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# JOHN CALVIN

*HIS LIFE, LETTERS, AND WORK*



BY

HUGH Y. REYBURN, B.D.

KIRKINTILLOCH.

"Post Tenebras Lux."

"Cor meum velut mactatum Domino in sacrificium offero."

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## I

## THE STATE OF FRANCE

WHEN Calvin appeared on the stage of history, France was heaving with a tumult of new ideas. The king on the throne was Louis XII, a man of talent and energy, under whose rule there was increasing prosperity. On his death in January, 1515, he was succeeded by his cousin, Francis of Angoulême, who had just reached the age of twenty-one. His mother was Louise of Savoy, a woman of great intellectual ability, passionate temper and immoral habits, and Francis inherited some of her characteristics. His noble stature, his affable manners, and his proficiency in chivalrous exercises gave him an instantaneous hold on his people's interest, and he speedily won their respect by more solid qualities. In a desperate battle, fought at Marignano in September, 1515, he not only displayed the utmost gallantry, but showed such military skill that he routed the enemy and gained substantial advantages for himself and his country. He persuaded the Swiss to make a compact of peace which lasted from that day till the Revolution. He compelled the Pope to come to a definite understanding as to the relations between the Gallican Church and the Papal See, and to surrender the right of presentation to bishoprics and other offices of ecclesiastical dignity. He followed this up by making an arrangement for peace with the Emperor and with the King of England, and a new era of goodwill seemed about to begin.

His internal administration promised as well as his foreign policy. He was a patron of art and learning, and gathered round him some of the most learned and notable men of his day. But he allowed one mistress after another to fascinate him, and he lived in open profligacy. His interest in religion was superficial and uncertain. At one time he despised the clergy and dealt sharply with the Church. At another time he persecuted the Reformers.

In pursuance of his educational policy Francis resolved to start a magnificent college after the pattern of the College of Louvain, for gratuitous instruction in languages, mathematics,

philosophy and natural science, and although he did not get the buildings erected, he got some of the professors installed and asked Erasmus to become their president—an honour which he declined. Francis also threw the shield of his favour over a man who did much to increase the intellectual ferment which had begun. This was Jacques Le Fèvre, of Etaples in Picardy.<sup>1</sup> He was born of obscure parents about 1455. He took the degree of Master of Arts in Paris and became a priest. Thereafter he went to Italy and studied Aristotle. On his return to Paris he lectured on mathematics and on philosophy. There was little to find fault with in his conduct. He went regularly to Mass. He was known to pray to the Virgin. But he was said to be infected with dangerous ideas.<sup>2</sup> In a commentary on the Psalms published in 1509 he said that his studies in human learning were as darkness compared with the brilliant light revealed by the study of the Scriptures. In a commentary on St. Paul's epistles published in 1512 he extolled Scripture as the only rule of faith and life, and declared the insufficiency of good works as a means of salvation. In a preface to a commentary on the Gospels<sup>3</sup> published in 1522 he maintained that the Word of God and not the doctrines of men alone points out the way of salvation, and prayed for a return to the pure faith of the Church of the martyrs. In 1523 he issued a translation of the Gospels, and said in the preface that those who forbade the common people to read the good news<sup>4</sup> which the Lord commanded to be preached to every creature would have to answer for their sin at His tribunal. In 1530 he crowned his offences by issuing a translation of the whole Bible. Thus he opened the fountain of religious truth to France, and gave his pupils a stimulus which carried some of them very far.

Among these were Guillaume Briçonnet, Count of Montbrun and Bishop of Meaux; Budé, whose accomplishments as a scholar rivalled those of Erasmus; Vatable, afterwards Calvin's teacher in Hebrew; Gerard Roussel, who first preached evangelical doctrine from his own pulpit in Paris, and afterwards, under the protection of Queen Margaret, helped the Reformation as Bishop of Navarre; Louis Berquin, destined to die at the stake for the Protestant faith; and William Farel, the stormy petrel of the new doctrine in Western Switzerland, and Calvin's ally in Geneva. These and many others carried the seeds of Le Fèvre's teaching far and wide.

The first serious movement in France began in Meaux.

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, I. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* I. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* I. 90.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* I. 133.

Briçonnet had been appointed bishop, and being a man of some importance he believed he could accomplish something in his diocese.<sup>1</sup> His father had been first minister under Charles VIII, and after the death of his wife, had entered the Church and become in succession Bishop of St. Malo, Archbishop of Rheims, and cardinal. His son Guillaume was first Archdeacon of Rheims and Avignon, then Bishop of Lodève, then Abbot of St. Germain des Prés, which his father resigned in his favour. He had also acted as Ambassador-Extraordinary to Rome. As the curates under his jurisdiction in Meaux seldom resided in their parishes and were ignorant and vicious he divided the diocese into thirty-two sections and provided each with a preacher. Among those whom he called into action were Le Fèvre, Farel, Vatable, Roussel, and others. He also went to the pulpit and preached himself. A preaching bishop was a rarity in these days, and one who preached what looked like Lutheran doctrine was a still greater rarity, so the multitude flocked to hear him. Further, at his own expense, he published those passages from the gospels and epistles which were used in the services of the Church, and he circulated them. Every one began to read them. A change speedily appeared. People began to leave off praying to the Virgin and the saints, and confined their worship to Christ alone. Blasphemy gave place to Bible study, and riotous behaviour was replaced by decorum.

So great was the excitement which the movement set up that the Romish authorities became alarmed and took action.

Briçonnet was summoned to Paris to explain what was happening in his diocese. The proceedings were conducted behind closed doors, and when they ended he was reprimanded in the king's presence, fined in 200 livres, and sent back to Meaux in disgrace. His zeal thereafter weakened.<sup>2</sup> On 15 October, 1523, he issued two decrees, condemning Lutheran doctrine;<sup>3</sup> on 13 December of the same year he dismissed his preachers, and troubled the peace of the Sorbonne no more. There was a strange anticipation of the future in one of his sermons. He pled with his hearers not to change their opinions on religious matters, even though he changed his. Some of them obeyed him. They went out from Meaux and travelled over France, preaching the new doctrine everywhere.

Voices in favour of it began to be heard in Paris itself. A monk named Peter Caroli<sup>4</sup> lectured on the Epistle to the

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, I. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* I. 153.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* I. 171.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* I. 292.

Romans, and advised his hearers to bring their Bibles to church with them. He was arrested, but through his astute manipulation of legal obstacles, he succeeded in spinning out his trial through months, which he used in preaching to large and deeply interested congregations. At length, being peremptorily ordered to refrain from speaking in public at a time when he was expounding the twenty-second Psalm, he took farewell by posting the following placard: "Peter Caroli, wishing to yield to the admonitions of the sacred faculty, intermits his lectures, to be resumed when God shall please, and to begin at the words, 'They pierced My hands and My feet'".

The King's sister, Margaret, was another of those who sympathized with the Reformation. She was born at Angoulême in 1492. Her first husband was Charles, Duke of Alençon. She contracted a second marriage with Henry II, King of Navarre, and Jeanne d'Albret, mother of Henry IV, was her daughter. She was a strange mixture. No one breathed a word against her personal character, but the range of her mental interests embraced mysticism and licentiousness. She expounded evangelical principles in a book called "The Mirror of a Sinful Soul," and she amused herself and her courtiers by composing the "Heptameron," a volume of worse than equivocal tales, and she saw as little harm in the one as in the other. She had great influence with her brother, and frequently persuaded him to deal gently with the Reformers. It is said that in alliance with the Duchess d'Estampes, one of the king's mistresses, she almost succeeded in getting the king to commit himself to the side of the Reformation. When France became too hot for the Reformers she made Navarre a refuge for them. When Le Fèvre was becoming uneasy about his safety in the king's Chateau of Blois she brought him to Nerac in 1530, and kept him there till his death six years later. Calvin sent many ministers from Geneva to assist her.

On the other hand, the forces of conservatism were busy, and they were both numerous and powerful. They centred in the Sorbonne, but they were not confined to it. They were active in the royal court, in every bishop's palace, and in every monastery. The head of the Sorbonne was Noel Beda, a man of no great learning, but a zealot in defence of traditional doctrine and practice. "In Beda alone," said Erasmus, "are three thousand monks." He and his assistants were unwearying to inflame all ranks from the king downwards, representing the Reformers as sowers of sedition and subverters of authority, heretics and traitors who should be

punished with death. They formally censured the doctrines preached at Meaux. They condemned the translation of the Bible as grievously harmful to the teaching of the Church and the morals of the people. Under their patronage, a Council was held at Sens, which decreed that persons convicted of heresy, "if they return to the Catholic faith shall be condemned to perpetual penance and imprisonment, and if they refused to abjure, they are to be delivered over to the secular power".

A pretext for active persecution was found in the action of a woolcarder of Meaux named Jean le Clerc. In December, 1524, he tore down a papal bull from the cathedral door and fixed in its place another declaring that the Pope was anti-christ. He was seized, publicly scourged on three successive days, and branded on the forehead. As the hissing iron was lifted off his brow, a voice in the crowd was heard<sup>1</sup> crying, "Long live Jesus Christ and His tokens". It was the voice of his mother.

The first who was martyred on French soil was Jacques de Pavannes, a young man of Boulogne. He had been one of Briçonnet's preachers at Meaux. He was condemned for holding heretical opinions regarding purgatory, the invocation of the Virgin and the Mass.<sup>2</sup> In a moment of weakness he recanted. Regaining his courage he abjured his recantation and was burned alive in the Place de Grève in 1524.<sup>3</sup> In January, 1525, an Augustinian friar named Jean Chastellan was burned.<sup>4</sup> On 22 July of the same year in the Place de Metz, Le Clerc was burned. Other arrests and executions followed.

One of these was that of Louis de Berquin, a nobleman of Artois. He was to begin with a devout churchman, a constant auditor of masses and sermons, and an observer of fasts and festivals. But he became disgusted with the ignorance, the vice, and the intrigues of the clergy, and a discussion with Duchene led him to the study of the Scriptures. His eyes were opened and he said so.<sup>5</sup> He was imprisoned in the conciergerie of the Palais on 1 August, 1523, but by the king's express orders he was set at liberty. For his own benefit, and that of others, he translated some pieces by Erasmus into French. Copies of these were laid before the Sorbonne in 1525 and condemned, and Beda wrote to Erasmus intimating the condemnation. The king again interfered to save Berquin. He removed the case to his own council, and released his favourite with an exhortation to be more prudent for the

<sup>1</sup> De Felicé, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Herminjard, I. 293.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* I. 346.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* I. 372.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* I. 353.

future.<sup>1</sup> Erasmus also sent Berquin a letter beseeching him not to stir up the hornet's nest any more. When the king was a prisoner in Madrid, Berquin was arrested for the third time. Beda had published a pamphlet against Erasmus in 1527. Berquin extracted from it twelve propositions which he declared to be contrary to Scripture and heretical. This was carrying the war into the enemy's camp with a vengeance, and the wrath of the Sorbonne knew no bounds. Nothing could be done so long as the king was in France, but no sooner was he out of the way than Berquin was thrown into prison. On 7 March, 1529,<sup>2</sup> Margaret wrote her brother beseeching him to interpose his royal authority once more, and Berquin might have been saved a third time, but unfortunately an image of the Virgin which stood at a street corner in Paris was mutilated, and a cry got up that an attack was being made on religion. Panic spread among the populace. Parlement and the Sorbonne used it for their own purposes. Twelve judges were appointed. Berquin was offered the<sup>3</sup> alternative of making a public abjuration of his heresies, after which he would have his tongue pierced with a red-hot iron and would be imprisoned for life, or of immediate death. He chose the latter. Margaret the king's sister was then at Blois, and<sup>4</sup> in order that neither she nor her brother might have the opportunity of snatching their victims from them this time, Berquin and his books were burned together in the Place de Grève, Paris, on 17 April, 1529, a few hours after the death sentence was pronounced. When he reached the stake, says Erasmus,<sup>5</sup> in a letter to Utenhovius, he showed no signs of depression. You would have thought he was in a library pursuing his studies, or in a church meditating on things divine. When the executioner with husky voice read to him his accusation and his sentence he never changed countenance. He alighted from the cart with a firm step, displaying not the indifference of the brutal criminal but the serenity of a good conscience. He tried to speak, but his voice was drowned by the clamour of the monks and their satellites.

People now began to take sides for the life and death struggle which lay in the immediate future. In that struggle Calvin was to play a leading part, though he was to play it in a position outside the boundaries of his native land.

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, I. 274.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* II. 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* II. 169.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* II. 184.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* II. 184.

## II

### EARLY DAYS AND STUDENT LIFE

CALVIN was one of the leading Reformers, but he was not one of the first in point of time. Luther and Zwingli were both twenty-five years before him, and the movements which they represented were well on their way before Calvin appeared in public life. He therefore belongs to the second line rather than to the first one, and his work was not so much that of a pioneer hewing his way through jungles of error and superstition as that of a builder who takes advantages of the clear spaces and of the materials with which the pioneers had provided him, and who lays the foundations of a palace dedicated to truth and liberty.

Calvin was born at Noyon, a town of Picardy, lying fifty miles north-east of Paris, on the little river Verse, a short distance above its junction with the Oise. In ancient times Noyon was a city of some consequence. Charlemagne was crowned in it, and Hugh Capet was proclaimed king. It boasted a cathedral which is still a noble monument of mediæval architectural genius, an abbey which claimed to possess the relics of Saint Eloi, a hospital, an old college<sup>1</sup>—that of the Capettes—founded in 1294, and several parish churches. Its mediæval glories have long since departed, but its magnificent buildings still bear witness to its former splendour.

Calvin's ancestors belonged to the district, and resided in Pont l'Evêque, a village not far from Noyon, on the banks of the Oise. They were not noble, but they had business capacity and energy and they rose to a good position. His grandfather was a boatman,<sup>2</sup> and afterwards a cooper. His father, Gerard Cauvin or Calvin, played many parts. He was a law agent, a solicitor in the ecclesiastical courts, fiscal agent of the county, secretary of the bishopric, and attorney of the cathedral chapter. His mother was the daughter of a well-to-do innkeeper.<sup>3</sup> Her name was Jeanne le Franc. She died early, leaving behind her a tradition of unusual beauty and of

<sup>1</sup> Le Franc, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Doumergue, I. 6-7.

<sup>3</sup> Le Franc, 5.

earnest piety. The house in which her husband and she spent their married life still stands in Noyon, very little changed. At the back of the present Hôtel de France, in a corner of a courtyard, there is an old staircase which leads to an exterior gallery, and to a room which preserves its ancient window. A persistent tradition asserts that in this room John Calvin was born. The date of his birth is Tuesday, 10 July, 1509. Altogether there were seven<sup>1</sup> children in the family—two sisters and five brothers. The sisters survived to womanhood, but two of the brothers died in infancy. Of the remainder, Charles, the eldest, took priest's orders and became a scapegrace. Antoine, the youngest, followed John to Geneva and died there a respected citizen. John came between these two.

Before the end of July, Calvin was baptized in the parish church of St. Godebert, and had as his godfather one of the canons of the cathedral, Jean de Vatines, whose Christian name he received in compliment. He learned his first lessons and made his first friends in the college or endowed school of the Capettes. He seems to have attained an easy superiority over all the other scholars, and to have lived on familiar terms with those of highest rank among them. His father had much business in ecclesiastical circles, and was at this time in good repute with the clergy. Besides he was ambitious. So it came about that young John was brought under the notice of the bishop and became an inmate<sup>2</sup> of the house of Adrian de Hangeſt, one of the noble family to which the bishop belonged. At his father's expense<sup>3</sup> he was educated along with Adrian's son, Claude, who afterwards became Bishop of Eloi, receiving along with book learning a training in the manners of good society which stood him in good stead in after-life.

Gerard Calvin had a plan of life prepared for his son, but it needed money to carry it out, so he followed a common practice, used his influence with the bishop, and got John a benefice, as in modern times he might have got him a college scholarship or bursary. This does not mean that John Calvin became a priest. It meant that he was looking forward to the priesthood. In the meantime he was a stipend lifter. He received money in name of stipend, paid another man a fraction of it for doing the work, and kept the rest for his own purposes. His bishop, Charles de Hangeſt, set him an example in this respect. At the age of fifteen he had received a Papal

<sup>1</sup> Colladon in *Opera*, xxii. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera*, v. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Beza in *Opera*, xxii. 121.

dispensation, authorizing him to hold all kinds of offices, secular and regular, compatible and incompatible, and John may be pardoned for imitating such an exalted personage to the utmost of his small ability. His first benefice was held in connexion with Noyon Cathedral. He was appointed to the chapel of<sup>1</sup> La Gesine. It stands where it stood in his day, at the end of the choir. Six years later, on 27 September, 1527, when he had attained the age of twelve years, another benefice was secured for him. It was that of a curacy in St. Martin de Martheville. Two years later, on 5 June, 1529, this last was exchanged for a more lucrative one at Pont l'Evêque. On the basis of the income which these afforded him, he was sent to Paris, and entered the University when he had just passed his fourteenth year.

As in Oxford and Cambridge at the present time, there were several colleges in the University. They were originally charitable foundations, meant for the benefit of poor scholars, but when Calvin entered they had fallen on evil days. They contained no accommodation for the students, so the students had to find their own lodgings. These, for the most part, were execrable. A slum in a modern city is clean and sweet compared with the filthy lanes they were situated in. As there was no supervision, life in them was free and easy, not to say disreputable, and the students were often in bad odour with the citizens. The hours of their classes were long and wearisome. Rising before five in the morning, the students pulled on their clothes and picked their way through mud and puddles to the room where the professor awaited them, and there they toiled till evening, with short intervals. Then they went to their lodgings to resume their studies, or to the wineshop to find relief from their drudgery in racketing and dissipation. Erasmus says<sup>2</sup> that in the college he attended, in a year's time, by wretched lodgings, bad and spare diet, late and hard studies, of many young men of genius, some were killed, some went mad, some became infected with loathsome diseases, and all were brought into danger.

The professors knew no language but their native tongue and Latin, which they spoke barbarously. They lectured on nothing but the works of the scholastic theologians. The literature of Greece or Rome was as far beyond them as that of India or Japan. In his note on 1 Timothy 1. 6, Erasmus gives us an idea of the subjects which occupied their attention. "We have been disputing for ages whether the grace whereby

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 189.

<sup>2</sup> "Colloquy on Fish Eating."

we love God and the grace by which He loves us are one and the same. We dispute how the Father differs from the Son and both from the Holy Ghost, whether it be a difference of fact or of relation, and how three can be one, when neither of the three is the other. . . . Can God be comprehended under a predicate? . . . Can He make a thing done not to have been done? Can He make a harlot into a virgin? Is the proposition that God is a beetle or a pumpkin as probable antecedently as that He is man? . . . Over speculations like these theologians professing to teach Christianity have been spending their lives."

Calvin entered the College de la Marche, and was enrolled in the fourth class, where he was fortunate enough to have the famous Mathurin Corderius<sup>1</sup> as his teacher. Corderius was a man of open mind and he had a genius for imparting instruction. Calvin owed much to him, and in later years acknowledged the debt by dedicating to him a commentary on the Epistle to the Thessalonians. He says, "Your instructions were of such benefit to me that I willingly ascribe to them any skill which I have attained in this department, and I wish this to be transmitted to posterity, that if any shall reap any profit from my writings, they may know they are indebted for it in part to you".

If Calvin owed something to Corderius, Corderius owed as much to Calvin. It was probably through Calvin that he was converted to the Protestant faith. It was certainly through Calvin that he was appointed rector of the grammar school of Geneva, where he died at the age of eighty-eight.

The atmosphere of the College de la Marche was found to be too liberal for one looking forward to the priesthood,<sup>2</sup> so Calvin was removed to the more conservative College de Montaigu, whose head was Noel Beda. Under his supervision Calvin was introduced to the scholastic philosophy. His teacher is said to have been a Spaniard named Poblatius, one of the learned men whom Francis I had brought to Paris. If Calvin got nothing of importance from this man, he got an acquaintance with what passed for things of importance in the estimation of his contemporaries, while the endless debates and the logical hair-splitting which were customary exercised his dialectical powers and prepared him for discussions of real moment.

During his college career Calvin entered into familiar relations with three young men, each of whom entwined the

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xiii. 526.

strands of their life with his own at critical points in his history. These were Pierre Robert Olivetan and Nicolas and Michael Cop.<sup>1</sup> Olivetan, like Calvin, was a native of Noyon, and was in fact a relative. It was through his influence<sup>2</sup> that Calvin set himself to the serious study of the Scriptures, and began to consider whether the theology of St. Paul and St. John were not as worthy of attention as that of Duns Scotus or Thomas Aquinas. It was therefore he who started Calvin on the line which finally brought him out from Rome. The brothers Cop were sons of the king's physician,<sup>3</sup> a Swiss of Basel, a cultured man who enjoyed the friendship of Reuchlin and Erasmus. Nicolas was a brilliant student, and was appointed professor of philosophy in 1530 in the College of St. Barbe. An oration which he delivered, and in which Calvin had a hand, made it necessary for Calvin to fly from Paris. Michael in due time followed Calvin to Geneva and spent a useful life there as a minister of the Gospel.

Calvin's conduct during this period was strict enough to win for him the nickname of "the accusative case". This does not mean that he was for ever accusing his fellow-students of bad behaviour, although many of them deserved accusation and condemnation. Without opening his lips he rebuked their indolence by his industry and their fondness for gross pleasures by his fastidiousness.<sup>4</sup> At the same time some outburst of indignation may have formed the pretext for affixing this name to him. From the beginning of his life to the end of it Calvin was essentially an aristocrat. Sprung from the common people as he was, he not only felt at home in the higher circles of society, he made himself welcome in them. He could offer nothing but the charm of his manner, the brilliance of his conversation, and the benefit of his opinions; nevertheless his social superiors willingly received him, and such was his genius for friendship that even after he had started along a line which few in high station heartily approved, he retained the respect and affection he had originally aroused.

Just as Calvin was leaving the College of Montaigu, another student entered it. If they were not members of the same classes they may have passed each other on the street. The new-comer was Ignatius Loyola. Loyola was eighteen years older than Calvin and he had passed through experiences as a soldier and a pilgrim to which nothing in Calvin's life affords a parallel. Loyola and Calvin are the representatives of opposed

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, II. 346.

<sup>3</sup> Herminjard, I. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Beza in Opera, xxi. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Opera, xxi. 54.

principles. In their student days the opposition was unsuspected. After it began to appear it is curious how closely some of the points in their history coincided. When Calvin was writing his Institutes in 1534, Loyola was founding the Order of the Jesuits. When Calvin was organizing the Academy and College in Geneva, Loyola was establishing similar institutions for training students in Rome. Before Calvin died he had sent preachers of the Reformed faith into every country in Western Europe. Loyola on the other hand had a thousand centres of activity in Italy alone.

About the end of 1527 Calvin obtained the degree of Licentiate in Arts. But he was not yet at the end of his college career. Up to this point his father had destined him for the Church and he had no objections to this destiny. But his father had fallen out with the bishop and chapter and had been excommunicated. The hope of securing ecclesiastical preferment for John was thus cut off, and the question had to be considered whether it was advisable to head John toward an ecclesiastical position.<sup>1</sup> The father decided that it was not, and John acquiesced passively in the decision. He was scarcely eighteen years of age, and his interest in his own future was not yet awakened. He says in his preface to the Commentary on the Psalms, "When I was as yet a very little boy, my father destined me for the study of theology. But afterwards, when he considered that the legal profession commonly raised those who followed it to wealth, this prospect induced him to change his purpose. Thus it came to pass that I was withdrawn from the study of philosophy and was put to the study of law."

The leading lawyer in France was Pierre l'Estoile, a professor in Orleans,<sup>2</sup> so Calvin was placed under his instructions. L'Estoile was almost as vehement as Beda in support of the conservative side in religion, but the atmosphere of the college of which he was an ornament was more liberal than that of the College of Montaigu. Calvin, however, applied himself strictly to his work. It was at Orleans that he began to lay the foundations of his extraordinary scholarship. Those who knew him at Orleans report that after spending the day at his classes, he returned to his lodgings, took a light supper, and sat up till midnight over his books. Then waking early in the morning he lay in bed thinking over what he had been reading the night before, and mastering it. The long hours spent in study, and especially his intense con-

<sup>1</sup> Beza in Opera, xxi. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, xxi. 121.

centration when engaged in it, and his carelessness about bodily exercise and regular food, made serious inroads on his vitality, and created the <sup>1</sup> dyspepsia and nervous irritability that tormented him increasingly all the rest of his life. But at the price of a weak stomach and broken health he became one of the most accomplished scholars of his time. All that he read he stored ready for immediate use in his retentive memory.

During his residence at Orleans he began the study of classical authors, and learned Greek from <sup>2</sup> Melchior Wolmar. Wolmar was a German. Being suspected of Lutheran sympathies, he left Paris and settled in Orleans, where he opened a boys' boarding-school. Beza, Calvin's future colleague, entered it in 1528 as a boy of nine years old. Wolmar was almost as good a teacher as Corderius was, and under his instruction Calvin made rapid progress. He read Homer and Demosthenes with his pupils, and not so openly, the New Testament also, with the result that both he and they began to entertain opinions that were out of harmony with received orthodoxy. The seed which Olivetan had sown was germinating. The new life that it contained was bound ere long to manifest itself. Calvin recognized his debt to Wolmar, and acknowledged it in the preface to the Commentary to <sup>2</sup> Corinthians, which he published in 1546. He says: "I remember how ready you were to help me, and as often as occasion offered to prove your love for me, and with what diligence you laboured to instruct me. Especially do I bear in mind that period when my father sent me to study jurisprudence. I learnt Greek under your guidance, and it is not your fault if I have not made further progress, for you would have given me a helping hand through all my course, had not the death of my father called me away."

As in Paris so in Orleans, Calvin gathered round himself a small but select circle of warmly attached friends. Among them were lawyers like Nicolas Duchemin, Francis Daniel, and Francis de Connam. The gossiping letters to these are the earliest of all Calvin's letters that have come down to us, and they show that he and his friends spent many happy hours in each other's company. When Calvin was in Paris, one of Daniel's sisters proposed to become a nun. At her brother's request Calvin went to see her, and ascertain her reason for so doing, and if all was found satisfactory, fix the day on which she was to take the veil. In a letter <sup>3</sup> to Daniel, dated

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xxi. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Herminjard, II. 346.

27 June, 1531, Calvin says: "While Cop was in conversation with the abbess, I sounded your sister's inclination, . . . and urged her to tell me freely whatever was in her mind. I did not seek to withdraw her from her purpose . . . but admonished her not to rely too much on her own strength, but rather to rest on God for all needed help." This makes it evident that whatever ferment was going on in Calvin's mind, he was as yet far from the point of breaking away from the communion in which he had been brought up.

From Orleans Calvin went on to Bourges. Under the patronage of Margaret of Angoulême the University had been revived and professors of distinction had been secured for it. One of these was the great legal luminary Alciati. L'Estoile was a case lawyer.<sup>1</sup> Alciati dealt with fundamental principles, and his teaching revolutionized the study of law in much the same way as Calvin's teaching revolutionized the study of theology. He therefore gave Calvin the complement of the instruction he had already received, and perfected the equipment he was being furnished with for the work of his life in Geneva. Wolmar also came to Bourges, and Calvin continued with him the studies begun at Orleans. With law and classical literature on his hand his time was fully occupied.

In the spring of 1531 an interruption to the placid course of his college life occurred. His father died. In 1528 the law case which the bishop and chapter were carrying on against him had to be suspended because of his illness, and for various reasons it dragged on indecisively. When it became evident that the illness was taking a serious turn, Calvin left Bourges and hastened to his father's bedside. A letter<sup>2</sup> to Duchemin (14 May, 1531) says: "My onwaiting in this duty has been prolonged till at length there seems no hope of recovery, and the approach of death is certain". As the case against him was not settled, the burial of the body was forbidden till an arrangement had been come to, so the family gave the security demanded and the interment was allowed to take place. After all was over Calvin returned to Bourges and finished his legal training, taking the degree of Licentiate in Law in the end of 1531 or the beginning of 1532. While he was in Bourges he made a beginning in the way of addresses on religious subjects, and although he manifested no intention of breaking with the Romish Church he found it advisable to express his ideas only in private meetings. One of his audience is reported to have said, "This man teaches us something new".

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxii. 55, 122. Doumergue, I. 141-3.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, x. b, 8.

It is an indication that Calvin's thought had begun to travel beyond the boundaries set by the schoolmen.

Calvin had turned his attention to law in obedience to his father's wishes, and as his father was now dead, and as he had completed his legal studies, the pressure to pursue them was removed, and his interest in theology revived. He returned to Paris and attached himself to the College of Fortet.<sup>1</sup> The professors under whose tuition he placed himself were Pierre Danés, with whom he continued the study of Greek, and Vatable, with whom he began that of Hebrew.<sup>2</sup> These were two of the notable group whom Francis I had appointed as Royal Lecturers in March, 1530, and who were in reality the first professors of what became the College of France. In Paris he continued his addresses on religious subjects, and there is a tradition that he always concluded them with the words: "If God be for us, who can be against us". If the tradition is at all reliable, it is a further indication of the mental attitude which Calvin was slowly taking up, an attitude of hostility to commonly received doctrine and to current practice. One who thinks it desirable to encourage himself and his hearers by the assurance of the help of God must foresee a struggle, a battle fought against overpowering odds, and must be well aware that no help is to be looked for from man. In other words, Calvin was secretly moving to the side of the persecuted band of Reformers, although as yet he had not committed himself to an attack on the Romish Church.

According to Calvin's own account, the office of an expositor of religious truth was not one which he sought. It was forced on him. In the preface to the Commentary on the Psalms he tells us how this came about. "Since I was too obstinately devoted to the superstitions of Popery to be easily extricated from so profound an abyss of mire, God, by a sudden conversion, subdued my mind to a teachable frame, for it was more hardened in such matters than might have been expected at my early period of life. Having thus received some taste and knowledge of true godliness I was immediately inflamed with so intense a desire to make progress therein, that, although I did not leave off other studies, I pursued them with less ardour. I was quite surprised to find that before a year elapsed all who had any desire after purer doctrines were continually coming to me to learn, although I myself was as yet but a novice and a tyro. Being of a disposition somewhat unpolished and bashful which led me to

<sup>1</sup> Le Franc, 89.

<sup>2</sup> Doumergue, 1. 205.

love retirement, I then began to seek some corner where I might be withdrawn from public view; but so far from being able to accomplish the object of my desire, all retreats were like public schools. In short, whilst my one great object was to live in seclusion without being known, God so led me out through different turnings and changes that He never permitted me to rest in one place, until in spite of my natural disposition He brought me forth into public notice."

This passage makes it evident that Calvin's conversion is to be placed early in his life, at some point before he had reached what he calls the knowledge of true godliness. The exact date is indiscernible. What led up to it and what followed it may be guessed from our knowledge of his history and of his general character. Sudden conversions are not so sudden as they seem. A moment will explode the powder which has been piled up in a mine, but months of work may have been required to pile it there.

In this connexion three things must be kept separate. First, there is the general unrest produced by the new ideas which were circulating everywhere. All over Western Europe the Church, its doctrines, its ritual, its ceremonies, its ministers, were being brought to the bar of public criticism. The air was ringing with the din of what was being said for and against them. Here and there the sky was darkened by the smoke of the fire in which some victim was perishing.<sup>1</sup> An eager and inquiring young mind like that of Calvin was bound to ask the question whether the unrest, the criticism, the martyrdoms were justified.

Second, there is the influence of his immediate associates and friends. There was much in Noyon and elsewhere to make anyone doubtful whether the Church as it existed in these days was the kind of institution which embodied the teaching and ideals of Christ and His Apostles. The Bishop of Noyon, a great nobleman living in a palace and enjoying huge revenues from his estates, was very unlike Him who had not where to lay His head, and the fifty-seven canons who formed his chapter, and quarrelled with the bishop and with each other, suggested any kind of fellowship rather than that of the Apostles. The parish clergy and the monks were usually ignorant, sometimes vicious, and quite unable to command respect either for their scholarship or their character.<sup>2</sup> The inside view of their life and their relations to each other which he got through his father's connexion with them was

<sup>1</sup> Opera, x b, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Fairbairn in "Camb. Mod. History," II. 350.

not likely to strengthen his attachment to them. It was more likely to repel him from them. Besides, after he had been persuaded by Olivetan to study the New Testament, and had begun to appreciate its contents under the influence of Wolmar, he discovered that many dogmas which were commonly declared to be fundamental to orthodoxy did not even appear on the surface of the sacred writings, while others which met the eye on every page were denounced as heretical. In his letter to Cardinal Sadolet, defending himself against the charges of heresy and schism, he appeals to God and says:—

"I heard from Thy mouth that there was no other light of truth which could direct our souls into the way of life than that which was kindled by Thy Word. . . . But when I turned my eyes toward men, I saw very different principles prevailing. Those who were regarded as the leaders of faith neither understood Thy Word nor greatly cared for it. They only drove the unhappy people to and fro with strange doctrines and deluded them with I know not what strange follies. . . . Owing to this, and to the stupidity of the people, every place was filled with pernicious errors, falsehoods, and superstitions. Thy Christ was indeed worshipped as God and retained the name of Saviour, but where He ought to have been honoured He was almost despised. Spoiled of His own virtue He passed unnoticed among a crowd of saints, like one of the meanest of them. There was none who considered that one sacrifice which He offered on the cross, and by which He reconciled us to Thyself, none who ever dreamed of thinking of His eternal priesthood, and the intercession depending on it, none who trusted in His righteousness only. . . . Then when all with no small insult to Thy mercy put confidence in good works, when by good works they sought to merit Thy favour, to procure justification, to expiate their sins, and make satisfaction to Thee (each of these things making void the merit of Christ's cross), they were ignorant in what good works consisted. For, as if they were not instructed in true righteousness by Thy law, they had fabricated to themselves many useless frivolities, and on these they so plumed themselves that in comparison of them they almost contemned the standard of true righteousness which Thy law recommended. That I might perceive these things, Thou, O Lord, didst shine upon me with the brightness of the Spirit."

It is not to be supposed that the points which Calvin refers to in this passage stood out before his mind so clearly when he was a student in Orleans or Bourges or Paris as they did when he was a minister in Strassburg, but from his own

words it is evident that he had begun to perceive them, and that he was already questioning whether the Church of Rome deserved to be counted the Church of Christ. As a scholar he was rapidly coming to the conclusion that the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome were far from reproducing or continuing the doctrine and practice of the Apostolic Church.

The third thing that needs attention is Calvin's secret spiritual experience. He became profoundly convinced of sin, and it is to be noted that this conviction was formed before he attained any familiarity with Protestant doctrine. In the letter to Sadolet he goes on to say :—

" When, however, I had performed all these things (confession, good works, sacrifices, and solemn expiations), though I had some intervals of quiet, I was still far off from true peace of conscience ; for whenever I descended into myself, or raised my mind to Thee, terror seized me—terror which no expiations or satisfactions could cure. And the more closely I examined myself the sharper were the stings with which my conscience was pricked, so that the only solace which remained to me was to delude myself by obliviousness. Still, as nothing better offered, I continued the course which I had begun, when, lo, a very different form of doctrine started up, not one which led us away from the Christian profession, but one which brought it back to its fountain head, and, as it were, clearing away the dross, restored it to its pristine purity. Offended by the novelty, I lent an unwilling ear, and at first, I confess, strenuously and passionately resisted ; for (such is the firmness or effrontery which is natural to me to persist in the course I have once undertaken) it was with the greatest difficulty I was induced to confess that I had all my life long been in ignorance and error. One thing in particular made me averse to these new teachers, viz. reverence for the Church. But when I opened my ears and allowed myself to be taught, I perceived that this fear of derogating from the majesty of the Church was groundless. For they reminded me how great is the difference between schism from the Church and studying to correct the faults by which the Church herself was contaminated."

There is nothing in this passage to indicate how it was or through what instrumentality he found peace with God and assurance of salvation. It is very unlikely that the name of any man has to be mentioned in this connexion. Calvin held tenaciously to his own opinions, and it was difficult at all times and sometimes it was impossible to get him to change them. As he himself ascribed his conversion to the action of God it

is probable that some text of Scripture, leaping into his mind like a lightning flash and acting on the material already stored there, blew his prejudices and his obstinacy into the air, and gave the current of his thoughts, feelings, interest, and activity a new direction. Such a thing happened in the case of Augustine and of Luther. It may have happened in Calvin's case also.

When it happened is another question. There are two fixed points between which it seems most likely to have occurred. These are the publication of his Commentary on Seneca's Treatise on Clemency, and the delivery of Cop's address as Rector of the University of Paris, that is between April, 1532, and 1 November, 1533.

Calvin made additions to the circle of his friends during this residence in Paris, one of these being Estienne de la Forge,<sup>1</sup> a noble merchant whom he always regarded with the highest esteem, and who suffered martyrdom in January, 1535. His most engrossing occupation was the preparation of the Commentary on Seneca's Treatise just referred to. There was certainly much need for clemency in the exercise of authority, but if the book was meant as an appeal for clemency on behalf of the persecuted Protestants it was singularly pointless. There is nothing in the book to suggest that Calvin had even approached, much less passed through, a crisis in his spiritual life. His interest in Seneca is literary rather than apologetic, and ethical rather than religious. If we take the mild remark that clemency is a virtue of the first order and one which a prince ought to exhibit in his conduct to his subjects, and compare it with the forcible exposition of evangelical truth and the fervid appeal of the letter which he wrote to Francis as the preface to the Institutes, we can measure the distance between the lukewarmness of his humanistic sympathies and the glow of his devotion to the doctrines of the Reformation. The Scriptures are quoted only three times, and then incidentally, while there are quotations from fifty-six Latin and twenty-two separate Greek authors, seven from Fathers of the Church, and others from scholars of his own time. As the work of a young man of twenty-three, the impression made by this display of learning is overpowering, but it exhibits Calvin as a scholar and nothing more.

His own account of how he came to compose the work shows how little ground there is for supposing that an interest in Reformed doctrine had to do with it. In a dedication to his

<sup>1</sup> Colladon in Opera, xxi. 56.

old schoolfellow, Claude de Hangest, who had by this time become Abbot of St. Eloi, he says, "Accept this, the first of my fruits. It belongs of right to you, for I owe to you both myself and whatever I have, and especially as I was brought up as a child in your house." Then he goes on to say, "I did not compose these scholia such as they are with the intention of making them public, and yet I allowed my mind to indulge the idea of publication, to stimulate it to greater exertion, that so I might not lose my labour through idleness and negligence, as often happens to persons who write for mere pleasure".

His letters to his friend Daniel show that the book was published at his own expense, and that he was anxious not only to know what the public said about it, but to get as many copies sold as would repay his outlays. In one, dated Paris, 22 April, 1532, he says,<sup>1</sup> "The die is cast. My Commentaries on the books of Seneca De Clementia have been printed, but at my own expense, and have drawn from me more money than you can well suppose. At present I am using every endeavour to get some of it back. I have stirred up some of the professors in this city to make use of them in lecturing. In the University of Bourges I have induced a friend to do this from the pulpit in a public lecture. You also can help me, if you will not take it amiss. You will do so on the score of old friendship, especially as without doing any damage to your reputation you may do me this service, which will also tend perhaps to the public good. If you are willing to oblige me I will send you a hundred copies or as many as you please. Meanwhile accept this copy for yourself, and do not suppose by accepting it that I hold you bound to do what I ask."

There is nothing in the book from one end of it to the other that shows the author was interested in the Protestants, and therefore it is gratuitous to suppose that it was meant as an appeal to the king to exercise clemency towards them. There is scarcely anything in the book to show that the author was deeply interested in religion. Seneca and Cicero occupy his attention to the exclusion of Moses or St. Paul, and he has far more apparent interest in the poems of Homer or Horace, Virgil or Ovid than in the Psalms of David. As Dr. Fairbairn<sup>2</sup> says, the book shows us "the humanist alive with moral and political enthusiasm, but the Reformer is not yet born".

During his residence in Paris<sup>3</sup> Calvin's health began to

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, II. 417.

<sup>2</sup> "Camb. Mod. History," II. 353.

<sup>3</sup> Opera, XXI. 190.

trouble him, and from this time forward he was seldom really well. But his greatest troubles arose in connexion with his brother Charles. Charles, like his younger brother John, had had the benefit of the income derived from endowments connected with the Cathedral of Noyon, but unlike John he had taken priest's orders, and had been appointed pastor of Roupy in 1527. After his father's death he remained at Noyon to manage some portion of the business which his father's hands had dropped, but he was so slow in sending on the money which John drew from his benefices, and in letting John have his share of the paternal estate, that John had to borrow from Duchemin to keep him going. Besides this Charles was going from bad to worse in his conduct. He had a quarrel with the beadle of Noyon Cathedral; for this he was put under discipline. Then he had a quarrel with one of the canons and struck him on the face; for this he was excommunicated. At the time of his father's death he was still under excommunication, and was forbidden to set foot within the cathedral precincts. His antagonism to the Church yearly increased, and he was accused of heresy. At the time of his death (31 October, 1537) he refused the last sacrament and was ignominiously buried beneath the gallows.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxii. 189.

### III

#### BREACH WITH ROME AND THE PUBLICATION OF THE INSTITUTES

IN the end of April, 1532, Calvin paid a promised visit to his friend, Francis Daniel, at Orleans, and in all probability returned to Paris before the winter set in. During the months that followed he occupied himself with theology rather than with jurisprudence,<sup>1</sup> and sought relief from the burden of his studies in the society of friends like Gerard Roussel. Roussel was rapidly coming to the front, and had attracted the notice of the highest circles. When the King of France left Paris for Picardy in the spring of 1533 he handed over the charge of affairs in his absence to his sister Margaret of Angoulême and her husband the King of Navarre.<sup>2</sup> On their invitation Roussel preached every day during Lent in their presence in the Louvre to audiences numbering from 4000 to 5000 persons. Beda and the doctors of the Sorbonne replied by raising a tumult and accusing the king of favouring heresy. He<sup>3</sup> retaliated by confining them to their own houses as prisoners and afterwards by expelling them for a time from Paris.

In the beginning of October their rage expressed itself in a play which was<sup>4</sup> performed by the boys of the Gymnasium of Navarre. The persons brought on the stage were the Queen of Navarre, who in womanly fashion was spinning and was wholly occupied with her distaff and needle. Then the fury Megæra appeared—the reference being to Roussel—bringing lighted torches which she brought near to the queen, threatening her with them that she might be induced to throw away her rock and needle. For a time she resisted and struggled, but when she yielded she received the Gospel into her hand, and straightway became a changed character. Her whole nature appeared perverted. She acted like a tyrant and persecuted the innocent with every form of cruelty.

When the queen heard of the matter she informed the police. They surrounded the building and, in spite of showers

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, III. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* III. 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* III. 74.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* III. 107.

of stones, forced their way in, arrested the boyish performers, and compelled them to describe the parts they had been playing. Thereafter an inquiry was begun to discover who was responsible for constructing the play and for allowing it to be performed.

At the same time the doctors made a raid on the bookshops and seized the copies of Margaret's book, the "Mirror of a Sinful Soul," the reading of which they wished to prohibit. It gave them great offence as it made no mention of the saints, of works of merit, or of purgatory, and contained prayers which were addressed directly to Jesus Christ. A Franciscan, preaching near Bourges, said the princess should be sewn up in a sack and thrown into the river.

Margaret informed the king of the insults offered her, and he promptly ordered the Sorbonne to certify him that the doctors had read the book, and to furnish him with the reasons on which the condemnation was based. Cop, the new Rector of the University, stated the situation to the four colleges, and it was agreed that the action of the doctors should be formally disavowed.

Encouraged by the action which the king had taken, and supposing he could rely on royal protection, Cop seized his opportunity. It fell to his lot to give his inaugural address on 1 November, 1533, and before a large audience which assembled in the church of the Mathurins, he chose as his text "Blessed are the poor in spirit," and delivered himself of sentiments which drove the whole conservative party<sup>1</sup> frantic with rage and indignation. They felt instinctively, what Cop perhaps did not feel, that doctrine such as he was enunciating undermined the whole fabric of their theology and of their ecclesiastical system.

That Calvin had a hand in the preparation of the address is indubitable. But it remains uncertain whether the whole address is the product of his pen, or whether he drafted a rough plan, leaving Cop to finish it up, or whether he only talked over the subject with his friend, and left him to embody the result of his talk altogether in his own words. Beza, who may be called the official biographer, and who was the most intimate of Calvin's friends,<sup>2</sup> states positively that Calvin "furnished" Cop with the address which he read. Colladon, who acted for some time as Calvin's secretary, and who also wrote a life of his master, adds his testimony to that of Beza. Further,<sup>3</sup> in the Library of Geneva, a portion of the address

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, III. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, XXI. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Herminjard, III. 418.

still exists in Calvin's well-known handwriting. Walker<sup>1</sup> suggests that this is a copy of a lost original which Calvin made from a desire to preserve a friend's work. But it may be questioned whether Calvin had either the inclination or the opportunity to write out a copy of the address after it was delivered. The explosion of rage which instantly took place drove both Cop and Calvin in headlong flight from Paris, and it is much more likely that Calvin snatched up his manuscript and carried it off with him, lest it should fall into the hands of those who were coming to look through his papers, than that he took the trouble to copy out the address after he had no use for it. If this be the case, Beza and Colladon are both correct in their statements. This will then be the original from which Cop's pulpit copy was made.

