraids me as childless. God gave me a little son—he took him away.* Baudoin accounts it an opprobrium, that I have no children. But I have myriads of children throughout the Christian world."

In many of the letters of Calvin to his friends, he mentions his wife, and communicates her salutations. Few of these admit of citation, and the isolated sentences, if we

* Dederat mihi Deus filiolum; abstulit.

should insert them, would be divested of the charm of their incidental connexion. Suffice it to say, that they show the heart of a tender husband, and an affectionate friend. "Salute all the brethren," so he writes to Viret, "also your aunt and your wife, whom my wife thanks for her very friendly and holy condolence. She is unable to write, except by an amanuensis, and dictating would be burdensome to her. The Lord has indeed inflicted on us a heavy, painful wound in the death of our little boy. But He is a father, and knows what is best for his children. Once more farewell. The Lord be with you. I would that you could be with us. Gladly would I spend half the day in talking with you." The extract which follows may seem trifling and even contemptible, to some ascetic and cynical readers. It throws light however on the gentler side of Calvin's character. In writing to Viret, he never fails to mention the little daughter of the latter, and on one occasion, after important business, he alludes to her having been weaned: "I am sorry for your little girl. But whether she have a brother or a sister she will forgive her mother's unkindness. And indeed I hope the principal inconvenience of weaning has already passed."

During the whole course of Madame Calvin's protracted illness her husband's letters manifest the constancy of his affection; but this is particularly shown after her death. In April 1549 he writes to Viret: "The death of my wife has severely afflicted me, yet I try as much as possible to overcome my grief; and my friends are striving to exceed one another in endeavours to console me. It is true both their efforts and mine have failed of the success which were to be wished; but small as this is, it is yet a comfort beyond what I can express. Knowing as you do the sensibility, or rather weakness of my heart, I need not tell you, that it required the utmost struggle of my mind to save me from sinking. And in truth the cause of my sorrow is not small. I am separated from the best partner of my life (optima socia vitae), who if necessary would gladly have accompanied me not merely to exile, but to death. During her life she was a true helper in my official labours. Never, even in the merest trifle, was she opposed to me. She was devoid of all anxious care for her circumstances, and through all her sickness took pains to hide from me any solicitude she felt for her children. But I was afraid that this concealment might unnecessarily aggravate her solicitude, and therefore about three days be-

fore her death I introduced the subject myself, and gave her my word to do for her children all that was in my power. Her reply was, that she had committed them to God; and on my saying that this did not in any degree stand in the way of my caring for them, she said, 'I am convinced that you will never forsake children thus committed to God.'—Yesterday I learned, that on being requested by a female friend to confer with me about the children, she said, 'The only thing needful is that they should fear God and be pious. It is needless to remind my husband to bring them up in the fear of God and good discipline. If they be pious, he will be a father to them without my asking; if not, it is not fit that I should make any request in their behalf.'—Believe me, this greatness of soul wrought more with me than all entreaties could have done."

In a similar epistle to Farel, four days later, he writes thus: "You have doubtless heard of the death of my wife. I am doing what I can to avoid being wholly crushed. My friends leave nothing untried to lighten somewhat the burden of my soul. When your brother left us, we were almost in despair as to her recovery. On Tuesday, when all the brethren were with me, it was judged best to have a prayer in common. This took place. And when Abel, in the name of all, exhorted her to faith and patience, she intimated in a few words, for she was very weak, the thoughts which possessed her soul. I also added some counsel suited to her condition. The very day on which she resigned her soul to God, about six o'clock in the evening, our brother Bourgoing gave her a Christian admonition. While he was speaking, she would cry out from time to time, in a way which made every one see that her heart was lifted far above this world. 'O glorious resurrection!' thus she spoke—'O God of Abraham and of all our fathers! In thee have the faithful hoped, from the beginning, in all ages, and no one's hope hath been put to shame. I also will wait for thy salvation?' These short sentences were rather ejaculated than spoken. She did not repeat the words of others, but very briefly expressed the thoughts which occupied her mind. At six o'clock I was called away from the house. At seven, having meanwhile been removed to another spot, she began to grow weaker. Feeling that her voice was soon to fail, she said 'Let us pray to God! Let all cry to God for me!' At this moment I returned home. She could no longer speak, but gave signs of her pious feelings. After speaking a few

words concerning the grace of Jesus Christ, future glory, our meeting in the other world, and our departure thither as to our home, I addressed myself to prayer, to which, as to all our instructions, she listened with perfect consciousness. She fell asleep about eight o'clock, so sweetly, that those who stood around her bed could scarcely determine her last moment. Though bowed down greatly, I fulfil with assiduity the labours of my office, and indeed God has prepared me for new conflicts."

Seven years after this, Calvin expresses the same affectionate sorrow; for in 1556 he writes to Richard de Valleville, preacher of the French church at Frankfort: "I feel in my own case how painful and agonizing must be the wound which you have suffered in the death of your excellent wife, —remembering my own grief seven years ago. I call to mind how hard it was for me to gain the mastery of my sorrow. But since you know very well what means we must use for the moderation of excessive grief, it only remains for me to pray that you would employ them. It is not the least of your grounds of consolation (though our earthly part may find in it an aggravation of trouble) that you have spent a portion of this life with a companion, whose society you joyfully hope to regain, when you depart out of this life. Consider also, that the partner of your life has left you the example of a pious death."

It is to be hoped that authentic statements such as these will serve to convice those who look on this reformer as a gloomy, morose, unsympathising man, that their opinion has been too hastily formed. Like many other men of strong convictions and recluse habits, he lay under this imputation. In an article of the French Biography he is called morose, *un esprit chagrin;* and Bossuet describes him as melancholy, *un genie triste.* After elaborate research and long continued examination of his remains, M. Henry says, "In a multitude of letters, written at the most distant periods of his life, and amidst the greatest sufferings, I find earnestness and excitement, sometimes even zeal and indignation—trust in God, and a mild and friendly temper. Moreover all the letters addressed to him are written with the openness of the most childlike confidence. One does not thus address a sour and ill-natured man, whom it is a disquietude to approach. It was so even in the last period of his life, when he was reverenced by all as a father and a patriarch. There was in him nothing stiff, formal, or constrained. Even women were not

afraid of him, but were in spiritual concerns admitted to manifold and intimate correspondence. And, still further, his colleagues, after his decease, celebrated his mildness and agreeable temper."

Des Gallars (Gallasius) speaks of him thus: "When I call to mind the candour and integrity of the man, his benignant affection for me, and the sweet and familiar intercourse which I enjoyed with him for sixteen years, I cannot but be afflicted by the loss of such a friend, or more properly such a father."—And again: "How great was the affability and urbanity with which he welcomed all who approached him."

It is not to be denied, indeed it has been already admitted on his own authority, that he was naturally impatient and irritable. This was a disposition which he saw and endeavoured to subdue. Bucer, as Vossius says in a noted letter to Grotius, could not always tolerate the strength of Calvin's reprehensions, and would occasionally recalcitrate. In one instance Calvin declares that he suffered three days under the sting of Bucer's reproofs. In his writings and in his preaching this impetuosity often broke forth. The works in which it most abounds are those against Westphal, Castalio, Baldwin, Servetus and Pope Paul III. In the Registers of the Genevan Republic, July 9, 1547, we find an entry, importing that Calvin and Farel were advised to be less objurgatory in their sermons. On July 12th, is the reply of these ministers, declaring that in a matter like this, which affected their consciences, they could not be governed by secular authority. Morus says with justice: "In Calvin were united virtues almost contradictory. To zeal and indignation, he joined a cheerful and even mirthful temper, which none can deny but those who judge him rather by the traits of his pallid countenance, than by his words and acts.—We have learned from credible persons that he made no scruple of joining in a sportive game with Messieurs the magistrates. It was however the harmless game called *La Clef*, which turns upon one's ability to push certain keys to the furthest distance possible on a long table." Usually he was grave and collected, seldom indulging in jests or festivity. For many years on account of dyspepsy he took but one meal a day. We never read of his loud and jovial laughter, such as Mathesius records of Luther; as for example, when a certain morose doctor at Wittenberg, after dinner, subsided somewhat roughly on the floor, his chair being drawn from behind him; nor are Calvin's letters ever

of the jocose character which many of Luther's, indeed almost all to his wife, are known to bear.

No one, it is true, can deny that Calvin was stern in his views of duty, indignant at vice, impatient of folly, and prone to express his repugnancies in very significant terms. But when, as is common, we find him charged with stoical apathy and coldness, we oppose to the allegation the whole course of his life, in which occur a thousand instances of tenderness. If he was sometimes petulant, let us remember that he was always valetudinary, and often distressingly ill. The morbid condition of his stomach, the almost daily headaches or vertigos of which he sometimes complains, and his peculiar insomnolency, though they did not interrupt his labours, could not fail to disorder his temperament. And the wonder is, that with the array of disorders which Beza enumerates, he should have maintained the constancy of mind which more than all other qualities distinguished him. This firmness seems in matters of faith to have amounted to assurance. The other reformers, and above all Luther, complain of diabolical injections, and conflicts with the evil one. In Calvin's writings there is no such thing. The others often lament the unsteadiness of their faith, and even Luther was sometimes shaken by skeptical suggestions. For example, Mathesius relates that, on a certain occasion, a woman complained to Luther that her faith had all departed. "Have you forgotten the Creed of your childhood?" asked he. And when the woman accurately repeated it, he said, "Do you hold this to be true?" "I do," replied she. "Then verily good woman," said Luther, "your faith is stronger than mine. I have daily to pray for increase of faith." Melancthon relates that even John Knox was once unmanned by temptations to unbelief. But in the case of Calvin we find not an instance of vacillation in his faith; it was always like a rock.