The introduction of the address<sup>2</sup> is practically a reproduction of the thought and language of Erasmus's preface to the third edition of the New Testament in Greek, published in 1524. It shows the advantage of Christian philosophy, that is of the teaching of the New Testament, and concludes with the usual invocation, *Ave Maria, gratia plena*. The body of the address is a free reproduction of a sermon by Luther, expounding the Beatitudes, discussing the relations of the Law and the Gospel and of grace and faith. The concluding sentences extol the blessedness of those who endure persecution for righteousness' sake, and who meet their enemies with the Sword of the Spirit, the Word of God. There is no indication of a settled theological system in the address, but there are evangelical ideas in it that are bound to find a place in any theological system which can be accepted by Protestants. It is the work of a man whose theology is still in the making, and if Calvin drafted it, still more if he definitely composed it, it gives us a view of its author in the process of extricating himself from the dogmas of the Church he had been clinging to, and adjusting his mind to the new truth which had been brought to bear on it.

The address was infinitely more offensive than the "Mirror of a Sinful Soul" had been. That could be represented as the work of a woman who knew nothing about theological science. This was the production of the head of the University, and, therefore, possessed some authority. It proclaimed heresy in the reputed home of orthodoxy. It was the proof that the enemies of the old way were no longer the mere dregs of the people whose complaints could be silenced, and whose

<sup>1</sup> "John Calvin," p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera*, ix. 873-6.

hostility could be despised. They were found in learned circles, and they had become formidable. They had not only attacked the outworks of the Church's position: they had blown a blast in the citadel. The Sorbonne, therefore, condemned Cop as a traitor, and ordered his address to be burned by the common hangman.<sup>1</sup> Parlement cited him to appear and defend himself. But being warned<sup>2</sup> on his way to beware of his enemies, he saved himself by flight to Basel, leaving the city walls placarded with offers of 300 crowns for his body, dead or alive. Calvin's share in the address was suspected, and he, too, sought safety in flight.<sup>3</sup> It is said that he slipped down from the window of his room in the College of Fortet by a sheet, and took refuge in the house of a vinedresser in the Faubourg St. Victor. There he changed his outer garments, and clad in the vinedresser's frock, with a wallet of linen in his hand, and a hatchet over his shoulder, made his way through the city gates to the open country, while the police were busy searching his rooms and seizing his books and papers.

Angoulême was his first refuge. Louis de Tillet, canon of the cathedral and curé of Claix, was a man of studious tastes with a leaning towards the reformation of the Church although he clung to the old doctrine and ritual. He gave Calvin two things which were of great importance to him, protection and access to a fine library. It is probable that De Tillet had made Calvin's acquaintance when they were both students in Paris, and knowing Calvin's extraordinary proficiency in humanistic studies received him into his house for the purpose of profiting by his instructions. In a letter to his friend,<sup>3</sup> Francis Daniel, Calvin says: "The kindness of my patron may well quicken the activity of the most indolent individual, for it is such that I clearly understand it is given for the sake of letters". It was here that Calvin began the studies which resulted in the publication of the Institutes, and whether or not he rounded off the whole system which these contain it is evident that he had formulated the doctrine of the Divine sovereignty and foreordination. In the letter referred to he goes on to say: "If permitted to enjoy repose such as this the interval—whether I am to consider it of my exile or of my retirement—I shall conclude that I have been very favourably dealt by. But the Lord, by whose providence all is foreseen, will look to these things. I have learned from experience that we cannot see very far before us. When I promised myself a tranquil life

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Herminjard, iii. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. iii. 156.

then what I least expected was at hand. On the contrary, when it seemed to me that my situation might not be an agreeable one, a quiet nest was built for me, beyond my expectations. This is the doing of the Lord, to whom when we commit ourselves, Himself will have a care for us."

In and about Angoulême there were several scholarly men, imbued with a desire for a revival of letters, and for the Church's welfare, and Calvin had the benefit of intercourse with them. One of these, Pierre de la Place, was on terms of great intimacy and affection with Calvin. He afterwards became a Huguenot lawyer and perished in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. There were also certain pastors sympathetic with evangelical doctrine, and at De Tillet's request Calvin wrote what Beza<sup>1</sup> calls brief Christian exhortations, which in some parishes were read during divine service.

As the Queen of Navarre was interesting herself in Calvin's behalf the search for him had slackened. Beda was still in disgrace, but the King of France had written from Lyons to the Parlement of Paris on 10 December, 1533,<sup>2</sup> commanding it to proceed with energy against all heretics, and to elect two councillors for the special purpose of carrying on the work of persecution, and no one knew how soon severe measures might be instituted. Calvin therefore made his way to Nerac in Gascony, where Le Fèvre was spending the evening of his days under the Queen of Navarre's protection. He arrived in or about the beginning of April, 1534.

Nearly twenty years before Calvin's visit Le Fèvre saw signs of the coming upheaval in religion, and<sup>3</sup> said to Farel, who was one of his pupils at the time : " William, the world is about to undergo a change, and you will live to see it ". After an interview with Calvin he said :<sup>4</sup> " Calvin will be a distinguished instrument in restoring the kingdom of God in France ". The prophecy was justified by the event.

Another reason took Calvin to Nerac. Gerard Roussel was there, acting as Court preacher. In his discourses during Lent, 1533, he had roused the Sorbonne by his demands for reformation both in doctrine and in practice, and had found it desirable to withdraw from their sphere of jurisdiction. Roussel was one of Le Fèvre's pupils, and he was already one of Calvin's intimate friends. They had much to talk about, especially if Calvin's logical mind was beginning to carry him past the point at which Roussel seemed likely to remain. Both of them were profoundly discontented with the Church

<sup>1</sup> Opera, XXI. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Herminjard, III. 115.

<sup>4</sup> Opera, XXI. 123.

as they found it. Both of them knew that any attempts to reform it would be bitterly opposed and would be suppressed by violence if persisted in. Here and there martyrs had already perished at the stake. Others were languishing in prison. After Cop's bold address, Roussel had himself been arrested for heresy, and Calvin had only escaped arrest by flight. The question was, what the future connexion with the Church ought to be?

If Calvin accepted Roussel's advice and resolved to remain in it, and endeavour to purify it, he had precedent for so doing. There was Le Fèvre, there was Briçonnet, there was De Tillet, there was the great Erasmus. Roussel too was one of the number. Besides, when the alternatives were considered, there could be no manner of doubt which course self-interest pointed to. Calvin's abilities were well known. Few of his age were his equal in scholarship, few had his weight of character. Persons of influence were willing to do what they could for him and the road to ecclesiastical preferment was open and easy. There was no position to which he might not aspire. On the other hand, if he took his stand with those who were determined to reform the Church and preach evangelical doctrine, he would have to face the bigotry of those in high places and the ignorant fanaticism of the people. He would have few friends, he would be dogged by suspicion, malevolence, and hatred. His life might be spent in exile and might be closed by a violent death. Constitutionally he was a timid man, with a nervous shrinking from publicity and danger, but his courage rose to the occasion, and eventually, like Moses, he chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.

One reason why he made the decision at this time was that he had now reached the age of twenty-five,<sup>1</sup> when he must either definitely take up the duties of his benefices or resign. If he took them up, he must submit to ordination, and become a member of the hierarchy in which he saw so much to condemn. If he refused ordination he must surrender his livings. In May, 1534, we find him at Noyon. On the 26th of that month, he was<sup>2</sup> imprisoned in connexion with an uproar in the church on the eve of Holy Trinity, three days before. Five days afterwards he was released. He was seized a second time on 5 June, and a second time he was imprisoned. When St. Paul was in Jerusalem on his last visit, a mob set

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, I. 426.

<sup>2</sup> Le Franc, 21.

on him in the temple, and the Roman soldiers rescued him, taking him into the castle for safety. It is possible that Calvin's arrest and imprisonment in Noyon was for a similar reason. Noyon was an ecclesiastical city. There were many priests and monks in and about it, all of them more or less aware of the danger threatening them from the movement of reformation. Calvin was well known, so that if he appeared in the church to resign his benefices because of avowed sympathies with heresy, an uproar was to be looked for. Besides, his brother Charles had been arrested in the beginning of the month, and was even then being tried for heresy, so that the people probably looked on both the brothers as vipers of the same brood, and thought they did God service by making an end of them.

The calumnies invented by Bolsec and retailed by hostile controversialists in this connexion are without the slightest documentary basis. In 1550 or 1552, long after Calvin had bid adieu to Noyon, another man named John Calvin was disciplined by the Chapter of Noyon for a breach of the law of chastity, and his guilt has been transferred to the Reformer, and magnified. Bolsec's disgusting details are so many inventions.

When Calvin got clear of Noyon, he went as a first stage to Paris. Here perhaps in the house of his friend Estienne de la Forge, in Rue St. Martin, he had a discussion with one of the sect of the Libertines named Quintinus, of which he gives an account in his *Instructio<sup>1</sup>* *adversus Libertinos*, published in 1545. While he was in Paris, Calvin received an invitation to a discussion from Servetus, the Spaniard with whose fate he was afterwards to have a melancholy connexion.<sup>2</sup> Calvin fixed the time and place, and at considerable danger to himself kept the appointment, but Servetus failed to appear.

Leaving Paris, Calvin went on to Orleans, and while there made his debut in public as a defender of evangelical truth. Certain Anabaptists had come from the Low Countries into France, and had busied themselves sowing the seeds of error on various points of faith and manners. Among other things they taught that the soul either perished at death or continued in sleep from the day of death till the day of judgment. Calvin attacked them in a book called "Pyschopannychia," in which he expounded the Scriptural argument for the continued existence and self-consciousness of those who have passed into the world behind the veil. In this book he shows that remarkable ac-

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

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* XXI. 124.

quaintance with Scripture and with patristic literature which served him in good stead in later controversies. In the preface dated from Orleans, 1534, he distinctly states that he was driven to take the field by the entreaties of friends, and in a second preface dated from Basel, 1536, he excuses the harshness of his style and the vituperation which he had mixed with his argument by saying he wished to let the Anabaptists know they would meet with his steadfast opposition and that they need not expect mercy at his hands.

About this time also he went to Poictiers, where he met with a group of learned men, all of whom were in sympathy with evangelical truth, and with whom he had much intercourse. He had no love for public life, and he much preferred to set forth his opinions in private conversations, but his gifts could not be hid, and the pressure put on him was so great that he frequently conducted divine service. As he was never formally ordained to the Romish priesthood, so he was never formally ordained as a Protestant minister.<sup>1</sup> He was driven to the exercise of all the office of a minister by the call of the Christian people he was surrounded with, and by his own assurance of a call from heaven. The private conferences he conducted soon became meetings for public worship, and his informal expositions of Scripture truth became regular sermons. At Poictiers he made his first appearance as a reformer of Church practice. In a cave near the city, and in a manner that reminds us of the celebrations of the Sacrament by the early Christians in the catacombs at Rome, he dispensed the Lord's Supper, stripped the superstitious ceremonies that had accumulated round it, and as nearly as possible reproducing the primitive apostolic manner. In a debate on the Mass, held at Poictiers with Charles le Sage, he is said to have pointed to a Bible on the table before him, and to have thrown down his cap, exclaiming : "Lord, if on the day of judgment thou rebukest me because I have not been at Mass, but have forsaken it, I shall answer, 'Lord, Thou hast not commanded it'. Here is Thy law. Here is the Scripture which is the rule Thou hast given me, and in it I find no other sacrifice than that which is offered on the cross." As in his creed, so in his practice, from the beginning of his career he accepted the Scriptures as his only guide, and neither in his own case nor in that of others did he allow any transgression of the limits which they prescribed.

Calvin was gradually becoming known as a reformer, and

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, I. 458-64, 580-83.

on that account he dared not stay long in one place. The king, Francis I, was pleased to be known as a patron of learning, and in spite of occasional outbursts he was not on the whole actively hostile to the Reformation movements. Unfortunately at this time an incident occurred which threw the king into the arms of the Church and enabled him to salve his conscience for his immorality by making a great show of religious zeal. When Paris woke on 18 October, 1534, it found all the public buildings covered with placards,<sup>1</sup> bearing this title: "Truthful Articles concerning the horrible, great and unbearable abuses of the Popish Mass, invented directly against the Holy Supper of our Lord, the only Mediator and Saviour, Jesus Christ". Then followed a violent attack on the Pope, the cardinals, the bishops, and the monks. The king found one of these placards attached to the door of his bedchamber in the Castle of Blois, and his rage knew no bounds. He wrote to Parlement to take immediate measures against the hateful Lutherans. Orders were then issued that persons suspected of sympathy with heresy were to be seized, and those who were convicted on the testimony of two witnesses were to be burnt. Many fled, but by the middle of November 200 were in prison.<sup>2</sup> Some had their hands cut off. Others had their tongues torn out. By the middle of December eight had been burned. "This will be like the Inquisition," said Bucer, when he heard what was happening.

But these were only the beginning of sorrows. The king and the clergy resolved to strike the imagination of the people by a grand spectacle. For this purpose they arranged a procession and a holocaust. Never was there such a turnout in Paris as there was on this occasion. The streets were full of spectators and even the housetops were covered. The route was kept by lines of citizens each holding a lighted taper. The most sacred relics were carried along exposed to the public gaze—the head of St. Louis, the true crown of thorns, a piece of the true cross, one of the nails and also the head of the spear which pierced the Saviour's side. The most distinguished persons in Church and State marched on foot, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, all coped and mitred, as well as innumerable clergy of inferior orders. The king himself was there marching on foot bareheaded and holding a torch. His three sons accompanied him, and the royal party was followed by a long train of princes, knights, nobles, councillors, and representatives of all the trades in the city. The central

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, III. 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* III. 239.

point of interest was the consecrated wafer, and as it passed the crowded ranks of spectators, they simultaneously dropped for a moment on their knees.

The procession was followed by a banquet in the house of Jean de Bellay, the bishop. When the banquet was over the king took his place on a throne which had been prepared for him, and made a speech in which he declared he would show no mercy to heretics, no not even to his own children, if they were convicted, and if a member of his own body were affected he would cut it off or pluck it out. By way of commentary on his speech, the same evening, in his presence, six Lutherans were burned alive. In May, 1535, nine more were burned. There were gruesome spectacles at these burnings. At first the victims were strangled before the fire was kindled. Then the strangling was omitted that they might feel the agony of the flame. Even that did not satisfy the cruelty of their persecutors. They were fastened in a net at one end of a horrid see-saw,<sup>1</sup> lowered into the fire, lifted out of it again, lowered and lifted, till the rope was cut and they were allowed to fall into the flames. It is said that when Wishart was burned at St. Andrews, the smoke of his burning infected with his doctrine all it blew across. The case was different at Paris. The populace took sides not with the victims but against them, and the thirst for blood which was awakened at this time appeared again in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Altogether twenty-four were burned.

It was evident that France was no place for a man like Calvin. It was no place even for a churchman like De Tillet. Therefore in company with De Tillet and two servants, Calvin made his way across France to Strassburg and Basel, where he arrived at the beginning of 1535. While they were still on their way and were approaching Metz, they were reduced to an awkward<sup>2</sup> plight by one of their men-servants who made off with their best horse and all their money. Fortunately the other servant had a few crowns in his pocket, and these sufficed for the emergency.

Basel was one of the cities where sympathy with the Reformation was strong. It was a self-governing city with popular institutions, and when the Reformation movement began in it the number of those who favoured it rapidly increased. Erasmus made it his home from 1514 till 1529 and gave the world his editions of the Latin Fathers and the Greek New Testament from the presses of John Froben. The preach-

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, III. 239, 305.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, XXI. 124.

ing of Capito and of Oecolampadius at length took such effect that a religious revolution was determined on, and was carried through with less violence than might have been expected. In a letter to Pirkheimer, Erasmus says, "No blood was shed, but there was a cruel assault on altar images and pictures. We are told that St. Francis used to resent light remarks about his five wounds, and several other saints are said to have shown displeasure on similar occasions. It is strange that at Basel not a saint stirred a finger. I am not so much surprised at the patience of Christ and the Virgin Mary." Lest he should be identified with the revolution Erasmus forthwith fled. But Cop, Calvin's friend, had taken refuge in Basel, and was probably there at the time of Calvin's arrival. Myconius was chief preacher in the cathedral. "Rabbi" Munster was professor of Hebrew, and was managing a printing press and teaching Greek. Basel was therefore in full sympathy both with the revival of classical learning and with the reformation of religion, and in Basel, if anywhere, Calvin was likely to be safe.

He found lodgings in the house of a certain Catherine Klein,<sup>1</sup> who is said to have kept boarders, and he settled there attracting as little notice as possible. Nevertheless he was welcomed by Grynaeus and Capito, and he made the acquaintance of Bullinger, who had come from Zurich in connexion with the preparation of the first Helvetic Confession. He spent his time in studying Hebrew, and in completing a little book on doctrine which he had probably begun when he was under the protection of De Tillet at Angoulême, and which he meant some day to publish as a handbook of theology for Protestants. As the book was taking shape in his hands, the idea struck him that it might be issued as a manifesto that the world might know the opinions which so many in France were suffering for.

There was need for such a manifesto, for Francis was systematically deceiving Europe as to the character of the Protestants. He was anxious to come to terms with the Protestant princes of Germany, and he knew his schemes would be ruined if it were known he was persecuting their co-religionists in France.<sup>2</sup> Therefore with his connivance stories were circulated that the sufferers were only dangerous criminals, not sufficiently religious to be classed even with Lutheran heretics. These stories were being believed, and it seemed there was no one to lay the truth before the world.

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxii. 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xxii. 124.

Calvin thought over the situation, and the more he thought the more he felt the need for bestirring himself. He knew what the victims of the king's cruelty were suffering and he knew the religious principles they were dying for. Therefore he finished the book, got Platter to print it, and issued it with a preface in the shape of a letter to the King of France. The first edition is now extremely rare. It is a small volume of 514 pages exclusive of the index, which is placed at the end and which occupies five pages more. The title-page bears his name, "Joanne Calvino Nouiodunensi autore". The second Latin edition which was called for almost immediately was printed at Strassburg, and has the words "Autore Alcuino" on the title-page. The change was probably effected by Calvin's instructions. It was dangerous to be well known as a leading man among the reformers, and Calvin had taken such a place the moment his book appeared. He was not openly known in Basel as John Calvin. He had assumed the name Martinus Lucanius, and he may have supposed that no one would associate a young man so shy and so studious with the outspoken energy of this book and its preface. By the time the second edition was called for, the association was general, and in order to conceal his identity a little longer he may have determined to masquerade as Alcuin.

The first edition differs little from the last one in the subject-matter, but there is a considerable difference in size and arrangement. The last edition was printed by Robert Stephen at Geneva, and Calvin seems to have been fairly satisfied with it as an exposition of his views. While he was getting it ready for the press in 1558-9 he was running a race with death. His constitution, long feeble, was breaking up, and as the symptoms of approaching dissolution increased in severity he toiled all the harder, lest he should be summoned to lay down the pen before his task was done. At last, he says, he issued what he hoped would secure the approbation of all. It is therefore the edition of 1559 which is usually made the basis of translation and criticism. When his death occurred in 1564 his work had been reproduced in almost all the languages of Western Europe.

The preface to the *Institutes* is one of the masterpieces of apologetic literature. It has been classed as one of the three greatest prefaces which the world has seen—those of Casaubon to "Polybius" and of De Thou to his "History," being the other two.

Calvin says, "When I began this work, Sire, nothing was farther from my thoughts than writing a book which would afterwards be presented to your Majesty. My intention was

only to lay down some elementary principles by which inquirers in religion might be instructed in true piety. . . . But when I perceived the fury of certain men in your kingdom had grown to such a height as to leave no room for sound doctrine, I thought I should be usefully employed if, in the same work in which I delivered my instructions to them, I exhibited my confession to you, that you may know the nature of the doctrine which is the object of such unbounded rage to the madmen who are disturbing the country with fire and sword."

After acknowledging the low estate of those who hold the doctrine and ascribing their salvation to the free mercy of God alone, who without merit on their part has admitted them to the hope of eternal life, he goes on to say, "Take but a cursory view of our cause, most valiant king, and count us of all wicked men most wicked if you do not discover plainly that to this end we both labour and suffer reproach, because we put our hope in God, and because we believe it to be life eternal to know the only true God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent. For this cause some of us are in bonds, some are beaten with rods, some made a gazing stock, some proscribed, some cruelly tortured, some obliged to flee. We are all oppressed with poverty, loaded with execration, lacerated with abuse and treated with the greatest indignity."

Thereafter he proceeds to expose the ignorance, the luxury, the immorality, and the impiety of their adversaries. He sums up the attacks on reformed doctrine under these heads and deals with each in turn. "They call it novel and of recent origin—they cavil at it as doubtful and uncertain—they inquire by what miracles it is confirmed—they ask whether it ought to be received contrary to the consent of so many holy fathers and the custom of the highest antiquity—they urge us to confess it is schismatical—lastly, they say all arguments are unnecessary, for its nature may be determined by its fruits, since it has produced such a multitude of sects, so many factious tumults, and such great licentiousness of vice."

At this point Calvin's knowledge of the Fathers stood him in good stead. It furnished him with a torrent of quotations which proved his adversaries had corrupted and departed from the truth they claimed to defend. Augustine, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Cyprian and many others are referred to. In conclusion he refutes the charge that the sole design of the new doctrine is to furnish a pretext for sedition and to gain impunity for crime by referring to well-known facts, and by declaring it is unjust to impute to the innocent motives and purposes of which they have given no reason for suspicion.

The closing sentences are specially noteworthy. After stating that the sufferers believe they will gain the royal favour if the king will only read this defence with composure, Calvin says, "But, on the contrary, if your ears are so preoccupied with the whispers of the malevolent as to leave no room for the oppressed to speak for themselves, and if these outrageous furies with your connivance continue to persecute with imprisonments, scourges, tortures, confiscations, and flames, we shall indeed like sheep destined to the slaughter be reduced to the greatest extremity. Yet we shall possess our souls in patience, and wait for the mighty hand of God, which shall undoubtedly in time appear, and show itself armed for the deliverance of the poor from their oppressors, and for the punishment of the despisers who now exult in security. May the Lord, the King of kings, establish your throne in righteousness and your kingdom in equity."

When we pass to the Institutes to which this is the preface, we find how far Calvin has travelled since he wrote the Commentary on Seneca. The Commentary moves in the world of morals. The Institutes are steeped in religion. So far as vital godliness is concerned, the Commentary might have been composed by a pagan like Seneca himself. The Institutes are the work of an expert Christian theologian. The years between the publication of the Commentary in 1532, and the publication of the Institutes in 1536, made a greater change in Calvin's conceptions of the relations between God and man than all the years of his earthly life that came afterwards. During these four years he became a new creature in Christ Jesus. Old things passed away. All things became new. He seems to have reached his fundamental positions with rapidity and he never shifted from them. In some respect there is no development in his thinking. He continually expanded, modified, adjusted the expression of his leading thoughts, but his system, even in the first edition of the Institutes, is complete. It came into the light of day, as Minerva did from the head of Jupiter, full grown.

The first edition of the Institutes is divided into six chapters. The first of these is entitled *De Lege, quod Decalogi explicationem continet*. It begins by saying that religious knowledge is summed up under two heads, the knowledge of God and of ourselves. God is infinitely wise, and good, and just, and holy. We are made in the image of God, but through the fall of our first parents we have become prone to evil and averse to good. The next part of the chapter is devoted to the exposition of the Ten Commandments, special attention

being directed to the second, which forbids the worshipping of images. The aim of the law contained in these commandments is to show us the righteousness which God requires of us, but he who supposes we can obtain salvation by the works of the law contradicts Scripture and discredits Divine grace. As we cannot save ourselves, God has provided a Saviour in Jesus Christ.

The second chapter is entitled *De Fide, ubi et Symbolum (quod Apostolicum vocant) explicatur*. Faith is distinguished from intellectual recognition of God's existence and from an assent to the historical truth of Scripture. It is an energy of the soul in which we receive the truth concerning Jesus Christ and rest on Him alone for salvation. It rests on the testimony of Scripture in which God makes Himself known to us. Calvin then expounds the Apostles' Creed, the Church being defined as the whole number of the elect.

The third chapter is entitled *De Oratione, ubi et Oratio Dominica ennaratur*. Prayer is said to be an approach to God as the source of all blessing. It is to be offered neither to the saints nor through them, but through Jesus alone, for He is the only Mediator. When it is offered in public it should be in a language which the people understand, private prayer may be offered at any time and in any place, and should include adoration, petition, and thanksgiving. The model of all prayer is the Lord's Prayer which is then expounded.

The fourth chapter is entitled *De Sacramentis, ubi et de Baptismo et Coena Domini*. A sacrament is defined as an external sign by which God sets forth His good will towards us, and assures us of it for the purpose of sustaining our weak faith. It is like the seal of a document. It adds nothing to the promise contained in the document, but gives us confidence that the promise will be performed. The personality of the administrator neither adds to nor diminishes the value of it. There are only two sacraments of Divine appointment, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism is a sign and seal of the forgiveness of sins, of the sanctification of the Spirit, and it is a public declaration of the faith of the recipient. It may be administered to infants as well as to adults, and the mode, sprinkling or immersion, may be left to discretion. The Lord's Supper is a visible symbol of the promise that in Christ all things are offered to us for our life and godliness. The Lord is present not materially in the bread and wine but spiritually, and only He who appropriates Christ by faith receives the blessing. The sacrament should be observed if possible once a week after the pattern of the early Church.

## BREACH WITH ROME

The practice of observing it once a year only is a device of the devil and was introduced into the Church by his servants.

The fifth chapter is entitled *Sacra menta non esse quinque reliqua quae pro sacramentis hactenus vulgo habita sunt declaratur tum qualia sint ostenditur.*

The five false sacraments are said to be confirmation, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony. They are false because they were not appointed by God and because they neither set forth nor assure us of the blessings promised in Christ. They are also associated with many abuses, such as auricular confession, indulgences, purgatory, etc. Under the head of orders he declares there is no minister of the Church save the preacher of the word who has been called to his office by the people, and who is designated in Scripture at one time a bishop, at another a presbyter, and again a pastor. The call of the people may be addressed to him by the whole congregation or by its representatives, and in the ceremony of setting him apart to office the imposition of hands may be used, but such imposition conveys no special grace and is not essential.

The sixth chapter is entitled *De Libertate Christiana, potestate ecclesiastica, et politica administratione.*

We are said to be free in all that is morally indifferent, and may make a temperate use of all that ministers to the joy of life. The spheres in which obedience is expected of us are those of the Church and of the State. The officers of each have their functions assigned to them by God. They are both alike God's ministers and deserve honour on that account. The duty of the officer of the State is to preserve public order, to maintain the security of property, and to put down offences against propriety. His commands are to be obeyed in so far as they do not contradict the superior duty which we owe to God, and even if he is a tyrant we should not rashly revolt. We should remember that our sins are chastised by these scourges, and should seek the help of Him who has the hearts of princes in His hands and can dispose of their actions for His glory.

This rapid summary may indicate how much truth there is in the somewhat boastful description of the title-page, "a summary of almost all the doctrine that needs to be known for salvation". The book sold with great rapidity. Reformers received it with enthusiasm, and it created equal rage among their adversaries. Protestants considered it an almost inspired exhibition of Scripture truth. Romanists looked on it

## JOHN CALVIN

as a masterpiece of Satanic ingenuity. In Paris the Sorbonne solemnly burned it.

The last edition, published in 1559, is entirely recast and immensely enlarged. In this edition Calvin took the Apostles' Creed and made it the foundation of all he had to say. As there are four sections in this creed—on God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, and the Church—he divides his book into four parts. There are eighteen chapters in the first, seventeen in the second, twenty-five in the third, and twenty in the fourth. In each of these there are several subdivisions.

The chief difference between the contents of the first and the last edition lies in the development of the attack on the doctrine, discipline, and constitution of the Romish Church, and in the more elaborate statement of the Protestant position. The doctrine of predestination with which Calvin's name is now inseparably associated appears in the twenty-first chapter of the third book as a deduction. The following chapter states the Scriptural basis of it, and that is succeeded by a chapter dealing at length with objections. The argument is: The work of Christ is not efficacious for all men, although He is freely offered to them in the Gospel. The reason of this must lie in the predestination of God. This is different from the foreknowledge of God. To God all things have ever been and perpetually remain before His eyes, so that to Him nothing is future or past, but all things are present. He really beholds them and sees them as if actually placed before Him. Predestination is His eternal decree by which He has determined in Himself what He would have to become of every individual of mankind. For all are not created for the same destiny. Eternal life is fore-ordained for some, and eternal damnation for others. The election of the one class to life is secured by their effectual calling and the work by which the Spirit produced faith. The destruction of the other is secured by their own wickedness. By faith men discover their election. By their unbelief they make evident their reprobation. But it is on account of their misdeeds that they are punished.

The characteristics of the Institutes lie on the surface. This is one of the greatest books on theology ever written. The only other with which it may be compared is the "Summa" of Thomas Aquinas. The style is fluent and clear. The mastery of the schoolmen, of patristic literature, and of Scripture is evident on every page, and not less manifest is Calvin's desire to meet every reasonable objection to his conclusions, and to set forth the exact teaching of the Word of God on

every subject he takes in hand. The logic is a chain in which there are few weak links, and if at any time it leads him to a conclusion from which he recoils, he does not fail to state the conclusion, and to adhere to it. Luther was a far greater translator of Scripture, but he was no match for Calvin either as an expositor or as a system builder. In the *Institutes* we come into contact with one of the master-minds which appear at rare intervals in history, and determine the lines along which the thought of future generations is to run. What Newton's "Principia" is to science, and Kant's Critique to philosophy, that Calvin's "Institutes" is to theology—the book that sweeps into obscurity all the manuals which preceded it, and unfolds principles of profound importance and far-reaching effect.

After the publication of the first edition of the *Institutes*, Calvin became a wanderer. In the spring of 1536 he went to Italy to Ferrara, where the Protestants had a protector in Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, and daughter of Louis XII of France. Renée was little and deformed in body, but she had a bold spirit, and she took an intelligent interest in the religious movement of the times. Her husband, Hercules d'Este, was a Catholic, and at times a persecutor, but Renée was sympathetic with the Reformers, and delighted to gather them round her. Calvin entered her court under the disguise of Charles d'Espeville, a name which he afterwards assumed frequently, and there he found two men who had fled from the storm raised by the placards in Paris. One was a young singer named Jehannet; the other was the poet, Clement Marot.

On Good Friday, 14 April, 1536, about a couple of months after Calvin's arrival,<sup>1</sup> Jehannet walked out of the church as a protest against the Adoration of the Cross, and being seized and tortured, declared that not only he himself was a heretic, but most of those at court were heretics likewise. Many of them instantly fled, and Calvin fled among them. Nevertheless, during the short time he spent in Ferrara, he acquired such a hold over the duchess that she regarded him ever afterwards as one of her most trusty friends. She kept up a constant correspondence with him. In a letter she wrote him in 1551 she thanked him for his useful admonitions, and prayed that he might be long spared. In 1554, when her husband combined with the Inquisitor Ortiz to compel her to recant, she made such a bold declaration of her opinions that Calvin declared he viewed her virtues with the greatest admiration.

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, II. 52.

Guizot says: "I do not hesitate to affirm that the great Catholic bishops who, in the seventeenth century, directed the consciences of the mightiest men in France, did not fulfil the difficult task with more Christian firmness, intelligence, justice, and knowledge of the world than Calvin displayed in his intercourse with the Duchess of Ferrara".<sup>1</sup>

Others whom Calvin met at Ferrara, and with whom he kept up a correspondence, were Jean de Parthenai, who afterwards became one of the leaders of the Reformed party in France; Johann Sinapius, the physician of the duchess, and Françoise Boussiron, who became his wife. These all looked to Calvin as their spiritual adviser and rejoiced to be called his friends.

It is said that Calvin betook himself from Ferrara to Aosta, the little town at the southern end of the St. Bernard Pass. The tradition of his connexion is upheld by a fountain erected in 1541, restored in 1741, and decorated in 1841. There was some religious agitation in the district at the time, but it is unlikely that Calvin lingered long to see it. The probability is that he went over the pass into Switzerland, and finally reached Basel.

In the meantime there was a lull in the storm of persecution in France. The king was about to begin a war with the Emperor and he wished to have peace at home. He therefore issued the Edict of Coucy, promising protection to all returning Protestants if they would abjure their heresy within six months. Calvin had no intention of abjuring, but he seems to have taken advantage of the edict to proceed to Paris and Noyon, to wind up his deceased father's estate. The edict came into force on 31 May, 1536. Calvin was in Paris by 2 June. As soon as his legal business was finished he set out again for Switzerland, taking with him his brother Antoine and his sister Marie, who had become adherents of the Reformed faith, and a few other friends. He intended to finish one section of his journey at Strassburg, but the direct route through Lorraine was blocked by war. So the party went round by Lyons, intending to continue by Geneva and Basel to their destination. They reached Geneva about the end of July, and if all had gone as they expected, they would have spent no more than a night there. But in the predestination of God, Geneva had been appointed as the scene of Calvin's life-work.

<sup>1</sup> "John Calvin," chap. viii.

## IV

### GENEVA BEFORE CALVIN

THE history of Geneva goes back as far as the days of Julius Cæsar, when it was a town of the Allobroges. In the fourth century it became Christian and a bishop was set over it. Built on both banks of the Rhone at its exit from the lake, and commanding the trade routes between France, Switzerland, and Italy, it was an object of envy to its neighbours, and the King of France, the State of Berne, and the Duke of Savoy were each more anxious than the other to take the city under their protection. It required no small skill in diplomacy to baffle their designs to destroy Genevan independence.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century Geneva was a city of scarcely 15,000 inhabitants. On the low ridge on the south side of the Rhone stood the Cathedral of St. Peter and the Town Hall, and round these clustered the houses of many important citizens. On the flatter ground on the north side of the river lay the district of St. Gervais with the Church of St. Gervais as its central point, and the houses of the ordinary citizens round it. These two sections were encircled by a wall strengthened by bastions and touching the river at its ends. There were seven parishes in the city. The public buildings included three monasteries, the convent of the nuns of St. Claire, and seven hospitals or almshouses. One of these was for old men, another for strangers, another for foundling children, and another for travellers. After the triumph of the Reformation these were all suppressed with the exception of the general hospital which was established in the convent of St. Claire. The streets were narrow, ill-paved, and filthy, and the construction of the houses and the customs of the people set every sanitary law at defiance. Sickness was rife and a visitation of plague was of frequent occurrence.

Nevertheless the city hummed with life like a hive. It lay on the great road which bound the east of Europe with the west, and its position gave it commercial advantages of which it took full benefit.<sup>1</sup> Four times a year great fairs were held

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, III. 186.

for a fortnight each, and at these might be seen merchants and merchandise from far and near. Spaniards, Provençals, Normans, and men from Flanders rubbed shoulders and bargained with Genoese, Milanese, Venetians, and men from Tuscany. The streets in front of the houses were lined with booths in which were piled up all manner of groceries, soft goods, silks, furs, gold and silver jewellery, armour and ironmongery. After the bustle of the fairs had subsided there was always a large import and export trade going on, caravans and pack-horses coming and going, each of them contributing its own share to the wealth of the city. In the workshops men were busy and the sound of the hammer, the saw, and the loom was heard all day long.

Money was plentiful and was spent freely. The clothing of the principal citizens on state occasions was gorgeous, and at banquets the tables groaned with the number of dishes set on them. Sumptuary laws were often passed to check extravagance, but with little success. With the exception of the bishop, no one habitually kept up great state.<sup>1</sup> People of good social position, like Bonnivard and Berthelier, worked alongside their men at their daily toil, went to the market and bought the provisions for the household, drew the wine from the casks in the cellar, pruned the trees in the orchard, and watered the flowers in the garden. Quarrels were of constant occurrence, and the animosity between the factions into which the citizens were divided was often fierce, but on one thing they were always unanimous. They were determined to preserve their liberties, and no sooner did an external power threaten them than they armed themselves in defiance and doubled the guards at the gates.

At the fairs they interchanged more than merchandise with foreign traders. They interchanged ideas. The men who came from the free cities of Germany and from the little republics of Italy, continually at war with their feudal lords, told the story of their struggles and aspirations, their victories and defeats, and left it to act like a ferment in the minds of those they gossiped with in the taverns or bargained with in the market-place. On the other hand, they were stirred and encouraged by the thought that this city, small in size, with no neighbours or allies it could rely on, was not only able to maintain its independence but to achieve some measure of self-government. So they left Geneva with the impulses which it had stirred still throbbing in their breasts. Thus Geneva became a strategic point of great importance from the

<sup>1</sup> Charpenne, 12.

propagandist's point of view, and it was this consideration that finally overcame Calvin's reluctance and brought him from Strassburg to settle in it. Its influence was felt everywhere. It was well<sup>1</sup> called a grain of musk which has perfumed Europe.

The nominal head of the city was the bishop, but in 1285 Amadeus V of Savoy compelled him to accept one of that house as second in command with the title of vice-dominus. The bishop was head of the army. He issued the coinage, imposed the taxes, and was final judge in the law courts. The vice-dominus was installed in a castle in the Rhone. He watched over the city's safety, and executed the sentences pronounced by the courts, specially the death sentences, but he frequently assumed authority to execute his own decisions. This naturally lead to trouble with the bishop on the one hand and the citizens on the other.

In the fourteenth century the bishop, groaning under the tyranny of the vice-dominus, appealed for assistance to the citizens and got it at a price. As the barons of England extorted the Magna Charta from King John, so the citizens of Geneva extorted the Franchises from Bishop Fabri. These secured to some extent the liberties of the citizens and the right of self-government. When the Dukes of Savoy made their first entrance into the city they were met outside the gates by a deputation of the citizens and compelled to swear that they would respect the Franchises before they were allowed to pass through the gates. In a similar way the bishop had to swear that he would respect the Franchises before he was allowed to discharge any of his episcopal functions. The Franchises provided that the heads of families should meet twice a year on the Sunday after St. Martin's Day, to fix the price of wine, and on the Sunday after the Purification, to elect the four syndics and the other councillors. The members of the Council were the four syndics, the treasurer, and twenty others among whom the syndics of the previous year were generally included. These were chosen from the higher circles of Genevan society and were men of noble birth, of professional eminence, or of commercial importance. They controlled the municipal police, appointed the watches for day and night and took charge of the keys of the city gates.<sup>2</sup> In 1502 the Council of Fifty was called into existence. It was elected by the people and sat in deliberation with the Little Council as often as it was specially summoned. The Council of Two Hundred was the outcome of the treaties with Friburg

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, III. 186, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Roget, I. 71.

and Berne. It stood between the Little Council and the Council of Fifty on the one hand and the General Council of all the heads of families on the other. It determined whether appeals from the smaller councils should be transmitted to the General Council, and nothing could be brought before the General Council which had not been previously discussed by the Two Hundred. In the General Council the canons represented the clergy and the bishop was compelled to endorse all its decisions.

There were thus three centres of authority in Geneva. The bishop represented the authority of Rome and of the Church, the vice-dominus represented the Duke of Savoy, and the Council represented the citizens. These three were mutually jealous of each other and a slight cause sufficed to disturb their unstable equilibrium.

The bishop was frequently a member of the House of Savoy, and some of the bishops were looked on with deserved contempt. Pierre of Savoy was only ten years of age when he was appointed to his sacred office, and he died before he attained canonical years. He was succeeded by his brother, Jean Louis, a youth of less than seventeen. The worst of them was the bastard, Jean of Savoy, son of one of his predecessors and of a courtesan, a man whom Bonnivard declares to have had no regard for honour or conscience. He surrendered his rights to the reigning Duke of Savoy and opened the city gates to him. Then he retired to the Abbey of Pignerol where he died in 1519. Pierre de la Baume was another of a similar kind. He succeeded Jean of Savoy, but he was seldom seen in Geneva. He was a man of the world. He loved good cheer, and he found accommodation more to his mind than the cramped rooms of his official residence. He surrendered his temporal authority to the citizens. Then he changed his mind and fastened placards to the church doors intimating that he meant to resume it. The Council commanded the people to take no notice of him, whereupon the Metropolitan of Geneva, the Archbishop of Vienne, excommunicated the city, and invited the Duke of Savoy to punish it as its sins deserved. The Duke cheerfully obeyed and filled the surrounding country with a horde of ruffians who maltreated travellers and seriously interfered with trade. The Genevan reply was a decree disowning the authority of the Pope, expelling the bishop, declaring his see vacant, and breaking up the religious houses. The Duke then marched his forces up to the walls of the city and demanded its surrender. Geneva had already taken the precaution to strengthen its position by entering into alliances

with Friburg on the one hand and Berne on the other, and it sent them urgent appeals for assistance. But Friburg was strongly Romanist in its sympathy, and on that account was not disposed to help those who were in arms against Roman authority. Berne was strongly Protestant, and was glad to see any movement that helped to destroy the authority of the Pope and the clergy. But Berne was anxious to reduce Geneva to the position of a vassal or a tributary, and it declined to take effective action, hoping that the time would come when its assistance would be purchased at the price of Genevan independence. The city was in a position of difficulty and of danger. It feared it might need to meet the shock of war alone, when, at the moment when its prospects were blackest, France stepped forward with an offer of substantial and immediate assistance, and Berne, fearing that this offer would be accepted and that Geneva would fall into the hands of the King of France, hurried down an army of 7000 men and saved the city for Switzerland. The bishop and the vice-dominus were thus definitely got rid of and Geneva took its place as a self-governing republic.

It ought to be noticed that a passion for liberty, a fierce antagonism to outside interference, was the leading principle of Genevan policy up to this point, and that the expulsion of the bishop was by no means the consequence of his doctrinal errors or of his moral corruption. The citizens took little interest in vital religion of any kind, and when the Reformation movement appeared their leaders welcomed it simply as an aid in their political enterprise. When they found that the ministers whom they had set in the bishop's chair were compelling every one to live soberly and righteously their early enthusiasm cooled down, and in some cases changed into venomous antipathy.

It is difficult if not impossible to discover when the sympathies of the citizens with Reformed doctrine were first aroused. New ideas were in the air. France was full of them, and Swiss cities such as Zurich, Basel, Berne, Lausanne, and Neuchâtel had cordially received them. Turbulent risings, of which the principal was a procession made by Baudichon and certain other citizens, showed that a fermenting process was at work and was leavening the mind of the people with ill-will towards the clergy. The fermenting process coincided with the work of Thomas Hoffen,<sup>1</sup> whom Zwingli had sent to enlist the sympathies of Geneva on the side of Reformed doctrine, and who was probably more successful than he

<sup>1</sup> Roget, "SuisSES ET GENÈVE," II. 15.

imagined. It was the Bernese troops who gave the Genevans their first public opportunity of hearing a Reformed preacher. When they came to the city in 1530 they brought their own minister with them, and made him preach in the cathedral, much to the indignation of the Romanists. Moved by their representations, Friburg sent a warning that if Geneva was going to favour the Reformation, the alliance must be broken, to which the Genevan syndics sent soothing but somewhat unsatisfactory replies.

In the spring of 1532 Pope Clement VII proclaimed a universal jubilee, accompanied by indulgences. The bishop's vicar, M. de Bonmont, fixed placards on the pillars of the churches in Geneva announcing this great pardon and the pecuniary conditions attached to it. On 8 June the vicar's placards were found to have been replaced by others to this effect : "God, our Father in heaven, has promised to every man a full pardon of all his sins, on the sole condition of repentance and simple faith in the promises of Jesus Christ".<sup>1</sup> It was the unfurling of a flag of defiance, and a conflict between the adherents of the old faith and of the new was soon precipitated. In St. Peter's a canon of Friburg, named Vernli, tore down the heretical placard, and was stabbed in the arm by a man named Goulaz. Goulaz was seized, and on 25 October was ordered to pay Vernli 25 ecus soleil as damages, but no further proceedings were taken. Some days after the appearance of the placards word was sent through the city that a preacher was coming. It was Robert Olivetan of Noyon. His mission constituted a challenge which the Council thought it must take up. As he had no authority from the bishop it forbade him to open his mouth, at the same time it<sup>2</sup> requested the vicar to see that in all the parish churches and convents the gospel was declared simply without any mixture of fables or other human inventions, and it commanded all to live at peace like their fathers.

But peace was rapidly becoming impossible. It was at this juncture that Farel appeared. "There came to Geneva," says Jeanne de Jussie,<sup>3</sup> "a sneaking wretched preacher, named Mr. William. The day after he arrived he began to preach in his lodgings secretly, and there were present a great number of people who had been informed of his coming and were already infected with his heresy."

Farel<sup>4</sup> was the son of a wealthy French nobleman in Gap in Burgundy. He was born in 1489. He imbibed evangelical

<sup>1</sup> Roget, "Suisse et Genève," II. 19.

<sup>3</sup> "Le Levain," p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 21.

<sup>4</sup> Herminjard, I. 178.

truth in Paris under Le Fèvre, and preached it for Briçonnet in Meaux. When the persecution broke out he fled to Basel. From Basel he went to Berne, and in 1527 with the authority of the lords of Berne he travelled over the district which they controlled and preached with great vehemence. Wherever he went there was tumult. At Morat the bishop and clergy rose against him. At Neuchâtel armed mobs patrolled the streets threatening his life. At Aigle there was something like civil war. At Lausanne the uproar was so great that the magistrates had to imprison him and his leading opponent in separate towers before the popular passion was quieted. At Olon raging women fell on him and plucked out his beard. At Orbe, when he ascended the pulpit steps, the church was instantly filled with whistling, and howling, and furious execration, and the magistrate had to take him for protection to his own house. At Orbe, however, he had the satisfaction of gathering a little band of converts, among whom was Peter Viret. Farel preached anywhere and everywhere, on the roadside, in a church, in a graveyard, in a market-place, and his force of character compelled his hearers to take sides for or against him. Threats, ill-usage, suffering, had no power to daunt him. The greater the danger, the more did his vehemence increase. His glittering eyes and his red hair indicated his fiery temperament, and his thunderous voice, which no din could drown, was the organ of a glowing enthusiasm which no opposition could chill.

In the summer of 1532, along with his friend, Antoine Saunier, he visited the churches of Piedmont,<sup>1</sup> and as Zwingli had advised him to keep his eye on Geneva, he turned his steps to that city. He entered it along with Saunier on 2 October, 1532, and found a lodging in the Tour Perce. On the following day several leading citizens visited him and asked him to explain the doctrine which he preached.<sup>2</sup> Among these were Ami Perrin, Claude Bernard, Ami Porral, Stephen Dade, Robert and Pierre Vandel and others. Two magistrates and the bishop's secretary thereafter visited him and asked if he would repeat in the presence of the priests the same discourses which he had delivered in his lodgings, promising him at the same time a safe conduct both for himself and for Saunier. Nothing was more to his mind, but as he and Saunier were on their way to the bishop's house, they were howled at and threatened by a mob composed largely of women.

On arrival at their destination, says Froment,<sup>3</sup> they were

<sup>1</sup> Froment, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

received with insolence and derision by the priests who had gathered to meet them. "Come, you devil, what do you mean by troubling the whole earth? Where do you come from? Who gave you authority to preach? What are you doing in this city?" To which Farel answered: "I am no devil, and I come here to preach Christ and Him crucified, who died for our sins and was raised for our justification, so that whosoever believeth in Him shall be saved and whosoever believeth not shall be damned. I am sent by God our Father and am an ambassador of Jesus Christ charged to preach to all who will hear me. I derive my authority from heaven, for I am God's servant and not that of men. I answer your charge of troubling the city as Elijah answered Ahab, 'It is not I, but thou,' it is you and yours who have troubled not this city only but the world by your traditions and human inventions, and your dissolute lives." Instantly there was a tumult. Some cried, "He has blasphemed"; others cried, "To the Rhone with him"; others cried, "Kill him," and all began to strike him with their fists.

When the examination, such as it was, was ended, the vicar told Farel to leave the house and within six hours to leave the city, on pain of being burned alive. Then Farel asked a certificate to carry to Berne, to the effect that he had discharged his duty by preaching in the city. He was told he would get nothing of the sort, and was ordered out of the house at once. Jeanne de Jussie says:<sup>1</sup> "He did not dare to go, for he heard the noise of the priests outside the door and he was afraid they would kill him. Whereupon two of the canons said that if he would not go out in the name of God, he would go out in the name of the devil whose servant he was. One of the two gave him a kick. The other struck him on the face. Thereafter he was hustled into the street, and just then the syndics and all the city watch came up with their halberds and led him off, saying there must be no injustice. But these good priests could not restrain themselves, and one of them would have run the scoundrel through the body had not the syndic caught his arm. As they passed along the air was full of cries. 'To the Rhone with him. To the Rhone with him.' Next morning early he and his companions were put into a little boat and taken away for fear they should be seen." Ami Perrin, Claude Bernard, J. Goulaz, and P. Verna accompanied them, and did not leave them till they reached a place of safety between Morges and Lausanne.

Farel had had so much of this treatment that he was neither

<sup>1</sup> P. 50.

surprised nor disheartened by it, and from Orbe, where he settled for a little, he sent out his friend and fellow-countryman, Antoine Froment, a young man of twenty-three, to see whether a door for the Gospel could not be opened in some other way. Froment arrived on 3 November. His reception was so cold that he was tempted to return at once, but before renouncing his enterprise he resolved to make one more effort. He gave himself out to be a teacher, and in addition to instruction in reading and writing, he promised instruction in religion. He opened the large hall of Boytet,<sup>1</sup> at the sign of the Golden Cross, near the Molard, and it soon became too small for the crowds that flocked to it. At the same time a Cordelier, named Bocquet, who was preaching Advent sermons, kept up the ferment by expounding principles which were very similar to those of the Reforming party.

On 31 December, Ami Perrin, Claude Bernard, Claude Salomon, and another, whose name is not given,<sup>2</sup> were discussing with Claude Pellin, the vicar of the Madelaine, the propositions advanced by Froment. The vicar declared he could refute them all from Scripture, and the laymen adjourned with him to his house to hear him do so. They threw their swords on a bed, sent out for wine, and sat down to hear what he had to say. But, in place of producing the Bible, he produced a book by De Lyra, and while the laymen were protesting that he was not doing what he promised, a troop of priests rushed into the apartment headed by one named De la Roche with a drawn sword. The laymen seized their weapons and stood on their defence. The priests rang the alarm bell, and began an attack. Then the syndics with their staves of office rushed up and separated them. The Council, which dealt with the case, simply resolved that the friends of Froment must keep him quiet, and that preachers in parish churches must preach nothing but the Word of God.

Next day, however, the crowd which came to hear Froment was so great<sup>3</sup> that, on their insistence, he adjourned to the open air, and, getting up on the bench of a fishwife in the Molard, he began to hold forth from the text, " Beware of false prophets which come unto you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves ". The tenor of his remarks may be judged from the following sentence : " I declare deliberately that I am speaking of the Pope. The false prophets are the priests, the monks, the hypocrites, and all the rest of that fraternity." Another riot followed. The syndics

<sup>1</sup> Froment, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Roget, " *Suisses et Genève*," II. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Froment, 22.

forbade all further preaching. Froment soon afterwards left the town, and after some wandering to avoid the attacks of his enemies found a resting place at Yvonand, in the Canton de Vaud. The party of the Reformers was not daunted by his departure. They met regularly, and<sup>1</sup> celebrated the Lord's Supper for the first time after the evangelical manner in the croft of Stephen Dade, outside the town, near Bishop's Meadow. Jeanne de Jussie<sup>2</sup> describes the proceedings thus: "On Holy Thursday these Jews assembled to the number of eighty, with some women, in a garden, to eat the Paschal Lamb. A wicked murderer and homicide, to represent Jesus Christ, washed the feet of the others, and then, as a token of peace and union, they ate one after another a piece of bread and cheese, while the Christians laughed at them." Jeanne's animus is greater than her accuracy.

Friburg and Berne were both becoming anxious as to the outcome of the movements going on in the city, and their action increased the complications. On 20 March, 1533,<sup>3</sup> the Bernese Council sent the Genevan syndics a letter complaining that Farel had been mishandled, that the preaching of the Gospel had been prohibited, although many respectable persons desired to hear it, that their letters about printing books had been ignored, and they wound up by asking that all this should be looked into. When the Catholic party heard of the letter they gave way to fury. They patrolled the streets in armed bands, threatening they would make an end of all the heretics they encountered. On the 28th, when the Council of Fifty was discussing the answer to be made to the Bernese letter, word was brought that gatherings of opposing partisans were assembling in the cathedral and in the house of Baudichon, and that bloodshed was almost certain. The syndics were asked to go first to the cathedral and then to the house of Baudichon, and command all they found in these places to retire to their own houses peaceably and at once. Unfortunately when they were speaking in the cathedral one of them was stabbed, in the confusion that ensued some one rang the alarm bell, people came running from all quarters into the Molard, artillery were dragged out, and a tumult arose, all the greater because no one knew what it was all about.

Jeanne de Jussie says<sup>4</sup> there were not less than 2500 men in the Molard, and a great company of women and children. The women were as eager for the fray as the men were. While their husbands were fighting the one sex of the infidels they

<sup>1</sup> Froment, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Roget, "Suisse et Genève," II. 52.

<sup>2</sup> "Le Levain," 69.

<sup>4</sup> P. 57.

were prepared to make war on the other so that the whole race might be exterminated. Children of from seven to fifteen years of age were also ready, and while their mothers carried stones in their aprons, they brandished little rapiers or carried stones in their caps.

On the other hand, those who had met in the house of Baudichon commended themselves and their cause to God in prayer and marched in a solid body to the Place de la Fusterie and there waited the onset of their enemies.

No one dared to take on himself the rôle of mediator, lest he should be attacked on both sides, until some merchants from Friburg came along,<sup>1</sup> and on their urgent representations an arrangement for peace was come to. Hostages were given and received, and articles of peace were signed.

Unfortunately the arrangement did not last long. On Sunday, 4 May, about nine o'clock, as certain adherents of the opposing parties were leaving the taverns where they had been drinking, they met in the Molard and came to blows. People came running to see what was taking place, and Vernli of Friburg, brandishing a halberd and crying, "Where are the Christians? Let them rally to me," rushed into the thick of the crowd. His halberd was wrenched from him, whereupon he drew his sword and wounded several of the citizens. In the darkness he was hustled into a side street, and in the morning his corpse was found lying on the steps of a house. It was buried beside the cathedral, but six days afterwards it was disinterred by men from Friburg, and was carried in solemn procession to their own city as that of a blessed martyr who had lost his life while defending the faith against the accursed Lutherans.<sup>2</sup>

Friburg at once demanded that those guilty of his murder should be punished. The Bernese, on the other hand, sent a deputation to see that justice was done and to suggest that every one should be free to follow his conscience in matters of religion. The bishop, Pierre de la Baume, roused himself out of his quarters in Burgundy and entered Geneva, on 1 July, bringing in his train several of the leading men of Friburg, and intimated that if the magistrates did not forthwith avenge Vernli, he had those with him who would do so. This was too much for Geneva to submit to. They stood on their rights of self-government and summoned Berne to their aid. The issue was that the bishop and all his followers were expelled from the city, and all who had been arrested in connexion with the murder were liberated, with one exception.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Froment, 55.

<sup>2</sup> Roget, "SuisSES ET GENÈVE," II. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Froment, 60.

bishop's Council had laid hold on an unfortunate carter named Pierre l'Hoste, and it tortured him till he confessed guilt. Then it cut his head off.

Lent was approaching and the clergy sent for a doctor of the Sorbonne, by name Guy Furbity, whose eloquence they hoped would confound and convert their adversaries. The Reformers secretly sent for Froment. Furbity delivered his discourses in the cathedral. Becoming enthusiastic as he proceeded, he called on any who favoured the doctrine of the heretics to come out and stand up where they could be seen and answered. To his intense surprise Froment<sup>1</sup> rose, saying that he was ready there and then to refute from Scripture all that Furbity had been saying. There was silence for a moment. Then the Catholics drew their swords and advanced on Froment. Others cried, "To the Rhone with him!" It was only by the intervention of the city guard that he escaped with his life. When the congregation got to the open air another, named Dumoulin, declared that he was ready to expose the errors of Furbity. He was seized, tried, banished, and orders were given to arrest Froment, but he could not be found.

Furbity was then commanded by the Council to confine himself strictly to the exposition of his text. He scoffed at the command, and preaching on the subject of the soldiers who divided the Lord's garments, he said that the four scoundrels were still alive.<sup>2</sup> The first were the Germans, the second were the Vaudois, the third were the Arians, and the fourth were the Sabellians. He also said that those who eat meat on Fridays were worse than Jews or Turks or mad dogs, and still worse were those who encouraged them. Then he said that those who read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue were fornicators, gluttons, drunkards, blasphemers, robbers, thieves, and murderers. Those who support them are still more worthy of reprobation, and God will punish all of them. On 22 December the Council received a letter from Berne complaining that Furbity had gone out of his way to insult the Bernese and, by a coincidence which can scarcely be fortuitous, Farel arrived in Geneva at the same time. The Council ordered Furbity to be arrested and kept in safeguard. Five days later a letter arrived from Friburg intimating that if Farel were allowed to preach, the alliance between Geneva and Friburg would be cancelled. It was in vain that the Council said it could not be responsible for what was said by preachers. Further pressure was applied on both sides, and

<sup>1</sup> Froment, 71.

<sup>2</sup> Roget, "Suisse et Genève," II. 89.

the pressure of Berne prevailed. Furbity was asked to justify his statements. At first he denied having said what he was charged with. Then he admitted it and promised to make a public apology. But when he got into the pulpit on 15 February he rambled in his talk in such a way that he was taken down and cast into prison. He did not recover his liberty till two years later. From the point of view of the clergy his visit was a calamity.

While the process against Furbity was going on, the Bernese asked a place to be assigned to Farel in which he might preach. The Council, desirous not to commit itself to either side,<sup>1</sup> replied it was the bishop's business to deal with such a request. At the same time if anyone seized a church for the purpose of preaching it was not the Council's business to interfere with them. Farel and his friends promptly proceeded to make the seizure suggested, and on 1 March, 1534, he preached in the church of the Convent of Rive. On the following day the Bernese deputies solemnly thanked the Council for the accommodation so graciously granted them. By the end of the week they were on their way home, satisfied that the Reformed faith had now a standing.

But Friburg was furious, and resolved to make the rupture with Geneva complete. Accordingly, on 15 May, two deputies appeared bearing in their hands the treaty of alliance. Then they solemnly cut off the seals attached to it and departed.

Any sympathy which still lingered in the breast of the Genevans was still further dissipated by the action of the bishop. He had taken up his abode at Peney, some distance down the Rhone, and there with the connivance of the Duke of Savoy he had gathered round him a considerable number of those who were hostile to the movement which was gaining the upper hand in Geneva. On several occasions his troops menaced the city and made no secret of their intention to attack it. On the night of 30 July all seemed ready for a successful assault, but the city was on the alert, and the bishop's men were called off. On 1 October the Council summoned the canons still remaining in the city and told them that inasmuch as the bishop had neglected all his duties the canons must themselves deal with all cases that came under episcopal jurisdiction, for the see of the bishops was to be considered vacant.

In March, 1535, sudden excitement was caused by an alleged attempt to poison Farel, Froment, and Viret.<sup>2</sup> They sat down to *sou*, of which however only Viret partook. He suffered

<sup>1</sup> Roget, "Suisse et Genève," II. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Froment, 91.

severely, and the cook was arrested. She swore she had been bribed to do what she had done, and she was condemned to death.<sup>1</sup> In order to protect the ministers against further danger the syndics assigned them lodgings in the Convent of Rive, and one result of their residence there was that some of the regular inmates threw in their lot with the Reformers.

Public indignation was still further increased by the discovery of frauds which had been systematically perpetrated in various churches. The Council having been informed that the clergy of St. Peter's were preparing to leave the city resolved to make sure that they took none of the city's property with them, and issued orders to seize the cathedral registers, and all other effects belonging to it or to any of the religious houses. Those who executed the Council's orders found to their astonishment a regular<sup>2</sup> outfit of machinery for the production of bogus miracles which had brought the clergy great wealth and fame. The populace then rose in wrath and destroyed all it could lay its hands on—crucifixes, statues, images, pictures, and more discreditable apparatus. Several men were arrested, but when their case came on they were punished not for the destruction they had been engaged in but for acting without authority and assuming powers which belong to the magistrates alone.

Taking advantage of the growing feeling in their favour, Farel and his associates pressed for a public discussion, and 1 June, 1535, was fixed for it. The Council elected eight commissioners to direct it and four secretaries to record it, and guaranteed full liberty of debate,<sup>3</sup> but no one appeared to defend the Romish position. Furbity, who was in prison, was asked if he would act as Romish champion. He positively declined. The nuns of St. Claire were asked if any of them would enter the lists. They replied that public discussion was not for women. At last after great pressure two appeared, Jean Chapuis, prior of the Convent of Palais, and Caroli, the old doctor of the Sorbonne. Chapuis almost instantly retired on the plea that he was recalled by his superiors to Besançon, and Caroli with equal celerity declared himself convinced by Farel's arguments. Three weeks afterwards a deputation of citizens waited on the Council and begged it to decree "inasmuch as the discussion had clearly proved that images, the Mass, and all human inventions should be abolished they should cease to be lawful in Geneva."

Farel next seized the Church of the Madelaine and preached in it. The Council ordered him to be silent till it had made up

<sup>1</sup> Jeanne de Jussie, 112.

<sup>2</sup> Froment, 149.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 139.

its mind on the situation. Farel replied begging the Council to issue commands he could obey, lest he should be compelled to remind them that our first duty is to God rather than to man. The Council renewed its order enjoining silence. Nevertheless, on 9 August, he appeared in St. Peter's, and in answer to a request for an explanation of his conduct he said that he had only done what was right. The people had come to hear the Gospel and he had expounded it to them. The Council again ordered him to keep silence, but at his urgent request, in which Viret joined, it was determined to have another public discussion.

On 12 August the monks of Palais, St. Claire, Rive, and Notre Dame were gathered together<sup>1</sup> and asked what they had to say in defence of the Mass and the images. They replied they were simple people who had never studied such high matters, and who wished only to be let alone. In the afternoon of the same day the secular clergy were dealt with. They too admitted their ignorance and intimated their desire to be left in peace. Thereafter the syndics accompanied Farel and Viret to the Convent of St. Claire, and the pages of Jeanne de Jussie, herself a nun of St. Claire, throb with indignation as she tells<sup>2</sup> the story of what occurred. "Farel took as his text the visit of Mary to Elizabeth and proceeded to show that the Virgin did not live the solitary life, but went out and rendered what help she could to her cousin, and urged that a life of perpetual virginity was not demanded in Scripture. His discourse was vehemently interrupted by the vicar who feared the effect of his words on the young sisters. The vicar was therefore ejected by order of the syndics. Proceeding, Farel went on to say: 'We know well that several of these poor young girls would willingly embrace the truth of the Gospel, and the blessings of matrimony, if you old ones did not keep such a tight hand on them'. This was too much for the equanimity of the mother superior. She rose, stepped in front of the preacher, clapped her hands together with great violence and cried: 'You wicked and accursed man, you are throwing your words away. You will gain nothing by them. My sisters, I beg you not to listen to him.' Then she made such a great noise that the preacher lost the thread of his discourse, and all the heretics were thrown into confusion." Only one nun was persuaded to throw off her veil and return to society, and some began to speak of turning the rest out of their seclusion by violence. At this juncture, much to the nuns' relief, an invitation reached them from Annecy, offering an asylum, and

<sup>1</sup> Roget, II. 159.

<sup>2</sup> "Le Levain," 137.

on 30 August they set out at five in the morning, escorted to the frontiers at the Bridge of Arve by the syndics and 300 archers to keep off the too pressing attentions of the mob.

As the Council had now several churches and religious houses on its hands, it resolved to use them. St. Peter's and St. Gervais were fitted up in a manner suited for the Reformed type of worship. The bishop's house behind St. Peter's was converted into a prison. The Convent of Rive was set apart as a public school. That of St. Claire was declared to be a hospital in which not only the poor and the sick but mendicants were to be accommodated. The Council further resolved that all funds accruing from the revenues of churches, chapels, monasteries, and the like should be devoted to the relief of those who were in need. Begging was forbidden, and a watchman was appointed to see that all beggars were seized and put in confinement.

On 29 November<sup>1</sup> the Council summoned the remaining ecclesiastics in the city and asked them if they could defend the Mass from Scripture, and if they were willing to behave according to the Word of God. They replied they had not enough knowledge to speak on these subjects. Whereupon the Council ordered them to go to church regularly and listen to the sermon "that they might know how to live". Some of them instantly left the city. Others joined the ranks of ordinary citizens. Thereafter the Council<sup>2</sup> addressed the same questions to the ecclesiastics of neighbouring villages under their jurisdiction. Some of them asked time to acquaint themselves with the Gospel. A month was given, and in the meantime they were forbidden to say Mass, to baptize, to hear confession, or to administer any oath after the papal manner, and were instructed to exhort their parishioners to go to hear Gospel sermons.

On 28 February of the following year the Council issued certain orders<sup>3</sup> for the better regulation of morals. No one was to be allowed to open a wineshop without permission of the Council, keepers of wineshops were to permit no one to blaspheme the name of God or play cards or dice, they were to supply no one with drink on Sabbath or during the hours of sermon on week days or after nine o'clock at night, and they were to receive no guest for more than one night without giving notice to the superintendent of their district (dizenier) or to the captain of the city guard.

Up to this point the Council had acted on its own initiative. It now resolved to discover to what extent the citizens ap-

<sup>1</sup> Roget, II. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, XXI. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Roget, II. 223.

proved of the changes which had been brought about. Therefore on 21 May, 1536, at the summons of the church bells and of trumpet, the people gathered into St. Peter's.<sup>1</sup> The first syndic, Claude Savoy, asked with a loud voice that any who had anything to say against the doctrine which was now being preached to them should come forward and state his objection;<sup>2</sup> and further, if no one were prepared to offer objections, were they willing to live in accordance with the Gospel and the Word of God, as these had been expounded to them, resolving to have done with Masses, and images, and idols, and all papal abominations whatever. Immediately, without one protesting voice, the meeting signified its decision, all those present lifting their hands into the air. From this moment forward the recognized religion of Geneva ceased to be Romanist and became evangelical.

Immediately thereafter Antoine Saunier was chosen as schoolmaster,<sup>3</sup> and to him and to the two sub-masters who were appointed to assist him were assigned 100 gold ecus as salary. This ought to be noted as another feature of the life of Geneva which appeared before Calvin had anything to do with it. A system of education was set up which was universal, free, and compulsory, and if any name should be associated with it, it is the name of Farel.

It is evident that although the city had committed itself to the side of the Reformation the hold which Reformation principles had obtained was very slight. The Mass had been abolished, the churches had been cleared of images, the bishop's authority had been disowned, the clergy he had left behind him had been excluded from all forms of ecclesiastical activity, arrangements had been made for public worship after the Reformed pattern, a school had been opened, a public declaration had been made that the law of the city's life was to be the Word of God and the Gospel. But no one knew what was meant by the Gospel, and no one seemed able to apply the principles of the Gospel to daily duty. Besides the mass of the people were sunk in ignorance, and their representatives, who had brought the Reformation movement to a successful issue, were politicians first and religious men afterwards. They had been influenced more by a passion for liberty than by religious conviction, and they could not be depended on to maintain their interest in the religious movements after the pressure which made them welcome it as an ally was removed. In addition to this many Genevans were decidedly hostile to the Reformation, and they made no secret of their hostility.

<sup>1</sup> Roget, II. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, XXI. 201.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 202.

They had used the Reforming party as a tool, and having accomplished their design they were more than willing to throw the tool away. Long afterwards, in his farewell address to his brother ministers, Calvin said : " When I came to this church it had practically nothing. There was preaching, and that was all. The idols were sought out and burned, and there was no other reformation. All was in confusion." His words were justified.

The worst feature of the situation was there was no one in Geneva strong enough to reduce the confusion to order. Farel knew that he had not the gifts for such a task. He was a pioneer, and his work in Geneva was practically finished. What was needed was a man of organizing faculty and systematically thought out ideas. But where was such a man to be found ? He was at his wits' end, when all at once he received a message which he believed to be of God. Some one, perhaps Louis de Tillet, came to his house and informed him that Calvin was in the city, resting for one night only before passing on. There is no reason for supposing that De Tillet, if it was he who was responsible for the message, meant to do more than give Farel and Calvin a passing opportunity of seeing each other, but Farel jumped to the conclusion that God was guiding him to the man the situation required, and set out at once for Calvin's house.

In the preface to the Commentary on the Psalms, Calvin gives a graphic account of what passed at their interview. Farel, loud voiced and impetuous as usual, demanded Calvin's help for the work of God which had begun. Calvin, with the student's temper, and not particularly robust, pushed the demand aside, pleading his desire to apply himself to his books. Farel became insistent. Calvin became more determined to keep clear of the turmoil and danger of public life, and especially to have nothing to do with the turmoil in Geneva. " Then," says Calvin, " finding he gained nothing by entreaties, he besought God to curse my retirement and the tranquillity of my studies if I should withdraw and refuse to give assistance when the necessity was so urgent. By this imprecation I was so struck with terror that I desisted from the journey I had undertaken, but being sensible of my natural timidity I would not bring myself under obligation to discharge any particular office."

Calvin's reluctance was not feigned. He was only twenty-seven. He was already on occasions more than half an invalid. He had a nervous shrinking from publicity and from pain. He knew that life in Geneva would be full of anxiety and hot encounters, and that a violent death might easily end it. If he

had had his own way he would have shut himself up in a library, holding converse with the spirits of the mighty dead, and discussing nothing more serious than points of scholarship and theology. But when Farel addressed him he heard the Divine summons, and he bowed his head and obeyed. He surrendered his own will and accepted what he believed to be for him the will of God.

## V

## CALVIN'S FIRST PERIOD IN GENEVA

CALVIN began his work in Geneva by delivering a sermon in St. Peter's on 1 September, 1536. The discourse made such a sensation that when he came down from the pulpit crowds gathered round him insisting that he should preach again the following day. On 4 September Farel assured the Council that the lectures which had begun in the cathedral were absolutely necessary, and he entreated the Council to retain the preacher and provide for his maintenance. The Council consented but, as the records show, the secretary was so little acquainted with the preacher's name that he designated him in the minute as "that Frenchman"<sup>1</sup> (*Iste Gallus*). It was not till the following year that the Council granted Calvin any remuneration.

The first record of Calvin's activity coincides, strangely enough, with the first indication of opposition to the regime of which he was soon to be recognized as the foremost champion. On the evening of the day on which Farel approached the Council on Calvin's behalf the syndics informed<sup>2</sup> the Two Hundred that, in spite of the agreement to live in accordance with the Gospel, certain persons refused to go to sermon. One of these, a councillor named Claude Richardet, was a hot-tempered man who, when called on to justify his conduct, declared with many furious gestures that he would not allow anyone to tyrannize over his conscience, and he would not go to sermon to please anyone. Others summoned along with him declared that they objected to dictation in the matter of religion. They were not loose livers. They were men of good character. Some of them had held civil office and were well known in the city. They belonged for the most part to the Eidguenots who had secured Geneva's independence and, from policy rather than from real religious principle, at a critical moment they had welcomed Farel and had been glad to take advantage of the movement which he

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxI. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Roget, "Histoire," I. 11; Opera, xxI. 203.

had so greatly stimulated. But they were annoyed to find that by installing the ministers in place of the vice-dominus and the bishop they had only changed masters, and that the regulations imposed by the Reformers were even more stringent in some directions than those of the Papacy. The Council turned a deaf ear to their complaints, and three days afterwards it decreed that a sermon should be preached in St. Germains at six o'clock in the morning, that all members of the Council must be present at it, and that ordinary business should be taken up at seven.

On 1 October Calvin, Farel, Viret, and Caroli, along with Ami Porral, as commissioner from the Council, set out for Lausanne to attend a public discussion on religion to be held there under Bernese auspices. Berne believed greatly in these discussions as a means of extending and consolidating the Reformation. Rome, on the other hand, abhorred them. As a token of their goodwill to Berne, the Council of Geneva sent the Bernese deputies a present of half a dozen capons, three dozens of thrushes, and two boxes of sugar plums.<sup>1</sup>

The discussion, which lasted from the 2nd till the 8th of the month, was opened and closed by a sermon from Farel. On the fourth day, when the subject under consideration was the "Real Presence," one of the Romanist speakers touched Calvin to the quick by alleging that the Protestants ignored the Fathers because the teaching of the Fathers was against Protestantism. No man in his generation knew more about the Fathers than Calvin did, and he resolved to handle that Romanist with the gloves off. He had no special preparation for the encounter, no time to refer to his authorities, nothing to rely on but his reading and his memory, but he rose,<sup>2</sup> remarked that those who refer to the Fathers should first know something about them, and then poured out a series of quotations which overwhelmed his adversary and knocked him out of the ring in humiliation and defeat.

Then followed a scene of great excitement.<sup>3</sup> A Cordelier, by name Jean Tandi, who had listened to the discussion from the beginning, rose and said, in presence of the whole assembly, that he was convinced the new doctrine was according to the Scriptures. He asked pardon of God and of the people for his former blindness and declared that, from that time forward, he would renounce the habit and the rule of his order and live as a Christian. In the three months which followed more than 80 monks and 120 curés and vicars passed over to Protestantism, and on 24 December,

<sup>1</sup> Roget, "Histoire," I. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Doumergue, II. 216.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 216.

1536, the *Ordonnance de Reformation* closed the period of Romish authority in the Pays de Vaud.

Immediately after the discussion was finished Calvin had to start for Berne, in spite of somewhat broken health and bad weather. At Berne he was present from the 16th till the 18th October at a synod attended by the representatives of ninety-six parishes who had met to discuss the Wittemberg Formula of Concord. Bucer and Capito pressed eagerly for its acceptance, but the majority was against them, and there was reason to fear that a rift would open between the Lutheran and the Swiss Churches, when one of the Swiss pastors, whom Doumergue<sup>1</sup> conjectures to have been Calvin, interposed an effectual plea in favour of peace. Certainly from that time onward Bucer, Capito, and Calvin were on the most friendly terms.

On his return to Geneva Calvin set himself to tackle the problems which the state of the city presented to him. The Council had already suppressed and forbidden the religious festivals and saints' days observed by the Romish Church, and had issued instructions that the Sabbath alone was to be sanctified, but much remained to be done. There was vast ignorance of what was suitable to the new regime which had begun. One of the first things that needed attention was the arrangements for public worship. On this point Calvin had a fairly open mind. He says in the *Institutes*: "In external discipline and ceremonies the Lord has not been pleased to issue minute instructions as to what we ought to do in every case, foreseeing that this would be governed by the different circumstances of the different periods and knowing that one form would not be suitable for all ages. So we must have recourse to the general rules which He has given, that to them may be conformed all the regulations which are necessary to the decorum and order of His Church. . . . Charity will best decide what will injure or edify, and if we are guided by charity all will be well" (IV, x. 30).

Something had already been done in Geneva, but it could not be pretended that what had been done was sufficient or satisfactory. Farel, who was in the field as a Reformer before Calvin, had exercised his mind on the subject, and on 29 August, 1533, he published a little book, entitled "*La Manière et Fasson qu'on tient es lieux lesquels Dieu de sa Grace a visités*". It was printed by Pierre de Vingle in the little village of Serrières about a mile west of Neuchâtel. De Vingle did a great deal of work for

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, II. 217.

the party of the Reformers. From his press came the fiery placards which Froment<sup>1</sup> declares to have been the work of Antoine Marcourt,<sup>2</sup> Pastor of Neuchâtel, which were attached to the walls of Paris, and to the door of the king's chamber at Blois on 18 October, 1534. From it also came the first Protestant translation of the whole Bible into French by Olivetan on 4 June, 1535.

The contents of Farel's book are : The Order of Baptism ; the Order of Marriage ; the short Order of the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ ; the Order of Public Worship and the Order for the Visitation of the Sick. The book shows the courage, the good sense, and the simplicity with which he followed the teaching of Scripture in defiance of custom, convention, antiquity, and ecclesiastical authority. In the Order for Public Worship proceedings began with a prayer, which was followed by the Lord's Prayer. Then came a sermon expounding a passage of Scripture ; then the repetition of the Ten Commandments ; a prayer confessing sin ; another repetition of the Lord's Prayer ; the repetition of the Apostles' Creed ; a closing prayer and the Benediction.

As soon as Farel got into power in Geneva he got his "Manière et Fasson" accepted, and Calvin saw no reason for upsetting arrangements which his friend had introduced. In a letter to Berne written in 1555 he says,<sup>3</sup> "You have been misinformed if you have been told that I introduced any new custom into Geneva. My brother Farel who is present will assure you that before my entry into Geneva the usage in connexion with the Supper, with marriage, and the feasts was the same as to-day. I changed nothing."

What Calvin did was to supplement Farel's arrangements. Farel made no provision for congregational singing for the simple reason that words and tunes were lacking. Calvin believed that the singing of the congregation was an important part of worship and resolved to begin it. So he enriched the worship by introducing a feature which was not sanctioned by the practice of any other Church in Switzerland.

On 10 November, 1536,<sup>4</sup> Farel, no doubt accompanied by Calvin, laid before the Council some proposals for the regulation of matters connected with the Church. The proposals were favourably received, but discussion on them was postponed. On 15 January, 1537,<sup>5</sup> the Reformers again presented their proposals in the form of a memorandum,

<sup>1</sup> P. 248.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xxii. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Herminjard, III. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Opera, xv. 537.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 206.

which dealt with four points, viz., the Lord's Supper, congregational singing, the religious instruction of the children, and marriage.

The Reformers<sup>1</sup> proposed that the Lord's Supper should be celebrated every Sunday after the example set by the Apostolic Church and, until that was possible, it should be celebrated at least once each month in the churches of St. Peter's, St. Gervais, and de Rive, and that all professing Christians should have an opportunity of partaking of it. At the same time, those whose wicked life proclaims that they do not belong to Christ should be debarred from it. Further, they asked that the power of dealing with persons of wicked life and of inflicting punishment up to excommunication should be placed in the hands of incorruptible men, dwelling in different parts of the city, whose duty it should be to keep an eye on their neighbours and report to the ministers all who need admonition or correction, and they asked the Council to appoint these men.

In order to get congregational singing begun, they suggested the formation of a children's choir, to be trained by a choir-master, which should sing aloud in the church while the congregation listened or joined in the song in their hearts, till such time as the people were able to join audibly. Calvin charged himself with providing suitable material out of the Psalms, which, said he, "are able to incite us to lift up our hearts to God, and to move us with ardour to exalt by our praises the glory of His name".<sup>2</sup>

In the statement which was laid before the Council, Calvin and Farel say:<sup>3</sup> "In former times there was a Catechism which was meant to instruct believers in the fundamentals of the Christian religion, and to act as a confession of faith. Children in particular were instructed in this Catechism so that they might testify to their faith in presence of the Church, a thing they could not do at their baptism. Besides Scripture teaches us that faith should be accompanied by confession, and if such a rule was suitable to former times, it is even more necessary now, when so many hold the Word of God in contempt, and when parents are so careless about instructing their children in the way of the Lord. We therefore propose a short and easy summary of the Christian faith which should be taught to all children, and on which they should be examined by the ministers at certain periods in the year, receiving at the same time such additional

<sup>1</sup> Opera, x. a, 5-14; Herminjard, iv. 155-66.

<sup>2</sup> Herminjard, iv. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Opera, x. a, 12.

explanations as their capacity requires until they are sufficiently grounded. Further, parents and guardians should be ordained to see that the children learn the Catechism and present themselves at the times appointed."

With regard to discipline, the statement goes on to say: "It is certain that every properly organized Church will have the Supper of our Lord celebrated frequently and with such good order that no one will dare to present himself for participation unless with sobriety and reverence. Therefore to maintain the Church in its integrity it is necessary to employ the discipline of excommunication, by which persons who refuse to obey the holy Word of God in all things may be corrected." They express the opinion that it is desirable to celebrate the Supper every Sunday. At the same time, lest such frequent celebration should bring it into contempt, they suggest that it should be celebrated once a month in St. Peter's, St. Gervais, and Rive in turn, and in order that it may not be profaned by persons of wicked life, they propose that the Council should take measures to secure that those who partook of the Supper had a right to be called members of the body of Christ.

After indicating how discipline might be put into operation, Calvin presses the point that intending communicants should be characterized, not only by purity of life, but also by soundness in the faith. He says: "There is good reason for believing that in Geneva there are several who have not accepted the Gospel, who are opposing it to the utmost of their power and are cherishing in their hearts all the superstitions which the Word of God condemns. It is of great importance to know who are for and who are against the Church of Jesus Christ, for if it is right to reject those who because of their vices are not worthy to be members in it, it is more imperative to exclude those who ought not to enter it. We, therefore, beg you to command that all the inhabitants of your city must make confession and give a reason for their faith so that it may be known which of them desire to be of the kingdom of the Pope rather than of our Lord Jesus Christ." He also suggests that the members of the Council should make this confession first so as to show a good example to the common people.

From a patriotic point of view the advantage of this Confession was obvious. The Papacy, acting through the Duke of Savoy on the one hand, and the Bishop of Geneva on the other, was the relentless foe of the city's independence. Every one who adhered to the Papacy was thus an open or secret

enemy. The proposed confession would drag into the light of day all who were likely to prove dangerous, and it commended itself to the general sense of the community on that account. But the motives which prompted Calvin's proposal were not political. They were religious. In the preface to the Catechism of 1538 he says:<sup>1</sup> "We do not think that our duty is discharged when we have preached the Word. We must employ a greater degree of diligence in the care of those whose blood will be required at our hands. When we were full of anxiety in this respect it tortured us as often as we had to celebrate the Supper, for all came to the sacrament without distinction; although by so doing they exposed themselves to the wrath of God rather than became partakers of the sacrament of life. We had no peace therefore in our conscience till all who came to the sacrament solemnly confessed the name of Jesus."

The Little Council disposed of the appeal and memorandum of the ministers at its sitting on 16 January, 1537.<sup>2</sup> It accepted the proposals generally but made some modifications. The principal of these were that the Supper should be celebrated four times a year and not monthly as the ministers had suggested, that the Council in consultation with the ministers should settle all questions relating to marriage, and that midwives should not be allowed to baptize. The requests relative to the Catechism, to discipline and excommunication, and to the Confession of Faith, were passed as presented. Thereafter the Council went on to make some regulations which show that the habit of interfering with the manners and customs of the people did not begin with Calvin.<sup>3</sup> On this occasion the Council enacted that on Sundays all shops must be closed during the time of sermon, even those of butchers, tripe sellers, and old clothes merchants, that pastry cooks must not cry their wares in the streets, that no one must sing frivolous songs, and that all who had images must get them destroyed.

The first copies of the Catechism<sup>4</sup> were shown to a theological conference at Lausanne in the middle of February and it was on sale in Geneva immediately afterwards. It does not appear that the Council revised it before publication or even that Calvin submitted it for revision.

The title<sup>5</sup> is "Instruction and Confession of Faith used in the Church of Geneva". The name of the author is not given and there is no date.

As it was meant for the benefit of the common people in

<sup>1</sup> Opera, v. 319.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* x. b, 108.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* x. a, 5 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xxii. 207.

<sup>5</sup> Rilliet, I. viii.

the first place it was written in French, but Calvin soon felt himself compelled to address a wider public than was found in Geneva. It was difficult at any time to know what attitude Berne would take with regard to Genevan affairs, and although it supported the Reformation generally, the disposition of the Bernese theologians towards Calvin personally was at this time hesitating and chilly. His answer to the challenge addressed to him by Caroli had roused suspicion of his orthodoxy, and all over Switzerland there were serious questionings whether his teaching was such as could be approved. Calvin was both annoyed and anxious, and it was in vain that<sup>1</sup> Grynaeus of Basel exhorted him to calmness and moderation. He not only believed that all who held the same common faith should support each other, he believed that he himself deserved support, and he resolved to make the Catechism a manifesto which would set forth his doctrine and clear away the clouds of distrust and hostility. He therefore turned the Catechism into Latin, and published it with<sup>2</sup> a preface by the ministers of Geneva in which they address themselves to "all who practise faithfully the Gospel of Christ".

The title runs as follows : "Catechism or Institution of the Christian Religion,<sup>3</sup> adopted by the common suffrages of the Church of Geneva, recently returned to the Gospel, first published in the common tongue, now also in Latin, so that other Churches may assure themselves of the purity of the faith. By John Calvin. Basel, 1538." It came from the press of<sup>4</sup> Robert Winter.

The statement that it had been adopted by the vote of the Church of Geneva is not strictly accurate. The Confession of Faith had been adopted, but no formal vote had been taken on the Catechism by itself. At the same time, as the Catechism is practically a résumé of the Confession, Calvin may have felt himself justified in saying that it had been adopted likewise.

The form of the Catechism, both in its French and Latin versions, shows that the idea of using it as a manifesto was much more prominent in Calvin's mind than the idea of using it as a manual for the instruction of children. It is not built on the basis of questions and answers. It is a straightforward statement, embodying wholesale quotations from the Institutes which no child could learn or comprehend. At a later date Calvin felt how ill-adapted it was for the purpose for which it was designed, and on his return to Geneva, in 1541, he wrote

<sup>1</sup> Opera, x. b, 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 317.

<sup>3</sup> Rilliet, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 146.

his second French Catechism in which this and other serious defects of the first one were remedied.

Following the example of Leon Judas of Zurich and of Luther, and doubtless also for the purpose of declaring that the Reformed Church of Geneva was an integral part of the Church of Christ in all ages, he took as the basis of the Catechism the Apostles' Creed, the Decalogue, and the Lord's Prayer. The Catechism discusses first the knowledge of God, then the nature of man, then the Decalogue. The statement that the law is unable to lead us to salvation leads us to Christ in whom salvation is offered to the elect on terms of faith. The distinction between those who are elected to everlasting life and those who are elected to death is clearly indicated. A discussion of the conditions, the character and the consequences of Christian faith is followed by an exposition of the Apostles' Creed. Then comes an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, then a section on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; the concluding sections deal with the government of the Church and the function of the civil magistrate. One noticeable point is the absence of a polemic against Rome.

This absence was to some extent made up for in the Confession. It stated the substance of the faith in a fashion entirely distasteful to Romanists. It was more successful in doing this than in attracting the enthusiastic adhesion of the mass of the people. Its very title seemed to be an interference with their liberty. "Confession de la Foi, laquelle tous bourgeois et habitants de Genève et sujets du pays doivent jurer de garder et tenir."<sup>1</sup> The word *doivent* was the obstacle. The citizens were resolute to maintain their independence. They objected to be in bondage to any man. They were not so well instructed as to be able to swear to the new doctrine intelligently. They had thrown off the yoke of mediæval superstition, and they had already sworn collectively that they meant to live according to the Gospel. A call for a personal adhesion to a particular creed was in their opinion an infringement of their personal liberty. In addition there were others who resented the ministers' claim of authority to debar evil livers from the Lord's Table. They pointed to the fact that the leaders of the Swiss Reformation refused to sustain the action of the Genevan ministers in this respect. Zwingli held that the person to pronounce sentence of excommunication was the civil magistrate. Bullinger was doubtful whether even the magistrate had a right to exercise discipline. Therefore the

<sup>1</sup> Rilliet, p. 101.

opposition to Calvin's scheme was really formidable, and it soon became bitter.

As it must not be supposed that all who threw off the tyranny of the Romish bishop and the House of Savoy and welcomed Farel and Calvin were men of godly lives, so it must not be supposed that all who refused to support the policy of the Reformers were debauchees. Men of high personal character as well as of eminent social position were among them, at least at first, as men of worldly mind and vicious habits were among his early followers. It was only after the ferment which Calvin set up was well on its way that those who opposed him could justly be called Libertines. At this point in his history some of them were genuinely afraid that he designed to restrict their personal and political liberty.

During the period when their opposition was developing, Calvin was plunged into one of the hottest controversies of his life. His antagonist was Caroli. From Paris Caroli went to Alençon, where he acted as curé. Being suspected of heresy a second time he fled to Geneva, and was appointed to go with Farel and Viret to Lausanne to a conference in October, 1536. At the conclusion of the conference, Viret and he were asked to remain in the city as preachers. It was not long till strife broke out between them. Caroli preached a sermon<sup>1</sup> in which he advocated prayers for the dead, and on that account he was brought before the Bernese Consistory in February, 1537. Calvin went to Viret's assistance, and when the trial came on, he found that Caroli had prepared an ingenious defence.<sup>2</sup> He maintained that whatever his errors might be, they were as nothing to the errors of his accusers, for they were Arians. The charge stung Calvin to the quick. He lost his temper over it, and his judgment also. If there was one doctrine he was convinced of it was the orthodox doctrine of the Person of Christ, and in his Institutes he had defined that doctrine in the language of the creeds. To say that he was an Arian was a misrepresentation of his theological position and a personal insult. He therefore met the charge in a speech whose passion was as vehement as its argument was overwhelming. He said: "Caroli quarrels with us about the nature of God and the distinction of the Persons, I carry the matter farther and ask him whether he believes in the Deity at all. For I protest before God and man that he has no more faith in the Divine Word than a dog or a pig that tramples under foot holy things."

Caroli then changed his tactics. He challenged Calvin,

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, iv. 188.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 183-7.

Farel, and Viret to sign with him the three great symbols of the early Church, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed. To the consternation of every one, and to Caroli's huge satisfaction, Calvin refused. He said he would sign nothing at Caroli's dictation. Caroli was at the bar of the Consistory, and had no right to dictate anything to his accusers. With some difficulty the Consistory was prevailed on to carry the process to its consummation<sup>1</sup> and to declare that Caroli was guilty of heresy as well as of calumny and to depose him. Caroli appealed to the Synod of Berne, but in May, 1537,<sup>2</sup> the Synod endorsed the finding of the Consistory and sentenced him to banishment. He left Switzerland, spent the rest of his life wavering between adherence to the old faith and the new one and died in a hospital in Rome. It also<sup>3</sup> gave Calvin, Viret, and Farel a certificate of orthodoxy.

Calvin's refusal to sign the creeds was a mistake of judgment which he had great difficulty in retrieving.<sup>4</sup> The leaders of the Swiss Churches became afraid that Arianism had begun to find a footing, and therefore Myconius, Bullinger, Capito, Grynæus, and others issued a<sup>5</sup> formal statement of the Reformed position, indicating their approval of the technical terms Trinity and Person, and declaring abstinence from the use of them to be preposterous, bringing the abstainers within measurable distance of deposition from the ministerial office. Calvin felt it as a practical vote of censure, and he wrote to Basel to his friend Grynæus restating his position, and enclosing a copy of his Confession, which he begged Grynæus to show to his colleagues.