One of Calvin's favourite expressions serves to show how much he lived under the impression of the spiritual world; it is—"in the presence of God *and the holy angels.*" Protesting as he did in common with all the reformers against the invocation of angels, he was equally remote from the sin of our day, which is to forget them. This sense of circumjacent influences, beyond mere nature, doubtless nerved him for conflict. Late in life, in 1561, when writing against Heshusius, he introduces this pleasing consideration, and speaks

of "the holy and consecrated band of angels, who promise us their favour, and point the way by their example."*

We have gained from the perusal of this biography a new veneration for the character of John Calvin. And we are not less impressed by the zeal, humility and courage of his religion than the amazing force of his intellect. What he was to Geneva, may be read in all the fortunes of that republican city. Sixteen years after his death we meet with this remarkable passage in the State Registers; and in explanation we observe that they are giving a reason for abolishing the perpetuity of the presidentship in the consistory: "Satan has made a breach in the church of God by the establishment of different orders and dignities among pastors. We must (say the preachers) anticipate his wiles which begin in very inconsiderable matters. It is true indeed that in time past God raised up for this church, the late Mr. Calvin, a person of so great merit, and divinely endowed with such peculiar graces, that he was held in veneration, and hence was with pleasure seen to exercise the presidency without any special election." The citizens of Geneva, says Montesquieu, should celebrate as festivals Calvin's birth-day, and the anniversary of his arrival at Geneva. Yet—we may anticipate to say it—Geneva contains no statue, no column to his honour. He was buried at Plein-Palais, in the common burying place, with no stone to mark the place. This had been his own request. The Genevese have not failed, however, to erect a statue to Rousseau.

We know not how to conclude our protracted notice of this fascinating volume with any thing more appropriate than a brief selection from the opinions which eminent men have recorded concerning the great reformer. In introducing them, we may say of him in the language of Jerome, *Quin veritate non possunt pugnare, lacerant conviciis.* He was charged with Arianism, Nestorianism, and other heresies. He was even suspected of Mohammedanism, as appears from a work by William Reginald, entitled *Calvino-Turcismus;* and of *Judaism* by Hunnius, in the treatise *Calvinus Ju-*

* See other examples:—Ep. 257. Ego autem sancte coram Deo et angelis affirmo, Sacramentarios, etc.—Ep. 258. Fide, vos coram Deo et angelis ejus, quum sciatis esse obstrictos, etc.—Ep. 266. Henryeo: pergendo qua coepisti tandem senties puram coram Deo et angelis conscientiam, centum theatris longe praestare.—Ep. 303. Sacramentum Christianae militiae ita coram Deo et angelis praestemus.—Ep. 308. Coram summo judice, angelos omnes habeam testes.

daizans. Albert Graverus, a Lutheran, published a satire, entitled, *Bellum Calvini et Jesu Christi.* But our biographer says, with Drelincourt, "Never has the life of Calvin appeared to me purer or more innocent than while I have been examining the diabolical calumnies by means of which it has been attempted to defame him, and have considered the praises which have been extorted from his greatest enemies."

"Calvin," says Pasquier, a counsellor and advocate of Paris, "was a writer equally good in French and Latin, to whom our language is much indebted, for his having enriched it with an infinity of beauties."*

"Calvin," says Florimond de Raimond, counsellor of the king in the Parliament of Bordeaux, "was a man of few words, always speaking with a serious design, and impressively. He was never in company but always retired. He is almost without an equal. For during the twenty-three years that he presided at Geneva, he preached every day, and often twice on Sunday, and lectured in theology three times a week; besides holding a conference every Friday. His remaining hours were devoted to composition and answering the letters which from all heretical Christendom came to him, as to a sovereign pontiff."†

Balsac, a celebrated writer who flourished soon after Calvin, mentions with honour his contributions to the French tongue. He also says, "It has been said of him that whatever he willed, he willed mightily; a much better temper than that of those who always will and wish with indolence."‡

Father Simon, a celebrated Romanist, thus expresses himself: "In Calvin's Commentaries there is something indiscribable which pleases at the first glance. As his great study was the human heart, his works are fraught with a touching morality, and indeed he aims to make this accurate and conformable to the text." "He evinces in his writings more genius and greater judgment than Luther, whom he exceeds in prudence, always avoiding the use of weak arguments, which might be retorted by his antagonists. He is too subtile in his reasonings, and his Commentaries are full of consequences adroitly deduced from the text, and which may

* Pasquier, Recherches de la France, L. 8, ch. 55, p. 769.

† Hist. de la Naissance, progrès et décadence de ce siècle, L. 7, ch. 10.

‡ Doubtless in allusion to the celebrated character of Brutus: *Quicquid vult, valde vult.*

beguile the minds of readers who are not deeply settled in their religion. He is more exact in his Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul, than in the others. He was not satisfied with the labours of Melancthon and Bullinger, nor even of Bucer, on these epistles, because he thought them too long. It must be acknowledged that he is very moderate in his work on the Romans. It was plainly his intention to conciliate the minds of different parties."*

Guy Patin says in one of his letters: "At the age of twenty-two, Calvin was the most learned man in Europe; and Monluc, bishop of Valence, used to say that he was the greatest theologian that had ever appeared."

Jurieu declares, "that the Catholics have not scrupled to copy many portions from his works. I can attest, as an ocular witness, that there are in Salmeron's Commentaries many passages copied without alteration from the writings of Calvin."†

Cardinal du Perron speaks of him as "a wonderful genius, who wrote well both in Latin and French."

Crenius affirms, "that excepting Muretus and a few others, no one of our nation has written with greater eloquence, nor has any theologian produced letters of so much polish," and adds, "that Wendelinus was wont to say that Calvin should be read for his style, if for nothing else."

Bossuet, as a Papist and a man of literature and eloquence seldom equalled, may be regarded as a fair witness. "Luther," says he, "triumphed by his oral discourse, but Calvin had the more correct pen, particularly in Latin, and his style, though more severe, was more connected and more chaste. Each excelled in speaking the language of his country. Each possessed an extraordinary vehemence. Each attracted by his talents a multitude of disciples and admirers."

"Just before the beginning of June," says De Thou, "died John Calvin, a man endowed with a penetrating and mighty genius, and an admirable eloquence, a famous theologian among the protestants; after a conflict of seven years with various infirmities and diseases, without relaxing in official assiduity or intermitting his perpetual composition, he was removed by a difficulty of breathing, &c."‡

"Calvin," says the infidel D'Alembert, "enjoyed with justice a great reputation. He was a literary man of the first or-

* Hist. Crit. du V. T. T. 1. p. 434.
† Hist. du Papisme, 1 part, c. 26.
‡ Hist. lib. 36, an. 1564.

der, writing in Latin as well as is possible in a dead language, and in French with a purity remarkable for his time. This purity, which is still admired by our most competent grammarians, makes his writings greatly superior to most of that age; as the works of the Port Royal writers are distinguished for the same cause from the barbarous rhapsodies of their antagonists and contemporaries."

The opinions of Professor Tholuck on the merits of Calvin as an interpreter are very generally known. He has given a convincing proof of the value which he sets on Calvin's writings, by giving them the sanction of his name in the new German editions which we have frequently mentioned. The success of this republication has been surprising. M. Henry states, on the authority of the Berlin publisher, that Calvin on the New Testament (seven volumes octavo) has had a great sale in Northern Germany, particularly in Halle and Berlin. The work has been widely disseminated also through Wurtemburg, Holland, and Great Britain. Numerous orders have been received from the Northern kingdoms, and from America. In the greater part of Germany, however, and in all the Austrian dominions, there have been no sales. In all France, Belgium and Switzerland, with the exception of Basle, scarcely a dozen copies have been demanded.

It is not necessary to dwell very long upon the second work named in our title. In the former part of this article allusion has been made to a collection of Calvin's autograph letters, in the ducal library at Gotha. These are comprised in the volume before us, and with these a number of letters from King Henry the Fourth, Theodore Beza, Farel, Viret, Laelius Socinus, and others. The editor, Dr. Bretschneider, informs us that the above-mentioned library contains the originals in two large volumes. Almost all these are autographs, and those which are copies are of very early date, as is evident from their condition. No editor has given publicity to any of these, except Schlosser in his Life of Beza; yet many of them throw great light upon the history of the Genevan revolution. The present selection is adorned with fac-similes of the hand-writing of Calvin, Beza, and Henry the Fourth, entire letters of each being given. They fall, however, within a period subsequent to that which has just engaged our attention, and though many of them are highly interesting, we shall not further detain our readers upon a

topic which has, perhaps, unduly betrayed us into details. Yet we propose, with leave of Providence, to make frequent returns to this pleasing field of ecclesiastical biography. And ere long we hope to present some notice of the celebrated Savonarola, one of the brightest stars that adorned the morning twilight of the Reformation.

ART. III.—*A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, including the Biblical Chaldee. Translated from the Latin* of William Gesenius, Doct. and Prof. of Theology in the University of Halle-Wittemberg. By Edward Robinson, D. D. late Prof. Extraord. of Sac. Lit. in the Theol. Sem. Andover. Boston. 1836. pp. 1092. 8vo. J. A. Alexander

THIS elegant volume professes to be nothing more than an accurate translation. That it is so, we readily believe, without minute inspection, on the strength of the translator's reputation for accurate learning and laborious industry. Whether it will supersede the original work in the American market, notwithstanding the extraordinary difference in price, is yet to be seen. For ourselves we have no desire that it should; for we regard the disuse of Latin text-books as a triumph of the fanatical mania against learning which, in various disguises, is breaking out around us. After all that has been vented ex cathedra and from inferior sources, on the sad effects of learning one strange language through the medium of another, there are few real scholars who need to be informed that the doctrine, as usually stated, is both false and foolish. We have no disposition to mince the matter or to parley with the humbug of the day, but would advise every biblical student who may read us, to use Latin lexicons in preference to English. If he knows enough of the language for this purpose, let him make the most of it; if he does not, let him learn. He will never repent it when his eyes are open. The advantages of the method recommended are, first, the indirect one of retaining and improving an acquaintance with the Latin, and then the direct one of acquiring Hebrew through the medium of a language originally better than our own for definition, and gradually perfected by being so employed during a course of ages. The lexico-

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No. III.

Art. I.—*Concordantiae Librorum Veteris Testamenti Sacrorum Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae, &c. &c.* Auctore Julio Fürstio, Doct. Phil. Lipsiae. 1837–8. Sect. I—VIII.