Before the excitement in connexion with Caroli had died down Calvin had another controversy on hand. This was waged within the walls of Geneva, and it arose out of the appearance of some Anabaptists. They came with a bad reputation. Their history was associated with popular uprisings, bloodshed, and civil war, and wherever they went they created a spirit of anarchy, which had to be put down with a strong hand. Further, they denied the authority of the Church, and abjured the teaching of Scripture, and they set up subjective visions and revelations as their rule of conduct and their test of truth. The Council thought them dangerous to civil order. Calvin believed them to be dangerous to religion. When they appeared in the month of March, at Farel's request,<sup>6</sup> a public discussion was agreed to, on the usual terms, that the defeated party should suffer death or banishment. The chief points

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, iv. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, vii. 309.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* x. b, 105.

<sup>4</sup> Herminjard, iv. 264.

<sup>5</sup> Doumergue, ii. 267.

<sup>6</sup> Opera, xxii. 208.

handled were the Sacrament of Baptism and the nature of the soul.

The Anabaptists declared that infant baptism was an invention of the Pope and of the devil, and that only those who submit to the ordinance intelligently and willingly are really baptized. All others need to be baptized again. Calvin answered them in several speeches, and feeling began to run high. It became evident that the questions could not be discussed and settled on their merits, and the Council ordered the proceedings to cease. It also told the Anabaptists that they must either abandon their peculiar views or leave the city. They pled that they could not go against their consciences, and were therefore<sup>1</sup> expelled with the assurance that they would be put to death if they returned.

These controversies were mere skirmishes compared with the long-drawn battle which Calvin was now getting into the thick of. The municipal election took place in February, and although resentment against the disciplinary proposals was beginning to organize itself, it did not on the whole prevent the choice of those whose sympathies were in favour of the scheme which had been floated. On 12 February, 1537, immediately after assuming office, the Council received Bonnivard into citizenship, and as Calvin had had nothing for his work in the city up to that date,<sup>2</sup> it was decided to give him 20 crowns. On 14 February, Farel and Antoine Saunier, the rector of the school, were received as citizens, without the payment of the usual fees. The Council also dealt with certain offences against morality. A gambler was sentenced to stand in the pillory at St. Gervais for an hour, with his cards hung round his neck, and the money he had won was taken from him and spent on the fortifications of the city. A shoemaker convicted of licentious behaviour was also punished. The curé of Celigny, who had embraced the Reformed faith, was ordered to attend the sermons preached in Geneva until he was thoroughly instructed in it. Certain women who refused to go to sermon were fined. On 30 March the Council ordered that all its members and all the officers of the city should attend sermon and partake of the Lord's Supper at the chapel of St. Ambroise at Rive. It also ordered proclamation to be made by the trumpet that all ranks and conditions of men must attend church regularly and listen to the sermon devoutly, and rule their life accordingly, that no one was to wear chaplets or possess any instruments of papistical idolatry, and that all serving men and women must attend church in St. Peter's

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 208.

every Sunday morning, on pain of being punished for disobedience.

With councillors of this type in office, Calvin and his associates believed the time was opportune for calling on all the citizens to make the individual confession of faith which they had previously suggested. On 27 April the Council proceeded to action.<sup>1</sup> It ordered 1500 copies of the Confession to be distributed from house to house throughout the twenty-eight districts (*dizaines*) of the city that the people might know beforehand what they were asked to swear adhesion to. There can be no doubt that Calvin himself was the moving spirit in this matter. In the preface to the Catechism of 1538 he says : "It is I who persuaded the Council to demand the oath of adherence to the Confession. I also represented that in a matter so sacred it was fitting that the magistrates should set the example to the people. Our demand was recognized as legitimate, and I easily succeeded in getting the people gathered together, district by district, to swear to the Confession. And the people were not less ready to take the oath than the Council was to issue the order regarding it."

Calvin greatly overstates the readiness of the people in this connexion. Practically nothing was done for weeks. In June the ranks of the ministers were reinforced by the addition to them of another Frenchman, named Corault, "blind as to the eyes of his body," says Beza, "but clear sighted in the eyes of his spirit";<sup>2</sup> and on 27 July he, and Calvin, and Farel made another attempt to stir the Council to action. To their delight a decree was issued that the superintendents of the districts should be asked to make their own confessions in the first place, and afterwards should march the people under their care, district by district, to St. Peter's, to have the Confession read to them there, and to be asked if they would hold to it, and would take an oath of fidelity to the city.

As might have been expected, it was easier to issue the decree than to get it obeyed. One citizen after another was dealt with for disregarding it, and at last on 19 September the Council of Two Hundred<sup>3</sup> was informed that in every district of the city there were great numbers who refused to come forward and take the oath required of them. They felt it to be a yoke which ought not to be laid on the neck of a free people. The Two Hundred took this information as an insult to its authority, and forthwith passed another decree that those who had not yet taken the oath should have another opportunity of doing so, and if they failed to avail themselves

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxii. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 213.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 215.

of it they were to be expelled from the city. In face of the rising tide of resentment nothing was done until the middle of November, when the Councils passed another decree in much the same terms as those which have been referred to, and found that the wrath of the populace had reached such a height that there was no hope of enforcing it. An indignation meeting was held at which great animosity was expressed both against the Council and against the ministers.

The leaders of this meeting brought the matter before Berne. Berne was favourable to the Reformation, but it looked askance on all that made for Genevan independence and encouraged all that reduced Geneva to a position of subordination. It therefore welcomed the appeal, and with the air of a superior authority<sup>1</sup> sent a letter to Calvin and Farel, couched in haughty terms, denying that the Confession had received Bernese approbation, and ordering the ministers to be more circumspect in their behaviour. Calvin and Farel, believing that their work would be ruined if Berne went against them,<sup>2</sup> set off at once to explain what the Confession really implied. Their mission was crowned with success. When the Bernese Council heard their statement<sup>3</sup> they formally approved the Confession and sent a message to Geneva to that effect. The fires of opposition were thus damped down.

In the end of the year, however, they burst into violent activity again. The Sacrament of the Supper was about to be dispensed, and Calvin asked that all evil livers should be debarred from participation. In the statement submitted to the Council on a former occasion the duty of exercising discipline was admitted, but the question by whom it was to be administered was not definitely settled. Calvin's scheme associated both ministers and magistrates, but did not specify the terms of their relationship. The result was strife and confusion. On this occasion the Council claimed that it was the highest court in the city, supreme over all causes, sacred as well as civil, and as it lay with the Council to act on a sentence involving excommunication, it lay with the Council to pronounce it. The Council, therefore, decreed<sup>4</sup> that access to the Lord's Supper was to be denied to none. The ministers, on the other hand, held that, as the interests involved were spiritual and not temporal, the only court which had a right to pronounce sentence of excommunication was a court of the Church. It lay with the Church to determine

<sup>1</sup> Opera, x. b, 118.

<sup>2</sup> Rilliet, LXXVI.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xxi. 218.

<sup>4</sup> Opera, xxi. 220.

who should and should not get the benefit of access to its Sacraments.

The question was hotly debated in the city, and at the annual election in February, 1538, the Council chosen was predominantly Libertine. The magistrates without exception were all Libertine.

From the time when the practical results of Calvin's ideas upon discipline became apparent every tavern became a centre of discontent.<sup>1</sup> Every evening they were filled with companies that held the Reformers up to ridicule. Sometimes a fish of some sort called Faret was cooked for them. They dubbed it Farel and as it fizzled in the pan they made scoffing remarks about the leathery hide of the poor minister. Sometimes a drinker who happened to be lantern-jawed posed as Calvin, and in the capacity of the son of a cooper drank great draughts of wine with downcast eyes and a solemn face. One would ask in what passage of Scripture the Holy Spirit had specified the style of dressing women's hair. Another would suggest that if Absalom had lived in Geneva he would have been marched off to get his tresses shorn. Another would ask if Lazarus coming out of his tomb was a whit more ghastly pale than John of Noyon. Another would debate the question whether Farel's scraggy goat's beard was anything like that of Aaron. All would ask what was the use of pouring out blood to obtain a liberty which the bishop did not deny them and which these two foreigners were busy taking away. When supper was over a fiddler was brought in. A dance followed with more noise than music, and the end of the entertainment was something like a Bacchanalian orgy.

After the elections were over and there was no fear that public expressions of animosity against the preachers would be visited with severe punishment, the common people did not hesitate to insult Calvin on the street and to gather round his house after nightfall and serenade him with scurrilous songs. Their conduct became intolerable, and in response to a complaint made by Farel, orders were issued that no one was to sing songs in which any inhabitant of Geneva was named, or enter into any discussion in public places, or go out after nine o'clock without a lantern, on pain of imprisonment on bread and water for three days. At the same time the magistrates kept their eyes open for a pretext to deal with Calvin, and they naturally found one.

The King of France had long been anxious to detach Geneva from Switzerland and join it to his own dominions, and

<sup>1</sup> Audin, I. 279.

in February, 1538, he sent a captain into the neighbourhood of Geneva to see what could be done towards this end. The captain wrote three of the Genevan magistrates suggesting that they should incite the citizens to solicit the assistance of France. The Bernese got wind of the letter and sent deputies to Geneva who revealed the intrigue and besought the Council to stand firm to their present position. One of the three to whom the captain wrote was a friend of Calvin, by name Michael Sept. Sept would have nothing to do with the French proposal, but the cry was raised that he was negotiating for the betrayal of the city, and he was suspended from office.

Farel and Calvin lifted up their voices in his defence and blind Corault did the same with more vehemence than wisdom.<sup>1</sup> He said from the pulpit that Geneva was a realm of tipplers governed by drunkards. At another time he compared the magistrates to rats rustling in straw, or frogs croaking in a pool. For this insulting language<sup>2</sup> he was ordered to keep silence. The Council of Two Hundred went a step further. It passed a general resolution that preachers must keep strictly to their texts and must not make reference to politics.

In Calvin's judgment this raised a serious question. It involved the duty of the minister. Calvin believed that the ministers of the Divine Word were charged to declare the whole counsel of God and to apply the teaching of the Word to public and private life, so that all might know and obey the Divine Will. If they were to speak or keep silence at the pleasure of the civil magistrate they would run the risk of being unfaithful to their trust, and of leaving the people without the warning which they required. He remembered the pointed terms in which the prophets rebuked the sins of the rulers and the people. He remembered the attack which our Lord Himself made on the Scribes and Pharisees. He therefore came to the conclusion that he could not give the decree of the Two Hundred the obedience it demanded, nor could he advise his colleagues to obey it. A rupture between him and the civil authorities was, therefore, inevitable.

The rupture came in another connexion. In prosecution of the policy of reducing Geneva to a position of subordination, Berne thought the time had come for action.<sup>3</sup> It called a conference to meet at Lausanne in March, 1538, for the purpose of reducing to uniformity the ecclesiastical customs of the Reformed Churches,—the standard pattern to be the customs in vogue in Berne. The most notable of these were the dis-

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, iv. 423.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, xxi. 224.

<sup>3</sup> Herminjard, iv. 403.

pensation of the Sacrament of Baptism at a font at the church door, the use of unleavened bread in the Sacrament of the Supper, and the observance of the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost. The progress of the Reformation in Berne was much less rapid and radical than it was in Geneva, and the real intention of the conference was to make the city of Geneva take its time from the slower advance of its sister. A letter was sent<sup>1</sup> to the Genevan Council asking it to appoint Calvin and Farel to attend the conference, on the distinct understanding that they would not be allowed to take part in the discussions or to vote, and that they would endorse the decisions which the conference came to. The Council appointed the ministers on these terms and sent along with them the Councillor Jean Philippin.

The conference met on 31 March, and as all opposition was silenced beforehand, the Bernese Commissioners had the satisfaction of hearing a resolution passed unanimously, recommending their customs for the acceptance of the Churches. Thereafter a letter<sup>2</sup> was sent to Geneva, recommending the Council to take the resolution into favourable consideration, and another<sup>3</sup> was sent to Calvin and Farel requesting them to signify their adhesion to it.

The Council summoned the ministers on receipt of the letter,<sup>4</sup> and asked whether they would consent to use the Bernese customs. Calvin and Farel replied that before giving an answer to that, they desired to see the issue of a conference which was about to be held at Zurich to discuss these and other matters, and they asked for delay. Delay was not granted. On the contrary, there and then, the Council decreed that the ministers must accept the customs of Berne, especially in the matter of the Supper. As the Sacrament of the Supper was to be dispensed the following Sunday, the ministers were put into an embarrassing position.

Next day, Friday the 9th, the<sup>5</sup> Council decided that if Calvin and Farel refused obedience they were to be interdicted from entering the pulpit. A herald was sent to intimate this decision to them and to say to<sup>6</sup> Corault that the Council forbade him to open his mouth in preaching. When Corault received his message he appealed to the Two Hundred, whereupon the Council sent the herald a second time to say that he must obey or go to prison.

In defiance of the Council Corault mounted the pulpit on Saturday morning and was promptly pulled out of it by the

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, iv. 403.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 415.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 414.

<sup>4</sup> Opera, xxi. 225.

<sup>5</sup> Herminjard, iv. 416 n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Opera, xxi. 224.

police and locked up. His friends sent<sup>1</sup> Calvin, Farel, and fourteen leading burgesses to the Council to demand his liberation. In the altercation which ensued Farel lost his temper and shouted to the magistrates in a voice of thunder which was heard above all the other din :<sup>2</sup> "If it had not been for me you would not have been there". Nevertheless the Council held to its point that Corault had disobeyed orders and it would not let him out.

Later in the day the herald sent to ascertain whether Calvin and Farel would dispense the Sacraments in the manner prescribed by Berne returned and said that he could only find Calvin, that Calvin had declared he would not take instructions in such a matter from Berne, and that he had<sup>3</sup> told Calvin in the name of the Council that, in these circumstances, the Council would make its own arrangements for conducting public worship and dispensing the Sacrament of the Supper on the following day.

The city seethed with excitement. Next day, Sunday the 21st, Calvin appeared in the pulpit of St. Peter's, and Farel in that of St. Gervais, at the hour for worship, and in both places they intimated<sup>4</sup> that they would not dispense the Sacrament as the difference of feeling was too great. Besides, more than the manner of dispensing had to be considered. Those who approached the Holy Table must be at peace with each other and cultivate charity. But the universal passion and disorder made it evident that no one was in a fit state to partake of the Lord's body and blood.

There was almost a riot at the conclusion of this announcement. Angry cries were heard. Sticks were brandished. Swords were drawn. But the ministers were allowed to leave the building without injury, and the congregations separated without bloodshed. Next day the Council<sup>5</sup> met and formally deposed Farel and Calvin for contempt of lawful authority, and gave them three days in which to leave Geneva. Calvin's remark when he heard the sentence is memorable :<sup>6</sup> "Well, indeed. If we had served men we should have been ill rewarded, but we serve a greater Master who will recompense us."

Every hand was now against him, and the rage of those who were exasperated by the idea of discipline foamed over. "Down with him. Away with him. To the Rhone with him." Such were the cries which greeted Calvin's appear-

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Herminjard, iv. 423 n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Opera, xxi. 225.

<sup>4</sup> Herminjard, iv. 425.

<sup>5</sup> Opera, xxi. 226.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 227.

ance. A mob sang obscene songs under his windows. In the night time fifty shots were fired under his windows, and in other ways his life during these three days was made a burden to him. On the whole he was not sorry that his residence in Geneva had come to an end. If the city would not permit the reverent administration of the Sacraments and the free proclamation of the Word of the Gospel, he was better out of it. In the preface to his Commentary on the Psalms he says : " Being as I acknowledge of a timid, soft, and pusillanimous disposition, I was compelled to encounter these tempests as part of my early training ; and although I did not sink under them, I was not sustained by such greatness of mind as not to rejoice at my banishment ".

At the same time neither he nor Farel was inclined to take their deposition without protest. As the question of Bernese customs had brought matters to a head, they went to Berne and laid a memorandum<sup>1</sup> before the Council, in which they stated that they had not refused the Bernese customs considered by themselves. They had refused to distribute the bread of the sacrament not because the bread was unleavened, but because public passion had produced a state of mind which would have made any celebration of the sacrament a profanation of a holy ordinance. The true reason for their banishment was the refusal to consent to Corault's deposition.

Berne was alarmed by the storm which had risen in Geneva and wrote<sup>2</sup> to the Council asking it to liberate Corault and to moderate the rigour of its sentence on Calvin and Farel. But Geneva was inexorable.<sup>3</sup>

From Berne the exiles made their way to Zurich where a Synod was dealing with a proposal for union with the Lutherans. They stated their case in a memorial<sup>4</sup> of fourteen articles dated 1 May, 1538, in which they declared they would consent to the use of the font at the church door, and to the use of unleavened bread in the Sacrament of the Supper on condition that the Bernese broke the bread as they did in Geneva, and they would recognize the four festivals on condition that the people might work as usual after the sermon. They also asked that they should be publicly justified in their action, that the Genevan Church should be divided into parishes, that the power of excommunication should be entrusted to a joint committee of ministers and members of the Council, that ministers should have a deciding vote in the choice of pastors, and that the Sacrament of the Supper should be dispensed once a month.

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, iv. 422-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 427.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 429.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* v. 3.

The Synod decided that Calvin and Farel ought to be reinstated in their office and unanimously approved the position taken up in the articles. On 4 May the two exiles left Zurich and arrived in Berne two days later. Berne was anxious to keep to the front as a mediating authority among the Swiss Churches, and offered to support the decision of the Synod by sending a deputation to Geneva. At the same time it may be doubted whether the ministers of Berne had much sympathy with Calvin. Their leader was Kuntz, a man of a violent temper and a coarse disposition. At a meeting of ministers held in the end of May at the little Bernese village of Nidau, he said:<sup>1</sup> "The Senate was deliberating whether I should go to Geneva to restore these exiles, but I would rather lay down my ministry and leave my fatherland than help them. They have treated me scandalously." During the fortnight they spent in Berne, Farel and Calvin called on Kuntz. He received them so roughly and rated<sup>2</sup> them so insolently and with such overbearing passion that two of his colleagues who were present interfered to restrain him. Even Farel quailed for the moment, and as often as he referred to the interview in after years he did so with anger.

The promised deputation was, however, sent. On 24 May it appeared before the Genevan Council and asked for the ministers' recall. Calvin and Farel had, meanwhile, been compelled to stop at Nyon<sup>3</sup> "to avoid unpleasantness". The question was put in each of the three Councils and, by an immense majority, in each of them the recall was refused. The Bernese Commissioners had been specially instructed<sup>4</sup> to say that the fourteen articles submitted by Calvin and Farel were not only approved by the Synod of Zurich but were accepted by Berne, and to see that the two ministers got an opportunity of explaining them to the Council in Geneva, but the Genevans would not listen to any proposal of this description. Calvin<sup>5</sup> says that the animosity of the Genevans at this juncture was due to an intrigue of Kuntz, who sent an advance copy of the fourteen articles to Pierre Wandel for the purpose of putting the position of the two ministers in a false light.

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, iv. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Herminjard, v. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 229.

## VI

### CALVIN IN STRASSBURG

As there was no hope of readmission to Geneva, the banished ministers went by Berne to Basel. They travelled in stormy weather, and in crossing a torrent they were nearly washed away. When they reached their destination they were worn-out.<sup>1</sup> Calvin found accommodation in the house of Grynæus, and under his roof resumed the study of Hebrew which he had begun in France, and acquired a competent familiarity with the language. Farel found a lodging with Oporin, the publisher of the *Institutes*.

While Calvin was at Basel a letter reached him from Martin Bucer,<sup>2</sup> who was at that time stationed in Strassburg, inviting him to proceed to that city and settle there. The letter did not extend the same invitation to Farel, and on that account Calvin declined it. The omission was deliberate.<sup>3</sup> Bucer thought that both Calvin and Farel would cool down all the sooner if, for a time at least, they were separated, and had no opportunity of inflaming each other's resentment against the city they had been expelled from. Farel eventually went to Neuchâtel, and Bucer repeated the invitation to Strassburg, backing it up with many arguments. But Calvin was slow to move. The misery he had endured in Geneva had left such a bitter memory and his desire to enjoy the tranquillity of a student's life was so strong that he felt as if nothing could induce him to undertake public work once more. At last, however, he consented, and in a letter to Louis de Tillet he tells how this result was brought about.

"STRASSBURG, 20 October, 1538.

"... As to resuming my charge,<sup>4</sup> I could indeed have wished to have been believed and taken at my word. And had I only had to do with those who were inconsiderate and obstinate, I should have been in no hurry to do so, but when the most moderate of them all threatened that the Lord will

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, v. 20 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 73.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 164.

find me out as he found out Jonah,<sup>1</sup> and when they use such words as these, What if the Church is lost through your fault alone? You who are endowed with such gifts, how can you decline the ministry which is offered to you? etc. . . . What else to do I know not, except to state the reasons which deterred me in order that I might follow my own inclination with their consent. When that was to no purpose I concluded that I had no alternative but to follow the course which was pointed out by the servants of God. . . . I seriously thought of gaining a livelihood in some private station, but I have decided that the will of God has otherwise disposed."

De Tillet, to whom the above was written, had lived in Geneva alongside Calvin for a time, but as he had no firm grip of the principles of the Reformation, and as he was dismayed by the dangers to which all Reformers were plainly exposed, and as he had many relatives of high standing in the Romish Church—one brother being Registrar of the Parlement of Paris, and another who became bishop—his zeal on the side of the Reformation declined, and <sup>2</sup> in August, 1537, he left Geneva for Paris and was reconciled to the Church which he had forsaken. He <sup>3</sup> wrote Calvin explaining his reasons, Calvin thought them insufficient, and said so. But there was no weakening of the friendship between them, although their divergent paths carried them out of touch with each other.

When Calvin reached Strassburg he was received with great heartiness, and in spite of his ignorance of German he was soon thoroughly at home. The beautiful old city was the rallying point and asylum for fugitives from France, Germany, and Switzerland, and several men of influence resided in it. They represented both Lutheranism and Zwinglianism, and in their intercourse they learned to understand, if they did not accept, each other's point of view. Bucer, the leading minister, was a man of broad sympathies and great authority. Jean Sturm, the famous German Humanist, who went to Paris in 1529, and soon afterwards opened a school in which education was conducted on humanistic lines, and which attracted a large number of pupils, had already been, from January, 1537, head of the Gymnasium, which afterwards became the Strassburg University. Jacob Sturm, his brother, was one of the leading men in the city, and he did much to ensure a kindly reception to all whose presence might help forward the Reformation.

Calvin was appointed to teach theology at a salary of 52 guilders (about £10 sterling) per annum. The first instal-

<sup>1</sup> See also preface to *Commentary on Psalms*.

<sup>2</sup> Herminjard, iv. 281 n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 384.

ment was paid six months after his arrival, in May, 1539. During the winter months which intervened between his arrival and this payment he nearly perished of cold and hunger. He had to sell<sup>1</sup> many of his books to keep himself in food. De Tillet heard of his poverty and<sup>2</sup> offered to relieve it, but he accompanied the offer with conditions which turned it into a bribe for silence,<sup>3</sup> and Calvin declined it with thanks. Some Swiss friends also indicated their willingness to help him, but Calvin did not feel at liberty to avail himself of their kindness, and he battled on alone. Soon after his arrival he sent a letter<sup>4</sup> to the Church at Geneva, assuring it of his continued affection, declaring his desire for its peace and prosperity, and suggesting the consolations it required in its confusion and distress.

Just at this time news reached him of the death of his friend, the blind preacher, Corault. After his expulsion from Geneva, which took place simultaneously with that of Calvin and Farel, he found a post as minister of Orbe, and he died there, as was generally believed, from foul play. In a letter to Farel, 24 October, 1538, Calvin says:<sup>5</sup> "I am so bowed down by the death of Corault that I cannot set a limit to my anguish. None of my usual employments is sufficient to keep my mind from reverting to the subject. The distress and sorrows of the day are augmented by the still more painful thoughts of the melancholy hours of night. It is not merely the usual sleeplessness I suffer from. Habit has hardened me against that. I am killed with an utter want of sleep, and this of all things is most destructive to my health, but my mind is chiefly burdened with that iniquitous deed, which, if my suspicions are well founded, I must bring to light."

Neither poverty nor sleeplessness nor sad thoughts prevented Calvin from applying himself with his whole soul to the work to which Strassburg had called him. He lectured or preached every day, beginning with a series of discourses on the Gospel of St. John. He visited his congregation.<sup>6</sup> He interviewed those who wished to sit at the Lord's Table. He thoroughly revised and improved the method of conducting public worship. He drew up a Liturgy and introduced the practice of congregational psalmody. He gave the sermon an important place in the service, and he expressed the thoughts and desires of the congregation in extempore prayer.

The order followed in the Church at Strassburg was as

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, v. 165; and Opera, x. 340.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 165.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 121.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 166.

<sup>2</sup> Herminjard, 107.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 200.

follows: First came an invocation,<sup>1</sup> "Our help is in the name of the Lord who hath made heaven and earth". Then came a prayer of confession, which was supplemented by a declaration of absolution to every true penitent. The Ten Commandments were sung, and a prayer for strength to keep the law was offered. A portion of Scripture was read, and the sermon was preached. Then came a long intercessory prayer, and the service closed with another psalm or hymn and the benediction. If anyone was to be baptized the sacrament was dispensed at the close of the service in the simplest manner, without any of the Romish adjuncts of oil, spittle, salt, or candles. Once a month the Lord's Supper was celebrated, those only being allowed to take part who had been passed as worthy.

Both in Geneva and in Strassburg Calvin assigned an important place to the sermon, and he did so deliberately. In his opinion, the sermon is the portion of the service which, more than any other, builds up believers in the knowledge of God and of the Gospel, and gives them the most powerful assistance in the duty they are called to do. It ought to be based on the Word of God, and it ought to be from beginning to end an explanation and application of the truth contained in the passage chosen as the text. Therefore while praise and prayer are important as parts of worship in which men express themselves to God, the sermon is important because it unfolds what God says to men. If the preacher has been called to his office by God, as every true preacher must be, he thus becomes God's mouthpiece, and He who called him will furnish him with the message which the congregation and the times require.

To these opinions as to the matter of the sermon Calvin added others equally decided as to its delivery. He had no patience with dull and lifeless preachers. He demanded point and energy, and a style of address which kept the audience awake. He himself was a preacher who held his congregation spellbound. His sermons were not only full of Scriptural truth, they were well arranged, they abounded in apt and homely illustration, in vivid description, in swift dialogue, in which both wit and humour had an occasional share, and they were couched in the language of the common people. He could be as technical in his terminology as anyone, but when he had to address a popular audience, he did so in a style which the most uncultured could understand.

When he resolved to introduce singing into congregational worship he had great difficulty in finding suitable material.

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, II. 489, and Erichson, 24.

There was no singing in the Reformed French Churches because it was too dangerous to advertise the meetings by lifting up the voice in song. There was none in the Swiss Church because Zwingli had deliberately left this act of worship out. But Calvin believed<sup>1</sup> that the Lord ought to be praised in the assembly of His saints, and the scheme for the organization of the Church in Geneva provided a place for it. It was in Strassburg, however, that he made a beginning. He believed that no one can sing worthy praise to God unless he uses language inspired by God, that is unless he uses the Psalms and sacred song treasured for the benefit of the Church in Scripture. It was, therefore, necessary to translate the Psalms into verse that could be sung.

Some of the Psalms had already been translated into French,<sup>2</sup> for a decree of the University of Paris of 16 December, 1531, forbade the singing of them, and it is possible that some of these had found their way to Strassburg, as they had found it to Geneva. But the number is certain to have been small, and probably they were unsuited to Calvin's purpose. So he tried his hand at translating them into verse himself. In a letter to Farel, 29 December, 1538, he says:<sup>3</sup> "I would have sent you the Psalms that they might be sung among you before they reached the place you know about (Metz). I have resolved to publish them shortly. Because the German melody was more pleasing I have compelled myself to try what I could do in verse. These two Psalms (46 and 25) are my first attempts. I afterwards added others." These others are Psalms 36, 91, and 138.

Calvin's chief assistant was the poet Clement Marot. Marot had written several translations which had been passing from hand to hand in manuscript or which, if they were printed, were in private circulation only. Calvin laid hold on them, added them to his own, and published the collection in a little book, of which a unique copy lies in the Library of Munich, entitled "Aulcuns Pseaulmes et Cantiques mys en chant. A Strassburg 1539." It contains eighteen psalms, the Song of Simeon, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. Of these there are thirteen by Marot. They appear in a varied form in his edition of 1542, dedicated to Francis I. These are Psalms 1, 2, 3, 15, 19, 32, 51, 103, 114, 115, 130, 137, 143. The others, Psalms 25, 36, 46, 91, and 138, are, as has just been said, by Calvin. The only other original poetical composition which we can be sure came from Calvin's pen is a "Hymn of Salutation to Jesus Christ". It is in Latin,

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, III, xx. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Herminjard, IV. 163 n. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. v. 542.

and he says<sup>1</sup> he wrote it in Worms for his own pleasure when he was with Melanchthon and Sturm.

The music was even more difficult to secure. There was a superabundance of ballad tunes and secular songs in the mouths of the people but the words associated with them were sometimes obscene, sometimes blasphemous, and always frivolous. Calvin therefore turned to one of his Strassburg friends and asked for his help.<sup>2</sup> This was Mathieu Greiter. Four others gave their assistance. These were Guillaume Franc, Louis Bourgeois, Claude Goudimel, and Pierre Davantes. No musical editor's name is found in connexion with the Psalm Book of 1539, and no name is attached to any of the tunes, so that their authorship cannot be determined, a fact which fills us with regret, for some of these tunes are among our grandest and most effective. They include some that are still favourites.

Calvin was determined that the people should sing and should sing well, and in the colleges founded by his influence all the scholars devoted four hours each week to music and to the Psalms, of which they sang many verses both at church on Wednesday mornings and at the Sunday services.

The effect of the singing came quite up to his expectation. In a letter from a young man of Antwerp, a fugitive from persecution, written to his cousin in Lille, we find the following : "On Sundays we sing a psalm of David or some other prayer taken from the New Testament.<sup>3</sup> Every one sings, men as well as women, and it is a fine sight. Each has a music book in his hand so that they do not get out of touch with each other and I never thought it could be so delightful and pleasant as it is. For five or six days at the beginning when I looked on this little company of exiles from all countries, I wept, not for sadness, but for joy to hear them all singing so heartily, and as they sang giving thanks to God that He had led them to a place where His name is glorified. No one could believe what joy there is in singing the praises and wonders of the Lord in the mother tongue as they are sung here."

There can be little doubt that the student from Antwerp expressed the feelings of others as well as himself.

But although Calvin believed in congregational singing and fostered it, he was set against accompanying it with any kind of instrumental music. In the 66th Homily on 1 Samuel, chapter xviii., he gives his opinion on this point. Discussing the passage in which it is said that the women came out of the cities of Israel singing and dancing and with instruments of

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xvi. 488.

<sup>2</sup> Doumergue, II. 512-8.

<sup>3</sup> Erichson, 21.

music, and admitting that the use of instrumental music was common in Old Testament times, he goes on to say: "If we now consider it to be necessary we shall return to our former darkness and obscure the light which appeared in the Son of God. The Papacy was guilty of foolish and ridiculous imitation when it decorated churches and thought to offer God a more worthy service by employing organs and other follies of that sort. By these the Word and worship of God are profaned, for the people interest themselves in these things more than in the Divine Word. Where there is no intelligence there is no edification, as St. Paul teaches when he asks how the unlearned man can say Amen at the giving of thanks, when he does not understand what is being said. St. Paul exhorts believers to sing and pray in the common tongue that the Church may be edified. That which was useful under the law has no place under the Gospel, and we must abstain from such things not only as superfluous, but as frivolous. All that is needed in the praise of God is a pure and simple modulation of the voice. Instrumental music was tolerated because of the condition of the people. They were, Scripture tells us, children who used childish toys which must be put away if we wish not to destroy evangelical perfection and quench the light we have received through Christ."

There was therefore no instrumental music in Strassburg or Geneva so long as Calvin controlled the services. On 6 May, 1544,<sup>1</sup> Calvin and Champereau reported to the Council of Geneva that they had heard of a proposal to transfer the organ of Rive to the Church of St. Peter, and they were sure such transference would create scandal. The Council not only resolved to forbid the transference but agreed to sell the organ and distribute the proceeds among the poor. The organ which stood in St. Peter's was allowed to remain till 1562 when<sup>2</sup> the tubes were melted down and turned into flagons for holding Communion wine.

Calvin's work as professor and preacher and organizer brought him into notice in Strassburg and made it impossible for him to remain in the obscurity which he had set his heart on. The times were critical and the Protestant cause needed the help of every man who could be pressed into service. The Emperor had his hands full with preparations for war with the Turks, on one side, and with intrigues that might lead to war with France on the other, and naturally he did not want to have war in Germany. He therefore resolved to bring the representatives of the two opposing sections of Christen-

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 334.

<sup>2</sup> Doumergue, iii. 286.

dom face to face, and make them find a basis of union by discussion. A preliminary meeting was held in Frankfurt in 1539, and Calvin<sup>1</sup> attended it as a private person interested in the persecuted French Protestants. It was on this occasion that he made the acquaintance of Melanchthon. A regular colloquy was afterwards arranged to take place at Hagenau, in June, 1540, but it did not get past the opening exercises, and it was adjourned to meet in Worms in November. Calvin appeared at Worms in the double capacity of Commissioner from Strassburg and representative of the Duke of Luneburg, and earned for himself the title of "the theologian" by the ability he displayed in one of the discussions. No real progress towards union turned out to be possible, and it was agreed to break off negotiations till they could be resumed under the Emperor's eye at the approaching Diet of Ratisbon.

The Diet opened on 5 April, 1541, and if a display of imperial pomp and the presence of exalted personages could have effected anything it would have done something notable. Charles V himself presided,<sup>2</sup> and there were present Frederic, brother of the Elector Palatine, Otho, his nephew, the young Duke of Wurtemburg, Albert of Baden, the Prince of Anhalt, the Saxon ambassador, the Elector of Brandenburg, and other German nobles. The Venetians sent an ambassador, "a magnificent person," as Calvin calls him. The King of England, besides the ordinary embassy, sent the Bishop of Winchester with a numerous suite. The King of France also was represented. The Romish Church sent a papal legate, a papal nuncio, and a multitude of bishops and clergy, among whom might be seen the broad shoulders and fiery face of Dr. Eck, Luther's old antagonist. Calvin<sup>3</sup> was most unwilling to go to Ratisbon. He was in poor health. He felt himself unfit for the toils of intriguing and speech making. Besides, his wife was ill. The plague had broken out in Strassburg, and many of his congregation needed his attention. He was<sup>4</sup> convinced that the Diet would accomplish nothing, and it would be sheer waste of time to attend it. On these grounds he excused himself, but without avail. He was sent,<sup>5</sup> nay rather driven out, as he says in a letter to Farel.

While he was at Ratisbon he wrote long letters to Farel, partly for the sake of receiving the friendly replies, without which he said he could not exist, and in these he gives thumbnail sketches of some of the leading Romish champions. Julius Pflug, Canon of Mayence, is "a learned man, skilled in

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, v. 247.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, x. b, 174.

<sup>3</sup> Herminjard, vii. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 218.

<sup>5</sup> Opera, x. b, 175.

literature, but not much of a theologian, ambitious and always on the watch to see how the wind will blow. There is nothing against his moral character." Gropper, Professor of Canon Law at Cologne, is touched off thus: "He is one of those who try to keep on good terms with both Christ and the world. Nevertheless, such as he is, one can discuss things with him, not without fruit." Dr. Eck seems to have been Calvin's pet aversion. In a letter from Worms, Calvin had already characterized him as a "driveller,<sup>1</sup> a barbarous sophist, who carried on like a fool," and in this letter from Ratisbon he says to Farel: "No one doubts but that this Davus will throw all into confusion by his forward impertinence".<sup>2</sup> Indeed there was some reason for Calvin's contempt. Burckhardt, the Chancellor of Saxony, wrote of him:<sup>3</sup> "What can one hope when a drunken sophist like Eck is employed in this business. He counts his wine of far more consequence than his religion."

During the first fortnight little of importance was done beyond the appointment of a Joint Committee, consisting of Pflug, Gropper, and Eck from the Romanists, and Melanchthon, Bucer, and Pistorius from the Protestants, with instructions to examine the points of controversy, to deliberate on terms of agreement, and submit for the approval of the States the heads of agreement which they had settled between themselves. One of the princes was to act as their president. The Emperor granted them an interview, and exhorted them to make the glory of God, the public peace, and the salvation of all nations their aim, yielding nothing to the frowns or favour of men.

It was agreed to begin with that within the bounds of Germany the cup might be given to the laity, and that the clergy might be allowed to marry, that the Pope might be addressed as Primate of the Church on condition that he did not claim authority to interfere in the affairs of national Churches, and that the hierarchy might be continued under certain restrictions. But these were preliminary matters. The difficulties<sup>4</sup> began when doctrine came under discussion. The Conference took up Original Sin, and framed a statement almost in the language of the Augsburg Confession. It went on to Justification, and a definition was reached which both sides accepted. When the doctrine of the Church was taken up, differences became so acute that discussion was postponed, and when the Sacraments were dealt with, rupture became

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, VII. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Schaff, II. 382 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 89.

<sup>4</sup> Herminjard, VII. 111.

inevitable. In the private conferences of the Protestants Calvin was at a disadvantage because of his ignorance of German, but he spoke freely in Latin, condemning the idea of the local presence of Christ in the elements and the practice of adoring them. His arguments brought the opinions of the brethren into harmony, and Melanchthon drew up a statement which they accepted and presented it in their name to Granvelle, one of the leaders on the opposite side. The result was a deadlock, for neither Romanists nor Protestants would move from the positions they had taken up.

Melanchthon and Bucer then tried to relieve the situation by drawing up formulæ which Calvin<sup>1</sup> characterized as ambiguous and insincere, and with which he refused to have anything to do on the ground that equivocation in matters of conscience is hurtful. The Emperor suggested that the articles on which agreement had been reached should be accepted, and that discussion on other points should be delayed, differences of opinion on both sides being treated in the meantime with equal toleration. But the princes and the States refused to agree to this, and the Conference soon afterwards took end. With it ended the last hope of bringing Romanism and Protestantism into harmony on a common basis, and reconciling the forces which were stirring within them. As soon as this became evident Calvin<sup>2</sup> extorted permission to set out for his home in Strassburg.

If the time spent in Ratisbon was lost so far as bringing the opposing sections of Christendom together was concerned, it was well spent in so far as it placed Calvin on terms of personal acquaintance with the leaders of German Protestantism. In particular it strengthened his friendship with Melanchthon to such a degree that it survived all the strain that was afterwards to be put on it.

The most important domestic event in Calvin's life in Strassburg was his marriage. There was very little romance about it. On one occasion he wrote: "I have the appearance of being hostile to the celibate state, and yet I am not married, and I do not know that I ever will be. If I take a wife it will be in order to consecrate myself more completely to God by delivering myself from many miseries." Of course other men of his age have weighed the pros and cons of marriage as carefully as he did and have at last become the victims of a grand passion. But Calvin was far from being a lusty bachelor, likely to respond to feminine attractions. He was an ardent student, he was absorbed in public business of great importance, he

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, vii. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 176.

was already at intervals an invalid, and his interest in the fair sex was somewhat cold. Writing to Farel on 19 May, 1539, he says :<sup>1</sup> "I am not one of those insane lovers who when once smitten by the beauty of a woman embrace her very faults. This is the only beauty that attracts me—if she be modest, obliging, not fastidious, careful, patient, and likely to be attentive to my health."

Besides, he was poor. He came to Strassburg with a great reputation, but with no money, and it was some time before he received any. Writing to Farel in March, 1539, he says :<sup>2</sup> "My present position is such that I have not a penny. An amazing quantity of money goes in extraordinary expenses, and I have to live on my income if I am not to be a burden on my friends."

His circumstances became slightly easier, but his domestic discomfort was intolerable, and at Bucer's suggestion he turned his thoughts seriously to matrimony. In a letter written to Farel a month after the wedding had actually taken place, and before his last housekeeper had left him, he indicates some of his experiences.<sup>3</sup> "On 3 September I was seized with a cold in the head, a malady so frequent that it gave me no concern. Next day, being Lord's Day, when I had got a little warm in the delivery of the sermon, I felt the vapours which had gathered in my head begin to loosen and dissolve. Before I could leave the place the cough again attacked me and became very troublesome. On Monday an event occurred which provoked my temper. My housekeeper, as she often does, spoke more freely than became her and addressed some rude expressions to my brother. He did not make any stir about it, but he left the house and vowed solemnly that he would not enter it so long as she remained with me. When she saw me sad on account of my brother she also went elsewhere. Her son in the meantime continued to live with me. I am wont, however, when I am heated by anger or stirred by some greater anxiety than usual to eat to excess and to bolt my food more hastily than I ought. This occurred at this time. Then I am tormented by indigestion. To correct this by fasting was a ready cure, and was my usual practice, but in order that the son of the housekeeper might not interpret that abstinence as an indirect way of getting rid of him I chose at the expense of health not to incur that offence. On Tuesday thereafter, when the cough had ceased, I was seized with a fainting fit after supper, about nine o'clock. I went to bed. Then followed severe paroxysms, intense burning heat, and a strange swimming in the head. When I got up

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, v. 314.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, x. 332.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xi. 83.

on Wednesday I was so feeble in every limb that I was forced to recognize that I was suffering from severe illness. I dined sparingly. After dinner I had two fits with paroxysms afterwards, but at irregular intervals, so that it could not be ascertained what the fever was. There was so much perspiration that the mattress was soaked. While I was in this condition your letter (of congratulation on his marriage) arrived, and I was so unable to do what you asked that I could not walk three paces."

In January, 1540, a young lady was suggested to him. She was of good birth and she had a dowry,<sup>1</sup> but she had no interest in Calvin for his own sake, she did not know French and she was not sure she wished to learn it, and there was a danger that she would refer to her high connexions more frequently than was agreeable to a plain man, so although her brother, who was one of Calvin's devoted admirers, did all in his power to make the match, Calvin resolved to have nothing to do with her.

By the efforts of Calvin's brother and a friend, another was brought on the scene. She had no dowry but she was well spoken of. The wedding day was fixed for 10 March.<sup>2</sup> Farel was to perform the ceremony, and the ministers of Neuchâtel were also invited.<sup>3</sup> Calvin even offered to postpone the date in order to secure Farel's presence. Unfortunately three days after all the arrangements had been concluded disquieting reports about the lady's conduct reached Calvin's ears, and he<sup>4</sup> sent his brother to say that matters were to go no farther. He wrote Farel to say:<sup>5</sup> "If you are to wait till my wedding to come to see me, you will wait long enough. The lady is not yet found, and I do not know whether I ought to make further search for her."

At the same time the wedding was nearer than seemed likely. Calvin took the task of selecting a wife into his own hands, and in August, 1540, he married Idelette de Bure, a member of his own congregation with whom he was well acquainted. She was the widow of Jean Storder, a refugee from Liège, a prominent Anabaptist who had been converted under Calvin's ministry and who had died of the plague leaving her with a son and a daughter. She was poor, she was not robust, but Calvin found in her what he desired and he became much attached to her. Beza says she was a grave and honourable lady. Farel, writing to Libertetus, says<sup>6</sup> she was "not only good and honourable but also handsome".

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xi. 12.  
<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 25.  
<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 78.

A picture representing her in her bridal array is said to have existed in a church on the Rhine, but it cannot be traced. There is another in the museum of Douai of very doubtful authenticity. It represents a woman of quality or at least of the upper middle class, clothed in a sumptuous costume of embroidered velvet, and wearing a necklace of pearls and a golden bracelet. The eyes and mouth are good, but the general aspect is stiff and severe.

Soon after the wedding Calvin had the attack of catarrh, indigestion, and the paroxysms of pain referred to. He<sup>1</sup> wrote to Farel: "Of a truth, for fear that our married life should be too happy, God hastened to temper our joy, so that it might not go out of bounds". In 1542 his wife bore him a son prematurely. The child survived only a few hours, and he<sup>2</sup> wrote to Viret: "The Lord has dealt us a severe blow in taking from us our infant son, but it is our Father who knows what is best for His children". From this date onwards till her death Calvin's wife suffered a good deal of pain and was more or less of an invalid.

As the salary which he received was small, Calvin had already taken in boarders, young men studying for the ministry, and he continued to do so. Some of them became intimate friends, such as Nicolas de Parent, Louis de Richebourg, and Eynard Pichon.

His life in Strassburg was not an idle one. He preached and lectured continually, he took an interest in every member of his congregation, he played his part in the discharge of public duty, but nothing he did in public or in private was so important as a bit of work he undertook and finished off in six days. This was his Reply to Jacopo Sadoletto, Bishop of Carpentras. After Calvin's expulsion from Geneva, Sadoletto thought there was a chance of bringing back the city to its former ecclesiastical allegiance. So he resolved to try what he could do. He was a man of high character, he had already shown some sympathy with the Reformers by protecting them in his diocese, and he had a honied tongue.

Therefore he wrote a letter in elegant Latin to his "Dearly Beloved Brethren, the Syndics, the Senate, and the Citizens of Geneva". He flattered them on the condition of their city so well ordered, and so hospitable to strangers, even to those who did not seek its best interests. He asked if they had done wisely in turning their back on the Catholic Church and following the lead of crafty men. He contrasted

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xi. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 430.

the unity, the inferiority, the antiquity, and the universality of the Church they had been members of, with the recent origin, the uncertain doctrine, and the distressingly fragmentary condition of Protestantism, and he closed by picturing the poor appearance a Protestant as compared with a Catholic would make at the bar of Divine judgment.

He stigmatizes the Reformers as astute men, the enemies of Christian doctrine, who sow the seeds of discord, and he makes a transparent allusion to Calvin. Calvin is not named, but he is pointed to as the Protestant who makes the wretched appearance at the judgment seat. Sadolet explains Calvin's opposition to the Romish Church and its ministers as the result of disappointed ambition, and he insinuates that Calvin's adoption of the doctrine of justification by faith alone is due to the fact that it gives a plausible Scriptural excuse for the gratification of unbridled lust. He says, further, that it gives him pleasure to offer all he can do by his talent, skill, authority, and industry for the furtherance of Genevan interests, and he assures them he will count it a favour to be of any assistance in things human or divine.

The Genevan Council<sup>1</sup> acknowledged receipt of the letter on 27 March, 1539, and sent a copy of the letter to Berne. Berne sent a copy to Calvin. It reached him in the beginning of August. He was not inclined to take any notice of it, but Bucer, Capito, and others insisted that he should answer it, and he did so at their request. His answer was received in Geneva on 1 September and was on sale by 5 September. It is noteworthy not so much for the speed at which it was composed as for its unusual courtesy, its crushing refutation of Sadolet's arguments, and its brilliant statement of the fundamental positions of Protestantism.

Calvin cheerfully acknowledged the Cardinal's learning, gravity, and good faith, and the sincerity of his belief that a return to the Romish communion would be for Geneva's salvation. He said it was for no personal reason that he had taken up the challenge which had been thrown down. So far as he personally was concerned, disappointed ambition had nothing to do with his motives. "If I had wished to consult my interests," he said, "I would never have left your party. I do not say the road to preferment would have been easy to me, but I certainly know not a few of my own age who have attained eminence, and there are some of them whom I could have equalled, if not outstripped. But I will say that I would have had no difficulty in reaching the

<sup>1</sup> Opera, XI. 235.

summit of my desires if these had been for a life of leisure and an honourable position." But it was impossible to remain in a Church which was defiled by so many corruptions. Those who held the highest stations and who should have been shining examples of faith and godliness were the most notorious for profligacy and wickedness. The only aim that he and others had was to free themselves from the clergy's tyranny and licentiousness.

Dealing with the point that whatever the character of the men they ought to be obeyed, Calvin said that pastors are to be listened to as Christ Himself, but they must be pastors who execute the office entrusted to them, and this office is to deliver the holy oracles which have been committed to them by the Lord. Even if the Pope made good his claim to be the successor of Peter, obedience is due to him only so long as he maintains his fidelity to Christ and makes no deviation from the line of truth laid down in the Gospel. To revolt against the tyranny which the Pope and the bishops exercise in the name of Christ, and to expel the superstitions with which they corrupt the truth of the Gospel is not to dismember the body of Christ ; it is to protect it from violation. The deepest desire of the Reformers is that the Church should be brought to unity and that religion should be revived in it.

The most effective part of the letter is the section constructed on the pattern set by Sadolet, representing a Protestant at the bar of God, a section which is practically Calvin's *Apologia*. "They charge me with two of the worst of crimes, heresy and schism. The heresy was that I dared to protest against the doctrines they received. But what could I have done ? I heard from Thy mouth that there was no other light of truth which could direct our souls into the way of salvation save that which is kindled by Thy Word. I heard that whatever human minds could conceive of themselves regarding Thy majesty, the worship of Thy deity, and the mysteries of Thy religion was vanity. I heard that the introduction into Thy Church of doctrines sprung from the human brain was presumption. . . . But when I turned towards men, I saw very different principles prevailing. Those who were regarded as leaders of faith neither understood Thy Word nor cared greatly for it. Among the people themselves, the highest honour paid to Thy Word was to revere it from a distance as a thing inaccessible, and to abstain from all investigation of it. So every place was filled with superstitions."

Calvin mentions some of these superstitions, then he says: "As to the charge of forsaking the Church there is nothing of which conscience accuses me, unless he is to be counted a deserter who, seeing the soldiers routed and scattered and abandoning their ranks, raises the leader's standard and recalls them to their posts. For this I was assailed by those who had led them astray, and when I determined not to desist they opposed me with violence. On this grievous tumults arose, and the contest ended in disruption. With whom rests the blame it is for Thee, O Lord, to decide."

He closes with a passage which, if not directly auto-biographical, is based on autobiography, and reminds us of Augustine's "Confessions". It may not be accurate in all particulars but it gives us an indication of the mental processes which led up to his conversion. He speaks of the terror into which he was thrown by the discovery of his sinfulness, of his futile efforts to deliver himself from it by confessions, good works, and acts of solemn expiation, of the obstinacy which his reverence for the Church constrained him to manifest in closing his ears to those who sought to persuade him he was living in ignorance and error, and of the change which took place when he discovered the difference between separating from the Church and studying to correct the faults by which the Church was contaminated. "My mind being now prepared for serious attention I at length perceived, as if light had broken in upon me, in what a sty I had wallowed and how much pollution I had contracted. Being exceedingly alarmed at my misery, and much more at that which threatened me in view of eternal death, I, as in duty bound, made it my first business to betake myself to Thy way, condemning my past life with groans and tears. And now, O Lord, what remains to a wretch like me, but instead of defence, earnestly to supplicate Thee not to judge according to its deserts that fearful abandonment of Thy Word, from which, in wonderful goodness, Thou hast delivered me."

The last sentence sums up the whole argument. "May the Lord grant, Sadolet, that you and your party may at length perceive that the only true bond of Church unity is Christ the Lord, who has reconciled us to God the Father, and will gather us out of our present dispersion into the fellowship of His body, that so, through His one Word and Spirit, we may grow together into one heart and soul."

The answer to Sadolet gives us the essence of the

Protestant position. Over against the teaching of the Church Calvin sets the teaching of the inspired Word, and demands that the teaching of the Church shall conform to it. If it fails to conform, still more if it opposes the Word, the teaching of the Church is to be rejected. Over against the assertion that the Church of Rome is the body of Christ and that fellowship with it through obedience to the Pope is essential to salvation, Calvin sets the necessity of fellowship with Christ Himself through faith, and insists that those only are saved who put no confidence in their own righteousness and depend on the finished work of Christ alone. Over against the assertion that the clergy stand in the position of mediators between the sinner and the Saviour and are the channels of grace, Calvin maintained that, in his day as in the days of the Apostles, the official leaders of the Church betrayed its interests and were the deadliest enemies the members of the Church had to fear. They were not shepherds who protected and fed the flock, but wolves which tore and destroyed it, and the office which they usurped belonged to the Divine Redeemer alone.

The reply to Sadolet deepened the impression made by the letter to King Francis. It certified both to friends and to foes that the exiled, poverty-stricken, sickly Genevan minister was a force to be reckoned with, a force that it would require the highest intellectual energy to overcome. All over Europe men thanked God that He had raised up one who could vindicate their cause with such commanding power. On the other hand the hope of re-establishing Papal authority in Geneva was abandoned in despair. Sadolet sank out of sight. Calvin not only went on with his regular work, lecturing, preaching, and doing the duty of a pastor, but built the pedestal of his fame a little higher by beginning the publication of his long series of Commentaries.

He spent three fruitful years in Strassburg, but the call to return to Geneva became too imperative to be disobeyed, and with great reluctance he turned his face to the south.

## VII

### THE RECALL TO GENEVA

AFTER the expulsion of Calvin, Farel, and Corault, the Council of Geneva set itself to fill up the vacancies in the ranks of the ministry. It invited Antoine Marcourt, minister at Neuchâtel, and Jean Moreau, minister at Cully, to come to the city, and these, having obtained permission from their ecclesiastical superiors in Berne, made their appearance in due course. They were men who might be presumed likely to continue the work which had begun. In January, 1538, Calvin himself had asked that Moreau should be invited to become a minister in Geneva, and Marcourt was well known to be a preacher of evangelical doctrine. Along with Henri de la Mar and Jacques Bernard, who had already exercised the ministerial office in the city, Marcourt and Moreau were formally installed in July, the salary of Marcourt and Moreau being fixed at 300 florins, and that of de la Mar and Bernard at 240 florins.

It is, perhaps, too much to expect that Calvin would hear with complacency what was being done while he was still smarting under a sense of defeat and humiliation, but we are scarcely prepared for the bitterness he manifested in a letter to Bullinger.<sup>1</sup> He says : "After we were expelled from Geneva, one saw a great increase in the boldness of Satan and his acolytes. One can scarcely credit with what insolence the wicked plunged into vice, with what effrontery they insulted the servants of God, with what brutality they mocked the Gospel, and with what extravagance they conducted themselves at all times. Should we not be deeply grieved by such a disaster ? If the discipline which we established in Geneva, feeble though it was, constrained the most furious of our enemies to glorify God, the unbridled licence which all the vices display at the present time will only bring shame on the Church all the greater because of its recent celebrity.

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, v. 28.

Woe to those who have created such a scandal. Woe to those who have joined hands in such a criminal design."

His description of those who had been appointed to fill the vacant ministerial offices is equally full of prejudice and inaccuracy. He says: "It would be better for the Church to be completely deprived of pastors than to be served with secret traitors who are masquerading in the disguise of pastors. One of them, Bernard, is an old Franciscan who fought steadily against the Gospel till he recognized Christ under the form of a wife. Since that time his conduct with her has been scandalous. The other (de la Mar), although he is most crafty and skilful in concealing his vices, is so notoriously perverse that he does not impose even on strangers. Both are not only extremely ignorant, they never open their mouths without drivelling, but this does not prevent them from displaying the most insolent pride. It is said that a third is to be appointed along with them, a man who was recently accused of indecent conduct and who could have been convicted if he had not been lucky enough to get his case withdrawn through the exercise of influence."

A more pleasing feature of his character appears in<sup>1</sup> a letter he wrote to the Church in Geneva on 1 October, 1538, after his arrival in Strassburg. He assures the people that, as he has been called to the ministry in Geneva by God Himself, it is not in the power of men to break such a tie, and he urges them to remember that whatsoever perversity of will stimulates the action of the men who trouble them, the men themselves are only the instruments whom Satan uses for the believer's annoyance. And, inasmuch as the trouble and persecution have not fallen out without the dispensation of the Lord, they ought to recognize the faults which call for such a visitation, and humble themselves accordingly.

The Council of Geneva not only took steps to secure the continued preaching of the Gospel after Calvin's banishment, it manifested its determination to stamp out the smouldering embers of Romish practices. On 20 August<sup>2</sup> it called in the priests who still remained in the territory of the city, and told them they must go regularly to sermon or leave. On 26 December<sup>3</sup> it intimated that all strangers within its jurisdiction must attend church and partake of the Lord's Supper or go and live elsewhere. Further, it commanded all citizens who had not been present at the last celebration of the Sacrament to indicate what they meant to do for the future. They were

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, v. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, xxi. 235.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 240.

ultimately told that no excuse for absence would be tolerated. In the following year the Council examined the opinions of those whose sympathies with Reformation doctrine was uncertain.<sup>1</sup> Certain priests were asked what they thought about the Mass. Most of them said they thought it "a bad thing". One said he thought it neither good nor bad, he thought just what other people think. Another said he was willing to think exactly what the syndics and Council thought. Another said he was an ignorant fellow not competent to have an opinion; all he knew was that wise men differed about it. An old syndic, named Balard, said he was not going to give an opinion on a matter he knew nothing about. He was ordered to leave the city with his family within ten days. The sentence had to be endorsed by the Grand Council, and Balard appeared before it, and said:<sup>2</sup> "Since the Little Council and the Great Council say the Mass is a bad thing, I say it is a bad thing, and that I am worse for giving a judgment on a matter I know nothing about". A few days later he was summoned before the Two Hundred, and there he declared simply, "the Mass is a bad thing". The sentence of expulsion was thereupon revoked. On 30 March, 1540,<sup>3</sup> the Council took a further step. It ordered the police to visit every house and seize and destroy all images. It is, therefore, plain that the city's zeal in the cause of the Reformation did not languish as a result of Calvin's absence.

Another side of the Council's activity bore on morals. In February, 1539, in consequence of a<sup>4</sup> complaint that on a certain evening people had been singing indecent songs, dancing, blaspheming God, and running naked about the street, steps were taken to discover the offenders. It was found that those who had been running about naked were quite young, and they were released with a reprimand. Some of the women who had been singing and dancing were detained for one day in prison and similarly reprimanded. Then the Council issued<sup>5</sup> orders that anyone found guilty of blasphemy should be punished with increasing severity for every successive offence; that no one should absent himself from public worship; that no one should play at any game for money; that no one should play at any sort of game after the hour of public worship; that no host or hostess should give meat or drink to any person on Sundays during the hour of public worship nor after nine o'clock at night, unless they were travellers; that no one should walk the streets after

<sup>1</sup> Opera, XXI. 253; Roget, "Histoire," I. 157.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 159.

<sup>3</sup> Opera, XXI. 256.

<sup>4</sup> Roget, "Histoire," I. 144.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* I. 145.

nine o'clock at night without a lantern; that no one should dance except at a marriage; that no one should wear masks or attend masquerades, and that all who noticed any disobedience to these commands should lodge information with the magistrates. In the following month<sup>1</sup> it decreed that all vagabond strangers must leave the city within three days unless they wished to endure the torture of the cord, and that all who frequented taverns and wasted their time there must cease from their idle loafing and attend to their work diligently on pain of three days' imprisonment on bread and water.

These regulations belong to a period when Calvin was an exile from Geneva and when his influence in the city was at its lowest, and they remind us that the strict discipline with which his name is associated had its origin long before he came upon the scene, that it was habitually enforced by men with whom he was out of sympathy, and that generations of Genevans had been more or less familiar with it. Calvin's function was to infuse new energy into it and to create new machinery for making it effective as a force for the cleansing of the city's streets of the vice which flaunted itself, and for the moral training of the people.

When Calvin passed through the gates of Geneva, it soon became apparent that he had left three parties behind him. There was the old Romanist party which had some hopes of bringing back the city to its former allegiance and which showed signs of life by keeping up old habits and customs. There was the party which sympathized with Calvin from motives partly political and partly religious and which believed that Calvin's line of action was for the city's best interests. This party was a minority in numbers, but it included many of the leaders of the people, and it had an influence out of all proportion to its size. According to the usual Genevan custom it received a nickname. It was called "the Guillermains," because Guillaume Farel was a conspicuous figure in the movement it was identified with. The third party consisted of those who stood for an alliance with Berne, and who were inclined to acknowledge the claims to superior jurisdiction which Berne was continually advancing. Practically all the members of the Council at the time of Calvin's expulsion belonged to it. Its nickname was "the Artichauds," because of the articles of a treaty with Berne which it entered into.

The treaty arose out of a dispute with regard to rights of

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxii. 245.

jurisdiction over certain villages on the left bank of the Rhone connected with the priory of St. Victor, and likewise with regard to Vandœuvres and the villages which constituted the domain of Chapitre. In March, 1539, Geneva sent Jean Lullin, Ami de Chapeaurouge, and Jean Monathon to Berne to negotiate a treaty on the basis of written instructions.<sup>1</sup> By the simple process of surrendering much they were sent to contend for they came to terms with Berne in four days and set out for home. When they laid the treaty before the Little Council, no steps were taken to denounce it, it was simply not accepted, and its terms were concealed from the people for two months. The Bernese, naturally anxious to conclude an arrangement which was thoroughly profitable to themselves, sent deputies to Geneva to insist that the treaty should receive immediate and formal ratification. When the deputies stated the object of their mission to the Two Hundred, an explosion of rage ensued which made business impossible. An order was issued for the arrest of the three Genevan commissioners, but they escaped for the time, and the party they belonged to became the object of general indignation. The Guillermains attacked it unceasingly, charging it with a design to betray the independence of the city, and they drew an increasing number to their side. At the elections in the following February three of the Artichauds were expelled from their seats, and thereafter the commissioners were laid hold of<sup>2</sup> and sentenced to death. A riot in the street took place between opposing partisans. Jean Philippe, the captain-general, a leading man among the Artichauds, rushed out and took a prominent part in it. From words there was a quick transition to blows, and in the scuffle that ensued a man named Lesclefs was shot dead. Philippe and his companions barricaded themselves in Philippe's house. The Council surrounded the house with armed men and arrested all who were in it. Philippe was tried and, in spite of<sup>3</sup> the intervention of the Bernese, or perhaps to some extent because of it,<sup>4</sup> he was executed on 10 June, 1540. The Guillermains were now masters of the situation and the Artichauds were powerless.

During the time that the political struggle was going on the position of the ministers was becoming more difficult. As they owed their election to the Artichauds, they were made partakers in the reproaches and insults to which the Artichauds were exposed. On 31 December, 1538,<sup>5</sup> exasperated and disheartened by the persecution they were suffering from,

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, II. 766; Roget, I. 186.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* I. 248.

<sup>2</sup> Roget, I. 226.

<sup>5</sup> Opera, XXI. 243.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* I. 245.

they appeared in a body before the Council and resigned their office. Their action took the Council by surprise, and it replied that it had no intention of depriving the city of their services, and would deal with all who had spoken against them. Proceedings were started forthwith. Two men of considerable distinction were taken in hand. These were Ami Porral and Claude Pertemps. They had refused to partake of the Supper so long as the Bernese ceremonials were used in it, and they were told they must at once conform or leave Geneva. After a show of resistance<sup>1</sup> they gave in. Another of the party was more obstinate. This was Antoine Saunier, rector of the College of Rive. He and three undermasters had been asked to assist the ministers in the distribution of the bread and wine, and had refused on the score of conscientious objections. They were ordered out of the city in three days.<sup>2</sup> Saunier protested that, in his case, it was impossible to leave it at such short notice. He had boarders from important houses in Berne, Basel, Zurich, Bienne, and elsewhere. Besides he had a little daughter only a year and a half old and exposure in mid-winter would kill her. Whereupon the Council prolonged the term from three to fifteen days.

In the correspondence which they kept up with Calvin his friends kept him aware of what was going on, but so far as the persecution of the ministers was concerned he gave them neither support nor sympathy. The difference of opinion with regard to the Sacraments and ecclesiastical discipline generally which had caused trouble in Geneva was creating similar trouble in Neuchâtel and the Canton de Vaud. Through Farel, Calvin secured that a meeting should be held under Bernese auspices at Morges in March, 1539, for the purpose of effecting a union between all French-speaking pastors. The meeting was successful. Faults were admitted, dissensions were healed, and a spirit of reconciliation was manifested by an exchange of pulpits. After the meeting Calvin wrote<sup>3</sup> a long letter to Geneva on 25 June, 1539, pointing out that the friends of evangelical religion should be thankful that God had not allowed the Popish clergy to come back among them, and insisting that the support of pastors who preached the Gospel was the duty of those who cared for the welfare of the Church and the glory of God. His own expulsion was the work of Satan, and should not be visited on those who had no hand in it. He says he is disappointed to find that the reconciliation effected

<sup>1</sup> Roget, I. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, XXI. 241.

<sup>3</sup> Herminjard, v. 336.

at Morges was not being copied in Geneva, and on that account he writes to try to find a remedy for a disease which it was impossible to conceal. After magnifying the dignity of the ministerial office, and enlarging on the duty of treating the ministers of the Word with reverence as God's ambassadors, he goes on to say: "The calling of your ministers does not take place without the Will of God. For although that change which took place on our departure is to be ascribed to the wiles of the devil, so that whatever followed on that change may be justly suspected by you, you must recognize God's singular grace to you in that He did not leave you utterly destitute nor let you fall back again under the yoke of Antichrist. . . . We have always admonished you to recognize that overturn of the Church as a visitation of God, necessary both for you and for us, so that you ought not to fix your attention on the instruments of Satan so much as upon personal sins which have deserved no lighter punishment. I desire once more to repeat this advice. The servants of God in other Churches have approved the calling of your present ministers, therefore you must not be too ready to disapprove what they consider essential to your welfare and the preservation of the Church. I grant that the minister who does not teach the Word of our Lord Jesus Christ, whatever title or prerogative he may put forward, is not to be considered a pastor to whom obedience must be shown in the ministry. But since it is clear to me that the brethren who hold the office of ministers among you do teach the Gospel I do not see what can excuse you before the Lord for rejecting them. It is incumbent on you to beware lest, while we seem to ourselves only to insult men, we, in fact, declare war on God Himself."

When Calvin's followers found that he condemned their contempt of his successors in office, they took a more moderate tone and refrained from the hostilities to which they were committing themselves. But the political events to which allusion has been made speedily destroyed the effects of Calvin's communication. The publication of the Articles of the treaty with Berne ranged the Guillermains and the Artichauds in fierce antagonism and, as the ministers owed their position to the Artichauds, they were made to share in the insults which were hurled at their patrons. When the Artichauds became powerless to protect them in consequence of the adverse popular vote at the elections, their misery reached a climax. On 16 August, 1540,<sup>1</sup> they appeared before

<sup>1</sup> Roget, i. 272.

the Council in a body, for the second time, complaining of the insolence which they were called on to endure daily, and asking the Council to take measures which would put an effectual end to it. The Council replied coldly that it would take their complaint into consideration, and recommended them to apply themselves in the meantime to the faithful discharge of their duty. A few days thereafter one of the ministers, Moreau, sent in his resignation and left the city. On 20 September his colleague Marcourt followed his example, and Henri de la Mar and Jacques Bernard were left to bear the weight of the work alone. They were evidently unfit for it, and on<sup>1</sup> 21 September the Council entrusted Ami Perrin with the task of finding means of bringing Calvin back. Further, on 13 October, the Two Hundred resolved to send a special messenger to Strassburg to deal with the ministers there and with Calvin and to expound to them the needs of the Genevan Church. For this purpose they selected Michel du Bois. A week later the General Council followed the example set them by the Two Hundred, and despatched Louis Dufour to Strassburg with a herald bearing a letter to Calvin written in the name of the syndics and Councils to the following effect :—<sup>2</sup>

" GENEVA, 22 October, 1540.

*" To Doctor Calvin, Minister of the Gospel.*

" MONSIEUR,—Our good brother and particular friend, we commend ourselves very affectionately to you, for we are assured that you have no other desire than the advancement of the glory of God and of His Holy Word. On the part of the Little, Great, and General Councils (which have given us strict charges on this point), we pray you very earnestly to transfer yourself to us and to return to your former place and ministry ; and we hope, by the grace of God, that this will be a benefit and for the fruit of the Holy Gospel, seeing that our people greatly desire you among us, and promise to behave themselves to you in a way with which you will be content."

The letter was fastened with a seal bearing this inscription, "Post tenebras spero lucem".

News of what was going on in Geneva reached Fabri, minister at Thonon, and he wrote to Farel communicating the information. Farel wrote to Calvin and in addition started off from Neuchâtel to see what could be done by a personal interview. In a confidential reply to Farel's letter, Calvin revealed his state of mind. 21 October, 1540.<sup>3</sup>—"I have no doubt you

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 265.

<sup>2</sup> Herminjard, vi. 331.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 325.

have apologized for me to the brethren who have exhorted me to return to Geneva because of my delay in replying to them. For a couple of days I was thrown into such perplexity and trouble of mind that I was scarcely half myself. When I call to mind the wretchedness in which my life was spent there, my very soul shudders when a proposal is made for my return. I know from experience that if I would live to Christ this world must be to me a scene of trouble and vexation, but when I call to mind the torture which racked me, pardon me if I dread the place being fatal to me. You know well that nothing would have detained me there except the assurance that the yoke of my calling was laid on me by the Lord. So long, therefore, as I was bound hand and foot, I chose rather to suffer to the last extremity than to entertain thoughts of changing my place of abode. But now that I am delivered by the favour of God, who will not forgive me if I am unwilling to plunge again into the gulf and whirlpool which I have found so dangerous. Even though I was insensible to my personal danger, I do not think my ministry could be of any use to this people. They will neither be bearable by me, nor will I be endurable by them. Besides, the battle which I will have to fight with my colleagues will be hotter than that without their ranks. And above all, I have entirely forgotten the art of governing a large mass of people, for in this place I deal with only a small circle."

The Genevan ambassadors found on their arrival at Strassburg that Calvin was already on the road to Worms, so they followed him, and delivered the message they were entrusted with. Calvin replied on<sup>1</sup> 12 November that he was deeply touched by the courtesy of the request, but he could not respond to it as they desired, at least in the meantime. He was at Worms on the public service of all the Churches, he could not fix the time when that service would finish, for the assembly at Worms might be followed by another to which he might be sent and to which he would have to go. At the same time, as soon as he was freed from this extraordinary employment, he would endeavour to help the Genevan Church in her time of need just as effectually as if he were in the midst of it doing the duty of pastor.

The Bernese Council had allowed Viret to officiate in Geneva for the six months beginning from January, 1541, but as they refused to extend that period and as Calvin had not absolutely declined the call addressed to him, the Genevan Council renewed its appeal. On 26 January,<sup>2</sup> Roset, the

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, vi. 352.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, XXI. 274.

secretary of the Council, who had to go to Basel on other business, was instructed to continue his journey as far as Strassburg and press Calvin to return to the scene of his former labours. On 6 February, Bernard, one of the two ministers left in the city, added his efforts to those which the Council were putting forth, in a letter in which he says he had never ceased to exhort the people to beseech God to raise them up a devoted pastor, and lo, they had been moved to recall Calvin.<sup>1</sup> "O marvellous spectacle, the stone which the builders rejected is become the headstone of the corner. Come, then, my venerable father in Christ. The Lord has given you to us. All sigh for thee." Writing to Farel, Calvin described this letter as "full of nauseating flattery," and in his reply to it his style was cold and severe.

While the Genevans were pulling at him on the one side, the city authorities and the ministers of Strassburg were pulling with equal energy on the other, and in a letter to Nicolas Parent<sup>2</sup> Calvin says: "I am so perplexed, or rather confused, in my mind as to the call from Geneva that I can scarcely venture to think what I ought to do". By degrees, however, light began to rise in his darkness. He began to see that Geneva was the only place in which there was any chance of establishing the worship of God and the discipline of the Church as they ought to be established. In France there was no city in which the Reformed faith could be safely professed. In Germany there was no city which was politically independent. But in Geneva the Reformed faith was dominant and the city was entirely free from external control. It was the one city in Europe in which his conceptions could be realized. In a<sup>3</sup> letter to the Council of Geneva written from Strassburg, 19 February, 1541, he practically intimates his willingness to return as soon as the way is open to him. "Since you are pleased to have such confidence in me, I feel myself bound to satisfy your desire so far as lies in my power, all the more as a perpetual obligation binds me to the Church to which the Lord at first appointed me. Howbeit, a hindrance has come in the way. I have been chosen as a deputy to Ratisbon. This is a call to duty which I could not avoid, seeing I am serving your Church as well as that of Strassburg. You will, therefore, hold me excused for not coming to you, seeing that the Lord hath sent me elsewhere."

When Calvin was on his way to Ratisbon he stopped at Ulm and wrote to Viret on 1 March, 1541, expressing his

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, VII. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* VI. 376.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* VII. 29.

shrinking from the path which he felt bound to follow. "When<sup>1</sup> the recollection of former times comes into my mind I cannot but shudder from head to foot with heartfelt alarm at the thought that I may be forced a second time to expose myself to these contests. From many tokens I know well that he who can do most mischief of all entertains an implacable hatred for me, and when I call to mind how all around there lie ready to hand so many instruments prepared for mischief-making, how many bellows may be set agoing to kindle the fires of contention, how many opportunities may be presented that I can never be well armed against, it quite appals me. But I promise you that in the time to come I will not think of changing my opinion on the propriety of proceeding thither, except some far more overruling power forecloses the way against me, for I am so taken up about the care of that Church that already, somehow (I cannot tell how it happens), I begin to feel more of an inclination to take the helm in hand again if circumstances should so require."

The ministers of Zurich sent him a letter which strengthened his resolution, but it was probably Farel who has the credit of giving the final blow which cut Calvin loose from Strassburg. On 8 March, 1541, a French refugee in Strassburg, who was an intimate friend of Calvin, wrote to Farel, saying :<sup>2</sup> "It was after receiving your letter that Calvin decided to accept the mission which had been presented to him. Up to that time, though he did not definitely refuse it, he was inclined to do so; but your letter turned him right about, for I seemed to hear in it the thundering eloquence of Pericles." The thundering quality was seldom absent from Farel's eloquence, and Calvin complained to him about it. "Ulm, 1 March.<sup>3</sup>—I have been not a little troubled and overwhelmed by the thunderbolts you have been hurling at me. You know that, even though I feared the appeal addressed to me, I had never the intention of closing my ears to it. What need was there, then, for you to throw yourself on me with such violence and even to threaten the disruption of our friendship?"

On 31 May he wrote to Zurich intimating his decision to return to Geneva as soon as the meetings of the Conference had closed. Then he says :<sup>4</sup> "In an affair of so great moment I can take no step without the authority of the Church of which I am a member, but it is their unanimous opinion that, as soon as the meetings of the Diet are over, we

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, VII. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 41.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 140.

should proceed to Geneva, and that Bucer should accompany me, so that we may consult together on the spot what is best to be done. I wish we could obtain besides some one from your presbytery to be present with us."

Calvin waited till the end of July in the hope of securing Bucer's company, but it turned out that Bucer could not leave Strassburg. On 1 September, 1541, he wrote<sup>1</sup> a letter to the Council of Geneva in the name of all his fellow-ministers saying: "Calvin is at length coming to you. He is undoubtedly a very excellent and dear and precious servant of Christ. It would be difficult to find one—I do not know if there is one—equal to him in his zeal and industry in building up the Church and in his power of defending and adorning it by his writings. He is coming and he has been released on the express conditions which have been set forth in the letters of our Council." These conditions were that Calvin should be free to consider in which of the two places he could serve the Lord most fruitfully, and that, preferring the general good of the Church to their own private advantage, the people of Geneva should send Calvin back to Strassburg forthwith. To which the Genevan Council replied politely<sup>2</sup> on 17 September, indicating that, having got Calvin, they meant to keep him.

Calvin's own attitude of mind with reference to his return is summed up in a letter to Farel of 24 October, 1540, which contains the memorable sentences: "Know, then, the disposition in which I find myself. If I were free I would not yield to your desire. But, recognizing that I do not belong to myself, I offer my heart in sacrifice to the Lord and, stripping myself of my own inclination, deliver myself up as a captive into the hands of God."

As soon as the news of Calvin's decision reached Geneva the Council sent a herald on horseback to escort him and voted a sum of money to cover his expenses. He left Strassburg in the beginning of September. On his way he visited Basel and his friends there gave him a letter of recommendation to Berne. They also asked on his behalf a letter of recommendation to Geneva. Berne treated the request as if it had been a request for a letter of safe conduct through Bernese territory, and refused it on the ground that it was not needed in a time of peace.

When he reached Neuchâtel he found that Farel had got into trouble by an outspoken attack on a person of consequence, and he delayed his journey to help his old comrade,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, VII. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 253.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 239.

sending a message to Geneva to apologize for so doing, and for detaining the herald who was escorting him. At length on 13 September, 1541, three years and four months after his expulsion, Calvin quietly slipped through the gates into Geneva. He was four days earlier than he was expected, so there were no official demonstrations on his arrival, but there was general satisfaction, except in the district of St. Gervais, where some members of the Artichaud faction threatened to make a disturbance. A watch was promptly set over them to keep them quiet. The Registers of the Council may be taken as indicating the popular feeling. On the 13th the Council<sup>1</sup> resolved to send for Calvin's wife and household and to pay the expenses of their journey. On the 20th<sup>2</sup> it resolved to buy him some cloth for a coat and some furs for the winter. On 4 October<sup>3</sup> it resolved that, as he was a man of great learning, and well fitted to build up the Church, and as he was put to great expense in entertaining strangers, he should have a salary of 500 florins yearly, twelve measures of wheat and two barrels of wine. The salary, liberal as it was for the times, amounted to no more than £160 sterling, and though he had often to pinch to make ends meet, Calvin never allowed the Council to supplement or increase it.

If any doubt as to whether he should settle permanently in Geneva lingered in his mind when he approached the city, it cleared away as soon as he found himself within the walls. Within twenty-four hours of his arrival he asked the Council to consider the state of the Church, and that meant that the second period of his public life had closed, and that the third, which was to be the longest and the most important, had begun.

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 282.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 283.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 284.

## VIII

### THE ORDONNANCES

WHEN Calvin returned to Geneva his purpose was clear to his own mind. He was resolved that, as far as he was able, he would draw a line of distinction between the civil jurisdiction of the State and the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church, and would make the Church independent of civil control within the spiritual domain ; further, he would secure the acceptance of a creed based on the teaching of Scripture and not on the tradition or authority of the Church ; and that he would tune up the morality of the members of the Church to the pitch required by the example of Christ and the precepts of the Apostles.

The main difficulty in his way arose from the fact that he had to carry out his purpose with the approbation and assistance of the civil power. The distinction between Church and State and their mutually exclusive spheres of jurisdiction was not recognized anywhere in Europe in these days. In Geneva in particular the distinction had been practically obliterated. The magistrates and Council assumed that if they were fit to settle questions of policy and defence they were equally fit to settle points of doctrine, and if they were warranted in appointing the city police they were equally warranted in appointing the city ministers. So at one time they dealt with men for theft and immorality and at another for superstition and heresy. The citizens likewise assumed that those who swear allegiance to the same civil authority must be ready to accept the same ecclesiastical regulations, and sign the same creed. So when the decree was issued that all those who desired to remain in the city must march in procession to St. Peter's and there signify their adhesion to evangelical doctrine by holding up their hands, there was grumbling against the inconvenience which obedience to the decree involved, but there were few protests against the intolerance on which the decree was founded. In these circumstances it was inevitable that the Council should exercise a controlling influence in the re-

organization of the Church. It ought therefore to be clearly kept in mind that Calvin had to lay his opinions on doctrine, discipline, and worship before a thoroughly secular tribunal and get them approved by it before he could get them acted on. That he failed to get his ideals realized completely was not entirely his fault.

Further, his resolution to tune up conduct to a New Testament standard was intensely distasteful to a large section of the citizens. The laxity of Romish rule had produced a moral blindness which saw little evil in vice, and a moral weakness which consented without protest to many reprehensible practices. During Calvin's first residence in Geneva one whom the Council was about to call on to explain his position sent word that he and his servant were ready to agree to certain articles in the Confession, but they could not take any oath about the Ten Commandments of God, "because," he added plaintively, "they are very difficult to keep". There were many in Geneva who found the Ten Commandments difficult to keep. There were many more who did not try to keep them. There were some who resisted all attempts to compel them to keep them. Anything that savoured of compulsion roused their implacable animosity. The signs of the times were therefore stormy.

On the day of his arrival Calvin attended a meeting of Council,<sup>1</sup> presented his letters from Basel and Strassburg, explained his delay on the journey, expressed his opinion that a Church could not hold together unless it had a Constitution agreeable to the Word of God, and asked for a Committee to confer with the ministers on the order to be taken. Six were chosen, Claude Pertemps, Ami Perrin, Claude Roset, Jean Lambert, Jean Balard, and Ami Porral. The ministers who acted on the Committee were Calvin, Jacques Bernard, Henri de la Mar, and Aimé Chapereau. Viret, still on leave from Lausanne, was joined with them.

Writing in the end of January, 1542, to an unknown correspondent who is conjectured<sup>2</sup> to have been Sebastian Munster, professor of Hebrew in Strassburg, Calvin says: "In the first place, we had to see about getting the ecclesiastical laws written. Six of the Council were appointed to assist us in drawing them up. We finished the work in twenty days, and although it is not perfect it is tolerable, considering the state of the times. It was accepted by the popular vote. Then a court was appointed to exercise a censorship of morals and to watch over the order of the Church, for I was anxious, as was right,

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Herminjard, vii. 408 n. 26.

that the spiritual power should be distinguished from the temporal jurisdiction. Since the plague was raging in Germany and there was also war, I got special supplications appointed and I wrote the prayers to be used in them. Besides, in order that there might be a fuller and clearer exposition in the administration of the sacraments, I added new formulæ. Then I got to work on the Catechism, in writing which I trust God helped me. These are, I confess, the result of some night work, but I have so many calls to attend to, and am so hurried in this direction and in that, that there is no labour which is not difficult. From the time that I came here till now, I do not remember having two hours free from interruption. Besides I have a Latin translation of the Institutes to finish off, and after it is published you will see that I have not been sweating scantily."

Then he indicates his opinion of his ministerial colleagues. "There is one thing which torments me amazingly. We have colleagues we cannot get on with. Two of them rushed into our places after our expulsion. There is another I do not know how he crept in. Two others who stepped into vacant offices have now taken to flight. A third relieved me of part of my trouble by asking for his dismissal, which he got easily. There remain two who are sure to give trouble if they do not come to their right mind. The one has a quick, even a cruel disposition, and will not listen to wise counsel. The other is cunning and changeable and blown up with conceit. Both of them are unlearned and proud, and to their lack of knowledge is added carelessness and self-confidence, for they will never consider what is for the benefit of the Church, except in their dreams." Calvin had therefore to compile the *Ordonnances* alone.

The first sketch of the work<sup>1</sup> was read to the Council on 26 September. On the 29th the Council considered it, accepted some parts and rejected others, and continued its criticism and selection on 3 November. The ministers asked to see what the sketch looked like after the handling it had received, but were told to repress their impertinent curiosity. The amended or at least modified sketch was then sent on to the Two Hundred. The Two Hundred made some slight alterations and passed it on to the General Council, which accepted<sup>2</sup> the document as it came, without dissent, on 20 November. The *Ordonnances* may therefore be considered Calvin's work, but they do not represent Calvin's ideal. They are Calvin's work in the form which it assumed in its passage through the

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 283.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 287.

Councils. They embody his ideal only so far as the civil Courts of Geneva would allow him to give his ideal a practical form.

The Ordonnances<sup>1</sup> begin by stating that there are four regular orders of officials appointed by Christ for the benefit of His Church. These are pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. Their qualifications and duties are then described and the machinery of ecclesiastical discipline is set up.

The section dealing with pastors is closely copied from the Institutes. Candidates for office are to be chosen by those already ordained and are to submit to examination at their hands, not only as to their knowledge of Scripture and their power to use it for the Church's edification, but also as to their walk, speech, and behaviour. If found qualified they are to be presented for approval by the civil power. Thereafter they are to preach before the people, and the people are to signify whether they think the gifts which the candidate manifests justify his admission to the ranks of the ministry. If the candidate passed these tests he is to be ordained. Calvin would have introduced the laying on of hands into the ceremony of ordination, but, as the practice was associated with Romish superstition, he omitted it.

For mutual benefit the ministers were to meet in conference once a week and no one, not even country ministers, was allowed to be absent systematically without serious excuse. Once in three months there was to be a meeting for mutual criticism, and every one was held bound to mention everything in a brother's life which was likely to interfere with the efficient discharge of ministerial duty, whether it was ignorance of Scripture, erroneous teaching, indolence, or neglect of pastoral visitation. Moral delinquencies were to be sharply dealt with, and heresy was to be instantly challenged. When gathered together for ecclesiastical purposes, the ministers were to be called the Venerable Company. They made no pretence of jurisdiction in civil affairs. They inflicted no penalty save censure, and their influence depended entirely on their learning, wisdom, and character.

To overtake the needs of Geneva the city was divided into three districts, St. Peter's, St. Gervais, and the Madelaine, and five ministers with three assistants were appointed to them. This number was afterwards increased. Sermons were to be preached early in the morning and also on the afternoon of each Sunday. There was also to be a children's service or diet of catechizing on Sunday afternoons. On

<sup>1</sup> Opera, x. a, 15-44.

Monday, Wednesday, and Friday at an early hour there was a sermon to which the people were summoned by the sound of the great bell. All ordinary work was to cease till these services were over, and the district officers were charged to see that every one, even household servants, male and female, attended them. In connexion with these morning services the Council ordered two candles to be placed in St. Peter's that the people might have light. Baptism was to be dispensed and marriages were to be celebrated in face of the congregation. The Lord's Supper was to be celebrated four times in the year. Pastoral visitation was to be carried on assiduously and no sick person was to lie longer than three days without sending word to the minister.

The provision of services may seem to us excessive, but it should not be forgotten that the principles of evangelical religion were as yet practically unknown to most of the citizens, and therefore they were not likely to become so weary of addresses upon them as people of a later age might be; and, in Calvin's opinion, the sermon was the most important part of Divine worship, for a sermon is an exposition of the Word of God, and nothing was more valuable to a sinful man than knowledge of the truths which pertain to salvation.

The second order of officials is the teachers. Calvin distinguished the ministers from the teachers by saying that teachers have no concern with discipline or the administration of the Sacraments, nor with preaching. They are to teach all branches of knowledge, but especially the truths of Scripture. Their sphere of duty lies among the young, whether they be children attending the primary school or students at the university. Their qualifications are to include a knowledge of languages, of science, and of the Word of God. Candidates for the office are to be examined in presence of two representatives of the Council, and if found satisfactory they are to be admitted to the exercise of their functions by the ministers. They were thus subjected to both scholastic and doctrinal tests, and their work was carried on under the Church's supervision.

The third order of officials is the elders. It is in this connexion that Calvin's most important contribution to the development of Church government is found. But it is exactly in this connexion also that he had to fight his stiffest battles. His conception is explained in the Institutes in these terms (iv. 11, 1): "As no city or town can exist without a magistracy and a civil polity; so the Church of God is in need of a

spiritual polity, which, however, is entirely distinct from the civil polity ; and, so far from weakening it, highly conduces to its assistance and advancement. . . . For this end there were from the beginning judiciaries appointed in the Churches to take cognizance of manners, to pass censure on vices, and to preside over the use of the keys in excommunication. This order St. Paul designates in his first epistle to the Corinthians when he mentions ‘governments’ and to the Romans when he says, ‘He that ruleth let him do it with diligence.’”

Calvin, therefore, drew a firm line of distinction between the ruler of the State whose authority was confined to secular affairs and the ruler of the Church whose sphere of jurisdiction was spiritual, but he could not persuade the Council to recognize it. Indeed on this point he came into collision with some of his leading contemporaries, such as Zwingli and Bullinger, and he goes on to criticize their position as follows: “The opinion entertained by some persons that this distinction was only temporary while all civil magistrates were strangers to the power of Christianity is a mistake, for want of considering the difference between the civil and the spiritual power. The Church has not power to use the sword, to punish and coerce. It can inflict no fines or imprisonment such as is inflicted by the magistrates. Besides the object of the Church’s action is not that he who has transgressed may suffer against his will, but that he may profess his repentance by a voluntary submission to chastisement. . . . The magistrate will be satisfied though the transgressor shows no signs of repentance, and rather murmurs against the judgment. Will the Church stop here? Such persons cannot be admitted to the Lord’s Table without doing an injury to Christ and His holy institution, and reason requires that he who has offended the Church by an evil example should remove the offence he has caused by a solemn declaration of penitence.”

Armed with these ideas he drew up the section on the elders. But he could not get his ideas accepted in their entirety. For example, he could not get the election of elders referred to the action of the members of the Church, neither could he get them elected directly on account of their moral or spiritual fitness to hold office in the Church, and he had to accept a compromise that was unsatisfactory. The Council fixed the number at twelve and decided that they should be chosen as follows: two from the Little Council four from the Council of Sixty, and six from the Council of

Two Hundred. They were, therefore, to be civil functionaries in the first place and ecclesiastical officials in the second. Nominally they were a Court of the Church. Really they were a Committee of the Councils. This was made the more unmistakable by the decree that the president of the Consistory, as they were called when they met for ecclesiastical purposes, must be a magistrate. He was to carry his baton with him to the meetings rather than his sword to emphasize the distinction between the penalties inflicted by the Church and by the State, but it is difficult to see in what other respects the meetings differed from meetings of a purely secular character except in this, that the ministers were allowed to be present as ordinary members. No minister was ever allowed to preside. The fictions that pass for facts as to Calvin's place are baseless. He was never more than one of the rank and file. If his influence was dominant it was not on account of his official position, but on account of his vast learning, his unrivalled business capacity, his tireless energy, and his indomitable will.

The Consistory dealt with the conduct of the citizens and took a wide view of its functions. It made no pretence of inflicting corporal punishment. It confined itself to admonition, censure, and excommunication, and it handed hardened offenders to the civil power to be dealt with as their measure of criminality deserved. It was with great difficulty that Calvin secured an acknowledgment of the Church's right to pronounce excommunication. The Council strenuously insisted that the Consistory should do no more than make remonstrances. But Calvin refused to rest till he had got what he wanted. This was a vital point with him. He says in the Institutes (iv. 12, 4) : "When the Church excludes from its society all who are known to be guilty of fornication, theft, robbery, etc., it usurps no unreasonable authority. It only exercises the jurisdiction God has given it. The ends of its action are threefold : first, that those who live scandalous lives may not, to the dishonour of God, be numbered among Christians as if His holy Church were a conspiracy of wicked men ; second, that the good may not be contaminated by the wicked ; and third, that those who are dealt with may be brought to repentance." So he brought it about that the Consistory was empowered to deal with offenders by all spiritual processes up to and including excommunication, and after it had exhausted its powers it was authorized to hand over to the civil magistrate those whose contumacy put them beyond the reach of any churchly remedy.

This is a point at which he was misled by the habit and practice of his time, and at which he made one of his great mistakes. To call in the aid of the civil power to punish those for whom the discipline of the Church has no terrors is to open the door to persecution. Besides, God's truth is strong enough to vindicate itself.