The appearance of great literary undertakings, whether deserving of the name from the novelty or importance of their subjects, or from the amount of patient labour or of original thought expended in their execution, may appropriately be compared to that of eminent individuals in the political world. For as these latter exert a powerful influence upon the character and conduct not only of the men among whom they live and move, but also of their posterity to distant times: so important literary achievements, while thousands of ordinary publications are suffered to sink into oblivion, remain as monuments of the intellectual prowess of the age in which they are produced, and serve as guides and helpers to future advances in knowledge, virtue, and happiness. Hence it is highly proper that their appearance and character be recorded in literary history for the benefit of posterity as well as of contemporaries, in like manner as those of celebrated men are preserved in the history of political events. These

Combining such great and manifold advantages, the Concordance of Dr. Fürst may be affirmed with the greatest truth to be superior in all respects to every other that has hitherto been published, Buxtorf's not excepted. The only fault of consequence that we have detected, is a certain negligence in following out the minutiæ of the plan laid down. The different forms of words do not invariably succeed each other in the order generally observed: thus, the participle, which usually precedes the future tense, is placed after it in the Pi'hel of ברל; and sometimes the suffixes are made secondary to the prefixes in regulating the subdivision of the forms, which is contrary to the general practice. The books of the Bible are not always quoted in the same order, and in some instances they are even mingled together in a promiscuous mass, as for example under אול and אז. Such slight defects as these, however, cannot be considered as materially detracting from the extraordinary merit of the work. On the contrary, the talents, learning, and industry displayed by its author, with the splendid style of its typographical execution, are such as to demand the admiration of all competent judges, and do honour to the age and country in which it is produced.

Art. II.—*The Life of John Calvin, the Great Reformer.* By Paul Henry, D.D. Berlin. Volume II. 1838.*

It is almost two years since we gave an extended notice of M. Henry's first volume, and we laid it down in the confident expectation that long before this time we should see the completion of the work. It is, however, still unfinished; nor need any one be surprised at this, who considers the Augean labour of decyphering and correcting ancient manuscripts, not to speak of other more ordinary toils pertaining to the enterprise. The volume before us, though larger than the first, brings down the history no later than the year 1549, so that we must look for at least another volume.

* Das Leben Johann Calvins des grossen Reformators: mit Benutzung der handschriftlichen Urkunden, vornehmlich der Genfer und Zuericher Bibliothek, entworfen, nebst einem Anhang bisher unbedruckter Briefe und anderer Belege; von Paul Henry, Dr. der Theologie, Prediger und Seminar-Inspector zu Berlin. Hamburg. 1838. pp. 660, 8vo.

We see no cause to retract any of the commendations which we bestowed on M. Henry as a biographer. He is acute, impartial, pious, and indefatigable. At the same time we should be much more gratified if two German traits were absent from the plan of the work. The first of these is the needless prolixity with which the author goes into every question of doctrine or discipline, which may be suggested by the train of facts; it is this which swells the volumes to inordinate size. The other fault is, in our judgment, a greater deformity: it is the unreasonable attempt to methodize the narrative under heads or topics, thus breaking the chronological series, so as to take the reader again and again over the same ground, and making it almost impossible to know whereabouts, in the stream of time, the author is hurrying him. We have no patience with biographies which give us first the private character, then the ministerial character, then the learning, then the eloquence, of their subject, in as many different partitions; and we are not quite sure that, in the abstract which follows, we shall in all cases be able to extricate the thread of the story from this incorrigible tangle.*

The time at which Calvin returned to Geneva, to commence the foundation of his more important structure, was one of great interest in the affairs of the world. The threatening approaches of the Turks under Soliman filled with terror the people of eastern Europe. The Emperor Charles the Fifth, meditating the greatest enterprises, was now in Italy; full of projects for the conquest of Algiers, and the humiliation of the Sultan: the signal disappointment of these plans is well known. In Germany, the Protestants were in correspondence with England and France, and the perfidious Francis I. was feeding their hopes with promises, and at the same time allowing his kingdom to be the theatre of grievous persecutions.

The first efforts of Calvin, upon his restoration, were directed towards the establishment of pure teaching, and the reformation of morals. In the pursuance of the latter object

* The portrait of Calvin, which was promised for this volume, has been delayed for a reason which is highly pleasing. Since it was in hand, the interesting intelligence has been received that there exists in the gallery of the duke of Beviloqua at Naples, *an original portrait of Calvin by Titian*, which was painted in the year 1535, at Modena. A copy of this youthful likeness, invaluable as well in regard of the master as the subject, will appear in the third volume.

he was actuated by the most sincere zeal for the glory of God, yet the means which he used were such as seem to us to conflict in many instances with the principles of religious liberty and ecclesiastical independence, which have since become almost universal, especially in our own country. In a state of public morals so abandoned as that of Geneva, it was natural to think of strong measures: it was indispensable that strong measures should be employed; but it would have been less hazardous to consign the conduct of these to the civil rather than the ecclesiastical power. In our day this would be done, as a matter of course; but in that period the minds of good people were filled with the idea of the ancient Theocracy, and this proved the source of many inconveniences. "The church," says M. Henry, "was intimately woven with the state; the state protected the church which was subject to it, and the church in turn ruled over the state, as all citizens were under the superintendence of the consistory."

The return of Calvin was welcomed by the people with enthusiasm. The whole city was moved at his coming. It appears, from the municipal records, that a mounted herald was sent to meet him at Strasburg. It was resolved to send for his wife, and for his household furniture. They furnished his house, and appropriated eight dollars 'pour la robe de Maistre Calvin, minister evangelique.' St. Peter's church was fitted up for preaching, the pulpit being so disposed that the speaker might be near the people. Antiquaries persuade themselves that they find the dwelling of Calvin in the *rue des chanoines*, in the highest part of the town. It was conveniently near to the Convent of St. Peter's, where the consistorial meetings were held, and to the old Gothic church where he preached and lectured. A neighbouring spot afforded an open prospect of the fortifications, and of Mount Jura, and other summits.

The field was now open for Calvin's disciplinary measures. The populace of Geneva, it should seem from the accounts, was devoted to dancing and the like sports and pastimes, and to every form of license and voluptuousness. It was now ordered that they should resort to public worship, at stated times during the week. The city was divided into three parishes, St. Peter's, la Madelaine, and St. Gervais'. The first and last of these were under the care of Calvin and Viret. St. Peter's was for the higher class, and St. Gervais' for the common people. Laws were now enacted against all

prevalent vices, and a vigilant care was exercised over the manners of the whole city.

Another favourite object of the Reformer was the perfection of schools. He brought to Geneva the classical Castellio, and Maturin Cordier, or Corderius, whom we have already mentioned. In the very beginning of the Reformation a school had been set up by Farel, but this had been neglected. Numbers of learned men were subsequently collected. The care of these things withdrew Calvin in some measure from his expository writings, but he returned to them afterwards with new animation. His time was greatly occupied: "Besides my ordinary business," says he, "I have to write so many letters and answers to inquiries, that many a night passes without having brought to nature the offering of sleep."

In 1542 Farel was at Metz, engaged in his usual daring measures. He determined to preach upon a certain Sunday in the month of September, and chose as the place the churchyard of the Dominicans, in which there was a pulpit. The number of hearers was very great. During the sermon there came two Dominican friars who commanded him to be silent. This had no effect, and the Dominicans began to ring all their bells, but Farel made such use of his Stentorian voice that the interruption was of no avail. They succeeded, however, in ejecting him from the consecrated pulpit. Next came a public disputation between Farel and a Franciscan monk. Farel maintained that the participation of the body of Christ was spiritual: there was an audience of three thousand persons. Farel was dragged before the magistrates, and was asked by whose authority he preached: he answered, that Christ had commanded it, and his people had desired it. The Protestants found a man who greatly resembled Farel, and by conducting this person out of the city on horse-back, appeased the mob. The missionary however remained at Metz. In consequence of these proceedings Calvin repaired to that city, and was absent from home about six weeks.

Amidst these things a new champion for the truth appeared among the Reformed: "There is a man come out of Italy," writes Bucer, "very learned in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and delightfully versed in the Holy Scriptures; forty-four years old, of a serious mind, and discriminating judgment. He has been one of the regular canons at Lucca. His name is Peter Martyr." This is the man who was afterwards much celebrated at Zurich and Oxford; a theologian whom

Calvin loved and valued, calling him the wonder of Italy.

In 1542 Geneva was visited by the plague. All the country around was desolated by pestilence and dearth. The dread of this disease, usually held to be contagious, was extreme. Even of pious persons the great majority shrank from all intercourse with the sick. Castellio, Blanchet and Calvin offered themselves as chaplains at the plague-hospital. They cast lots, and the lot fell upon Castellio, who thereupon changed his mind and drew back. Calvin held himself ready, but this was prevented by the council and by Blanchet himself, upon whom the duty finally devolved. About ten months after this good man fell a victim to the disorder. The plague raged at intervals during three or four years. After the death of Blanchet, it was expressly ordered that Calvin should not go to the hospital, 'as the church had need of him.' In 1543 its prevalence was such that the courts of justice were closed.

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain the precise relation which Calvin during this period held to the authorities of the city. He was the object of conflicting opinions. His talents and piety commanded respect, and his counsel was sought with avidity, while at the same time we find that he was suspected, and that his books were submitted to a censorship which he regarded as highly offensive. Nevertheless, he received many tokens of respect. He was allowed to have a herald when he travelled, and when he was sick a secretary was furnished at public expense. Those who have called this reformer the Pope of Geneva may be answered in the words of M. Henry, that the forms of the republic and the presbyterial organization of the church were alike incompatible with that despotic sway which has been ascribed to him. It cannot but happen, however, as Bretschneider has said, that men of such strength of character and of such exalted genius should govern the minds which come into contact with them. "As to the power which makes me the object of envy," said Calvin himself, "I wish it were in my power to transfer it to them, for they see a Kingdom in the multitude of affairs, and the oppressive burden which I have to bear." And he appeals to his brethren as having never complained of any usurpations on his part.

It is not intended here to represent Calvin as having held himself aloof from the civil regulations of the little republic. On the contrary he was undeniably the life and soul of these. Such was his ideal of a true Christian state, in which the

civil and ecclesiastical power should go hand in hand to carry out the principles of God's word, that he used all his influence to render the constitution of the city as pure as human arrangements can be made. It was his principle, that sins against God, no less than sins against man, should be punished. The authorities therefore animadverted upon profaneness, sabbath-breaking, incontinence, blasphemy, heresy, and witchcraft. It is entertaining to find copies from Calvin's own manuscript respecting some of the minutest points, and, as we should say, the most out of his line; such as, provision against fire—inspection of buildings—the artillery—and the forms of civil process.

Where it was possible, all remains of the old superstition were annulled. The preacher had a watchful eye over the families, examined them on the faith, and inquired into their fitness for the sacraments and their attendance upon them. No one was allowed to lie sick more than three days without informing the minister of his quarter. Sermons were frequent, and attendance was enforced. In later days, but in pursuance of the same system, we find that divine service was solemnized in the garrison twice every day; a laudable custom which continued until the prevalence of the new divinity. At every gate of the city, in front of the guard-house, a soldier knelt down before the opening of the gates, and offered a prayer with a loud voice. All profane and abusive language was forbidden. Galiffe sneeringly relates, that while the preachers employed all sorts of vituperation, the consistorial court enjoined that the peasants should speak politely to their oxen, and that a fellow was dealt with because he had let slip an oath at his beast. Parental authority was enforced by the severest penalties. In 1566 a peasant's child, who had called her mother a devil, *diablesse*, was openly scourged, and suspended by the arms from a gibbet, to shew that she was deserving of death. All games of chance and boisterous amusements were visited in like manner. The ancient laws against heresy and witchcraft retained their force. In the course of sixty years, the registers show that 150 persons were burnt for witchcraft in this little city: nor was this infatuation brought to a close until the end of the seventeenth century. M. Henry sees reason to believe that these regulations are indicative of a period in which the mind of Calvin had not yet gained complete mastery over the traditionary spirit, and that at a later time we discern a milder and more consistent code.

M. Henry devotes a chapter to the exposition of Calvin's theory of church government: this however is a subject so familiar to our thoughts, and so much more clearly laid open in the original works, that the accounts of the biographer need not detain us. The Catechisms of Calvin have been celebrated. The first of these appeared in 1536 in French, and in 1538 in Latin: it was an epitome of his Institutes. His Catechism for children, more familiar to us under that name, was first published in 1541, and acquired great notoriety as a church-symbol. It is painful to observe the desuetude into which this work has fallen. In some churches it has given place to that of Osterwald: in Geneva it has been superseded by that of Vernet, a rationalist. "And surely," says M. Henry, "it is among the follies of our age, that it busies itself with innumerable attempts to construct a new popular catechism, which can never succeed, because the best in this kind is already extant, and the new in comparison appears unsatisfactory, colourless, and superficial." The fundamental idea in this, as in the other works of Calvin, is living faith in God: to this every thing is referred. The beginning therefore is not made, as in Luther's, from the exposition of the law, but the 'true knowledge of God,' and confidence in him.

On the subject of creeds and confessions M. Henry gives the following statements. "When Calvin entered into his church he found some formularies already in existence; as, the confession of Zuinglius to Charles V., which had no symbolical force; the *Confessio tetrapolitana*, and the two Helvetic confessions, which had acquired a high authority. The first Helvetic Confession is that of Mühlhausen, by Oswald Myconius; the second is that of 1536, which was the work of Bullinger, Myconius, and Grynaeus, and of which Ruchat says: "C'est celle que nous appelons première Helvétique, pour la distinguer d'une autre plus étendue faite l'an 1566." But altogether there were four Confessions of Faith in the reformed churches: First, that which was set forth at Geneva, by Farel, with Calvin, in twenty-one articles, to which the citizens were caused to swear in 1536, but which had no symbolical force. Secondly, the Third Helvetic Confession, of 1566, which was occasioned by the resolutions of the *Consensus Tigurinus* of the years 1549, 1551, 1554. This is the earlier one of 1536, entirely newwrought by Bullinger, Beza, and Gualter; it was subscribed by all the Swiss churches, except Basle and Neuchatel, and

is consequently the confession of the Genevan churches. Thirdly, The French Confession, the origin of which is related in Beza's church history, and Crespin's history of the Martyrs. The earliest church existed as early as 1555. Under Henry II. the assembled parliament declared itself almost with one voice for the new doctrine; many members of parliament were imprisoned; but in 1559 when the Reformed for the first time met in a national synod, they set forth the discipline, as well as the confession of their faith, in forty articles.* It is this which, in 1561, was laid before Charles IX. and Catharine de Medicis, at Poissy, and became the symbolical book of the old French Reformed Church. Fourthly, we find a well-considered confession, which Calvin wrote in 1562 for the Reformed churches, addressed to the Emperor of Germany and the Prince of Condé at Frankfort, but which remained without symbolical authority."

Psalmody was a darling object with the Reformers. All the world knows what Luther did in this matter. The French churches were not without like efforts. Calvin introduced the singing of psalms into divine service as soon as it was practicable, but he seems to have discountenanced the use of the organ. The French poet Marot versified fifty psalms, and the remainder was done by Beza, under Calvin's direction. It appears from the registers, that a singing-master was employed to teach the children an hour a day. This old translation is remarkable for its inimitable naïveté and deep feeling, and the melodies which were composed, or harmonized, at the time, by Goudimel, partake of the same character, and are still used. This musician fell a victim to the St. Bartholomew's massacre, at Lyons, together with thirteen other Huguenots.† The effects produced by this psalmody are characteristic of the French people. The psalms were sung by the king and his courtiers; each one making choice of a favourite one. Henry II. made a hunting-song of the forty-second psalm. Madame de Valentinois used to sing the 130th when she danced. The Queen

* On dressa Confession de foi, à laquelle toutes les Eglises se tiendroient. Beza hist. eccl. L. 2. p. 173, 185.

† Thuanus I. 52. p. 1084: Honesti cives e carcere educti ac sicis jugulati in Rhodanum projiciuntur; eandem fortunam expertus est Claudius Gaudimelus excellens nostra aetate musicus, qui psalmos Davidicos vernaculis versibus a Clemente Maroto et Theodoro Beza expressos ad varios et jucundissimos modulationum numeros aptavit, quibus et hodie publice in concionibus Protestantium ac privatim decantantur.

selected the 6th; the king of Navarre the 43d. Many of the tunes to which these were sung were the most popular airs of the day. In Paris they were sung by great crowds in the public streets, were received with enthusiasm by the people, and produced effects such as have seldom followed any religious music of modern times. If space were allowed us, we could easily fill several pages in giving the details of this influence.*

We are sorry to be under the necessity of expressing our strong dissent from some of the opinions of M. Henry in regard to the supposed extremes to which Calvin pushed his reformation of divine service. Though we cannot go out of our way to argue the point, we may say, that what the biographer suggests concerning the monastic life, the use of the cross, auricular confession, and the multiplication of festivals, is as really superstitious, as it is inconsistent with the whole tenour of this excellent book; and we cannot conceal the surprise with which we have been affected by it.

It is with other sentiments that we turn to the consideration of Calvin's personal and ministerial temper and habits. This is a point upon which our clerical readers will naturally feel an interest, and M. Henry has here taken great pains, and availed himself of resources hitherto unexplored. Our only difficulty in treating of it arises from the singular dislocation of facts, which is demanded by M. Henry's rage for classification, to which we have already adverted. If one were to confine his view to the works of Calvin, he might readily suppose that he was a mere recluse theologian. Nothing could be further from the truth. His life, and even his writings, had throughout a practical tendency; and while he lived he was perhaps more influential by his personal exertions than by his books. In the minutest affairs of the household, we find him as zealous and exact as in the confutation of heresy; or the exposition of Scripture.

The literary labours of Calvin, like those of Luther and Melancthon, were amazing. The ages of these three men may be stated at an average of fifty-nine years, yet each of of them, as our biographer observes, left ten volumes of masterpieces. Who can calculate the labour which they cost! All three were professors, and two of them pastors. Calvin lived long in a short life. He was a man of little

* Many of these, both music and words, may be found in the exquisite little selection used in the Evangelical Churches, under the title, *Chants Chrétiens:* Paris, 1834. 12mo. pp. 368.

sleep, as he says, *somni paene nullius*, and little given to indulgence. He speaks of days in which besides preaching and lecturing, he had corrected twenty sheets, and attended to public business. He always took part in the consistorial affairs, the clerical association and the 'congregation' or popular conference. Three days in the week he lectured on theology, and every other week he preached daily. The tradition is that in the multiplicity of his avocations, he never forgot any thing that belonged to his office; and his memory enabled him, as Beza records, to return to a piece of writing, and take up his pen where he had laid it down, without even looking at what preceded. Like many other great men, he had a remarkable faculty of recognising any countenance which he had ever seen. His correspondence was immense: the care of all the reformed churches came upon him daily. Besides this he translated most of his own works. Musculus compared him to a bow which was always bent. He prepared and sent out preachers, and used to say 'Give us the wood, and we will give you the arrows.'* The council also gave him much to do, and he had to spend a good portion of his time in journeys for some public object. He was never happier than when fully employed in some great work. During the pestilence he was indefatigable; in the dread of the siege in 1559, he worked with his own hands at the fortifications. Yet he sometimes bewailed his inefficiency, and on his death-bed craved the pardon of the council for having done no more. This tension of mind was kept up in spite of a condition of body which would exempt most men from all labours; and it lasted as long as his life. For many years he was afflicted with asthma, vertigo, gout, and stone, besides other less insupportable maladies.

It is almost superfluous to state that the style of Calvin is celebrated. From nature and from fixed principle he allowed his thoughts to fall into short, pithy, sententious periods: consequently his oral discourses required close attention. His Latin style evinces great familiarity with the classics: he excelled in this, more than in his mother-tongue. In freedom and grace he was however surpassed by Melancthon. His writings show great clearness of thought, exact discrimination, and a repugnance to parade and verbiage. There is scarcely a quaint turn or a superflu-

* Cet excellent serviteur de Dieu, M. Calvin, qui vivoit alors, avoit accoutumé de répondre à ceux qui lui demandoient des pasteurs: "Envoyez nous du bois, nous vous envoyerons des flêches."

ous epithet in all his volumes. Pungent sarcasm, and overwhelming invective abound: these however are always despatched at once; falling like lightning.* Beza says of his manner of composition, *Tot verba, tot pondera.* He further ascribes much of his exactness and conciseness to the custom of dictating, and says that he wrote almost exactly as he spoke. Melancthon expressed admiration of his nervous eloquence;† and Salmasius solemnly declared that he should have gained more fame by being the author of the Institutes alone, than from all the works of Grotius. The Dedication to Francis I. has been frequently cited as one of the noblest compositions of its kind.

As a preacher Calvin was expository. In no instance does he seem to have aimed at oratorial pomp. As compared with Luther, he is less idiomatic and racy in his diction, less illustrative and humorous, less strong in single strokes, but equally addicted to apothegmatic forms, and vastly more ratiocinative and connected. In every discourse, one sees through from the beginning to the end.