The fourth order of officials is the deacons. Their duty was to visit the poor, the sick, the widows, and those who were lying in the hospitals. They were also to see that there was no beggary. They had no ecclesiastical functions. Calvin thought that the New Testament refers to two orders of deacons, those who administer alms and those who care for the sick and the poor, but the distinction does not appear in the *Ordonnances*.

This was the machinery by which he proposed to regenerate Geneva, or at least make it somewhat more like the New Jerusalem, and his intention in devising this machinery was to bring everything in the thought and life of the citizens into subjection to the Word of God. The Word of God, as it is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and not the tradition of the Fathers or the Canons of the Church, is to be the only rule of faith and life. The ministers are to expound the precepts in it. The Consistory is to enforce obedience to them. The Civil Court is to break down all opposition on the part of those who resist it. The Word reveals what God would have us believe and do for His glory and our own welfare. It is the one infallible authority to which all must bow. What it condemns is to be destroyed. What it commends is to be protected and fostered. It is sometimes said that Calvin set up a theocracy in Geneva. If we may coin a word we might say with greater accuracy he set up a bibliocracy—the rule of a book.

The Consistory met for the first time on 6 December, 1541, and the first question the members raised was,<sup>1</sup> What were they to get as wages. It did not strike them that they were meant to give their services gratis. It was finally agreed that out of the moneys received by the city for fines each member should receive two sous for each day of attendance. Thereafter the Court settled down to work. Two lines of action were decided on. The lingering adhesion of the people to the Romanist faith and practice was to be ended, and the standard of conduct was to be raised. Great energy was therefore shown in driving the people to public worship. The watchmen who had been previously appointed to patrol the streets and see

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 289.

that idlers were arrested were now authorized to enter private houses during the hours of public worship and hale away to prison those whom they found playing truant. Strangers were informed that if they did not appear at church after being warned thrice they would be expelled from the city. The country villages were similarly dealt with. Calvin himself visited some of them with an officer and exhorted the people to go to church.

It is amusing to read the reasons given for non-attendance. One says<sup>1</sup> he has to stay at home with a child of three years who is too young to understand a sermon. Another<sup>2</sup> is too deaf to hear what the preacher is saying. Another<sup>3</sup> has to work on Sunday because his father is ill. Another has to stay and look after the house and the cattle. Another<sup>4</sup> makes excuse for his wife because she is nursing a baby.

The Consistory by no means confined its attention to those who were slack in their attendance at church.<sup>5</sup> It looked after their behaviour when they were there. Three men who had been laughing during the sermon<sup>6</sup>—one of them behind the shelter of his cap—were sent to prison. Others who criticized the sermon and<sup>7</sup> said that the preachers of former days were better than those who filled the pulpits now were sharply advised not to absent themselves on that account.

Others were dealt with<sup>8</sup> for playing cards on Sunday evenings,<sup>9</sup> for spending their time in taverns,<sup>10</sup> for cursing and swearing,<sup>11</sup> for attempting to commit suicide,<sup>12</sup> for possessing a copy of the "Golden Legend,"<sup>13</sup> for kneeling on a husband's grave and saying *requiescat in pace*, for using money to get Masses sung,<sup>14</sup> for fornication,<sup>15</sup> for betrothing a daughter to a Papist,<sup>16</sup> for getting a fortune told by a fortune teller,<sup>17</sup> for eating fish on Good Friday,<sup>18</sup> for making a chalice and other instruments of idolatry,<sup>19</sup> for singing obscene songs,<sup>20</sup> for shaving the tonsure on a priest's head,<sup>21</sup> for saying it was better to have a quartan fever than to let the ministers have charge of one's soul,<sup>22</sup> for saying there is neither devil nor hell,<sup>23</sup> and that if there is election and reprobation there is no condemnation for guilt,<sup>24</sup> for saying there are people who get themselves adored, and Calvin is one of them,<sup>25</sup> for arranging a marriage between a woman of seventy and a man of twenty-five,<sup>26</sup> for

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 292.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 303.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 304.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 294.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 677-8.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 700.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 305.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 306.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 754.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 655.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 322.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 653.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 422.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 389.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 406.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 428.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 464.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 664.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 538.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 664.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 514.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 544.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* 545.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* 752.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 657.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 555.

saying that if all who did not believe in Christ would be damned there would be lots of room in Paradise, and for arguing that men should not be put to death for religious opinions. These instances taken from an extended period give a fair idea of the matters which engaged the attention of the Consistory during the first years of its operations.

Some of the scenes were distinctly amusing. A boy was brought up by his guardian for persistent laziness and disobedience. The little rascal declared he would not go to school, he would sooner throw himself into the Rhone or jump out of the window. In the presence of the Consistory he took a milder tone, and said he would go if he was wanted. The Consistory decreed that he should go forthwith and that the rector, M. Enoch, should flog him soundly. Certain women came before the Court, complaining that their husbands beat them. Being asked why they were guilty of such violence, the husbands answered: "Because of their disobedience". The women declared they were not so bad as they were said to be and they went into particulars about the beatings. "They take switches and steep them in vinegar and salt, and M. Petit has some of these in his chest at present." The Consistory rebuked the husbands sharply.

Constant investigation was made into the theological opinions of the citizens. Jacques Simon,<sup>1</sup> asked concerning his faith, replied by reciting the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. He admitted that, being in danger from brigands, he thought it advantageous to pray to God and the Virgin, but he disapproved of the Mass. Claude Tappugnier,<sup>2</sup> an iron worker, being asked whether he expects to be saved by good works, replied that he expected to be saved by the mercy of God and by good works. He believes that God is pleased with good works. He thinks it a good thing to pray for the dead and to the Virgin for she has power to intercede for us. Jeanne Petremann<sup>3</sup> was asked what her belief was. She replied she believed as the Church believed and recited her Paternoster in Latin. She was remanded for a few days and on her next appearance Calvin asked her of what faith she was toward God. She replied she believed there was one God, but the ministers should know all about that better than she, for she was not a priest in petticoats (*elle n'est clergesse*). The Consistory debarred her from Church privileges till God had touched her heart.

Aymon Perronet,<sup>4</sup> a day labourer, was questioned on the subject of certain medicines and incantations he was said to

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxii. 296.

<sup>2</sup> Roget, II. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Opera, xxii. 293.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 295.

have used. He replied the medicine was a simple plaster of boiled peas and butter which he had made for a rupture, and the incantation was the mere repetition of the formula: in the name of the Father and the Son. Jana,<sup>1</sup> wife of Tissier the miller, was asked if she had given her husband a potion to cure his fever. She replied she had not. All she did was to enclose a spider in two nut-shells, and hang it round his neck and he was better in nine days.

On 30 August, 1542, the district officers were instructed to ascertain the names of all who were at variance with each other, so that they might be reconciled before the approaching celebration of the Lord's Supper. Roget describes a scene that took place in this connexion.<sup>2</sup> The Consistory caused to appear before it in the Church of the Madelaine, Pierre Tissot, treasurer of the republic, his wife, Louise, and his mother, Françoise. But when Tissot saluted his mother she<sup>3</sup> retorted: "Keep your good days to yourself, and may the devil stuff them down your throat". Being asked the reason for so strange a welcome she said Tissot had not paid her her allowance, that he had sent her bad wine which she could not drink and that in her last illness her daughter-in-law had not brought her any soup. Tissot replied that her allowance had been paid regularly, that he had paid for the services of an apothecary during his mother's illness and that the wine he sent was of good quality but she had soured it by putting it into dirty vessels. His wife also asserted that she had taken soup, as the neighbours could testify, but it had been refused and she had got nothing for it but curses. The Consistory ordered all parties to live at peace. Whereupon Tissot promised to pay more attention to his mother and asked her pardon, but it was only after the Consistory had threatened to bring her up for a second time and to punish her that the mother agreed to forgive her son and daughter-in-law.

Another scene shows that the Consistory was no respecter of persons. It asked Tivent Matthé,<sup>4</sup> silk weaver, why he did not go to church on Sundays. He replied that he did go on Sundays, but he did not go on other days for he had to get a living for his twins and for two other children that he had. Being asked whether he did not say it was right in him to play games since ministers played dice,<sup>5</sup> he answered that he had not played games for five weeks, and what he said was that a preacher of Orleans had played for a stake of five sous with M. de St. Victor (Bonnivard) in the house of Jean Hugonier,

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxii. 333.

<sup>2</sup> Roget, "Histoire," II. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Opera, xxii. 323.

<sup>4</sup> Roget, "Histoire," II. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Opera, xxii. 327.

but he had not mentioned any Genevan minister or preacher, for if he knew that a Genevan preacher was a player he would report it, even though it should be M. Calvin himself. Two days later Bonnivard had to appear with Hugonier and his wife. Bonnivard admitted he played at draughts and even at dice, and said further that he did not know dice were prohibited, and at any rate he had never played with a preacher. Explanations by Madame Hugonier brought it out that the so-called preacher was Clement Marot, to whom Calvin had been indebted for a translation of some of the Psalms. One evening while waiting till supper was made ready, Bonnivard and he had played at dice for a quart of wine.

Bonnivard had to make frequent appearances before the Consistory. He was an ardent patriot, but he was restless, he had neither order nor economy, he did not know how to manage his affairs, and he often fell into debt. He found much greater pleasure in singing a song with some boon companions in a tavern than in going to St. Peter's and listening to doctrinal sermons, and he was easily enticed to run after an elusive petticoat. The Council paid his debts more than once and the Consistory plied him with good advice, but he could not keep himself out of trouble. He was married three times, and his amatory adventures gave Calvin and Geneva much cause for mirth. In<sup>1</sup> 1562 he compromised himself seriously with a nun named Catherine Courtaronne, and the Consistory resolved that he should be imprisoned on bread and water. As that was out of the question on account of his age, he had to get himself carried to the service in the Madelaine every Sunday and Wednesday, and the girl's rights were reserved. She secured them all herself by marrying Bonnivard, as his fourth wife, on 21 September. Bonnivard had to make other appearances after that, however. The following year<sup>2</sup> he had to explain why he was not more regularly at church. The year after<sup>3</sup> that he had to answer for cursing and swearing. His final appearance was for composing or singing a scurrilous song directed against those whose rebukes made life a burden to him. The sentence which followed this offence was excommunication. But he loved Geneva and Geneva loved him. He died in 1570, leaving his house to the city.

The need for the censorship exercised by the Consistory is undeniable. Audin, who invariably paints the character of Calvin's opponents in the brightest colours possible and emphasizes all he can find to Calvin's discredit, says:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 786.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 799.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 814.

<sup>4</sup> II. 11, 12.

"Although the revolution had taken place the national characteristics remained the same. One cannot slough one's nature as one can one's faith. In adopting the creed of Farel the Genevese did not get rid of their personality. Before as after the exile of Calvin they continued to live their habitual life, calm and simple during the hours of labour, talkative in the evening in the taverns, the usual haunts of the citizens. This love of the tavern is especially noticeable in the Libertines. The Libertine is the national character in its purest expression—Genevese from sunrise to sunset, that is to say, laborious and discreet; French from sunset to sunrise, that is, talkative and scurrilous, loving to jest at the better folk, bankers, nobles, ministers and, above all, at the wives of ministers."

The truth is that much darker colours must be used if justice is to be done to historical truth. Under the rule of Rome the city reeked with immorality, and the clergy, who were vowed to chastity, were among the most notorious offenders. Froment, chap. xxxvii., goes into details of the establishments maintained by the bishop which scarcely bear repetition. Jeanne de Jussie, whose pages are filled with lamentation over the downfall of the old order and with vituperation of Farel in particular and of the Reformers generally, corroborates him, saying:<sup>1</sup> "It is quite true that the Prelates and Churchmen of this period did not keep their vows, but spent the wealth of the Church in dissolute enjoyment, keeping women in lubricity and adultery, so that practically all the people were infected with this abominable sin; and sins of the world abound in all ranks of society to such an extent that they roused the Divine anger, and caused God to inflict punishment which came on us by the instrumentality of these false and disloyal satellites of the devil disguised in the form of men". The impartial registers of the Council tell the same tale. On 7 May, 1510, instructions were given to investigate what had taken place in the house of the Cordeliers in the Chapel of St. Yvon on the eve of his feast day, or on the feast day itself, and if disorderly conduct were discovered, it was agreed that the evening meeting should be abolished. On 10 May, 1527, the inhabitants of St. Leger complained of the loose women who were in their quarter and of the monks who visited them in great numbers. They were instructed to lodge information with the syndics or the chief of the police if they saw any of these monks by night, and were assured that arrest would follow.

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 35.

It thus becomes evident that, although the bishop and the clergy and the monks were expelled, their influence was pernicious while they resided in the city and when they went out they left much moral filth behind them. Energetic action in clearing it all away was both imperative and praiseworthy.

In one respect Calvin and those who were associated with him went beyond the point at which they were supported by public opinion. This was when an effort was made to sweep away the liquor shops of the city and to stamp out the drunkenness which they created. The attempt was made by the Council, but Calvin and the ministers were at the back of it. There were in the city a vast number of taverns of different degrees of respectability. Galiffe says that in the Madelaine quarter there was one tavern for every three houses. All over the city the taverns were much resorted to. In connexion with many of them there were dancing saloons and houses of ill-fame, and the merriment with which the dancing began often became a furious revelry, a Bacchanalian orgy in which all sense of decency was lost.

Therefore on 29 April, 1546, the Council decreed<sup>1</sup> that no citizen or any other person should go to the taverns any more, and that no tavern keeper should serve anyone under a penalty of 10 sous for each offence. Further, in place of the taverns which were thus closed, five houses called abbayes were to be opened under the charge of respectable persons, and in these bread and wine would be sold at cost price. The regulations for the abbayes were curious. They were finally adopted on 28 May, and they<sup>2</sup> provide that no swearing shall be allowed, no back-biting or slander, no dancing or dissolute company, no obscene songs or card-playing, except quietly and for no longer than one hour. If psalms or hymns are sung they are to be sung reverently. There must always be a Bible in the French language displayed in a prominent and accessible place, and if anyone desires to speak on religious subjects he is to be encouraged to do so for the edification of the company. The keeper of the abbaye is not to allow anyone to enter the house who is evidently forming the habit of soaking himself with liquor. He is to see that every one without exception offers prayer for a blessing on food and drink before partaking of it, and that he returns thanks afterwards. He must not allow anyone to sleep on the premises and he must close at nine o'clock. Five of these abbayes were opened and a further

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 380.

<sup>2</sup> Roget, "Histoire," II. 233.

regulation shows that they were intended to be used as clubs. Customers of one abbaye were forbidden to gad about to others, and each abbaye keeper was forbidden to serve anyone outside the circle of his regular customers unless a regular customer introduced him.

It was too much to expect that a measure so sudden and so drastic would be a success. The tavern keepers were instantly up in arms against it. The people simply refused to obey it, and it was evidently impossible to punish or coerce them all. Within three months it was evident that the abbayes were doomed. The taverns were re-opened, but people of respectable station were commanded to go for their liquor to the better class of inns and hotels.

This was perhaps the only great mistake in tactics which the Reformers made. As a rule, the work of the Consistory consisted in dealing with individuals and was commonplace. Nothing great came before it. The heresy hunts with which the name of Calvin is associated came before other tribunals, and the burden of their tragic issues lies on other shoulders. But it is difficult to over-estimate the influence which the machinery of the *Ordonnances* exerted in making Geneva what it speedily became, one of the cleanest cities in Europe.

## IX

### FIGHTINGS AND FEARS

As the period on which we are now entering is one of peculiar interest, it is desirable to remember that although Calvin was an important person in Geneva he was not yet recognized as a citizen. It was not till many years had passed after his return that he was recognized as a citizen. It follows that he held no civil office, though he was continually consulted on all manner of civil affairs. He was a stranger whose presence was welcomed, but whose influence depended entirely on his personality. Given sufficient time it was certain that he would reign in Geneva as its uncrowned king, but a series of long and deadly conflicts lay between him and his throne.

While he was giving the finishing touches to the Ordinances and getting them passed through the Councils his legal training was made use of for the benefit of the city. The expulsion of the bishops and the vice-dominus had left the regulation of the city's life in confusion, and it was resolved to revise the laws and codify them. The work was first<sup>1</sup> entrusted to a commission of seven laymen. Six weeks<sup>2</sup> later Calvin was added to their number, but the commission went to pieces before long on the death of one of the members. In May, 1542,<sup>3</sup> a new commission was appointed, consisting of Calvin, Fabri, and Roset; but the members of it had so much other work on their hands that they could make no progress. In September,<sup>4</sup> therefore, the Council resolved that Calvin should be released from the duty of preaching on Sundays that he might give his whole strength to this business, and in consideration of his services a barrel of old wine was presented to him. In a fortnight's time he had his draft ready for revision.<sup>5</sup> A committee of the Councils, consisting of fifteen members, was appointed to take the draft in hand, and three months later, on their report, his scheme was adopted by a vote of all the Councils. It dealt with the election and duties

<sup>1</sup> Roget, "Histoire," II. 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 295.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 302.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, XXI. 287.

<sup>5</sup> Roget, II. 63.

of such officials as the syndics, the treasurer, the secretary, and herald of the Council, the captain-general of police, the master of the mint, the law officers, the fire brigade, and others needless to refer to.

About the same time Calvin was asked to act as mediator in a dispute between Geneva and Berne. It was uncertain which of the two cities had the rights of a superior over the village of Ternier, and the question was under discussion by a conference at Basel. While the discussion was going on a party of Bernese entered Ternier with banners flying and trumpets sounding, and their action was construed by Geneva to mean that whatever the decision of the conference might be Berne meant to keep hold of Ternier. The decision gave Geneva less than it hoped for, and disappointment acting on annoyance roused a general feeling of exasperation. A committee, of which Calvin was made a member, was appointed to draw up a memorial setting forth the points on which Geneva believed less than justice had been done to it. In the committee Calvin maintained that Geneva had got all it had a right to, but he was not listened to, and a deputation was sent to Basel to get the matter reopened. The deputation failed, and by the time they came back to Geneva Calvin's arguments had had so much influence with the Little Council that they agreed to accept the decision of Basel as final. Unfortunately there was an explosion in the Council of Two Hundred which seriously complicated matters. Farel was brought along from Neuchâtel to preach harmony and peace, and at length as the result of patience, skill, and discretion, the relations of the two cities were established on a satisfactory basis. Calvin tells the story in a letter to Viret, September, 1542, in which he declares that "the whole affair was hatched in the workshop of Macrin, who wants to keep the two cities in a state of perpetual dissension".

It soon began to appear that the forces entering the field against Calvin might be arrayed under two banners. There were the original Genevans, members of old families which had played a noble part in the struggle for the city's independence, many of them of highly respectable character, and all of them intensely patriotic. They resented Calvin's presence among them because he was a foreigner, and they resented also the presence of the foreigners who followed him. Many of these were his personal friends, and out of their ranks he got several ministers. In 1542 he got Philippe de l'Eglise, Pierre Blanchet, Matthieu Meneston, and Louis Troupereau. In 1543 he got Abel Poupin, and in 1544 he got Jean Ferron. These

and others who were attracted to Geneva from Strassburg and elsewhere formed a bodyguard round Calvin and supported him as a rule through thick and thin. On this account they were distasteful to the native-born Genevans, and as they climbed to the seats of power an antipathy blazed out against them whose embers are smouldering to this day.

There were also those who found to their disgust that the new religion which they had adopted involved a stern censorship of morals. In so far as their opposition had a theological nucleus it was furnished by the tenets of the "Spirituels". In 1545 Calvin wrote<sup>1</sup> a tract against them in which he traces their origin to an ex-priest named Pocquet who had spent some time in Geneva. He taught that the Bible has no higher inspiration or authority than any other book, that there is only one spirit in the universe and that all that takes place is the outcome of the activity of this spirit and has the same moral character. All is equally divine, and the distinctions between truth and error, right and wrong, sin and holiness, are illusions which must disappear. Spirit cannot be contaminated by matter, and therefore there is no reason for abstaining from carnal pleasures. It is possible to indulge the appetites of the body without endangering the welfare of the soul. Calvin revolted against the Spirituels as if they were what he calls them "the very spawn of hell". When he discovered that Margaret of Navarre had thrown the shield of her favour over them in Nerac, and that she was offended by the severity with which he had denounced them, he<sup>2</sup> wrote her in April, 1545, saying that it was his knowledge of their evil influence which moved him. "I see the destruction they are causing, what a fire they are kindling, what contagion they spread. Since therefore our Lord has called me to the position I now occupy, my conscience constrains me to resist them to the uttermost. A dog will bark if he sees his master attacked, and I should be a cowardly wretch if I could see God's truth assailed and stood by silent."

Round the Spirituels there gathered all the lewd fellows of the baser sort, and some of high social station were among them. They received the title of the Libertines. The struggle against them was long and sore, and on several occasions Calvin believed it would issue in his total defeat. He wrote to Farel,<sup>3</sup> on 14 December, 1547: "Affairs are in such a state that I despair of being able to retain the Church any longer, at least by my own endeavours". Three days later he wrote to Viret:<sup>4</sup> "My power is broken unless God stretch forth His hands".

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, vii. 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xii. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 629.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 633.

Calvin's difficulties with his acknowledged antagonists were to some extent increased by the character of the ministers who were his natural allies and on whose support he had to depend. When the plague broke out in April, 1543, the Council took steps to isolate those affected and applied to the ministers to appoint one of their number as chaplain.<sup>1</sup> Sebastian Castellio, headmaster in the school at Rive and minister of Vandœuvres, volunteered, but for some reason now undiscoverable, his services were not accepted. On the same day on which the Council received his offer a report was repeated in the ears of the members that the ministers of the city had said they would rather go to the devil than go to the hospital, whereupon the Council intimated that if the report was found to be true the ministers would be dismissed from office. On 7 May<sup>2</sup> one of their number named Blanchet saved the situation by stating that he would attend to the sufferers, whereupon the Council accepted his offer and gave him an addition of 10 florins per month to his salary. On 1 June he died, a martyr to duty.

The Council met immediately and commanded the ministers to choose one of their number to succeed him,<sup>3</sup> instructing them not to choose Calvin as his work in other directions was of great value to the State. The ministers were most reluctant to move, and reported to the Council that they could not take the risk, but there was a Frenchman who was willing to do so. The Council gave them three days to repent of their pusillanimity. They appeared on the 5th and confessed,<sup>4</sup> that although they recognized it was a duty to minister to the sick and suffering, God had not given them on this occasion the necessary courage and constancy. At the same time one of their number, Geneston, said that while he would not volunteer as he felt no call to do such a thing, he would act as chaplain if he were chosen by lot. The Council waived his offer aside and appointed Moreau.

Calvin himself would have gone if he had been allowed. He had no fear of the plague. He wrote to Viret: "If anything happens to Peter (Blanchet) I fear I must take the risk upon myself, inasmuch as we are debtors to one another, for we must not be wanting to those, who more than any others, stand in need of our ministry. I do not see that any pretext will avail us, if through fear of infection, we are found lacking in the discharge of our duty where there is urgent need of our assistance."

Several years before he had personally attended one of

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 312.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 313.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 314.

Farel's nephews when he died of plague in Basel in 1538. Writing on 20 August<sup>1</sup> he says to his old friend: "Last Sabbath day your nephew was seized with plague. . . . I went to him as soon as my health allowed, and when our friend Du Taillis saw that I was not afraid he insisted on sharing the danger with me. We were with the patient a long time yesterday, and as signs of approaching death were evident I imparted spiritual rather than bodily comfort. He wandered a little in his mind, yet had so much consciousness of his position as to call me back to his chamber that I might pray with him. This morning about five o'clock he departed to be with the Lord. Of his companion who is afflicted with the same malady we cannot yet write anything certain. I expect to see him again to-day."

In connexion with this outbreak the ignorance of the time is manifest. In place of looking for the cause of the disorder in the filth that was festering both in private and in the public streets, the people looked for poisoners and of course found them. On the charge of spreading infection, of practising witchcraft, and of selling themselves body and soul to the devil, severe sentences were passed on those who had the misfortune to be brought before the magistrates. In a letter to Myconius,<sup>2</sup> 27 March, 1545, Calvin says: "The Lord is trying us sorely in this quarter. A conspiracy of men and women has been discovered, who for the space of three years have spread the plague through the city, by what means I know not. Fifteen women have been burnt. Some men have been punished even more severely. Some have committed suicide in prison. Twenty-five are still in custody. Notwithstanding, the conspirators do not cease to smear the locks of the doors with their poisonous ointment." The sentence of death ran to the effect<sup>3</sup> that after having had their hands cut off in the Place Molard, the bodies of the condemned were to be burnt alive in the Plain Palais. Calvin approached the Council as intercessor on their behalf,<sup>4</sup> begging that their sufferings should be as brief as possible. The executioner was, therefore, charged to do his work swiftly.

Shortly before this Calvin had to answer the first of the attacks on the doctrine with which his name is usually associated. It was delivered by an eloquent and learned Dutchman, named Albert Pighius. Pighius was born at Campen in Ober Yssel, and was educated at Louvain and Cologne. When his master went to Rome to become Pope

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, v. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, XII. 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* XXI. 349.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 348.

Adrian VI, Pighius followed him. After Adrian's death he found favour with Clement VII and Paul III, and was employed on important missions. He was one of the legates to Ratisbon. He died as Canon of St. John's, Utrecht, in 1542, soon after he published his book against Calvin.

His standpoint is semi-Pelagian and he did not receive the whole-hearted support of the Church he belonged to. His book was even placed on the Index, but it is a forcible presentation of most of the objections which can be made to the doctrine he combated. He indicated general opposition to Calvin's doctrine of predestination on the ground that it interfered with human freedom, but the point he specially controverted was Calvin's doctrine of the will. Calvin, like Luther, upheld the slavery of the will, by which they meant its irresistible propensity to choose evil and its inability to choose good. In setting forth his views, Pighius had the audacity to quote without acknowledgment whole pages from the *Institutes*, a piece of plagiarism which Calvin took good care to expose and denounce.

His line of argument is that the doctrine of the slavery of the will is derived from the Manichæans. It is opposed to common sense and it entails pernicious consequences. It paralyses human effort. It makes the punishment of crime an injustice. It destroys the influence of hope and fear. It reduces men to the level of brute beasts, machines governed by an external power to ends they cannot appreciate. It makes God the author of evil. It turns His justice into cruelty and His wisdom into folly. It makes the demand for repentance an absurdity; for if the will is bound to evil, return to the practice of holiness is impossible.

Calvin's reply appeared in January, 1543, with a preface to Melanchthon. In his acknowledgment of the compliment Melanchthon more than hinted that he did not see eye to eye with his friend in this matter, and said he wished Calvin had applied his eloquence and learning to the exposition of the practical questions that were engaging men's minds rather than to such deep mysteries.

The reply runs along these lines. It is not true to say that the doctrine of the servitude of the will is derived from ancient heretics. They held that human nature is evil essentially from the moment of its creation, whereas Calvin held that the will was in bondage to evil only from the time of the Fall. It is equally untrue to say that the freedom of the will was maintained by the Fathers. Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hilary, and others maintain that although the will was free in

the original state of human innocence it lost its freedom at the date of the Fall and has never recovered it. Augustine notoriously held the doctrine of the present servitude of the will. So also did St. Paul, who says that men are now servants of sin and their members are instruments of unrighteousness. Without compulsion from without, the will, at the present time in all men, by its own self-determining impulse, chooses evil. Man is therefore justly liable to the Divine displeasure. He is unable to do anything that even contributes to his salvation. He cannot prepare himself to receive the grace of God, and the Holy Spirit must recreate him wholly apart from all assistance or merit on his side. He has no power to resist the Spirit's work either at the beginning or at any subsequent point in its course. Still less can he defeat it. The process of regeneration is carried on to perfection. Wherever, as in repentance, the action of the will is needed in connexion with salvation, all the grace that is needed to overcome the bondage of corruption is placed at the sinner's disposal. He is made willing to do good.

In closing his reply Calvin says that Pighius has divided his book into ten sections, the first six dealing with the freedom of the will and the remaining four dealing with predestination and the providence of God. As these are quite distinct, he has confined his attention to the first named, leaving the latter two questions to be dealt with at some future time. Pighius died before he had an opportunity of carrying out his intention, and Calvin laid the matter aside having no desire as he said to "insult a dead dog".

Another dispute was the cause of considerable excitement. It arose in connexion with Castellio, minister of Vandœuvres. In 1544 he applied to be admitted into the ranks of the city ministers, and the Little Council was inclined to grant the application. But Calvin strenuously opposed it, and the application was refused. At the same time Calvin urged<sup>1</sup> that Castellio should have an increase of salary. The ground of Calvin's objection was that Castellio denied the inspiration of the Song of Solomon,<sup>2</sup> holding it to be a lascivious production in which Solomon described his wanton love. Further, he refused to accept the usual interpretation of the phrase in the Apostles' Creed, "He descended into hell," holding it not to signify the actual descent of the Son of God into the place of torment, but that he endured the pains of hell on the cross. Castellio was greatly disappointed at the decision of the Council, and became morbid on the subject. At a meeting of the

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 328.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 329.

Venerable Company<sup>1</sup> held on 30 May, 1544, when the passage under discussion was 2 Corinthians vi. 4, "in all things approving ourselves as ministers of God," he made a bitter attack on the ministers of Geneva. "Paul was a servant of Christ. They serve themselves. He was patient, they are impatient. He spent nights in building up the Church. They spent nights in play. He was imprisoned. They incarcerate anyone who speaks against them. He suffered for others. They persecute the innocent."

Calvin listened in silence, but promptly lodged a complaint with the Council, which summoned Castellio to explain or justify his language. After a prolonged hearing he was found to have uttered slander,<sup>2</sup> and was dismissed from his charge and banished from Geneva. He betook himself to Basel where he lived for several years, most of them in great poverty, cherishing an intense animosity against Calvin and all his works.

The rupture was inevitable. Calvin and Castellio stood for opposite principles. Calvin bowed to authority. Castellio accepted nothing but what justified itself at the bar of his reason. Calvin's whole system was based on the conception that the Scriptures are the inspired Word of God, that they are infallible, and ought to be believed and obeyed unquestioningly. Castellio required proof of the alleged infallibility and inspiration. Calvin perceived that the foundations of his system were in danger if Castellio's opinion found general acceptance. Castellio was raising questions about the Song of Solomon, another man might raise them about some other book. Where would the process stop, and what part of Scripture would be safe? Was every man to have liberty to pick and choose among the books of Scripture as he thought fit? Where then would be the authority by which all faith and conduct must be tried? On Castellio's principles every one might think and act as he liked, defending himself by saying that his thinking and acting were approved by his own conscience. The result would be theological and moral anarchy. Calvin therefore failed to grasp the significance of his own principle that truth is self-evidencing, and that the Spirit of God conveys the truths of salvation with absolute certainty to the believer's mind. He rested the authority of truth on the fact that the truth is found in the pages of a certain book, and he allowed no questions about the book.

The elections of 1545 were drawing on and Calvin was anxious as to their issue. He exhorted the Two Hundred,

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 336.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 340.

and engaged in prayer before the selection of the candidates, in the hope that those chosen would be as favourable to his policy as their predecessors in office had been. In a letter to Viret, on 12 February, he made some references to them. The letter was stolen by an unfaithful servant, and at a later date was used as a weapon against him. He says:<sup>1</sup> "The syndics have been chosen : Ami Curtet, Dominic Arlot, Jacques de Tortonne, Louis Bernard, Pierre Verne, and two others have been induced to enter the Senate. They give good assurances concerning themselves. I know not however what we may hope, for under pretext that Christ reigns they wish to reign without Christ." It was this last clause that gave rise to trouble.<sup>2</sup> But the trouble lay in the future.

Immediately after the elections Zeraphin Trolliet<sup>3</sup> appeared in Geneva. He was a native of the city, he had been reared as a Romanist and had lived as a monk in Burgundy, but, having come to a knowledge of the truth, he returned to Switzerland and asked admission to the Genevan ministry. Calvin knew that his life as a monk had been disreputable and<sup>4</sup> protested vigorously against a favourable answer to his request, and after a time the Council told Trolliet it could not receive him. Trolliet henceforward became one of Calvin's enemies.

While the case of Trolliet was on hand,<sup>5</sup> Moreau was charged with immoral conduct at the hospital. The case was terminated with a verdict equivalent to not proven, but the Council resolved to remove him from the hospital and appointed him to take charge of the congregation at Drallien. He refused to go on the ground that his wife was in bad health and he himself was not fit for the work that would be expected of him. The Council, therefore, dismissed him from its service. Soon afterwards he was offered an appointment under Berne, and applied for a certificate that he was a minister of good standing in Geneva, as he needed this before he could take up his new duties. The certificate was refused. In the following year, 1546, Moreau was again brought before the Council as one of four who had behaved indecently in the public baths and, no defence being possible, he was deposed.

This left the ministry of the city entirely in the hands of Frenchmen. The popular feeling may be gauged by the remark of a woman that there were plenty of people in the country without bringing Frenchmen into it; and by that of another who said Geneva had gained nothing by their

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, XII. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 354.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* XXI. 436-41.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 350.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 349.

introduction; and by that of a third who complained they had as little liberty now as formerly. Under the rule of the priests they had all to go to Mass. Under the ministers they had to go to sermon.

The year 1546 was full of deadly strife, and it is probable that the torments of dyspepsia by day and the misery of sleeplessness by night were not only aggravated by it but reacted on his temper, pushing him to greater extremes of harshness than were justifiable. The strife involved the principal families in the city, and it did not end for a long time. In January a manufacturer of playing-cards, whose business had suffered from Calvin's censorship, held a dinner-party at which he drank more than was good for him. His name was Pierre Ameaux. He and his wife were Libertines,<sup>1</sup> and his wife interpreted the principles of the party as allowing her to live in promiscuous adultery. Her husband had already obtained separation from her and the Council had sentenced her to imprisonment. Ameaux fretted against the restrictions he had to submit to, and he began to criticize Calvin who had introduced them. "You take that man too seriously," he said. "You set him above all the doctors and apostles who ever lived, and he is not such a great man after all, for among his fine sentences you will find some extravagant and foolish ones."<sup>2</sup> Then he went on to denounce Calvin as a Picard who preached false doctrine, and he declared that if people were not careful the French would soon be masters of the town. Henri de la Mar, who was one of the company, chimed in to the effect that Calvin was a quick-tempered, ill-natured, and vindictive man who never forgave anyone he had a grudge against. The party was prolonged far into the night, and next morning Ameaux found himself a prisoner at the bar of the Council. At first he denied that he had used the language attributed to him, then he admitted it and begged to be let off on the ground that the wine had taken away his wits.

The Council was divided as to his punishment. Some would have been content to make him withdraw his slanderous words. Others declared that nothing but a public humiliation would meet the case. The question was referred to the Two Hundred.<sup>3</sup> On 1 March it decided that Ameaux should be called before it and should ask pardon on his knees both from Calvin and from God.

Calvin would have been well advised if he had left the matter at this point. But he did not. All his life he took

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, II. 499.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, xxi. 368.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 370.

himself and his opinions too seriously. So he appeared before the Council<sup>1</sup> and asserted with great vehemence that to accuse him of preaching false doctrine was to defame the teaching of Scripture and blaspheme the name of God, and he said he would never enter the pulpit again unless Ameaux were first compelled to make the *amende honorable* at the Hôtel de Ville, at the Molard, and at St. Gervais. The ministers all supported him. The Two Hundred, over-powered by the pressure brought to bear, cancelled the sentence it had just pronounced and remitted the case back to the Little Council, which<sup>2</sup> resolved on 8 April that, for the offence of speaking wickedly against God, the Government, and Calvin, Ameaux should make a tour of the city clad in his shirt, with his head bare, and carrying a torch in his hand, and should finish up before the bar of the Council, where he was to go down on his knees and beg for mercy. At the three places specified he was also to take a solemn oath that henceforth he would honour and revere the Word of God, the magistrates of the city, and the ministers of the Church.

The severity of the sentence roused the populace to exasperation, but on the appointed day the wine-shops were closed, a gallows was erected on the Place St. Gervais, and the hangman intimated that anyone making a disturbance would be strung up to it. The result was silence, in which Ameaux went through his humiliating part. While the case of Ameaux was under consideration the minister, Henri de la Mar, was dealt with, and was dismissed from office along with two other preachers who had indicated their sympathy with Ameaux.

The exasperation which was so forcibly silenced was soon afterwards increased by an attack on the theatre. Morality plays were still in favour in Geneva, and in April, 1546, the Council granted permission to perform one. In May a similar play on the Acts of the Apostles, written by Abel Poupin, was laid before the Council and permission was asked for its production. The Council<sup>3</sup> resolved to communicate "the story to M. Calvin, and if he finds it good and to edification it is to be performed". Calvin consulted his colleagues. He saw no objection to the play on any score. They objected to it on the score of principle. In his report he stated that he saw no reason why the play should be prohibited, but the majority of his colleagues disagreed with him. At the same time he said that those who spent money

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 372.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 377.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 381.

on the theatre spent little or nothing on charity. The Council<sup>1</sup> ordered the play to go on, the representation to take place on 4 July and the actors to have 30 crowns towards their expenses.

When Michael Cop heard of this his zeal outran his discretion, and on the eve of the production of the piece he mounted the pulpit of St. Peter's and attacked the actors, declaring that the women were shameless creatures whose dress and behaviour were meant to excite impure passion among the spectators. So vehement was his invective that the congregation made for Calvin with shouts and menaces as if he were responsible for Cop's utterances. In a letter to Farel, written on 4 July, in which he tells the story, Calvin says:<sup>2</sup> "Cop's extravagance was the more displeasing because I could by no means approve of what he said. He maintained his statements to be true. I denied it." In the evening of the same day, however, he pled Cop's cause before the Council with such skill that all disturbance was quieted. The play was duly performed and Viret was one of the spectators.

If the attack on the theatre irritated the more frivolous section of the citizens an ill-advised interference with the rights of parents later in the year roused the indignation of the seriously minded. It was the custom in Geneva for parents to give names to their children without thinking of what the name signified, and in addition to what may be called fancy names others were employed which had objectionable associations. The ministers thought the time had come to make a stand against them. They soon had an opportunity. Ami Chappuin brought his child for baptism and desired to name it Claude. But Claude was the name of an "idol,"<sup>3</sup> as the Registers of the Council term it, once revered in Genevan territory, and the officiating minister refused to give it, suggesting Abraham as a substitute. The father said he would rather let his child go unbaptized than call it Abraham. The result was an appeal to the Council, which decided that parents should consult the ministers before fixing their children's names. Later on there was a similar disturbance over the names Aimé and Martin. The Council ordered<sup>4</sup> Calvin to submit a list of objectionable names, and this was passed on 22 November, 1546. The following are its contents:<sup>5</sup> First, names of idols, such as Claude, Suaire, Mama. Then names of kings, and names of offices to which men are appointed by

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxii. 384.  
<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 390.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xii. 356.  
<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* x. a, 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xxii. 386.

God alone, such as Angel, Baptist, Evangelist. Then names which belong to God only and to our Saviour, as God the Son, Spirit, Emmanuel, Jesus. Then silly names such as Toussain, Cross, Sunday, Sepulchre, Typhaine, Easter, Pentecost. Then double names and such as do not sound well, like Gouin, Mermet, German. Then corrupt names, such as Tyvan, Tyvet in place of Stephen, Monet in place of Simon, and so forth. It is a curious list and there was some justification for it, but it was an irritating restriction and it kept up the growing animosity to Calvin's regime.

The prevailing sin in Geneva was immorality, and from the time when he began to influence the government of the city it was treated with increasing severity. For this reason Calvin was detested and by none more bitterly than by those of the upper classes who had been accustomed to outrage the moral law with impunity. In 1546 Calvin came into conflict with one of the leading families in Geneva as the consequence of the policy he was insisting on.

The head of the family was François Favre or Fabri, a man who made sport of woman's virtue, and man's honour, and mocked at religion. His son Gaspard followed his father's example, and while the Ameaux trial was going on they were both summoned before the Consistory for various offences. They pled that the Consistory was an illegal tribunal.<sup>1</sup> They said persons of their station ought to be examined in private if necessary, and ought not to be put to the shame of a public trial as if they were ordinary criminals. Calvin told them that if every one of them wore a crown they would need to submit to the laws of Geneva like the poorest citizen, and they must take their place at the bar with other accused, for justice knows no respect of persons.

François Favre had a daughter, Françoise or Franchequin, a woman of violent temper and a sharp tongue, who hated Calvin with her whole heart. On every occasion she held him up to ridicule. Calvin compared her to Penthesilea.<sup>2</sup> She was married to Ami Perrin, a man who had been one of the early supporters of the Reformation movement, who had been deputed to bring back Calvin from exile, who had assisted to draw up the Ordonnances and who was looked on as generally favourable to the discipline of the Church. He dressed elegantly, carried his sword with grace, and made clever speeches, but there was so much braggadocio and vanity about him that Calvin called him "Cæsar Comicus" and sometimes "Cæsar Tragicus". In company Perrin loved to create

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxii. 377.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

amusement by mimicking the ministers, pulling long faces, turning up his eyes, and making himself look, as Audin says, "like a monk of the Thebaid".

On 1 April there was a wedding at Belle Rive. The bridegroom was Claude Philippe, and the bride was a daughter of Antoine Lect. The guests included François Favre, his daughter Françoise, her husband Ami Perrin, the syndic Amblard Corne, the poet Jacques Gruet, and others. The regulations of the Council forbade dancing, nevertheless dancing was indulged in, and next morning the whole bridal party were summoned to the bar of the Consistory. A letter<sup>1</sup> to Farel dated April, 1546, tells the story: "All of them with the exceptions of Corne and Perrin lied shamelessly to God and us. I was incensed and strongly inveighed against them. They persisted in their contumacy. When I was fully informed of the state of the case I announced my resolution of unbaring the truth even if it should cost me my life, lest they should think any benefit would come of lying. Françoise, the wife of Perrin, grossly abused me for being so opposed to the Favres. She screamed out: 'You wish to drink the blood of our family, but you will leave Geneva before we do'. I inquired whether their house was inviolably sacred or whether it was subject to the laws. I told her that we had already detained her father in prison, being convicted of one act of adultery, the proof of a second was close at hand, and there was strong suspicion of a third. Finally I added that a new city must be built for them in which they might live apart, for so long as they were in Geneva they would strive in vain to cast off obedience to its laws, and even though there were as many crowns in the house of Favre as there were frenzied heads, that would be no barrier to the Lord being superior. Her husband had meanwhile betaken himself to Lyons, hoping the matter would be silently buried. . . . They were all cast into prison. . . . They say Perrin has now returned from Lyons. Whatever he may do he will not escape punishment. . . . Two things are already matter of public talk: here is no hope of impunity since even the first people of the city are not spared, and that I show no more favour to friends than to those who are opposed to me."

Calvin wrote a letter to Perrin,<sup>2</sup> urging him to appear before the Consistory as an example to others, and declaring his own desire to consult only the edification of the Church and Perrin's salvation. Referring to the threats against him he goes on to say: "I have heard what has come from your house, that

<sup>1</sup> Opera, XII. 334.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 338.

I should take care not to stir a slumbering fire, but these speeches have no weight with me, for I did not return to Geneva for the sake of my own gain, and it will not grieve me if I have again to leave it. The unworthy conduct of some parties will not make me fail in my duty, and I will lay aside my attachment to the city only with my last breath, and of this I take God to be my voucher."

Perrin was imprisoned,<sup>1</sup> and came out more than ever enraged against Calvin. In January, 1547, Calvin was sent on a mission to Basel and Zurich to get information as to the war which was going on between the Emperor and the Protestants, and during his absence Perrin and his friends were unceasing in their efforts to undermine his authority, characterizing the Consistory as a tyranny that went far beyond anything imposed by the bishops or the Pope. The elections which took place in February showed that their efforts had been fruitful, for the councillors who were chosen speedily passed a resolution that the discipline administered by the Consistory should be controlled by the Council, because the Consistory could not be trusted to keep within the limits of the powers conferred on it. Calvin vehemently objected<sup>2</sup> to this as an infringement on the Church's freedom, and after some delay the resolution was rescinded.

Perrin next thought of a plan by which he supposed he could rouse popular feeling still higher against Calvin and the Consistory. The annual target festival of 26 May was approaching. As he was military head of the city he asked permission to hold it, but he added something that was meant to set the Council and the Consistory at variance. He asked that the youth of Geneva might be allowed to wear breeches slashed at the knee. This peculiar fashion in male attire had been forbidden by the Consistory, and Perrin's idea was to set the prohibition of the Consistory against the permission of the Council. The people would, he hoped, take the Council's side, and the Consistory would become discredited. The Council, however, while it gave permission for the festival, refused permission for the slashed breeches. Perrin was furious. So were his friends. The matter was appealed to the Two Hundred, which met the day before the festival was to take place. Calvin appeared in the midst of tumultuous excitement,<sup>3</sup> and made a speech in which he declared that the question of whether breeches should or should not be slashed was of no moment, but the question of the consistency of the government was of the utmost moment. If it was right to issue

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 381.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 401.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 405.

such a prohibition at one time, the whims of hot-headed youth were no justification for withdrawing it at another. In spite of Perrin's reply the prohibition was repeated, and Perrin in a rage betook himself to Berne.