Calvin preached extempore: there is no trace of his having written a sermon before delivery. Indeed he says himself, in a letter now for the first time published, that his discourses on the eighth psalm were taken down from his lips.‡ In writing to the lord protector Somerset, he speaks thus: "The people must be so instructed as to be touched to the quick, and feel, as the apostle says, that the word of God is living and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, even to the marrow of the bones. I say this, my lord, because it seems to me that their is very little lively preaching in your kingdom, but that the most recite it, in the reading way. I see very well the necessities which constrain you to this; for, in the first place, you have not, I suppose, as many good pastors as you desire. And then, there is danger lest certain volatile spirits should overleap all bounds, and disseminate idle fancies, as is often the case with novelties. But all these considerations do not hinder the duty of giving free course to the ordinance of Christ re-

* See his own observations on his manner of writing. Instit. l. iii. c. 6. §. i.

† Nullius hoc tempore oratio in disputando vel nervosior fuit, vel splendidior.

‡ Je n'ai point écrit en chambre les vingt-deux sermons sur le pseaume octonaire, mais on les a imprimés naïfvement, comme on les avoit pu recueillir de ma bouche au temple. Là vous voyez notre style et façon ordinare d'enseigner.

specting the preaching of the gospel. Now this preaching ought not to be dead but living, in order to instruct, to exhort, to correct, as St. Paul says in 2 Tim. iii. 16."

The four sermons of Calvin against the Nicodemites are rather long. Those on the book of Job, in number one hundred and fifty, are quite short. The former may have been forty-five minutes, the latter half an hour. His practical discourses on the minor prophets and the epistles are still shorter. In this we think him wiser than many of his successors; for we hear few long sermons which are not made so by the preacher's spinning out "the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument." Weariness is a foe to edification, especially where, as is common, the speaker fills his hour by saying every thing twice over. Mathesius once asked Luther how he should regulate the length of his sermons: "When you see," said Luther, "that the people are listening with great earnestness and avidity—stop just there—the next time they will come with more willingness."

Scaliger, who had heard Calvin preach, says that he spoke slowly, in consequence of the asthma, and that it was therefore easy to take down almost every word. There was a man at Geneva who made a living by reporting his sermons. The city registers contain statements of prodigious multitudes that attended his preaching. The discourses on Job were commonly read throughout France in places where there were no preachers; yet, as Beza tells us, they were printed against his wishes. There are preserved at Geneva, in forty-four volumes, two thousand and twenty-three manuscript sermons of Calvin; of these some have been published. He never wrote out any of his theological lectures for the press. Many of them were published in the same way as his sermons. It is matter of regret that we have no reports of the fiery discourses which he pronounced at Paris in the days of his youthful daring, every one of which used to end with the words, 'If God be for us, who can be against us!'

The merit of all Calvin's compositions resides so much in the structure, the connexion, the *ensemble*, that to offer a specimen is to show a brick as a sample of a building. There are a few separable passages which may be seen in the appendix to this volume.*

* Some of these are striking. In speaking of the covetousness of rich masters, he says: "The wages of those who have laboured for our profit, and which is kept back by fraud, will send a cry up to heaven, and will make all

It is natural in this connexion to allude to Calvin's diligence and faithfulness in making provision for the pastoral care. His love for souls breathes from the little prayers introductory to his lectures on Job, which would, if collected, form an edifying manual. He often speaks of a solicitude for the salvation of his flock, such as filled him with anguish—of his accountability for every individual—and of the peril of having the blood of souls on his garments. Among his labours in this field, we find these following. Every Friday there was a meeting of the congregation for the exposition of Scripture. On this he laid great stress. At this were delivered certain discourses on Providence, Predestination, and the Lord's Prayer, which are extant. At these meetings any one who chose might debate any point with the preacher. Calvin always encouraged this open participation of the people in the conference; and on the same principle he caused the children to be catechized in the presence of the whole congregation.

Another excellent institution was the stated visitation of the sick, to which Calvin allotted a special article in his liturgy, *de la visitation des malades.* In this it is declared that "it is the duty of the preacher not only to preach the truth, but so far as is possible, to warn, encourage, and comfort every individual." And particular directions are given as to the way of discharging this duty to the sick. As it regards the Lord's Supper, Calvin was in favour of having it administered at least once a month. As soon as the way was clear for such a measure, he established stated family visitation, with strict examination into the spiritual state of every inmate, the servants not excepted. M. Henry declares that this practice is utterly unknown in the Reformed Churches of the Continent; and there are signs of its going into disuse in parts of America. In order to keep up the interest of the hearers, Calvin took measures for a rotation of services in the different churches.

From the voluminous correspondence of the Reformer, M. Henry has given a number of characteristic extracts. Many

creatures bear witness of our violence and extortion towards our neighbours. Thus the prophet Habakkuk says, that the walls of the houses which have been built by fraud and rapine will cry out loud and clear; the cry will echo and recho, answering from side to side. One will say, here is blood! another, here is murder! another, here is fraud! Here is cruelty! Here is plunder! Here is avarice! Here is theft! Here is malice! Here is perjury! Let us therefore take good heed, that as we have abused the creatures of God, he will cause that at the last day they shall cry out for vengeance against us."

of these are addressed to persons labouring under strong temptations to despondency; and we observe the same in the correspondence of Luther. Others, and these are among the most remarkable, were written to imprisoned Christians, sometimes on the eve of martyrdom. These are full of heroic sentiments, and of faith and courage like that of primitive times. To some brethren at Aix, who asked whether it was right to repel force by force, he wrote: "It is the dictate of the higher Christian wisdom, that we abide by the rule which our divine Master has laid down, namely, to possess our souls in patience. And indeed our only sure resort, is to seek shelter under his shadow from heat and tempest and every necessity. But as soon as we repel force with force, we put his hand and help far from us. Hence the apostle admonishes us to leave vengeance to God alone, and to rely on his promise, that he will guard his people against the rage of the ungodly. The blood of the pious cries from earth to heaven, and is the seed of the church." So also, as to the question whether one might use false keys, or bribes, in order to escape from prison: "I would neither advise nor countenance any thing of the kind. Yet, if it actually occur, I would accompany it with my prayers, and heartily rejoice, if any one, without offence to the good, regain his liberty." He was almost overwhelmed with the greatness of his epistolary commerce; and there is scarcely a point of casuistry in which his judgment was not asked and received.

The period including 1542 and 1549 was fraught with great events. During these eight years the activity of Calvin with regard to the general interests of Protestantism was tasked to the utmost; and he was called upon to protect the church against a diversity of enemies—in the empire—in the Romish Church—in the intolerant portion of Lutheranism—in the Pelagian party—and in the bosom of the Reformed communion. Two great events made this season critical, the Council of Trent and the death of Luther. The writings of Calvin in these emergencies were numerous. He addressed himself to the Princes at Spire; he armed himself against the Tridentine decrees, and the Interim, and stood upon the defence of the doctrines of Grace; and this over and above the preparation of a goodly number of exegetical works.

In 1542 the Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne issued twenty-five new articles of faith, in opposition to Protestant heresies. Calvin replied to these, and exposed the ignorance and stupidity of the papists with an irresistable wit much like

what was afterwards employed in the same cause by Pascal.* The whole is an ironical apology for the papistical errors. We would gladly cite some of M. Henry's exquisite specimens of this triumphant raillery.

He was soon called forth against a higher adversary, no less a personage than his holiness Paul the Third. This ambitious and voluptuous pontiff was not more remarkable for his imperious ecclesiastical demands, than for the infamy of his son and grandson, Pietro and Octavio Farnese. Paul was so much dissatisfied with the attempts made by the emperor at the Diet of Spire, in 1544, towards pacification, that he wrote him a letter of mingled admonition and threatening, in which he held up for his alarm all the instances in which Providence had signally punished those Princes who were disobedient to the Holy See. The occasion was felicitous, and Calvin immediately came forward with strictures on the Pope's letter;† these may, in point of boldness and energy, be put by the side of any of Luther's. It was no ordinary courage which could beard the lion in such terms as these:

"If this example of the judgment of God upon Eli alarms the Holy Father so much, one may well wonder, that troubled about the alleged fault of the emperor, he yet sinks into the deepest slumber when it comes to the faults of his own sons. God punished the remissness of Eli, in that he did not chastise his children. But the apostle Paul enjoins that the children of the Christian bishop should be penetrated with good morals and the fear of God. Now our pope Paul Farnese has a son, and this son has children, besides other bastards; and nevertheless this old man, with one foot in the grave—a mere mass of corruption—persists in his iniquities.‡ Who is Pietro Luigi? I will tell what is portentous, and yet no more than the bare truth. Italy has never produced such an abomination—and wherefore do you slumber over this, O Pope? while the scandalous whoredoms of your son have reached up to heaven, while the whole earth is full of their stench, and the whole world cries out against them. Is not here the occasion for your Holiness to exercise severity?

* In Latin: Antidoton adversus Articulos Facultatis Theologiae Sorbonnicae. The French title was: Les Articles de la sacrée faculté de Theol. de Paris concernant notre foi et religion chrétienne et forme de precher. Avec le remède contre la poison. 1543.

† Scholia in epist. Pauli III. pontif. max.

‡ We give the more pregnant original: Et outre ce, il a des bastards, et ce viellard qui est sur le borde de la fosse, et ceste charongue à demi pourrie, fait encore des enfans!

What shall I say of his avarice, of his ravenous cupidity, of his inhumanity ? in which he has outstripped all mankind—his father only excepted! If Eli was punished for undue lenity, shall Pope Paul go free, who shuts mouth and eyes, and gives his hand and approbation to such wickedness ? O infamous Pope, doth not the judgment of God fill thee with anguish!" The Pope had quoted the apostle's maxim, *Evil communications corrupt good manners.* "O thou godless apostate!" exclaims Calvin, "what hast thou that agrees with these words ? Thou, who art the ringleader and captain in all denial of God—thou, who spendest whole days in forging treasons, wars, plots, fresh rapine, and ruin of the innocent—who destroyest religion with the worst counsels—and who spendest the rest of thy time in pleasure with thine epicurean friends, ... or in the midst of thy concubines."

This was immediately followed by the letter, which Calvin addressed to the Emperor, then at Spire; and of which Beza says: *haud scio an ullum nervosius et gravius ejus argumenti scriptum nostro saeculo editum fuerit.* It was the object of this production to conciliate the Emperor in behalf of the Reformation.

About the same time, namely, in 1543, Calvin felt it to be his duty to enter the field against what M. Henry calls 'the fundamental error of the world,'—Pelagianism. We direct attention to this with the more earnestness, because it is a part of the policy of errorists in our own day, to keep out of view the fact that much of the warfare of Protestant Reformers was against the Pelagianism of the Papists. A certain Pighius of Kempen had appeared in opposition to the doctrines of grace, and the controversy which followed was much like that between Erasmus and Luther.† Calvin and Pighius, says our author, were preparing the very controversy which afterwards agitated the Synod of Dort. The Reformers were unanimous upon this topic. Calvin tells his opponent, not to wonder at the mighty spread of their doctrine, for, "it is not Luther who has spoken, but God who has thundered and lightened by his lips." M. Henry confirms the statement of all sound historians as to the entire coincidence of Luther and Calvin upon the doctrines of election

* Supplex exhortatio ad invictissimum Caesarem Carolum Quintum et illustrissimos principes aliosque ordines Spirae nunc Imperii conventum agentes, ut restituendae ecclesiae curam serio velint suscipere, 1544.

† J. Calvini Defensio sacrae et orthodoxae doctrinae de servitute et liberatione humani arbitrii adversus calumnias Alb. Pighii. Genev. 1543.

and predestination. In the analysis of this work, into which M. Henry goes very fully, we cannot follow him. The book made a deep impression. Melancthon, to whom it was dedicated, received it at Cologne, where he was with Bucer. He wrote a letter in which he hails and encourages this younger coadjutor, declaring that the latter had written with piety and eloquence—*non solum pie, sed etiam eloquenter.* He cheers him on in his course of polemical authorship, and asks: "Who, in our day, is master of a style either more nervous or more eloquent?"

Calvin was the first to come forth against the decrees of the Council of Trent.* His work is learned and profound, going thoroughly into the differences between the two churches. It was answered by John Cochlaeus. After setting aside the authority of Council, in general, and of this in particular, he proceeds to canvass the specific points. It is a triumph of wit and dialectics. Among other things, he fixes upon the Tridentine fathers the charge of repelling Pelagianism with the left hand, while they welcome it with the right.

During this period the name of *Nicodemites* was given to those faint-hearted persons, who were convinced of the errors of Popery, but were afraid to avow it, and excused themselves in assisting at the Catholic rites. Among these were found many persons of quality, who were altogether unable to stand erect in the storm of persecution which raged in and after the year 1545. Such weakness, at a time when multitudes were going to martyrdom, filled Calvin with indignation: hence his two works *against the Nicodemites.*† These were by some considered severe, but they were useful in arming many for the mortal conflict, not only in France and Switzerland, but in Germany also. It was such sentiments as those expressed in his tracts, and a hundred times in his private letters, which produced decisions like that of the Waldensian believer, who being left to choose between kissing the cross or being cast headlong from a tower, chose the latter without one moment of tremor or hesitation. "What would have become of the church," exclaims Calvin, "if early Christians had done as we do? The whole theology of the ancient martyrs consisted in knowing that there is

* Acta synodi Tridentinae, cum antidoto. 1547.

† 1. De vitandis superstitionibus. 2. Excusatio ad Pseudo-Nicodemitas, cum duabus epistolis ad ministros ecclesiae Tigurinae.

only one God, to whom we must pray, and in whom we must put all our trust, and that there is no salvation out of Jesus Christ. They had no such knowledge of these things as that they could learnedly explain them, but maintained them in all simplicity. Neverthless they threw themselves with joyful hearts into the fire; yea, women even yielded up their own children. But we—who are great doctors—know not what it is to bear witness to the truth." Upon the subject of these writings, there appeared opinions from Melancthon, Bucer, and Peter Martyr, who all agreed with Calvin.

As only a single letter seems to have been written by Calvin to Luther, we should think ourselves inexcusable if we omitted it here. Its date is January 20th, 1545; and after a respectable salutation it proceeds as follows:

"When I have seen such of our Frenchmen as have been brought from popish darkness to soundness of faith, still making no change in their public profession, and continuing to pollute themselves with the sacrileges of the Papists, as if they had never tasted true doctrine, I have been unable to refrain from rebuking such remissness with the severity which I think it deserves. For what sort of faith is that which lies buried in the mind, and never breaks forth into a confession? What sort of religion is that which lies plunged in a pretence of idolatry? But I do not here take up this topic, which I have largely handled in two books, wherein, if it be not too much trouble to cast your eye over them, you will better see what are my opinions, and my reasons for them. By the reading of these, some of our people have been awakened, who were before at ease in deep sleep, and have begun to think what they ought to do. But as it is hard for one so far to forget self as to jeopard life, or stirring up obloquy to invite the hatred of the world, or abandoning fortune and natal soil to go into voluntary exile, they are restrained by these difficulties from coming to any certain resolution. They allege, however, other and quite specious reasons, but such as show that they are merely seeking for a pretext. But as they hesitate in a sort of suspense, they desire to hear your judgment, which, as they justly revere it, will have the effect of greatly confirming them. They have, therefore, besought me to send to you express a sure messenger who may bring back your answer upon this matter. This their request I was not willing to refuse, both because I supposed it would be greatly to their advantage to be aided by your authority, so as to be relieved from per-

petual fluctuation, and because I wished the same support for myself. Now, therefore, most revered father in the Lord, I conjure you in the name of Christ, that for my sake and theirs, you will take the trouble first of reading the epistle written in their name, and then of running over carelessly at some leisure hour my little books, or at least that you would commit the reading of them to some one who may report to you their contents; further that you would briefly write your opinion. It is with reluctance that I give you this trouble in the midst of so many and so great occupations, but I am persuaded, as I do this from necessity, your usual equity, will pardon me. O that I could fly to you, and enjoy your conversation, at least for a few hours! This I would greatly prefer, and it would be much better to confer with you face to face, not only concerning this question, but other matters also: but this favour, not granted here on earth, will shortly, I hope, be enjoyed in heaven. Farewell, most illustrious man, most excellent minister of Christ, and my ever honoured father! The Lord continue to guide you by his Spirit to the end, for the common good of his church!"

This letter was accompanied by another, addressed to Melancthon; the object of which was to urge the latter to use every means of keeping the mind of Luther from being embittered, of which there was the greatest danger in consequence of the Sacramentarian controversy. Both Calvin and Melancthon manifested the strongest desire to avoid even the appearance of dissension in doctrine. But the latter years of Luther were marked by excessive irascibility on every point connected with what he thought the Zuinglian heresy. The reply of Melancthon was characteristic. "I have not shown your letter," says he, "to Doctor Martin: for he looks on many things with suspicion, and is unwilling that his opinions on such questions as those which you propose, should be circulated."

The latter years of Luther's life were frequently embittered by his morbid and excessive zeal in the Sacramentarian controversy. A word or two concerning the origin of this may not be unnecessary. Zuinglius maintained, as is well known, that the body of Christ was not present with the elements in the Eucharist. Luther held the contrary opinion, and, in 1526, entered the lists against Zuinglius. A year later Zuinglius published a treatise which was very decided, but highly respectful towards his venerable opponent. Luther rejoined, charging the origin of the dispute upon the other,

and declaring that the question was of such moment, that one or the other party must be God's enemy. Next appeared another publication on the Swiss side, and then their great Confession. In 1529, Philip of Hesse caused a conference to be held at Marburg, in which both sides claimed the victory. By degrees the controversy was relaxed, particularly after the death of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius, in 1531; their disciples were satisfied with propagating their doctrines. In 1536, chiefly through the instrumentality of Bucer, the Wittenberg Conference took place. But in the last years of his life, Luther showed a disposition to renew the conflict, even if he should be left alone upon the field. In 1543 he wrote to Froschauer, that neither he nor any church of Christ could hold fellowship with the Swiss. Melancthon sought in vain to soften him. In 1545, he published, in his Annotations on Genesis, and in other forms, the most bitter expressions against the Reformed, denominating Zuinglius, Oecolampadius and their adherents, 'Enemies of the Sacrament,' 'Heretics,' and 'Reprobates.' Long ago, he declares, he had ceased to pray for men who were murderers of souls —'*Seelfresser und Seelmörder.*' The Swiss answered these assaults by the hands of Bullinger, but the book did not meet the views of Calvin. "If the matter stands," he writes to Melancthon, "as the men of Zurich say, they have had just cause to write. But they should either write otherwise or not at all. For not to say that the whole tract is jejune and puerile, that in many things they excuse and sustain Zuinglius with more pertinacity than learning, and with too little modesty, and that they censure certain things in Luther unjustly, in my opinion they handle the main matter in dispute very unhappily." The feelings of Luther towards the Zuinglians were unchanged. After his death there were found in a letter of date January 17, 1546, these words: *Beatus vir, qui non abiit in consilio Sacramentariorum, nec stetit in via Cinglianorum, nec sedet in cathedra Tigurinorum.*

Many of the writings of Calvin show how greatly he was concerned in this controversy. His endeavours were almost all towards conciliation. In 1544, we find him beseeching Bullinger to treat the aged Reformer with forbearance. "I have often said," Calvin writes, "that if Luther were to call me a devil, I should nevertheless continue reverently to regard him as an extraordinary servant of God, who certainly, as he is endowed with remarkable virtues, has also some great faults. Would to God, that he had taken more pains

to get the mastery of that tempestuous passion, which is perpetually bursting forth!" He also endeavoured to animate Melancthon, whose mild and almost cowardly temper was overborne by his great patron. The words of Calvin are notable: "In truth," says he, "we set a poor example to posterity, if we chose to surrender all our liberty, rather than to offend one individual. Truly his spirit is imperious, and often knows no bounds. Yet this must continually go further, if all give up to him, and yield him every thing. If in the newly awakened church such an example of tyranny finds place, what may we expect, when affairs shall have taken a more unfavourable turn?" He then proceeds to administer to Melancthon a most penetrating rebuke for his want of courage in not avowing his convictions upon this point.