During his absence his wife was summoned to the Consistory on a charge of dancing. She defended herself like a fury,<sup>1</sup> declaring it was too bad to be punished twice for one offence. She had already answered for her guilt to the lieutenant of police, and she denied the right of the Consistory to deal with her. She was a free-born Genevan, and it was an illegal court, controlled by foreigners. Then she broke out into a tirade against the ministers in general, and specially against Abel Poupin, who had been instructed to admonish her. In a letter to Viret of 2 July, 1547, Calvin says:<sup>2</sup> "The wife of the comic Cæsar was again summoned to the Consistory to answer for her frowardness, . . . and she vomited forth more venom than on the previous occasion. . . . When one of the assessors interposed she turned like a fury on him. Abel thereupon expressed surprise that she who had professed that she was too modest to be able to answer at great length was a match in abuse for any number. Her rage boiled over and she cried, 'Get out, you coarse swineherd, you malicious liar'. She would almost have overwhelmed us with her thunders had she not been forcibly expelled. The Senate ordered her to be imprisoned, but she escaped by means of the matron who is wont to take under patronage all bad causes. One of her sons accompanied her in her flight." She met Poupin accidentally near one of the city gates, hurled abuse at him, and tried to make her horse knock him down and trample on him, but she was arrested and thrown into the prison out of which she had come.

While popular feeling was excited over these incidents it was raised to fever heat by the news that a violent writing against Calvin had been found attached to his pulpit at St. Peter's. It runs as follows:<sup>3</sup> "You and your companions will gain little by your pains. If you do not leave the city no one can prevent your overthrow and you will curse the hour you left your monkery. Warning has already been given that the devil and his renegade priests have come here to ruin everything. Take care that you are not served like Vernli of Friburg. We will not have so many masters. Mark my words."

Before long the poet Jacques Gruet who had been at Ameaux dinner-party, and who was known<sup>4</sup> to be hand and glove with

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 407.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xii. 545.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 546 n. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Minutes of the trial in *Opera*, xii. 563-8.

the Favres and the Perrins, was arrested on suspicion of being the author of it. It was proved that the document was not in his handwriting ; but, when his house was searched, books and papers<sup>1</sup> were found filled with abuse of Calvin and the ministers and with blasphemy against Christ and his mother, the Bible and the Church. A copy of Calvin's tract against the Libertines was also found, and against one passage Gruet had written, "All rubbish". The Council ordered him to be tortured to make him disclose the names of his accomplices, but although he suffered agony morning and night for a month, and besought his judges to kill him quickly, he mentioned no names, and admitted nothing further than that the papers found in his house were his. He was beheaded on 26 July, 1547.

There can be little doubt that Geneva was well rid of him. At the same time his trial was conducted with inhuman barbarity and his death was a judicial murder. It ought, however, to be remembered that Calvin took no part in the prosecution, and he was not one of the bench of judges who gave the orders for the torture and the death penalty. The judges included Vandel and Berthelier, two of Calvin's enemies, and unless the prevailing feeling in the Council had been in favour of their decision, the sentences would neither have been given nor carried out. At the same time it has to be said that Calvin believed Gruet to have been justly condemned, although in a letter to Viret of 24 July he disapproved of the way in which the proceedings had been protracted.<sup>2</sup>

The rage of the Libertines was unbounded. When they met Calvin on the street they insulted him. They nicknamed him Cain.<sup>3</sup> They called their dogs after him. In the Council they did all in their power to thwart him, and in the end of the year they were able to raise a great storm against him.

In the month of June, Perrin was sent on a message to the French king, and Calvin says in a letter<sup>4</sup> to M. de Falais, "He must needs walk softly on his return". The explanation of the veiled threatening is that the Perrins' fidelity to Geneva had fallen under suspicion. While Perrin was in Paris he had a good deal of intercourse with Cardinal du Bellay regarding the designs of the emperor who was pressing sore on the Protestants and was even menacing Switzerland. The French Government, anxious to embarrass the emperor as much as possible, asked Perrin, as the military head of Geneva, how he would like the aid of a couple of hundred good lances if they were placed at his disposal. Perrin said he would consult the

<sup>1</sup> Opera, XII. 546.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 549.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* XXI. 445.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* XII. 576.

Genevan Council, but he did not mention the proposal either by letter or by word of mouth. When he returned from Paris he found that news of the proposal made to him had already reached Geneva through a French refugee named Maigret, who kept up a correspondence with the French court. Perrin was put on his trial and although he was found not guilty of harbouring any treasonable intention, his conduct before his judges was so insolent and offensive that he had to make a public apology before he was set at liberty.

While his trial was going on the Bernese denounced Maigret as the real traitor, and as Maigret was on friendly terms with Calvin, who thought he might be of service to the Protestants of France, Calvin had to share in the suspicion and hatred which the charge against Maigret aroused. The two trials went on simultaneously. The city seethed with excitement. Crowds paraded the streets manifesting their hostility now to this prisoner, now to that. The Two Hundred met in the Senate House on 16 December, and from beginning to end of the proceedings there was nothing but confusion. The records of the Venerable Company contain this entry:<sup>1</sup> "When we came to the Senate House, we found the Two Hundred gathered together. Strife of various sorts began, and the minds of all were so inflamed that a riot was imminent and bloodshed was inevitable had not God interferred. For Calvin, hearing the noise and the tumult, rushed into the midst of it followed by others. It was impossible to hear a word, but by degrees things quieted down and the Two Hundred resumed their places."

Audin, who never misses a chance of disparaging Calvin, is compelled on this occasion to do him justice by describing the scene dramatically.<sup>2</sup> "The Council assembled. Never was it more tumultuous. The parties, wearied of speaking, cried, 'To arms!' The people heard the cry. Calvin arrived alone. He was received at the end of the hall with threats of death. He crossed his arms and gazed fixedly on the agitators. No one dares to strike him. Then advancing into the midst with his breast bare he says, 'If you wish blood, strike here'. Not an arm moved. Calvin then slowly ascends the staircase. The hall was about to be filled with blood. Swords glittered, but at the sight of the Reformer the weapons were lowered, and some words sufficed to allay the excitement. Calvin, taking one of the Councillors by the arm, comes down from the staircase and cries to the people that he wishes to speak to them. He speaks with such force

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxii. 418.

<sup>2</sup> I. 394.

and emotion that the tears run down his cheeks and the crowd retires in silence. The patriots had lost their opportunity. The Libertines, who had shown themselves so bold when all that was required of them was to throw down some catholic wall, to pull a saint out of his niche, to overturn some wooden cross that was weakened by age, tremble like women before this masculine nature which has to-day performed a feat that may be called Homeric. From that point it was easy to prognosticate that victory would rest with the Reformers."

On the following day, Calvin wrote a letter to Viret in which he describes what took place,<sup>1</sup> and intimates that he thinks his work is now near its close. It is not victory he prognosticates. It is utter defeat.

A week after this outbreak,<sup>2</sup> Calvin and Poupin represented to the Council that the Lord's Supper was about to be celebrated on the 25th, and besought the Council to take measures to produce public peace. Writing to Farel on 28 December,<sup>3</sup> Calvin says: "The Two Hundred have instructed us and ten other peacemakers to reconcile the opposing parties. I took the initiative. Our Cæsar denied that he had any quarrel with me. I immediately pressed out the matter from the sore. In a grave calm speech I made certain strictures which were calculated to wound slightly and he promised reformation, but I am afraid I have preached to the deaf. I may say that neither troubles nor danger weaken my courage, but I am in such perplexity in the prevailing confusion that I wish the Lord would relieve me of my post." Writing to Viret<sup>4</sup> on the same day he says: "I have not yet made up my mind as to what I am finally to do, beyond this, that I can no longer tolerate the manners of this people, even though they could tolerate mine".

Writing to Viret on 19 January, 1548,<sup>5</sup> he says, "The factions are just as hot against each other as formerly. We cannot forecast the aspect of the new year till we see the four birds (the syndics) above the horizon. . . . Nevertheless we cannot be prevented from getting half the bench of magistrates." Soon afterwards he set out for Basel, provided with horses and an escort at the expense of the Council, to secure reliable information of the state of affairs in Germany.

Although the Council supported Calvin's regime on the whole there are several indications that it did not allow him to take the slightest liberty. On 21 May<sup>6</sup> he made an attack on the magistrates for permitting disorderly conduct. He was

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, XII. 633.  
<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 639.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* XXI. 418.  
<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 653.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* XII. 642.  
<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* XXI. 426.

at once summoned to the bar of the Council, commanded to repeat what he had said, and produce his evidence for the charges he had made. He was also told that in future he was to lay his complaints before the chief of the police privately. On 9 July<sup>1</sup> he had a similar experience. On the previous day he had inveighed, in a sermon, against the embroidered crosses (*croysades*) which some of the citizens were wearing on their jackets. The Council thought the matter too trivial for discussion, but ordered the lieutenant of police to say to Calvin once more that these public attacks must cease. Calvin replied that so long as he was a minister he would do his duty. If they wished him to be silent they must dismiss him from an office in which he was held bound to declare and apply the whole truth of God. In his statement to the ministers he said he had spoken against the *croysades* because they were the sign of a faction, and he desired the end of all that suggested faction. The Council finished the matter by saying that the ministers no doubt thought they were doing their duty, but there was room for hope that they would do it considerably better in the future.

On 14 September<sup>2</sup> Calvin was again before the Council complaining that Trolliet was hawking through the taverns of the city a private letter to Viret which had fallen into his hands. Trolliet was summoned to appear with the letter in question. It contained a criticism of the magistrates in these words : "I do not know what to expect of them. Under the cover of Christ they wish to rule without Christ." Calvin acknowledged authorship, and begged the Council to take the criticism in good part. The Council dismissed the case.

Ten days afterwards he returned to the charge, saying the letter had been mistranslated, and asserting there was nothing in it which could be objected to. He summoned Viret from Lausanne to support his assertion. Viret's appearance roused the Council to go into the matter thoroughly. Calvin then summoned Farel from Neuchâtel. On 15 October Farel addressed the Council, saying that Viret had gone away much disappointed that his letter had not been restored to him although he had risked his life for Genevan welfare. As for Calvin, there was no man in the world who ought to be more carefully shielded from annoyance. No man was more eager for the good of the city, yet he was knocked about and slandered. Three days later the Council summoned Calvin to explain his letter clause by clause. When he had finished it gave him back his letter, retaining a copy for reference and

<sup>1</sup> Opera, XXI. 429.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 434.

telling him to be more careful in his language in future. Farel was furious at this decision, and told the Council there and then in stormy language that their proceedings were ill advised. It was preposterous to speak as they had done to a man who had shown their faults to many persons of importance, even to Luther and Melanchthon, and to lend an ear to evil-minded fellows who sat in taverns and maligned the ministers.

Calvin's worst annoyance came in connexion with a member of his own household. On 27 September, 1548,<sup>1</sup> he reported to the Consistory a scandal which, he said, greatly distressed him. It was a rumour of adultery between the wife of his brother Antoine and Jean Chautemps. He asked the Court to investigate the matter and begged to be excused if he were absent when the investigation took place. The parties concerned denied that any connexion had taken place. But Chautemps confessed that he had entered the woman's room by night and had solicited her without being able to persuade her to yield to him, while she confessed that this had taken place when her husband was away in Burgundy.<sup>2</sup> After prolonged consideration the Consistory decided that the evidence was not sufficient to warrant any definite conclusion. At the same time it forbade the parties to have any further intercourse and admonished them to live in the future in such a way that they gave no offence in anything.

During all this period Calvin suffered increasingly from ill-health and domestic sorrow. He had long been a martyr to headaches and indigestion. To these were now added the pain from haemorrhoids and anal ulcers. Besides this his wife was in declining health. Sometimes she enjoyed a measure of strength and she was even able to travel so far as to visit Viret and his wife on the occasion of the birth of a baby. But her strength began to fail. She became unable to walk and had to be carried from her bed to a couch. Before long her weakness was so great that she could not leave her bed at all. On 13 September, 1545, Calvin wrote<sup>3</sup> to Farel: "My wife desires to be remembered in your prayers and in those of your household, for she has a sore struggle against her malady. We have this consolation that she seems to have drawn back a foot from the tomb, but she is very weak and she suffers greatly." Five days afterwards<sup>4</sup> he wrote to Viret, "Her cough torments her exceedingly and adds to her usual sufferings". Later in the year she was seized by

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxI. 435.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 438.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xII. 190.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 193.

a fever which quite exhausted her. By the middle of 1548 Calvin began to see that her restoration to health was not to be looked for, and that he must make up his mind to part with her. There was a gleam of hope in January, 1549, when she displayed a little more vigour, but it disappeared very swiftly and on 29 March she died.

In a letter to Farel, 11 April, 1549, he says:<sup>1</sup> "I subdue my grief as well as I can. My friends surround me and neglect nothing that can give consolation to my soul. . . . When your brother left her life was despaired of. On Tuesday, when all the brethren were present, they judged it right to engage in united prayer for her. Abel, in the name of all the rest, exhorted her to faith and patience. She briefly indicated what was in her mind and I added what appeared to me an appropriate word. . . . On the day of her death, while our brother Bourgoing was speaking to her, she uttered some exclamations which let us all see that her heart was raised above the earth, to this effect: 'O glorious resurrection, God of Abraham and of our fathers, during all the ages that the faithful have hoped in Thee none has been put to confusion, and I also will hope'. . . . After seven o'clock she began to swoon and suddenly, feeling that her voice was failing, she said, 'Pray, will you all pray for me?' I said a few words to her about the mercy of Christ and the hope of life eternal. Then I went to a secret place to pray. . . . Before eight she breathed her last so gently that those who were with her could not tell whether she were dead or still alive. I at present control my grief so that my duties are not interfered with. But in the meanwhile the Lord has laid other trials upon me. Farewell, brother and excellent friend. May the Lord Jesus strengthen you by His Spirit, and may He support me also under this heavy affliction, which would certainly have overcome me had not He who raises up the prostrate, strengthens the weak, and refreshes the weary stretched forth His hand from heaven to me."

In a letter to Viret<sup>2</sup> written on 7 April he said: "You know well how tender, or rather soft, my mind is. Had not a powerful self-control been vouchsafed to me I could not have borne up so long. Mine is no common source of grief. I have been bereaved of the best companion of my life, of one who, had it been so ordered, would have been the willing sharer of my poverty and even of my death. During her life she was the faithful helper of my ministry. From her I never experienced the slightest hindrance. She was never

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, XIII. 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 230.

troublesome to me throughout the entire course of her illness; she was more anxious about her children than about herself." Calvin goes on to say that he assured her he would not fail to discharge his duty to her children and that she replied, "I know that you will not neglect what you know has been committed to God".

Seven years afterwards,<sup>1</sup> writing a letter of consolation to one of his friends, Calvin indicates that the memory of his own bereavement was still fresh. To those who were with him at the time of his bereavement, it seemed as if nothing but a special supply of grace enabled him to support his grief. It is therefore plain that in spite of his merciless theology, and under his stern demeanour, he carried a sensitive heart.

So much in the life of Geneva depended on his activity that he had little time to indulge private grief. Therefore he controlled his emotion and went on with his work, as multitudes of others have had to do in similar circumstances. The impression made on his friends is indicated by a letter he received from Viret a few days after his wife's death.<sup>2</sup> "What I hear from many credible sources," says Viret, "respecting your constancy and fortitude under your domestic affliction makes me think I should address you with congratulations rather than with condolences, and the more so from my acquaintance with what you call your softness of mind. I admire the strength of that Holy Spirit who works in you, manifesting Himself truly worthy of the name of Comforter. . . . I am informed that you discharge all the duties of your office with unbroken spirit as efficiently, nay, with even more success than before, and that you have such a mastery of yourself in the pulpit, the Consistory—in a word, in all your affairs, both public and private, as to excite the astonishment of everybody, and this, too, at a time when the recentness of your grief must have prostrated you."

In the midst of his labours and battles inside the city Calvin found time to deal with matters of more general interest. He published a book against the Council of Trent entitled "Acta Synodi Tridentinæ, cum Antidoto," and sent a copy of it to Farel in November, 1547. Farel was so enchanted by it that he sat up all night to read it.<sup>3</sup> But Calvin was not very proud of it himself. In his letter to Farel he says:<sup>4</sup> "I begin to like my 'Antidote' now that I find you approve it so much, for before I was not satisfied with it. It may be that you who know my daily labours and the contests by which I am exhausted are led to pardon the more im-

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xv. 867.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. XIII. 233.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. XII. 635.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 642.

perfect parts ; but for myself I am surprised that I can at this time publish anything readable." In this book he pours contempt on the folly of the Council in rejecting all translations of the Bible except the Vulgate and stamping it as infallible and final. So great was the anger he roused among the Romanists that Cœchlæus made a valiant attempt to blunt the edge of his argument.

In 1548 he published Commentaries on Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Timothy. These were transcripts of shorthand reports of his lectures which he revised and corrected. In 1549 he published his Tract against Judicial Astrology, his Tract against the Interim, his Commentary on Hebrews, and an important Tract on the Lord's Supper.

Among other things of more consequence he also persuaded the Council of Geneva to lay down definite regulations for the celebration of marriages and to get books prepared in which to register them and cupboards made ready in which to keep the books.

It cannot be said that the Council showed much appreciation of the magnitude of the labours in which Calvin was engaged on the city's behalf. For example, on the deposition of Ferron in September, 1549, the number of the ministers in the city was reduced and Calvin asked that another should be appointed to fill the vacant place.<sup>1</sup> The Council refused the petition on the ground that the city had no need of another minister and that it paid enough for ministerial supply already. A month later it recalled its decision but it issued a command which made the work of the ministers most burdensome.<sup>2</sup> It ordered them to preach a sermon every day in the week and to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments frequently during public worship. Calvin replied that the ministers could not preach every day of the week.<sup>3</sup> The command was ridiculous and impossible. As to repeating the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments frequently, such a thing savoured of superstition. It turned the repetition into an incantation and he would die rather than have anything to do with it. It is evident that he spoke with asperity, for the Council reprimanded him sharply and instructed two of its number to attend church regularly and report what was done.

At the same time, although it thwarted and criticized and even rebuked him, Geneva was glad enough to make use of Calvin's abilities for its own advantage. The situation of the

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxii. 456.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 457.

<sup>3</sup> Roget, "Histoire," III. III.

city was dangerous. Surrounded by powers that were more or less hostile, it stood alone. Scares were of constant occurrence, and the Council repeatedly issued orders that the citizens must have their arms in readiness and keep good watch. Henry II, who had just ascended the throne of France, was living in daily expectation of an attack by the emperor, and for the purpose of strengthening his forces, in the beginning of 1549, he made overtures to Switzerland, proposing an alliance for mutual defence and assistance. The majority of the cantons received the proposal favourably. Berne rejected it. So also did Zurich. On 14 May, Perrin and three other councillors were dispatched to Berne to induce the authorities there to alter their attitude. On 20 May, Calvin was sent on a similar errand to Zurich. Both had to return reporting failure.

At the same time Calvin's visit to Zurich was not without fruit. He effected a far-reaching agreement on important points of theology. Lutherans and Zwinglians were arrayed against each other over the question of the Sacraments, especially over the Lord's Supper. Calvin occupied a middle position and was anxious to effect a reconciliation. Fortunately Bullinger had the same anxiety and had taken action. In 1546 he wrote a book and sent it to Calvin as an explanation of his position. Calvin replied making certain criticisms, and they finally reached a conclusion that was satisfactory to both. In November, 1548, Calvin drew up twenty-five propositions and sent them to Bullinger. Bullinger added notes to these, and in May, 1549, when Calvin was in Zurich he and Farel had some interviews with Bullinger, in the course of which the Consensus as it now stands was practically prepared. It is uncertain who put the Consensus into its final form, but the theology of Calvin and the influence of Bullinger are both prominent in it. The twenty-six articles are short and simple. They assert that the Sacraments do not of themselves confer grace. They are the instruments by which God signifies and seals His grace to us. They signify nothing more than is already signified in the Gospel, but they enable us to apprehend it better (Art. 7). The blessings they signify reach only to the elect (Art. 17), and that in proportion to their faith (Art. 18). The words "This is my body, this is my blood" are to be taken figuratively (Art. 22). When we are said to eat Christ's flesh and drink His blood, we are not to understand that any mingling of substance takes place, but that we draw life from the flesh once offered in sacrifice and the blood once shed in expiation (Art. 23).

It is no less absurd to place Christ under the bread or to couple Him with the bread than it is to transubstantiate Him into the bread (Art. 24). The body of Christ, inasmuch as it is finite, is in heaven, and is as distant from us in point of space as heaven is distant from earth (Art. 25).

In all probability we have to thank Calvin for the language of the various articles. In a letter to the pastors of Zurich dated 1 August, 1549, he says: "The leading articles on which we have conferred I have deemed it of consequence briefly to select and digest in order that it may be in the power of anyone to have a tabular view of what was transacted between us". To which they replied expressing their approval of his efforts to renew the peace of the Church, their satisfaction in the recognition of agreement on points on which they were thought to differ and their hope of larger fruit in the Church. They were not disappointed. The Consensus was promptly adopted by the Churches of Switzerland generally, and it might have closed the breach between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians if it had not been for the fanatical opposition which expressed itself in Westphal.

While Calvin was negotiating for union with the ministers of Zurich he was likewise endeavouring to effect a union with those of Berne, and for that purpose<sup>1</sup> he sent them a detailed statement of his views on the Sacraments in a letter of 13 March, 1549. But the Bernese ministers were the humble servants of the Bernese magistrates, and the Bernese magistrates were out of temper with Geneva and were jealous of everything in which Geneva took a lead, and his endeavours came to nothing. There is some reason to think that Perrin, who was in Berne at the time, contributed his influence to bring about this conclusion.

In the midst of all his conflicts and discouragements there was one thing which gave Calvin great satisfaction, and contributed to his ultimate victory. This was the appearance of the forerunners of the crowd of refugees who found in Geneva the security and the liberty which they were denied at home. Henry II was hunting down his Protestant subjects with merciless severity, and those of them who succeeded in escaping to Geneva made very evident the cruelty and terror they left behind them. Sometimes they came singly, sometimes in groups which included men of social distinction as well as those of obscure station. On 2 May<sup>2</sup> Laurent de Normandie, like Calvin, a native of Noyon, and afterwards

<sup>1</sup> Opera, IX. 717; XIII. 217.

<sup>2</sup> Roget, "Histoire," III. 104.

one of Calvin's intimate friends, was allowed to take up his abode as a permanent resident. On 3 May<sup>1</sup> the same permission was given to eight gentlemen and three others of lower station. Among these was Theodore Beza, who was to become Calvin's successor in office and his biographer. On 27 June<sup>2</sup> M. de Budé, of Paris, speaking for himself and his brothers and their mother, asked permission to settle, and received it. On 8 July eight were received. On the 19th five more were received. Altogether in 1549 not less than seventy-two persons were formally admitted as citizens. These, as well as all who followed them, knew that it was Calvin who made Geneva the harbour of refuge they found it to be, and they naturally looked on him with respect and supported him. In 1550 the number of refugees received was 122.

But almost from the first the jealousy of the native-born Genevans was active against them.

Perrin, Berthelier and the Libertines generally stirred up this jealousy for their own purposes. Calvin's theology might have been tolerated, but his demand for strict morality galled them, and the fearless discipline which the Consistory applied to all who needed it made them feel that no one was safe. If the refugees were allowed to take part in the government of the city, Calvin's power would become greater than ever, and the restrictions he imposed would be more and more intolerable. Therefore, since they could not close the city gates against the incomers, they resolved to make their life uncomfortable, and at any rate to keep them out of power. The skirmishing of past years thus became the prelude to a grim trial of strength.

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, XXI. 451.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 453.

## X

### BOLSEC, TROLLIET, AND BERTHÉLIER

IF the influx of strangers was an annoyance to the native-born Genevans, Calvin himself did not always get support from those who found shelter under his ægis. Of the annoying class one of the most prominent was Jerome Bolsec.

Bolsec was a Parisian. He had begun life as a Carmelite monk, but had to fly for his heretical opinions and take shelter in the Court of Ferrara. He then became a physician, or, if we may believe Beza, a quack doctor who owed his success to his manner rather than to his medical skill. Having betaken himself to Geneva he became medical attendant to M. de Falais, a gentleman from Brabant, who lived at Viegy, nine miles from Geneva, and who was on friendly terms with Calvin. Bolsec was disputatious and he had no hesitation in airing his theological opinions. At the meeting of the Venerable Company on Friday, 16 October, 1551,<sup>1</sup> St. André, the minister of Jussy, was expounding John viii. 47—"He that is of God heareth God's words, ye therefore hear them not because ye are not of God"—and he was arguing that God gives the grace of obedience to the elect alone, when Bolsec started up, and assailed the doctrine which the preacher had advanced. "How can you believe," he said, "that God fixed the lot of each man before his birth, destining one to sin and punishment, and another to virtue and eternal life? It is a false and impious notion. It makes God a senseless tyrant. It robs virtue of its glory, frees vice of its disgrace, and delivers the wicked from the terrors of conscience."

Calvin was already familiar with Bolsec's opinions, for Bolsec had sent him a statement of them and had had an interview and discussion with him. He was therefore prepared to take Bolsec in hand at short notice. As Bolsec was proceeding with his speech, Calvin entered the meeting unobserved, and remained quiet till the speech was finished. Then, pushing his way to the place where Bolsec had been

<sup>1</sup>Opera, VIII. 145.

standing, he said: "I accuse you of calumny and lies. The doctrine of St. André is mine also. You have said I make God the author of sin." Then he went on for an hour hurling at Bolsec quotations from Augustine and texts of Scripture and arguments based on these, till in the opinion of the audience Bolsec was quite vanquished.

At the conclusion of the meeting the lieutenant of police, who was one of Calvin's friends, arrested Bolsec. If the syndics and the councillors had acted in accordance with their own minds they would have released him, but on the 19th Calvin and Farel appeared before them and formally charged Bolsec with false doctrine and blasphemy. On the following day, in presence of seven members of the Little Council who sat with them as assessors, the syndics asked Bolsec what he had to say for himself. He stated his opinion that the doctrine which made the will of God the cause of the perdition of the damned is false, is repugnant to Scripture, and involves many absurdities. On the 21st the syndics, with fifteen assessors from the Little Council and from the Two Hundred, put to Bolsec<sup>1</sup> a series of seventeen questions with which the ministers had furnished them. To these he gave<sup>2</sup> clear and concise replies. On the 26th they resolved to hear Bolsec and the ministers debated the points on which they differed, and on the 28th<sup>3</sup> they came to the conclusion that the matter was too difficult for them to decide on their own responsibility, and they resolved to consult other Churches. On the 29th<sup>4</sup> Bolsec submitted a list of twenty-five questions which he desired the Council to put to Calvin. It contained the following: "What Scriptural proof can Calvin give for the statement that God has created some men to salvation and some to perdition, and how does this statement in the Institutes harmonize with the statement in the Catechism that man's chief end is to know God? Again, if the Sodomites and the Israelites only did that which God determined them to do, and created them to do, and compelled them to do, how could He be moved with anger against them as the Scripture says He was?" Calvin replied that it was slanderous to charge him with saying God compelled anyone to sin. The will of God lay at the back of everything as the supreme cause, but God governs all things with justice and righteousness. Besides, God's will is not an irrational caprice. It is the basis of all goodness. Men are not constrained to do either good or evil. Those who do good do it by the ability which God gives them through the operation

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, VIII. 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 152.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 176.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 178.

of His Holy Spirit. Those who do evil do it of their own natural will, which is corrupt and bad.

On 30 October<sup>1</sup> the Council resolved to investigate what had taken place at the meeting of the Venerable Company and commanded Bolsec and the ministers to summon their witnesses. It is noteworthy that all the witnesses on the side of Calvin were refugees,<sup>2</sup> Laurent de Normandie, Robert Stephen, Jean Budé, Nicolas Colladon and others. Six days were occupied in taking their depositions. On 6 November<sup>3</sup> Bolsec appealed to be set at liberty on the ground that he was no evil-doer, and<sup>4</sup> he backed up his appeal with a letter from M. de Falais. M. de Falais said he was grievously tormented by winter maladies and no one understood his constitution like Bolsec. But the Council saw no reason for releasing the prisoner on that account. To pass the hours of a weary idleness in his cell, Bolsec composed<sup>5</sup> a set of verses, not without some literary grace, in which he bewailed the cruelty with which he was treated, the snares with which he is surrounded, and the animosity which is felt to him, and expressed his determination to bring courage to his aid, to drive away his tears, and to trust in and praise God.

In due time<sup>6</sup> the answers of the Churches appeared. The ministers of Berne counselled moderation,<sup>7</sup> because many good people think predestination is a doctrine of great obscurity. The magistrates of Berne<sup>8</sup> gave it as their opinion that no corporal punishment should be inflicted, as it is gentleness, and not bonds or imprisonment, that brings the erring back to the truth. The ministers of Zurich<sup>9</sup> carefully avoided the point they were asked to attend to. Bullinger went the length of telling Calvin that many good people were distressed by the opinions on predestination contained in the Institutes. Calvin was much hurt at this, and a coldness came over his intercourse with Bullinger. In Basel, however,<sup>10</sup> there was decided sympathy with Calvin's way of thinking. The ministers there indicated their opinion that Bolsec was a sophist and a heretic. Neuchâtel, under Farel's guidance, declared him to be an instrument of Satan, a profane person, who rooted among sacred things like a pig with a filthy snout.

The Council resolved that the letters should be communicated both to the ministers and to Bolsec. Calvin<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Opera, VIII. 181.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 185.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 193.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 202.

<sup>5</sup> Roget, III. 184; Opera, VIII. 226.

<sup>6</sup> Roget, III. 188.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 195.

<sup>8</sup> Opera, VIII. 238, 241.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 232.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 235.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* XXI. 496.

objected to sending them to Bolsec on the ground that they would only encourage the heretic and grieve the Genevan ministers. The Council overruled the objection and on 22 December it gave its decision. It decreed<sup>1</sup> that in response to the appeal from Berne Bolsec should not be injured in life or limb, but that he should be banished for ever from Geneva for having spoken scandalous words and for having accused the ministers of teaching false doctrine. The verdict was published from the front of the city hall with the sound of the trumpet. Bolsec left for France, furious at the treatment he had received and specially furious at Calvin. He rejoined the Romish Church and, thirteen years after Calvin's death, took his revenge by publishing a life of Calvin which has been a regular quarry and gold-mine diligently wrought by those who collect facts or fictions to Calvin's discredit. He died about 1584.

The consequence of the prosecution which Calvin probably felt most was the complete rupture of his friendship with M. de Falais, and the depth of his resentment may be estimated by the fact that, when he republished his Commentary on 1 Corinthians in 1556, he withdrew the dedication of the first edition to M. de Falais and replaced it by another to Galeazzo Caraccioli, Marquis of Vico, a refugee from Italy who had settled in Geneva while the dispute with Bolsec was going on.

Although Calvin had come off victorious in this encounter his difficulties did not end with the expulsion of Bolsec. They multiplied. The doctrine of predestination was discussed everywhere, and Bolsec's arguments found such general favour that Calvin's friends had to bestir themselves to defend his orthodoxy. The Registers of the Council and of the Consistory show that a considerable number of citizens were dealt with for expressing themselves too freely. On 11 December<sup>2</sup> the Venerable Company thought it advisable to make a grand demonstration in favour of Calvin's doctrine, and on the 18th a conference was held at which Calvin opened up the subject at great length and was followed by all the ministers, both those of the city and of the country, to the number of thirteen. On the day before the Council gave its decision Calvin approached the Council in their name and asked leave to print a book on the subject under discussion, and to dedicate it to the Council. At the same time he laid a copy of the preface on the table as the book itself was at Lausanne. The preface was read over

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, XXI. 497; VIII. 245.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* XXI. 495.

there and then and after some violent language had been cut out of it, it was passed.<sup>1</sup> The book was remitted to Louis Beljaquet and Jean Trolliet to examine and report.<sup>2</sup> On the 28th they intimated that, with the exception of some passages which were too vituperative, the book was a good one and they recommended it to be printed. Calvin and Poupin were commanded to see that these passages were excised.

On the same day on which the ministers approached the Council about their book,<sup>3</sup> they also complained that St. André, the minister of Jussy, had been forcibly removed from his charge by the Government of Berne. Calvin was therefore dispatched to Berne to plead the cause of his colleague. He returned a month afterwards with the intelligence that the Bernese refused to restore St. André on the ground that his language was scandalous.

He had scarcely settled in his own house when he was again dispatched on a journey, this time to Germany, to stir up the Churches there to intercede with the French King, Henry II, on behalf of their brethren. Henry had issued the Edict of Chateaubriand, 27 June, 1551, empowering both ecclesiastical and secular tribunals to deal with suspected persons, forbidding intercession on the prisoner's behalf and the right of appeal, directing special attention to books and letters issuing from Geneva, and sanctioning the penalties of confiscation of property, torture, and death. The consequence was an immense increase in the sufferings of the Protestants. They fled across the borders of France in all directions.

Calvin started for his journey on 29 February, 1552. He returned on 21 March<sup>4</sup> and reported that the French King had received the intercession of the German Churches favourably, and that, as the ambassador from Berne was still in Paris, using his influence, there was some hope of a relaxation of the tyranny.

During his absence his enemies were busy stirring up the popular antipathy to him, and the elections of 1552 showed their success. Of the four who were selected as magistrates only one was for Calvin. Among the new members added to the Council were found Bonna and Sept, both notoriously against him. Libertines and Calvinists were now so evenly matched that no one could prophesy which would come out victor in the long run, and Calvin's annoyances at once began.

On 29 February<sup>5</sup> complaint was made that on the

<sup>1</sup> Roget, III. 203.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 222.    <sup>3</sup> Opera, XXI. 502.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 504.    <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 503.

previous day Calvin had delivered such an angry sermon that many people were offended by it. The Council ordered the syndic Curtet to go and remonstrate with him. But he had no time to take the remonstrance to heart; for, on the afternoon of the same day, he was dispatched to Germany. After his return<sup>1</sup> Bonna and Sept complained that he had held them up to public reprobation. Calvin replied that he had only rebuked them in the discharge of his ministerial duty. The Council dismissed the complaint, but recommended Calvin to be sure his rebukes were always justified.

Greater annoyances than these were at hand. On 14 June Calvin<sup>2</sup> appeared before the Council and said that, although he was employing himself faithfully for the benefit of the Christian religion, he was being slandered by Trolliet. Trolliet had never forgiven Calvin for getting him declared unfit for the office of the ministry. On the 15th he gave particulars of the slander complained of. It was said that he was seeking his own glory, that the Institutes were full of self-contradictions, and that his book on Predestination was not agreeable to Scripture. The Council showed no disposition to deal with his complaint. Therefore he summoned Farel to his aid, and on the 29th Farel addressed the Council,<sup>3</sup> telling the members to think of the trouble they had had to get Calvin settled among them, to consider the distinction he brought them, and to take measures that would allow him to serve the Gospel and the city in comfort. But the procedure of the Council was not hastened. On 29 August Calvin again presented himself, accompanied by the ministers Jean Fabri and Raymond Chauvet, and told the Council that, if the business between him and Trolliet was not disposed of, he would not dispense the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on the following Sunday;<sup>4</sup> he would lay down his office as a minister and leave the city.

This ultimatum disconcerted his opponents. They were aware of the advantages they were deriving from his presence, and they were also assured that if he left the city at this crisis he would not return to it. It was therefore arranged<sup>5</sup> that a formal debate should take place on 1 September. The question was whether Calvin's doctrine of predestination was in harmony with Scripture. Trolliet indicated the passages in Calvin's works which he challenged. Calvin replied to him. The Council ordered both of them to put their arguments in writing. Viret came along to give Calvin some assistance, but Trolliet became ill, and the case

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 505.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 510.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 514.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 516.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 517.

had to be postponed beyond the date of Viret's leave of absence. The Council therefore<sup>1</sup> thanked him for the trouble he had taken, gave him six crowns to buy a robe for himself, paid the hire of his horse, and asked him to come back and hear the decision. On 1 October the disputants met in court again and produced their written statements. On the 6th Calvin made a speech defending himself. He began by saying the main reason for which Trolliet had attacked him was to raise himself out of obscurity by acquiring a reputation among the ignorant as a man who had had a dispute with Calvin. If he had been a modest man he would have kept silence. Then he discussed Trolliet's arguments. He admitted having written that God not only foresaw but foreordained the fall of Adam. He confessed that men sin of necessity and that necessity is of the will and ordinance of God, but he added that the necessity is not one of constraint, and that the sinner can never excuse his sin by saying he was forced into it by a power external to himself. He also said that he had proved the doctrine from Scripture so convincingly that no living and intelligent man could resist it, and he was bound by conscience to assert it.

While the Council was busy considering its verdict, Calvin's enemies were busy spreading the report that he was making all the foreigners who were swarming into the city swear allegiance to him, that he had brought in three Frenchmen who had 40,000 golden crowns to be used in bribery, and that he meant to betray Geneva into the hands of its surrounding enemies. The jealousy with which foreigners were regarded procured for the report an amount of credence which it did not deserve, and roused passion to an alarming height. It was in the midst of this seething excitement that the Council came to its decision. So far as the doctrinal question was involved it resolved to say nothing about it, but on the practical point there was a difficulty. If the Council upheld Trolliet it virtually expelled Calvin. If it condemned Trolliet it gave Calvin a victory which it saw no justification for. Therefore it came to a compromise.<sup>2</sup> On 9 November it declared that the *Institutes* was a well-written book, that the doctrine it set forth was sound doctrine, that Calvin was a good man and an excellent minister, and for the future no one was to speak against him or his teaching. Trolliet accepted the verdict and offered his hand to Calvin in token of amity. But the Council refrained from taking any steps against Trolliet. On the

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 519.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 525.

contrary,<sup>1</sup> on 15 November, at his own request, it pronounced him to be a good man and a good citizen, and gave him a formal certificate to that effect. The Council well knew that the giving of the certificate would act like gall and wormwood on Calvin, but some of the councillors were all the more inclined to give it on that account.

Farel and Viret had come to Geneva to hear the end of the case of Trolliet, and Calvin took occasion to bring pressure to bear on the Council with regard to one of the ministers who, in addition to holding false doctrine on the Sacrament of the Supper and on the Person of Christ, was said to be guilty of usury. This was de Ecclesia of Vandœuvres. On 14 November<sup>2</sup> they accompanied Calvin to the Council and backed him up while he argued for the deposition of de Ecclesia from his office. The Council decided that while de Ecclesia's conduct was blameworthy it would be sufficiently punished by a warning that a repetition of his offence would lead to extreme measures. This was much less than the ministers thought the case required and they resolved<sup>3</sup> that they would not recognize him as an ecclesiastical brother, whereupon he complained to the Council which summoned the ministers and asked them to receive him. The ministers refused till he had shown signs of repentance. The Council thereupon resolved that he should submit to censure from the Venerable Company and deputed three of its members to see that he did it. When he appeared he posed as an innocent person who had come to bestow his pardon on those who had wronged him rather than as a culprit who was to receive an admonition, and the deputies reported to the Council that he could not be retained in office any longer. On 30 January<sup>4</sup> he was removed from his post and told to find employment for himself elsewhere.

During the time that the case of Trolliet and that of de Ecclesia were in hand another much more troublesome and dangerous began to take shape. The new councillor Philibert Bonna was a man of no small social eminence, but he was a man of loose moral character. The minister Raymond Chauvet had to rebuke him on account of indecent behaviour towards a married woman, and he took the rebuke amiss. As he was out with Philibert Berthelier and Balthazar Sept, two of his friends,<sup>5</sup> he met Chauvet, and the three of them walked alongside Chauvet till they reached the Church of St. Peter's, loading him with abuse and insult. They were reported to the Consistory. Using Calvin as spokesman the Consistory reported the matter to the Council, and on 1 November the Council

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxii. 527.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 526.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 530.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 535.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 520.

imprisoned them, while the Consistory suspended them from all Church privileges. On the 15th<sup>1</sup> the Council summoned them to meet Chauvet for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation. After the form had been gone through, the three took up the position that as they had done all the Council asked of them they were entitled to all their rights as Church members. The Consistory thought otherwise,<sup>2</sup> and told Sept that until he and his companions showed signs of repentance they would be held as excommunicate.

Recognizing that their case was hopeless before the Consistory and believing that they had friends enough in the Council to secure their triumph, Bonna, Sept, and Berthelier conspired to set the Consistory and the Council at variance by maintaining that it lay within the jurisdiction of the civil power alone to determine right of access to the Church's sacraments or exclusion from them. They had many in Geneva who sympathized with them and there were many also in Switzerland, so that their tactics were well chosen. Calvin on the other hand had made up his mind that the right of admitting and excluding persons from Church privileges belonged to the Church only, and that no civil power had anything to do with it. A trial of strength of no small magnitude was thus approaching.

As the elections for 1553 were beginning to heave in sight, Calvin's opponents began to work for a majority by playing on the popular antipathy to foreigners. Driven from their own lands they were coming into Geneva in shoals. When the elections took place the Libertines topped the poll with a sweeping majority, putting in Claude Vandel, J. B. Sept, and Gaspard Favre, men hand and glove with Perrin and all of them Calvin's bitter personal enemies. It was not long till they made their presence felt. On 10 April<sup>3</sup> a letter came from Berne asking the Genevans to take particular note of those who were streaming into their city. They all declared themselves to be refugees for the sake of religion, but they included not only women and children but also men of war whose presence might easily become a source of danger to the city's independence. The day after this letter was received, the Council decreed<sup>4</sup> that no one should be allowed to receive lodgers except regularly recognized citizens, and no one should receive lodgers for more than three days without giving information to the captain of their quarter. Further, all incomers must hand over their weapons of every description, except swords, and should not wear their swords in public but should leave

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 527.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 528.

<sup>3</sup> Roget, iii. 287.

<sup>4</sup> Opera, xxi. 539.

them in their houses. Besides this, all incomers and strangers must be debarred from acting as guards, and must subscribe to pay for a guard composed entirely of citizens. The edict of disarming provoked murmuring both among the refugees and among those who sympathized with them, but it was rigorously enforced.

While the Council was taking official action, private citizens were taking unofficial action to make the refugees uncomfortable. The children mocked at them on the street. Bands of bravoes took every opportunity of hustling them. Bonnivard<sup>1</sup> says that in Perrin's house and frequently in that of Vandel, rough fellows were filled with liquor and then turned out to cudgel any stranger they encountered. When they returned and recounted their exploits they were lauded as patriots and heroes. In a letter written at a later date, Calvin says: "It is impossible to detail the inhumanity, the barbarism, the savage cruelty with which the enemies of the Gospel treated the exiles of Christ whom they had received as co-religionists. And at the same time, the calmness, the moderation, the patience which the exiles showed under the indignities are borne witness to even by those who inflicted them."

The next step taken by the Libertines was to forbid the ministers the exercise of some of their rights as citizens. On 29 February, immediately after the elections, the ministers Poupin and Des Gallars complained, by the mouth of Calvin,<sup>2</sup> that when they were at the last meeting of the General Council they were told that priests had no right there, whereupon the Little Council resolved to look into the subject and come to an agreement with the Two Hundred upon it. On 16 March it was formally decided that so long as the ministers retained their office they should be excluded from all meetings of the General Council of the citizens. Of course the exclusion did not affect Calvin personally, as he was not received as a citizen for some years after this date, but it affected the other ministers and inflicted on them a humiliation for which there was no justification except antipathy.

Thereafter, in order to limit the action of the Consistory and prepare the way for assuming control over it, intimation was sent to the Consistory, on 28 March,<sup>3</sup> that the syndics and Council wished to be furnished with the names of all who were cut off from the sacraments of the Church, and with the reasons for which excommunication had been pronounced against them. The Consistory answered that this demand on

<sup>1</sup> Roget, III. 285 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, xxi. 537.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 538.

the part of the Council was "not according to God" and they would all resign rather than yield to it.

It is probable that sympathy with Philibert Bonna was at the back of the Council's action. He was then under summons to appear before the Consistory and answer the charge of singing an indecent song.<sup>1</sup> He answered the summons on 30 March and denied his guilt, but the ministers Fabri and St. André bore witness that they had heard him, whereupon the Consistory decreed that he must show signs of true penitence before he was admitted to the Lord's Table. In defiance of the decree he presented himself as an intending communicant on the day of Pentecost. For this act of contumacy he was summoned before the Consistory on 15 June<sup>2</sup> and, in answer to the question whether he was sorry for his offence and was anxious to live better in the future, he replied that from that time forward he would answer no summons which the Consistory sent him; he would submit to his fellow-citizens and not to a batch of foreigners, and as for the ministers they were not princes, he did not care whether he was on good or bad terms with them, and they ought to keep themselves quiet. The Consistory reported him to the Council but got little satisfaction.

It had scarcely recovered from the shock of indignation which Bonna's harangue aroused when it received intimation of another invasion on its jurisdiction. Without consulting the ministers, the Council resolved on its own initiative to transfer Bourgoing, the minister of Jussy, to Geneva, and to appoint Des Gallars to go from Geneva to Jussy.<sup>3</sup> Again the ministers protested and again their protest was disregarded.

Calvin's influence was now at zero, and he was utterly disheartened. It seemed as if the fabric he had been rearing so carefully was crumbling into ruins. The city was full of those who were disaffected towards him, and the majority of the Council was composed of his bitter enemies. He was in wretched health. He was overburdened with work. He was harassed with endless anxiety about the position of the Protestants who were suffering persecution in France, and about the attitude of antagonism to his teaching which was being taken up by the Lutherans in Germany and, for a short time at least, his courage gave way. On Monday, 24 July,<sup>4</sup> he appeared before the Council and said he hoped they would not take it ill if, when so many were endeavouring to do him injury and were murmuring against discipline and

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 538.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 543.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 546.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 547.

were turning away from the preaching of the Gospel, he resigned his charge and betook himself elsewhere, and so brought his service in Geneva to an end. Then he retired to his house and was seen in public no more for a fortnight.