The triumphant progress of the Emperor in 1547 filled the hearts of all Protestants with alarm. The elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse were both made prisoners, and were led about as captives. Calvin was called to see his dearest friends, Melancthon, Bucer, and Peter Martyr, exposed to the imminent vengeance of the persecutors. The league of Smalkalde was dissolved, and a diet was called at Augsburg. Here a number of the protestant princes were overawed, and there was every appearance that the work of reformation, at least in Germany, was rapidly approaching its close. Many refugees were received in Geneva, and much of Calvin's time was employed in writing for the comfort and corroboration of those brethren who were under persecution. But his principal effort was directed against the grand expedient of the emperor, namely the *Formula ad Interim*, which was issued in 1548. This was a scheme of doctrine, set forth as a basis of pacification, until the decision of a general council. In this formula, the doctrine of justification by faith alone was denied, and almost every popish error was asserted; but it left the Protestants in the enjoyment of the eucharist in both kinds, and freed their clergy from the obligation of celibacy. The emperor had made it a capital offence to write against the Interim; yet it was answered in no less than thirty-seven publications. Among these not the least remarkable was that of Calvin, which appeared in 1549. It closes with a spirited exhortation to all evangelical Christians, to hold themselves ready to die for the truth. At a later period, when Melancthon seemed to vacillate, and yielded to the terms of the modified

Leipsick Interim, he was thus addressed by Calvin: "In such a man, vacillation is not to be endured. A hundred times rather would I die with thee, than see thee survive a doctrine which thou hadst betrayed"

Many of the protestants, after the destruction of their hopes in Germany, fled to England, where they contributed not a little to the establishment of the truth. The most remarkable among these exiles were Peter Martyr, Bucer, Fagius, and Ochinus. Through these men, and more directly by correspondence with the leading reformers of the kingdom, Calvin, as is well known, exerted a salutary influence upon the religious changes in the church of England. Other countries also shared in his labours. In 1545 he was in correspondence with the reformed churches of East Friesland, to whom he dedicated his catechism. In 1549 he addressed his commentary on the Hebrews to Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland. At a still later period he was in correspondence with the Christians of Denmark.

It is characteristic of Calvin, that no troubles, public or domestic, seem to have diminished his labours as an author. During the stormiest period of his history, he found time to edit Melancthon's Loci Communes with a preface, A.D. 1546. In 1544 he published a work against the Libertines, together with one against the Anabaptists; also a letter to the church at Rouen, against certain Libertines whom he calls New-Carpocratians; also a Treatise against relics. In 1545 a Latin Translation of the French Catechism. In 1548 Commentaries on the epistles to the Corinthians, Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, and on the epistles to Timothy. In 1549, his *Consensio in re sacramentaria*, and an excellent work against Astrology. In two of these, the works against Relics and against Astrology, he rose much above his age, and evinced, as he did on all analogous subjects, a rationality and freedom from superstition which it took almost two centuries to make universal, if indeed this can be said to be the case even now.

No part of M. Henry's archaeological investigations has produced more copious results than those which concern the war that was waged against Calvin within the walls of his own city, by the party of Libertines. These were men who turned the grace of God into lasciviousness. Like the Anabaptists, from whom they are not always distinguishable, they owed their origin to the excitement and convulsion of an age when a new element was evolved in the social state.

While the Lord was sowing good seed, the enemy was sowing tares, and the world was agitated by theories subversive of all morals and all civil government. Alas! the crop is not extinct, in our age, or even in our own country. Neither the mighty labours of Luther, nor the death of Münzer, availed entirely to suppress the fanatical spirit. The chief dogma of the Anabaptists was the rejection of pedobaptism. The Libertines went further, and were pantheists of the crudest sort, and enemies of all righteousness. Calvin wrote against both. His work against the Libertines bears the date 1544 in the Amsterdam edition: that against the Anabaptists is of the same year.

Holding false opinions respecting liberty and grace, these men rushed into the most horrid enormities of practical Antinomianism, uniting this with a mystical jargon which was sometimes blasphemous. They avowed, as their cardinal dogma, that there is but one spirit in the universe.* In France many of the higher classes were infected with this plague. Even the queen of Navarre was led far astray by two favourite teachers, Quintin and Poques. M. Henry gives an original letter of Calvin to the queen, in which there is such severity of reprehension and courageous faithfulness as have seldom been addressed to crowned heads.

There was perhaps no place on earth in which this antichristian Libertinism revealed its hideous features more fully than at Geneva. It was there an organized system of infidelity, licentiousness, and blasphemy. A work was written by a man named Gruet, of which the object was to show that the founders of Judaism and Christianity were alike impostors, and that Christ was justly crucified. The author was put to death for sedition and blasphemy, agreeably to the harsh and intolerant jurisprudence which was universal at that day. We cannot enter into the painful details. Many of the horrible impieties of this man are recited by M. Henry. It was in connexion with such opinions that the impurity of morals prevailed to an extent almost incredible. Opposition to the truth, and to the rigid discipline of the church, drove the libertine party to the direst extreme of malignity. Prostitution and violence were practised almost without a veil. The history of Madame Ameaux, the wife of one of the civil counsellors, is given by our author, and displays at a glance the diabolical tendency of a system which could thus oblite-

* See Calvin's Institut. l. 3. c. 3. p. 14.

rate the last trace of chaste reserve even in a matron of the highest rank.

During the prevalence of the plague in Geneva, the wickedness of the people arose to its acme. In their unaccountable fury of impious revenge, some of this party succeeded in persuading themselves and many others, that it was in their power to communicate the contagion by some virus which they carried about with them, sprinkled on food, and spread upon the bolts and latches of doors. Men were known to come to Geneva expressly to buy this poison, and many avowed their intention to use it against their enemies. Calvin thundered from the pulpit against the iniquity of the city, declared the pestilence to be a judgment of God, and forewarned the authorities of greater wrath unless they would take stronger measures against the overspreading scourge of incontinence in its worst forms. Besides those whom we have mentioned, there were many political Libertines, as they were called, whose sole object was to oppose the theocratic tendency of Calvin's system, and to free their city from subjection to Savoy and Berne. These were not necessarily connected with the religious Libertines. Their leader, Perrin, does not seem to have been actuated so much by any antichristian zeal, as by ambition. In the way of these partizans the Reformer was a rock of offence; for so long as his eloquence and his iron will remained, they could not advance a step. It was a trait of Calvin's policy, that when he found the city almost overwhelmed by corrupt men, he resolved to gather around him spirits of a purer sort. The persecutions, especially in France, favoured his plan. Refugees rallied around his banner, from Italy, Flanders, and Spain. New churches were erected in which there was divine service in the Flemish, the Italian, the Spanish, and the English tongues. Not even the plague deterred these exiles from coming to the free city, and hundreds of young men were found sitting at the feet of Calvin, who were afterwards the missionaries of the reformed faith in their respective countries. His influence gained by every such accession until he finally rose above all opposition.

It may be supposed however that the Libertines did not allow this change to take place without rage and conflict; but the more infuriated they became, the more secure was Calvin. He gave free course to the law, which made itself felt as well upon the proudest senator as on the populace. The preface to his Commentary on the Psalms will be more in-

telligible and interesting to one who bears in mind these statements. An accusation was brought against Calvin, as a preacher of falsehood and a bad man, by Pierre Ameaux, one of the Council of Two Hundred. Calvin was unanimously acquitted, and the accuser himself, on being fined sixty dollars, made ample retractation. Calvin however insisted on a public penance in the streets, a severe sentence which was accordingly pronounced and executed.

Perrin, the chief opposer, had married a daughter of the noble house of Faber; she was a woman of great strength of character; indeed Calvin once says *uxor est prodigiosa furia.* This woman, and the whole party were excessively galled by the regulations against stage-plays, promiscuous dancing, and sumptuous apparel. As might have been expected, many trials resulted from this, and some cases of imprisonment; and all who fell under the censure of the law considered themselves as personally injured by Calvin. Thus the party opposed to the ministers became stronger and stronger. It was evident that they would stop at nothing in accomplishing their purpose; and both the courage and the address of Calvin were put to the test. He writes to Viret, September 17, 1547: "Our enemies are so blinded, that they know no longer what caution is. Yesterday served not a little to confirm the previous suspicion, that their temerity would soon excite a tumult. The Council of Two Hundred had been summoned, and I had informed my colleagues that I meant to go to the Council. We were there even before the hour, as many were walking up and down without. We retired by the door nearest to the Council-chamber. Here was heard a very tumultuous outcry, which so increased, that I soon recognised in it the sure sign of an insurrection. I immediately ran to them. The sight was fearful. I threw myself into the thickest of the throng. Though much agitated, all hastened to me, and tried to bear me hither and thither, to save me from harm. I called God and men to witness that I came to offer my body to their swords, and besought them, if blood must be shed, to begin with me." "At length I was forced into the meeting of the Council. Here was a new conflict, into the midst of which I cast myself. All are of the opinion that by my presence I prevented a great and horrible carnage. My colleagues, meanwhile, mixed themselves with the mass. I requested that they would quietly be seated. By a long and earnest speech, which I made suitably to the circumstances, all were won-

derfully agitated." Farel and Viret came twice to Geneva to reconcile the parties. The former, before the Council, said of his friend: "How could you do otherwise than honour Calvin, as no man upon earth has warred against antichrist with so much power. There is none so learned, and if he does not spare you, neither has he spared the greatest men—Luther and Melancthon." The contest with Perrin broke out ever and anon, until he was finally excluded from the city; which however does not fall within the period comprised in this volume.

Through these, and the like scenes perpetually recurring, Calvin went forward, and did not bate one jot of his characteristic firmness and fidelity. The pulpit resounded with the most unsparing denunciation of vice, and was therefore the principal object of detestation on the part of the libertines. We leave to the foes of Calvin to explain the paradox, that at the time when, if they are to be believed, he was labouring to propagate a system which subverts all morals, and opens the door to licentiousness, his chief enemies and persecutors were the avowed patrons of luxury and uncleanness, and the most bitter charges which they brought against him were founded on the rigour and alleged intolerance of his moral code. His opposers tried him with every variety of malicious assault. He was insulted in the streets, and his life was threatened. Beza relates that they gave the name of Calvin to their dogs. Even the Senate sometimes hindered him in the publication of his works; and called him in question for some of his private letters. "I am prepared," said he, "to undergo any species of death, for the defence of the truth." "With a good conscience, I fear no assaults; for what can they accomplish worse than death?" So far from clinging to Geneva from ambitious views, nothing detained him but the force of conscience. His soul was among lions. In expectation of the Lord's Supper, he writes to Farel: "If it could be solemnized without me, I would be willing to creep to you on my hands and knees." "I bring my sacrificed heart," said he, "as a gift to God. I submit my burdened, straitened soul in obedience to God." "Yet," said he, with admirable self-neglect, "when I consider to what insults my brethren are subjected, I seem to myself almost to be engaged in a mock-contest."*

* Sed cum reputo, quales insultus fratribus nostris sustinendi sunt, videor mihi propemodum sub umbra certare lusorium certamen.

In the midst of these troubles, he sought repose in the sympathy of his friends, especially of Viret and Farel. In what concerned practical business, he set most value on the advice of Viret; but Farel had most of his heart. The latter in return used to compare Calvin to Moses; and the analogy is striking.

We are so much accustomed to receive our impressions of Calvin from his enemies that we too often look on him as a mere polemic. Such he was not; but on the contrary, there seems to be no one of his many controversies into which he thrust himself wilfully. He was a lover of peace, and there was no object in life so dear to him as the promotion of entire unity among all evangelical believers. Not even the pacification of Geneva was half so dear to him as this. It was with this in view that he did every thing to further the acceptance of the *Consensus Tigurinus*, in which he hoped, especially after Luther's death, that the Christians not only of France and Switzerland, but of Germany, would unite. "And thus," says M. Henry, "the church would have formed a great connected whole, and Calvin, by his zealous, yet truly conciliating endeavours, would have made that good, which Luther in his heat had destroyed." Towards this contemplated union it was a principal step to bring the Swiss brethren to admit a spiritual but real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which indeed many of them secretly held. In Berne there was much contention, and Viret was in controversy with Sulzer. In Zurich, there were those who charged Viret and Calvin with defection to the Lutheran tenet: this suspicion vanished when Calvin accompanied Farel to Zurich in 1548: for the venerable Farel was as efficient in peace as in war. The *Consensus Tigurinus* was opposed chiefly by Westphal, a hot-headed Lutheran of Hamburg, and by other unwise but fiery spirits of his communion. This formulary, which acquired the force of a church-symbol, was adopted in 1549, and marks an epoch in the Sacramentarian controversy. In 1554, it was revised and amended. Our author gives specimens of the letters which Calvin wrote in order to conciliate Bullinger and the other Zuinglians; for though our Reformer used to call Bullinger a *durum caput*, they were always close friends, and in 1547 Bullinger submitted one of his works to Calvin's revision.

The essays towards a general union were going on favourably at the entrance of the year 1549. This was to Calvin a year of mingled joy and sorrow. The libertine faction in

Geneva was for a time subdued; but the churches of Saxony were in a ferment upon the question concerning 'things indifferent.' During this year Calvin underwent a severe trial in the death of his wife. After this event, and after the happy termination of the synod of the Swiss and French ministers at Berne, Calvin and Farel, as has been intimated above, made a tour through the Swiss churches, for the purpose of promoting unity of opinion and feeling. In September he writes to Viret concerning the probable effects of the *Consensus:* "The hearts of the pious will be lifted up and our constancy and boldness will contribute much, in these unhappy times, to break the hearts of the wicked. Those who have thought ill of us, will see that our thoughts are good and just. Many who are now wavering in uncertainty will know what they have to rely upon. Those in foreign lands who differ from us in opinion will soon, I hope, reach out the hand to us. And finally, at all events, posterity will have such a testimony of our faith as they could never gather from our controversies." And indeed, as Planck has observed, by this Zurich Confession was properly accomplished, or at least evinced, the entire reconciliation of the Swiss with the Lutheran theology on the points first in debate." There was universal joy among all the Protestant churches, and all united in ascribing to Calvin the principal agency in this union. The mournful events by which it was violated fall under another period.

While Calvin was engaged in these labours, there came from France to Geneva eight men of rank, flying from persecution. Among them was one who was pre-eminent for his commanding countenance and figure, as well as for genius and accomplishment, but who was still much attached to the world. In this man Calvin recognised a friend of his youthful days. It was Theodore Beza, of Vezelay, in Burgundy. They asked leave of the Council to remain in Geneva, and Calvin, with affectionate impetuosity, conjured Beza to abide with him and join in his labours. He had previously learned from Melchior Wolmar the talents of Beza, and saw in him the very man whom God had sent to be his right arm, and finally to take his place in the consistory. Beza established himself at Geneva, and under the influence of Calvin became one of the most useful men of the age. For a time he was at Lausanne, as professor of Greek. At the request of the French refugees he there expounded the epistle to the Romans, and also laid the foundation for his learned work on

the New Testament. From this time forward Calvin undertook nothing without Beza, who became the eloquent interpreter and powerful defender of his opinions, as he was afterwards his successor and biographer. The enthusiastic friendship of Beza became more firm and pure as he entered more and more into the fellowship of faith with his preceptor and patron.

Though this was certainly the most striking, it was by no means the only instance of this influence upon men of learning. From every part of reformed Christendom such persons were attracted by the genius, the learning, and the pious energy of Calvin. We have already named Peter Martyr Vermili. He was called by Calvin *Miraculum Italiae.* Another Italian was Bernardino Ochino of Siena, whom Calvin designated as *praeclarus vir*, and *vir magnus omnibus modis.* In this connexion it is interesting to mark the relation of our Reformer to that heresiarch Laelius Socinus. Calvin treated this learned man with great tenderness, for he thought he perceived in him a real desire for the truth; and he even gave him letters of recommendation when he went into Poland. We cannot, however, add to the length of this article by any extracts from their correspondence.

M. Henry closes his volume with a section upon the agreement between Calvin and Luther in living faith. The subject is one which has been much discussed, and while we arrive at no new results, we gain from M. Henry's investigation corroboration to our previous belief. On the Sacramentarian controversy, it is true, they never came to a clear understanding, but there was a hearty concurrence in all that related to the vital truths of religion. M. Henry goes somewhat into the question whether Luther and Calvin coincided in opinion concerning Predestination and Election, or whether on the other hand Luther changed his mind on these points, as has been alleged by the Arminians and modern Lutherans. The truth seems to be this, that Luther always retained his belief in the doctrine of unconditional election to life, but that he became cautious in his expressions concerning it, and justly fearful of its being abused to the purposes of fatalistic Antinomianism. It has been argued, from certain passages in Luther's later writings, that he had abandoned the doctrine, but M. Henry shows very conclusively that these are aimed entirely against its abuse, and has cited exactly similar passages from Calvin; as, for example, the following: "We are not of the number of these fantastic spirits, who, under

the shadow of God's eternal predestination, make no account of coming to the promised life *by the right way;* but we rather hold, that to be owned as children of God, it is necessary that we believe in Jesus Christ, because it is in him alone that we must seek for all that pertains to his salvation." Calvin and Melancthon, however, differed considerably upon this point in later years, when the latter, in Calvin's judgment, treated it *nimis philosophice.*

There is in Hering's Brandenburg Church-History a pleasant story which throws light upon the mutual relation of the two great Reformers. We have only to regret that in detailing an anecdote which takes us back to the heart of old Wittenberg, we can make so feeble an approach to the savoury humour of the idiomatic Saxon. "So soon," the history states, "as Calvin's book, made German by Galasio, appeared anew in print in 1545, and was brought to Wittenberg, Dr. Luther, on the Monday after *Quasimodogeniti,* after the lecture then holden by him on Genesis, went to the shop of Moritz Goltsch, the bookseller. He bade welcome the bookseller who had just come home from the Shrovetide Fair, and accosted him with these words: 'Well Moritz, what is the best news from Frankfort? Are they minded to burn up the arch-heretic Luther?' whereupon Moritz Goltsch made answer thus: 'Of that hear I nothing, reverend Sir; but I have here brought with me a little book, on the Supper of our Lord, written first in French, by John Calvin, but now set forth anew in Latin. They say abroad of Calvin, that he is, though a young, yet a pious and a learned man. And in the little book aforesaid, Calvin is said to show, wherein your reverence, and wherein Zuinglius and Oecolampadius have exceeded in the dispute about the holy sacrament.' When Moritz Goltsch had imprudently said this, Dr. Luther immediately replied, 'Give me rather the book.' Upon which the bookseller gave him an *exemplar in octavo,* bound in leather, which Dr. Luther took into his hands, and sitting down began to read the first three pages after the title, and the last four and a half at the end, and then said: 'Moritz, this is surely a learned and pious man, to whom I might well have committed the whole matter of this dispute from the beginning. On my part I confess, if the other party had done the like, we had soon been reconciled; for if Oecolampadius and Zuinglius had so explained themselves at the first, we had never gone into so lengthened a disputation.' Besides many other of the students who were standing around Dr. Luther

at the time, this was heard by Matthias Stoius, then Dr. Luther's table-companion, but afterwards Doctor of Medicine, and body-physician to the old Duke of Prussia, who many times related it to the Duke, in the presence of many distinguished people of quality."

With this characteristic incident we close our notice of the work, hoping at some future day to follow the history to its conclusion.

Charles Hodge

ART. III.—*A Brief History and Vindication of the Doctrines received and established in the Churches of New England, with a specimen of the New Scheme of Religion beginning to prevail.* By Thomas Clap, A.M., President of Yale College. New Haven, 1755.

OUR readers may be somewhat surprised at seeing, as the heading of this article, the title of a book published near a century ago. The character of this periodical, however, does not restrict us to the notice of works of a recent date. The past is the mirror of the present, as the present is of the future. What is now, has been before, and shall be hereafter. It is well, at times, to look back and see how the trials of our forefathers agree with our own; to observe how the errors and disorders with which we have to contend afflicted them; to notice how the methods adopted in former ages to secure the introduction of false doctrines answer to the devices of the present day; and how signally God blessed the faithful efforts of his servants in defence of his truth, and how uniformly compromise and subserviency have been followed by the triumph of error and the decline of religion. The history of the church is replete with instructions on all these points; and these instructions are presented in the history of the church in our own country in a form peculiarly adapted to our present circumstances. The pious founders of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches in America brought with them the very doctrines which the friends of truth in those churches are now struggling to maintain; they had to contend with the same errors and disorders, and they resisted them by the same means which we are now endeavouring to employ, viz. testimony, discussion and discipline. Their fidelity produced just the same outcry about ecclesiastical