It was just at this point that Servetus appeared. That Servetus was arrested and condemned to a cruel death cannot be sufficiently lamented, but the condemnation was the work of a court which was beyond Calvin's control. If it had resolved to let Servetus go, Calvin would have been unable to hurt a hair of his opponent's head.

While the trial of Servetus was going on, the struggle with the Libertines reached its climax. The last phase was entered on in the month of September. Philibert Berthelier, one of Bonna's intimate friends, and a man whose father had played a conspicuous part in the struggle for the city's independence and who occupied an influential social position, was lying under excommunication for various offences; nevertheless, on 1 September, he asked the Council to compel the Consistory to admit him to the Lord's Supper later on in the month. The Council agreed to do what he asked. Its decision is minuted as follows:<sup>1</sup> "The Council having heard both sides, resolves that if Berthelier feels his conscience clear and believes himself to be in a fit condition to receive the Sacrament, he may do so or refrain from doing so if he pleases".

On the following morning, Saturday the 2nd, the Council was informed that Calvin<sup>2</sup> absolutely refused to accept the decision it had come to on the previous evening. His reasons were, first, that Berthelier had not admitted his fault to the ecclesiastical tribunal as he ought to have done, and had not been reconciled to it; and second, that the right of determining who ought to sit at the Lord's Table lay with the Consistory and not with a purely civil court. As for himself, he would die rather than give way on this matter. The Council felt itself in a difficulty. It did not see its way to assert itself in face of Calvin's inflexible decision, and it did not desire to withdraw its assumption of power to review and endorse or cancel sentences pronounced by the Consistory.<sup>3</sup> It therefore simply advised Berthelier not to present himself for admission to the Sacrament.

Next morning Calvin went to the pulpit of St. Peter's. The church was crowded with an excited multitude which included many Libertines who had loudly expressed their intention of communicating. In the course of his sermon

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 547.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Calvin said: "As for myself, so long as God allows me to remain here, I shall use the courage I have received from Him, and shall govern my conduct by His will. And as we are now about to receive the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, if anyone whom the Consistory has forbidden to approach the Holy Table endeavours to do so, I shall certainly oppose him even if it costs me my life." Beza says<sup>1</sup> that after he had spoken of the sacred mysteries, "he raised his hand and said with a loud voice, 'I will die sooner than this hand will stretch forth the holy things of the Lord to those who are profane'".

Berthelier was not present and, according to Beza's account, the sacrament was celebrated with extraordinary silence,<sup>2</sup> not without some trembling, as if the Deity Himself had been visibly present. At the supreme moment, by sheer moral courage, Calvin had conquered. But he did not know he had conquered. His vision of the future was overcast with clouds of despair.

In the afternoon of the same day he appeared again in the pulpit of St. Peter's and expounded the farewell address of St. Paul to the elders of Ephesus. In the course of his exposition he said:<sup>3</sup> "I must tell you this may be the last discourse that I shall address to you—not because I am about to take leave of Geneva of my own accord, God forbid that I should wish to desert my post—but because I take what has just happened as an intimation that you no longer need my services. If I am not allowed to do what my conscience tells me ought to be done, and if pressure is put on me to do what is forbidden by the law of God, I can go no farther. So long as I am free to preach and to serve you I will do it in the name of God, but if I am to be burdened with intolerable restrictions I will not oppose myself to those who are in power. Therefore I say to you what Paul said to the elders of Ephesus, I commend you to the grace of God."

When he reached his own house he unburdened his mind in a long letter to Viret, in which he says:<sup>4</sup> "The wicked now obtain what they have so eagerly sought. But if God yields so much power to Satan as to strip me of my ministry by his means I am satisfied. He who has inflicted the wound will find the remedy."

This conflict was going on and this letter was written during the time that Servetus was on his trial, and they shed a flood of light on Calvin's position and influence. It is usually supposed that that trial and its issue prove Calvin to have been

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. xiv. 606.

a dictator who ruled the city of his adoption with a rod of iron which no one could resist. The supposition is as far from the truth as it can be. During the time of Servetus's trial, Calvin himself was ceaselessly attacked by formidable enemies, his friends were few, and his power to defend himself was at its minimum. Everything that could be done was being done to humiliate him, and his ministry in Geneva might be ended at a day's notice. It is therefore less than fair to lay on his shoulders all the responsibility for the sad event in which the trial closed.

On Monday there was a great discussion<sup>1</sup> in the Council on the question whether the *Ordonnances* authorized the Consistory to pronounce sentences of excommunication. A committee was appointed to investigate what the *Ordonnances* said on the point. It was found that they provided (Articles 88 and 89) that when the Consistory found it necessary to excommunicate anyone, it must report accordingly to the Council. On the 8th, Calvin and the ministers pled that the duty of reporting did not imply that the Consistory which reports must wait till their report had been approved by the Council before proceeding to inflict punishment. On the 18th, the Council gave its decision.<sup>2</sup> It ran to this effect that the *Ordonnances* be observed as formerly. The majority would fain have declared for an interpretation which reduced the Consistory to impotence, but in face of the certainty that such an interpretation would be followed by Calvin's resignation and departure, and of the strong probability that all the ministers he had gathered round him would follow his example and that ecclesiastical chaos and anarchy would begin, they dared not. On the other hand they were unwilling to acknowledge the spiritual independence of the ecclesiastical court. Therefore they left things as they were before the strife began. No result could have been more unsatisfactory. It made another fight over the same ground at a later period almost a certainty and such a fight Calvin did not feel able to face.

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, XXI. 552.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 554.

## XI

### SERVETUS

WE have now to consider a passage in the life of Calvin which has given rise to more discussion than any other, and which is generally supposed to mark his name with an indelible stain. It is his connexion with the trial and execution of Servetus.

Miguel Serveto y Revés<sup>1</sup> was a Spaniard of good family. He was born at Tudela in Navarre on 29 September, 1511, two years after Calvin first saw the light at Noyon. His mother was French, but his father was a Spaniard who followed the profession of a notary at Villeneuve in Aragon. After he had become acquainted with Latin, Greek, and even with the rudiments of Hebrew, he went to the University of Saragossa, where he studied mathematics, astronomy, and geography. Thereafter his attention was turned to law as a means of livelihood, and in 1528 he went to Toulouse for instruction.<sup>2</sup> While there he fell in with a copy of the Scriptures and speedily became deeply interested in the truths it set before him. As his intellect was quick, and his speculative tendencies had not been modified by a systematic training in theology or in the history of doctrine, he soon began to form opinions which were somewhat out of harmony with orthodoxy. In 1529 he became secretary to Quintana, the chaplain and afterwards the confessor of Charles V, and he accompanied Quintana to the Emperor's coronation at Bologna. In 1530, in the same connexion, he was present at the Diet of Augsburg, where he saw Melanchthon and other German reformers. At the close of the Diet he went to Coburg with Bucer, and later in the year he went to Basel, where a freethinker, such as he knew himself to be, had some chance of finding a welcome. There is no trace in his history of any spiritual crisis such as Luther passed through or such as Calvin's life turned upon, and this has left its mark on his theology. His whole

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, VIII. 766.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 767.

interest is concentrated on questions that are metaphysical for the most part, and that have a remote bearing on sin and salvation, and he has the audacity to assume that it was reserved for him to correct the findings on the doctrines of the nature of the Godhead and the Person of Christ which had commended themselves to the mind of the Church as the result of prolonged and keen discussion during the early Christian centuries.

At Basel Oecolampadius received him kindly and did what he could to check the vagaries in which he perceived Servetus was indulging. His well-meant efforts were futile. Servetus had a book in hand. It appeared in 1531 and it is a marvellous production for a young man of twenty. It displays no small speculative ability and erudition. There are references to thirty different authors, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic. It was printed by John Setzer, at Hagenau in Alsace, and its title is "De Trinitatis Erroribus Libri Septem per Michael Serveto, alias Revés, ab Aragonia, Hispanum, Anno MDXXXI".

Starting with the proposition that Jesus was a man, he asserts the progressive deification of this man, which is effected by the Spirit and reached its climax at the date of Christ's exaltation. The essence of God is one and indivisible, therefore the doctrine of three persons in one essence is absurd. The Logos is the disposition by which God reveals His will to us. Before the Incarnation the Logos is God Himself speaking. After the Incarnation the Logos is Jesus Christ.

The opinions expressed in the book were sufficiently heterodox to awaken hostility, and the hostility was increased by the arrogant language in which he clothed them. The result was that both Romanists and Protestants rose up against him. Quintana got an imperial order that the book was to be suppressed. Oecolampadius, writing to Bauer in August, 1531, says he does not know how such a beast as Servetus had crept in among them. Bucer, moved from his usual mildness, declared from the pulpit that the author should have his bowels torn out.

In 1532 Servetus published another book in which he retracted his opinions, not as erroneous but as puerile.<sup>1</sup> "What I have lately written, courteous reader, I altogether retract. I do so not because it is false, but because it is imperfect, as written by a boy for boys." Then he lays the blame of the imperfection partly on his own lack of experience

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, II. 720 n.

and partly on the printer's carelessness. This second book is entitled "Dialogorum de Trinitate, Libri Duo," and contains four chapters—de justificatione, de regno Christi, collatio legis et evangeli, and de charitate. These have disappeared.

In order to secure his safety more thoroughly he dropped the name of Servetus and assumed that of Villeneuve. He made his way to Paris and in 1534 he enrolled himself as a student of medicine. Calvin was in Paris at the same time and was beginning to be known as an expositor of Scripture truth. Servetus therefore proposed to have a discussion with him. A meeting was arranged, but for some reason now indiscernible Servetus did not keep his appointment. Leaving Paris in 1535 he went to Lyons and got employment as a proof-reader to the printers Melchior & Caspar Trechsel. From their presses he published a new edition of the Latin version of Ptolemy's Geography, with woodcuts, notes, tables, dissertations on manners and customs, and description of nations and countries.<sup>1</sup> In the first edition of the book he says that Palestine is not a land flowing with milk and honey. Visitors to it consider it inhospitable, barren and altogether without amenity. This statement was brought forward at his trial at Geneva as a proof that he rejected the authority of the Scriptures.

In 1536 he returned to Paris and resumed his studies in medicine, succeeding Vesalius as assistant in anatomy to Professor Gunther. He discovered the pulmonary circulation of the blood and proclaimed it. He also threw himself into the conflict between the Galenists and Averroists and made some enemies by his arrogance. He delivered a series of lectures on geography and attracted a distinguished audience, including, among others of importance, a young ecclesiastic named Pierre Baumier. He published a Dissertation on Astrology in which he characterized his opponents as windbags, whereupon the Parlement of Paris commanded him to withdraw his book from circulation on pain of losing his privileges as a member of the University. In 1537 he also published a learned and popular book on Syrups.

Leaving Paris he made his way to Charlieu, near Lyons, and practised there as a physician, and then, after various wanderings, he settled in Dauphiny, where his friend Pierre Baumier was Archbishop. He resided in the Archbishop's palace, and while there produced a second edition of Ptolemy, with the passage about Palestine left out. In 1542 he

<sup>1</sup> Willis, 97.

published an edition of the Latin Bible of Xantes Pagnini, with notes which show that he had anticipated some of the conclusions of modern criticism. He says that such psalms as the second, the twenty-second, the forty-fifth have an immediate reference to some historical personage of the times in which they were composed, and a secondary reference to Christ. He also says that the servant of the Lord spoken of in Isaiah is Cyrus, King of Persia, in the first place, and symbolically he is the Redeemer of the world. Naturally this did not please either Romanists or Protestants<sup>1</sup> and the book was placed on the "Index Expurgatorius".

Servetus now felt himself ready to undertake something more ambitious than he had hitherto attempted, and he wrote a volume by which he thought his ambition might be realized. To discover what Calvin was likely to think of it, he opened communications with a publisher in Lyons, a mutual friend of both, by name Frellon. Through Frellon he asked Calvin three questions:<sup>2</sup> (1) Whether the Man Christ Jesus who was crucified was the Son of God and what was the nature of His Sonship. (2) Whether the kingdom of Christ is in men, when does anyone enter into it, and when is a man born again. (3) Whether faith is as necessary in baptism as in the Lord's Supper, and to what end are the sacraments instituted in the New Testament.

Calvin replied: "We believe and confess that Jesus Christ, the Man who was crucified, was Son of God, and we say that the Wisdom of God begotten of the eternal Father before all time, having become incarnate, was manifested in the flesh. We acknowledge Him to be the Son of David, as by His human nature He descends from David. By parity of reasoning, and because of His Divine nature, He is Son of God. He is one and not twofold, at once Son of God and Son of Man. You own Him as Son of God, but do so in a confused way. By confounding the majesty of God and the humility of man you destroy both."

"The kingdom of God begins in men when they are regenerated, and we are said to be regenerated when, enlightened by faith in Christ, we render entire obedience to God. I deny, however, that sanctification takes place in a moment. It is enough if progress be made therein, even to the hour of death. We do not deny that baptism requires faith, but not such faith as is required for the Supper. The promise of God involved in baptism is of no effect till it is apprehended by faith."

<sup>1</sup> Calvin, "Sermons," 394; Opera, VIII. 496.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, VIII. 482-4.

Servetus criticized<sup>1</sup> these replies and Calvin sent him a long dissertation, but he<sup>2</sup> refused to carry on the discussion on the ground that he was busy, and he sent Servetus a copy of his Institutes for further information.

This did not content Servetus. He sent Calvin a MS. portion of the book he was writing, and a series of thirty letters,<sup>3</sup> which are really theological tracts, and are full of abuse as well as of argument. He finally returned the copy of the Institutes with criticisms scribbled on every page. In the second of these letters he says Calvin makes three sons of God: human nature is a son, the Divine nature is a son, the whole Christ is a son. These notions are the three-headed illusion of the dragon, and they have crept in among the sophists of the present reign of Antichrist. The invisible gods of the Trinitarians are all as false as the gods of the Babylonians. He begins the eleventh letter by saying it will perhaps be worth his while to deliver Calvin from his delusion that Abraham was justified by works, as James says. In the fourteenth he says: "You have no clear understanding of faith in Christ, good works or the kingdom of heaven". In the nineteenth he undertakes to give Calvin some enlightenment on the difference between the Gentiles, the Jews and the Christians, a point on which Calvin is in the dark.

"He threw himself on all my books that he could get hold of," says<sup>4</sup> Calvin at a later date, "and filled the margins with insults like a dog mouthing and gnawing a stone. I speak neither in anger nor in scorn, for the whole thing was a joke so far as I am concerned. The fellow has none of the gravity of a man of letters. He babbles in his talk." In his "Refutation" he says that the letters troubled him as little as the braying of an ass. But he wrote to Frellon on 13 February,<sup>5</sup> positively refusing to have any more intercourse with Servetus, "not doubting that he is a Satan".

In 1553 the book on which Servetus had been engaged made its appearance. It was printed secretly at Vienne, by Balthasar Arnouillet, and a copy<sup>6</sup> was sent to Calvin, perhaps through Frellon. The title was a challenge which Calvin could not fail to see. Servetus gave his work the ambitious description of "Christianismi Restitutio. Totius Ecclesiae Apostolicae est ad sua limina vocatio, in integrum restitura cognitione Dei, Fidei Christi, Justificationis nostrae, Regenerationis, Baptismi, et Coenae Domini manducationis. Restitutio denique nobis regno coelesti, Babylonis impiae captivitate soluta, et antichristo cum suis penitus destructo. MDLIII."

<sup>1</sup> Opera, VIII. 487.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid. 494.  
<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 833.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 645-714.    <sup>4</sup> Ibid. 481.  
<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 734.

Of the original edition<sup>1</sup> only three copies are known to survive. One is in Vienne, one is in Paris, and the third is in the library of the University of Edinburgh. There is a special interest attaching to the Edinburgh copy. "It may claim,<sup>2</sup> and with every appearance of truth, to have been the one originally in the possession of Calvin himself, certain of the printed pages of which were used in the famous (or infamous) trial of the learned Servetus." Schaff says:<sup>3</sup> "The first part of the 'Restitutio' is a revised and enlarged edition of the seven books on the errors of the Trinity to which he had boldly put his name. The seven are condensed into five, and the place of the last two is taken by two dialogues on the Trinity between Michael and Peter. The other part is new. It covers two-thirds of the volume and embraces three books of Faith and the Righteousness of the Kingdom of Christ, four books on Regeneration, and the reign of Antichrist, thirty letters to Calvin, sixty signs of Antichrist, and an Apology to Melanchthon on the mystery of the Trinity and the ancient discipline."

The doctrine of the "Restitutio" is, briefly, God is in all things essence, presence and power in such a way that all that exists is sustained by Him, and partakes of Him. The essence of God is one and indivisible, and a trinity of persons in the oneness of the Godhead is impossible. The conceptions of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit can be likened to nothing so much as to Cerberus, the three-headed dog of the infernal regions. At the same time, the Godhead reveals itself in different dispositions or dispensations. Jesus is human to begin with, and He becomes divine through the action of the Spirit. By this action He is made of the substance of God, but He is not the eternal Logos who before all ages was with God, and who was God. He is not two distinct natures in one person. He unites the nature of God and the nature of man as a child unites the natures of its father and mother. Original sin and hereditary corruption do not exist, for there is no sin without knowledge of good and evil, and that is not attained before the twentieth year. Justification is the consequence of faith and of works, and it changes the nature of those who attain to it. Baptism is an ordinance by which men are made Christians, but no one is fit for it till he has come to manhood. Infant baptism is a doctrine of the devil. All the Churches have gone astray from the doctrine of the apostles, but the Romish Church is the most beastly of beasts and the most impudent of harlots.

<sup>1</sup> Cuthbertson, "A Tragedy," 24-42.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 37.

<sup>3</sup> "History," II. 735.

It was not long till the book was brought before the notice of the Romish authorities in Vienne. On 26 February, 1553,<sup>1</sup> a friend of Calvin, by name William Trie, a French refugee, living in Geneva, wrote to his cousin Antoine Arneys, defending Genevan worship against a charge of disorder, and declaring that although there was spiritual freedom in Geneva, no one was allowed to blaspheme the name of God or diffuse errors with impunity. Then he goes on to say that there is a heretic in Vienne, who declares that the Trinity is a hellish monster, who treats Christ as an idol, and condemns the baptism of children as a devilish institution, and yet is esteemed as if he had done nothing amiss. "The man I refer to is a Spaniard or Portuguese, by name Michael Servetus, but he is known as the physician Villeneuve, and he has just had a book printed at Arnouillet's office. You say that books whose object is to persuade men to abide by Scripture corrupt the world, and yet you protect a venomous creature who means to destroy the whole volume of Scripture, and all that you regard as Christianity. In order that you may know that I do not speak without reason, I send you the first leaf as proof."

The question has been raised, how did Trie come to know so much about the book so soon after its publication? There can be no doubt that it was through his friend Calvin, and there can be no doubt that Calvin knew, whenever he saw it, that its author and the physician Villeneuve and Servetus were one and the same person. But it does not follow that Calvin was responsible for Trie's letter to Arneys. Trie was surely quite competent to seize on the information he had received and use it to make a point against his correspondent.

Arneys in a fume rushed off with Trie's letter to some of the clergy who took it to the Inquisitor Ory.<sup>2</sup> He summoned to his aid Cardinal Tournon. Servetus was arrested and examined. He declared he knew nothing either of the "Restitutio" or of its author. His rooms were searched but nothing incriminating was found. A visit to the printing office likewise furnished nothing, so Arneys was commanded to write to Geneva and get proof. Trie answered, on 26 March,<sup>3</sup> "I cannot send you the book itself but I shall give you two dozen pieces written by his own hand, containing part of his heresy. If one put the printed book before him he could deny it. He cannot do that with his own handwriting." He continues: "I confess one thing to you, namely that I have had the utmost difficulty in getting them from Calvin, not because he is un-

<sup>1</sup> Opera, VIII. 835, 840-48.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 838.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 840.

willing to have such execrable blasphemies put down, but as he does not wear the sword of justice himself, he considers it his duty to repress heresy by sound teaching rather than to crush it by force. I importuned him, however, so much, showing him I was sure to be charged with frivolity if he did not come to my aid, that at last he gave me what you see."

In face of this letter it can scarcely be maintained that Calvin actually prompted Trie to denounce Servetus to Arneys. It is much more probable that Calvin, in conversation with Trie, soon after he had received his copy of the "Restitution," enlarged on what he thought was the execrable character of the book, and that Trie went away and denounced Servetus to Arneys on his own responsibility. Calvin's reluctance to hand over the evidence needed to convict Servetus is unmistakable. It is an interesting question, what overcame it? Roget suggests the following answer.<sup>1</sup> He says: "If we reflect that it is in the month of March, 1553, precisely when this correspondence is going on between Trie and Arneys, that Calvin stirred up the Bernese Government to make a last urgent appeal on behalf of the five unfortunate students who had been languishing in prison in Lyons for a year, we are led to conclude that Calvin wished his denunciation of the common enemy of the faith held by all the Churches to be taken as a proof of the Christian sentiments which animated all the Reformers, and as a means of commanding them to the favour of the tribunal which held the lives of the students in its hand". In other words, Calvin hoped to purchase the lives of the students at the price of the death of Servetus. If he cherished such a hope it was disappointed. The students were burnt alive.

One consideration which hinders the acceptance of this solution is that it has no foundation in any of the documents connected with the case which have come to light. It is a conjecture. Besides, in his "Refutation of the Errors of Servetus," Calvin denies that there were any negotiations with the Romish authorities. He says:<sup>2</sup> "From what did such a sudden agreement between me and the satellites of the Papacy arise? Is it a likely thing that letters would pass between us, and that those who agree with me as closely as Belial with Christ should plot together like companions against the common enemy. There is no need to spend time in refuting a slander so frivolous. It falls to the ground when I say there is nothing in it."

It is therefore likely that Trie's statement is a correct one. Calvin felt that it was dishonourable to use confidential papers

<sup>1</sup> "Histoire," IV. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, VIII. 479.

for the purpose of throwing Servetus into the jaws of the wolves, but the desire to help Trie out of an awkward situation, and to cut off a pernicious heresy by the root, overcame his scruples, and he gave Trie what he asked.

The Cardinal and the Inquisitor again examined Servetus, and after weaving a long tissue of falsehoods and prevarications he admitted that he had written the manuscript placed before him. Then he was foolish enough to try to break the point of his admission by a transparent misrepresentation. "My Lords," he said, "I will tell you the truth. Twenty-five years ago, when I was in Germany, a book, by one Servetus, was written and printed at Hagenau; but I know not whence the man came. At that time I was in correspondence with Calvin. He addressed me as Servetus, for there is a similarity between his appearance and mine, and I assumed the character."

Although he was kept under arrest and his condemnation was certain he was allowed an astonishing amount of liberty and he used it to prepare for flight. He concealed some money, a gold chain, six gold rings and other valuables on his person and watched his opportunity. On the morning of 7 April<sup>1</sup> he put on a furred dressing-gown and a black velvet cap, went into the court, and asked the jailer for the key of the garden in which he had liberty to walk. Thereafter he climbed the wall and vanished into the country. Pursuit was attempted but was unsuccessful. On 17 June, the civil court pronounced sentence.<sup>2</sup> It ran, that having considered the documents containing his heresy and letters and writings by the hand of Villeneuve, addressed to Calvin, which Villeneuve admitted to be his, the tribunal condemned him to be fined 1000 livres Tournois, and as soon as he was caught he was to be conveyed in a cart, along with his books, on the day and hour of market, through the usual streets to the Place Charneve and there burned at a slow fire till his body was reduced to ashes. In the absence of Servetus himself the sentence was executed in effigy. The ecclesiastical court pronounced sentence<sup>3</sup> to the same effect in December, that is two months after his execution at Geneva.

Flight had saved him for the moment, it might have saved him altogether, but in August he went to Geneva. After his escape from Vienne he wandered about the south of France and finally made up his mind to go to Naples. But what took him so far out of his way as Geneva? No explanation hitherto suggested is satisfactory. Calvin says it was "a fatal madness". He took up his quarters in the tavern "The Rose," and in several ways displayed a remarkable lack of prudence

<sup>1</sup> Opera, VIII. 788.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 784.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 852-6.

in connexion with his visit. In the afternoon of Sunday, 13 August, he went into a church where Calvin was to preach.<sup>1</sup> After the service began he was recognized by some one who sent information of his presence to Calvin, and Calvin immediately took steps to have him arrested.

In a letter to Farel written nearly seven years before—13 February, 1546—mentioning that he had received a boastful letter and a volume of “delirious fancies” from Servetus, Calvin says:<sup>2</sup> “He takes it upon him to come hither if it is agreeable to me. But I am not willing to pledge my word for his safety for, if he does come, I shall never permit him to depart alive if I have any authority in this city.” This implies no personal antipathy towards Servetus on the part of Calvin. The feelings which animated him were practically the same as those which might animate the chief of the police with regard to a notorious murderer, whom it is his duty to track down and bring to justice wherever he could find him. And in Calvin’s eyes Servetus was worse than a murderer, for a murderer destroys only the body, whereas the heresy which Servetus was promulgating was believed by Calvin to destroy both body and soul. The letter therefore gives the key to all that happened after Servetus had been arrested.

In accordance with the laws of Geneva it was necessary that when an accusation was made against anyone the complainant should constitute himself a prisoner alongside the accused. Calvin’s secretary, a French refugee named Nicolas de la Fontaine, acted as was required. Calvin made no secret of his responsibility for his secretary’s action. In his “Refutation” he says:<sup>3</sup> “I cheerfully confess that, inasmuch as the laws of the city forbade a legal proceeding to be started otherwise, I provided the accuser”. Calvin then put into his secretary’s hand<sup>4</sup> a list of thirty-nine articles detailing the charges to be made against Servetus. They may be reduced to three. 1. Servetus attacked the doctrine of the Trinity, saying that a God split into three was a devil with three heads like Cerberus the dog of hell (Art. 9). 2. He attacked the doctrine of baptism saying that infant baptism was an invention of the devil, an infernal deception meant for the destruction of Christianity (Art. 34). 3. He attacked the doctrine of the Church of Geneva by attacking the person and teaching of Calvin (Art. 39). Others bore on his opinions on

<sup>1</sup> Roget, “Histoire,” IV. 44 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* VIII. 461.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, XII. 283.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 727-31.

the sonship of Jesus Christ, the immortality of the soul, and the nature of Spirit.

The first examination took place on Monday, 15 August, before Lieutenant Tissot. To our minds it is ludicrous that the chief of the police should be thought fit in virtue of his office to try a case of heresy in theological doctrine. But Church and State in Geneva were practically one, and the native-born Genevans insisted that all offences against the Commonwealth, whether they were religious, ecclesiastical, moral, civil, or criminal, should be dealt with by one and the same bench of magistrates and one and the same set of police officers. When Calvin created the Consistory, intending it to be a court of the Church which should deal with offences against the faith and manner of life required by the Church, he met with the stiffest opposition; he had to accept as members of the Consistory men who might have respectable characters but who had no theological training, and when the case of Servetus came on hand the right of the Consistory to deal even with those who approached the Lord's Table was in serious jeopardy. It was therefore in complete accordance with the sentiments of the Genevans that if Servetus was to be tried at all he must be tried by the Magistrates and Council, with the assistance of the ordinary police.

Servetus was put on oath and was taken over the articles submitted by de la Fontaine. De la Fontaine was<sup>1</sup> asked if he were satisfied with the answers. He said he was not, and requested criminal proceedings to be taken in the usual way.

The Little Council then took up the case, and sent sixteen of their number to interview Servetus in prison. On the same day de la Fontaine disappeared as complainer,<sup>2</sup> and Calvin's brother Antoine took his place. On 16 August there was a formal session of the Council. Germain Colladon appeared as counsel for the prosecution and Philibert Berthelier as counsel for the defendant. The register of the proceedings is a short one, and it ends with a resolution to go on with the case to-morrow. It is probable that a good deal of time was spent in altercations.

The appearance of Berthelier was a challenge which Calvin felt he could not ignore. Therefore when the Council met,<sup>3</sup> Calvin asked leave to speak. The court granted the request, and from that time forward Calvin was present as the guiding spirit of the prosecution. Colladon charged Servetus with saying that Palestine was not a fertile country, and therefore with contradicting Moses. To which Servetus answered that

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, viii. 736.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 741.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 743.

he was not referring to the state of Palestine in the time of Moses, but to its state in the time in which they were then living. Calvin's annoyance at this answer may be gathered from his language in reporting the incident.<sup>1</sup> "The villainous cur, though refuted by obvious argument, did but wipe his muzzle and say there is no harm done here. Let us go on."<sup>2</sup> Calvin referred to a note in Servetus's edition of the Bible of Pagnini, in which the servant of the Lord spoken of in Isaiah LIII. is said to be Cyrus. Servetus replied that although the primary reference was to Cyrus, the most important reference was to Christ.

He was<sup>3</sup> charged with calling the Trinity a Cerberus, to which he answered that he believed in a Trinity, but it was not one which divided the essence of the Godhead, and he said the disciples of the apostles, and the first doctors of the Church, believed as he did. He cited Polycarp, Ignatius, Irenaeus, and Justin Martyr. Calvin says: "I ordered the books to be brought, and pointed out certain places which asserted our faith not less plainly than could have been done at our request".

He was charged with holding that all creatures are of the substance of God. Calvin asked him:<sup>4</sup> "If anyone stamps on this pavement and says he stamps on God, would you not be horror-stricken to have subjected the Majesty of God to this indignity?" Servetus replied: "I have no doubt that this bench and this bar, and all else you can show me, is of the substance of God". When it was represented to him that on his argument the devil was substantially God, he smiled and said: "Do you doubt it? I hold as a general principle that all things are a part and a portion of God, and the nature of things is the substantial Spirit of God."

The Council met again on 21 August. Being persuaded that their eventual decision would be important for the general interests of Christianity,<sup>5</sup> it resolved to write to Vienne for copies of the indictment and of the evidence used in the trial there. It was also resolved to write to the Churches of Berne, Basel, Zurich, Schaffhausen and other places informing them of what was going on. Calvin also wrote to Frankfurt urging the brethren there to seize every copy of the "Restitutio" and to destroy them, and he expressed his hope that the author of the pernicious book would be punished.

While the Council was waiting for the answers from Vienne and the Swiss Churches, it met on 24 August and made some

<sup>1</sup> Opera, VIII. 745.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 496.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 497.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 751.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 746.

inquiries into the past history of Servetus. The inquiry was conducted by Claude Rigot, a Perrinist, whom Calvin held in contempt. In answer to questions addressed to him, Servetus said<sup>1</sup> that with the exception of a few hours' detention at Charlieu, he had never been in prison till recently at Vienne, that physical deformity prevented him from living a dissolute life, that he believed his book would be helpful to true Christianity, and he had only come to Geneva on his way to Naples, where he meant to practise medicine. For that purpose he had secured a lodging in the Hotel Rose,<sup>2</sup> and he had asked his landlord to find a boat which would take him up the lake to a place where he could strike the road to Zurich.

He also laid a memorial<sup>3</sup> before the Council, which shows that he had begun to realize his danger. In this memorial he asserted that it was unknown to the apostles and the ancient Church to make differences of doctrine the basis of a criminal charge. Such differences should be decided by an Ecclesiastical Court, and banishment should be the ultimate punishment of those who could not be brought to repentance. He asserted that he had committed no criminal offence either in Geneva or elsewhere, that he was neither seditious nor turbulent, and he begged for the assistance of an advocate that he might make a proper defence. His memorial was rejected. Rigot<sup>4</sup> protested against granting him the assistance of an advocate on the ground of Servetus's skill in lying, and finished his speech by presenting thirty-eight articles on which he desired to interrogate the prisoner.

He asked on what grounds Servetus rested his statement that heretics were not dealt with as criminals by the ancient Church, when the code of Justinian makes it plain that they were. Servetus answered<sup>5</sup> that Justinian did not live in the primitive age of the Church. He lived at an age when the primitive simplicity was corrupted, and when the bishops had begun to exercise tyranny. When he was asked what he meant by saying that the truth begins to declare itself, and will be accomplished ere long, did he mean that his teaching was truth and would be universally and ultimately received? He answered, he himself believed he was teaching the truth, and would believe it to be the truth till he was shown the contrary, and it often happened that teaching which was at first denounced as erroneous was afterwards accepted.

On 31 August a reply came from Vienne,<sup>6</sup> refusing to

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, viii. 769.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 773-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 770.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 778-82.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 762.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 783.

furnish the documents asked for, requesting that the prisoner should be handed over to the jailer who had been sent for him, and assuring the Genevan Council that when Servetus reached Vienne, proceedings would be taken which would render all further dealing with him unnecessary. Servetus was called in and asked if he would go back to Vienne under the jailer's escort.<sup>1</sup> In reply he threw himself on the ground, burst into tears, and begged the Council to judge him themselves as they saw fit. He knew death was certain at Vienne. As yet it was uncertain at Geneva. Calvin was at this point on the verge of the severest rebuff and the profoundest humiliation he ever received in Geneva, and it is almost beyond dispute that some intimation of what was coming filtered through the prison bars to Servetus, and encouraged him to believe that the Libertines would yet find a way of escape for him. If this were so, his hope was doomed to disappointment.

On 1 September<sup>2</sup> eleven members of the Council visited Servetus in his cell and took Calvin with them. A theological discussion ensued, which the councillors cut short, ordering both Servetus and Calvin to set down on paper their leading positions with proofs in support of them. Both were to use the Latin language. The reason for the Latin language is that the Council meant to send the two statements round the Swiss Churches. These Churches were thus to be made parties in the trial, and their replies must be recognized as contributing to its fatal issue.

On the following morning Calvin presented the Council with a list of thirty-eight propositions taken from the works of Servetus, which he and the other ministers of Geneva professed themselves ready to prove were blasphemous, full of error, and repugnant to the Word of God and the teaching of the Church.

Servetus was well aware that although Calvin was acting as prosecutor, the bench of councillors and magistrates, by whom the sentence must be pronounced, contained several who would be delighted to thwart Calvin because of the personal animosity they bore him, and on that account he leaped to the conclusion that Calvin might now be treated with insolence. He had had no communication with Calvin's enemies before his imprisonment, but it does not follow that he had had none since the trial began. In fact the evidence is the other way. Bonnivard says:<sup>3</sup> "The enemies of Calvin, who were then governors of the city, by means of the bastard

<sup>1</sup> Opera, VIII. 789.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 792.

<sup>3</sup> Roget, IV. 91.

of Geneva, who was the jailer, and was at the same time one of Perrin's partisans, stirred up Servetus against Calvin, giving him the hope of their support, and in this way they persuaded him to not only dispute with Calvin, but to insult him when the magistrates took him into the prison with them". Roset expresses himself to the same effect, and a letter from Bullinger to Haller indicates a general belief that an understanding had been arrived at between Servetus and the Perrinists. He says : "I am led to believe that these people favour this profane good-for-nothing, because of their hatred to Calvin".

It was just at this point that their struggle to break the power of the Consistory seemed likely to be crowned with success. On 9 August, Berthelier told the Consistory that he proposed to present for baptism a child whose godfather he had promised to become, and he asked the Consistory not to stand in his way as he desired to be of the company of the Church. But in view of the fact that he was lying under its interdict from Baptism, the Supper, and all Church privileges, and that he had not expressed repentance for the faults which were punished by the interdict, it resolved that he could not be allowed to present the child until he had shown signs of the repentance required. Berthelier replied that the Councils had authorized him to partake of the Supper, and that he would act on their authority.

On 6 September the Council met to consider the situation which had been created.<sup>1</sup> The members of the Consistory appeared on the one side, and Berthelier appeared for himself on the other. Berthelier complained that although the Council had pardoned him, the Consistory assumed the right to act as if it were the only court which could give or withhold admission to the Sacraments. In his opinion the Consistory did not possess that power. It belonged to the Council. On the other hand the ministers declared that they had dealt with Berthelier in the gentlest possible manner, and that they had no desire to oppose themselves to the Council in matters which belonged to the Council's jurisdiction. They had no desire to make use of the sword ; it did not belong to them. Their business was to defend the honour of God and of His Word. Berthelier warned the councillors not to let the power of the sword slip through their fingers. The ministers charged them to adhere to the edicts and to the customs which were use and wont with regard to them.

On the 25th, when the Council met to consider the situation, a proposal was made to refer the whole matter to

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxii. 552.

the Two Hundred, but in the end a committee, consisting of the syndics and four others, was appointed to go into the whole affair thoroughly, so that definite proposals for settling it might be made to the Two Hundred and the General Council. "All is in suspense,"<sup>1</sup> wrote Calvin to Bullinger; "thanks to the cowardice of those who side with us, the wicked are allowed to disport themselves with equal insolence and impunity."

The tide of feeling was certainly running strongly in favour of Berthelier and against Calvin; and Servetus seems to have thought that it was an opportune moment for him to speak scornfully of the man against whom so many of his judges were already incensed. He therefore began his answers to the thirty-eight propositions thus: "Calvin<sup>2</sup> arrogates to himself such authority that he formulates articles after the pattern of the doctors of the Sorbonne, condemning this and that at his pleasure, without the slightest reference to Scripture. He does not understand my position or he misrepresents it." Then he states his thesis under two heads, and after referring in support of it to Tertullian, Irenæus, Clement and St. Peter, he says: "I marvel at the impudence of the man who vaunts himself orthodox, although in truth he is a disciple of Simon Magus, as I have shown in my 'Apology'. Who would say that a criminal accuser and a homicide is a true minister of the Church?" Again: "You miserable creature, you condemn what you do not understand". Again: "Satan has blinded your eyes, would that you believed it". Again: "Do not think that the ears of the judges are to be deafened by your dogs' barking". Again: "You don't know what you are talking about. You are ignorant of first principles. You turn us into trunks of trees and blocks of stone by your bondage of the will. You have impudence enough to deny that snow is white."

In two days Calvin produced his "Short Refutation of the Errors and Impieties of Servetus".<sup>3</sup> It was signed by the ministers and presented to the Council. It deals largely with the patristic references of Servetus, not forgetting to bespatter Servetus with a great deal of that personal abuse which seemed essential to the criticism of an opponent's argument.

On 15 September Servetus addressed the following letter to the Council:<sup>4</sup> "Most Honourable Lords, I humbly entreat you to cut short these delays in my trial or to release me. Calvin has come to the end of his part; he does not know what further to say, and he wishes me to die in prison. I am

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xv. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. viii. 507-18.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 519-54.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 797.

devoured by vermin. My underclothing is in rags, and I have nothing to change it with. I have no doublet, and my shirt is wretched. I have presented you with another request, but to prevent you granting it Calvin has referred you to Justinian. It is unfair to use against me the authority of a man in whom he does not believe himself. . . . I have also asked you for an advocate or counsel. You have granted one to my opponent, who has less need than I, who am a stranger and ignorant of your laws. Yet you have granted him one, and have set him free from prison without inquiry. I beg of you to transfer my case to the Council of Two Hundred, and if I am allowed to appeal to it, I declare that I will take upon me all the expenses, damages, and interests, and that I will abide by the Lex Talionis, both with respect to my first accuser, and to his master, Calvin, who is now conducting the prosecution himself. Done in your prison of Geneva."

The Council<sup>1</sup> ordered him to be provided with new clothes, but refused his request for an advocate and for the transference of the case to the Two Hundred. At the same time it sent him the Refutation signed by the ministers. Servetus wrote on the margin,<sup>2</sup> "Here are many signatures and they cry aloud. But what passages do they produce to show that their affirmation of a Son, invisible and really distinct, is accurate. . . . My teaching has been opposed by clamour, not by reason. Written by Servetus. He is alone in this city. But he has in Christ a sure protector." Between the lines as well as on the margin he scribbled notes full of furious abuse.<sup>3</sup> "You are talking rubbish. O you impudent liar. What insanity. You shameless fool. You are bold enough to say that snow is not white," and so on. One cannot help suspecting that he was being broken down by confinement and anxiety and that he was losing command of himself.<sup>4</sup> On the 19th, the Council resolved to send two letters to each of the Swiss cantons, one to the Council, and the other to the ministers.

While the cantons and the Churches were considering their replies, Servetus wrote another letter<sup>5</sup> to the Council asking it to imprison Calvin till the issue between them was decided, as the custom of Geneva required, and he followed up his request with a series of reasons why Calvin ought to be condemned. 1. Because doctrinal matters are not fit subjects for criminal prosecutions. 2. Because Calvin is a false accuser, as may be seen by reading my book. 3. Because by frivolous reasons he would suppress the truth as it is in Christ Jesus.

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, VIII. 798.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 803.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 553 n. b.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 805.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 535-53.

4. Because he follows the doctrine of Simon Magus. "Wherefore he deserves to be condemned, and to be banished from the city, his goods being assigned to me as a recompense for what he has made me lose."

On 10 October he addressed the Council in a more humble tone.<sup>1</sup> "Three weeks ago I asked you for a hearing, and you have not given it to me. I beg you for the love of Christ not to refuse what you would grant to a Turk. I ask for justice and the things I have to say are most important. Your command to provide me with clean clothing has not been obeyed, and my state is more pitiable than ever. The cold torments me greatly, and my colic and my rupture create other kinds of miseries that I am ashamed to describe to you. It is great cruelty that I am not even allowed to beg for the relief of my necessities. For the love of God, my Lords, give command concerning me as a matter of pity or of duty."

The replies<sup>2</sup> from the cantons and the Churches were all in by 19 October, and on the 23rd they were read to the Council. Zurich said that the opinions of Servetus were horrible blasphemies which ought to be put down with rigour. Berne counselled Geneva to preserve its own Church and all the Churches from such a horrible pestilence. Schaffhausen agreed with Zurich, and thought it was a happy thing that Geneva had a chance of dealing with the heretic in such a way that he would never afterwards trouble the Church of Christ. The majority of the Council was bitterly opposed to Calvin. It had humbled him by riding rough-shod over his discipline. It would gladly have humbled him still further by riding in the same style over his doctrine. But his doctrine was notoriously the doctrine of the whole Church, Romanist as well as Protestant, and his defence of it against the attacks of Servetus had evidently the support of public opinion all over Switzerland. The Council therefore felt that any desire to annoy Calvin which it might cherish would have to be suppressed. It resolved to deliver sentence on the 26th and to inform Servetus to that effect. The guards of the prison were also charged to cut off all chance of the prisoner's escape. Perrin was not present at this meeting. He was one of Calvin's bitterest opponents, and he was ill or, if we may believe Calvin, he pretended to be. Whether from feelings of personal chagrin or from humanity he displayed a strong reluctance to carry the proceedings to their now inevitable issue.

On the 26th the Council met in accordance with its previous

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, viii. 806.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 808-23.

decision. Twenty of the twenty-five members took their places. Perrin was one of them. According to Calvin's account of the proceedings<sup>1</sup> in a letter to Farel, written the same day, his purpose was to save "the wretch" from punishment, and he moved that the whole case be transferred to the Two Hundred. The motion was lost. For months past the Council had claimed power to determine all cases, ecclesiastical as well as criminal, and to specify what punishments were to be inflicted in them, and if it was to maintain its consistency it was bound to give decision in this case above all others. No report of the debate has come down to us. The minute<sup>2</sup> is short and to the point. "Having a summary of the process against the prisoner, Michael Servetus, and the reports of the parties consulted before us, it is hereby resolved, and in consideration of his great errors and blasphemies decreed, that he shall be taken to Champel, and there burned alive; that this sentence be carried into effect to-morrow, and that his books be burned along with him."

In the letter to Farel just referred to, Calvin says: "We endeavoured to alter the mode of death, but in vain". This sentence should not be lost sight of. It does not relieve Calvin of responsibility for the prosecution which resulted in the death of Servetus, but it clears him of responsibility for the horrible cruelty of death by fire. Calvin was really more humane than most men of his time.<sup>3</sup> More than once he appeared before the Council asking it to mitigate the punishments it proposed to inflict. He appeared for the same purpose in the case of Servetus, a fact which is either generally unknown or generally ignored. That Servetus was burnt alive in face of Calvin's plea for a less agonizing method of punishment is to be ascribed to the fact that the practice of burning convicted heretics was universal. In Italy, in Spain, in France, and in England, the governing powers both in Church and State agreed that the practice was both justifiable and salutary. The Council of Geneva therefore turned a deaf ear to Calvin's arguments and ordered its sentence to be carried out.

On the forenoon of 27 October the sentence was read over to Servetus. It fell on his ears like a thunderbolt, and for a short time he was like a man demented. Then he began<sup>4</sup> to utter profound sighs and groans, and cried over and over again in Spanish, "Mercy, mercy".

Farel, who had been summoned to Geneva by Calvin, but who had started for the city before the summons reached him, went into the cell where Servetus was lying and exhorted him

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xiv. 657.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. viii. 825.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xxi. 348.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. viii. 498.

to confess his errors and seek forgiveness. Servetus replied that he could not confess error till he had seen one passage which called Jesus the Son of God before His incarnation. It was then suggested that if he would die as a Christian he must be reconciled to Calvin, and the Council agreed that Calvin should visit him along with the councillors Corne and Bonna.

Calvin himself gives an account of the interview.<sup>1</sup> "When the councillor asked what Servetus wanted to say to me, he answered that he wished to ask my forgiveness. I protested that I had never sought to avenge upon him any personal insult. I reminded him that sixteen years ago, at the risk of my life, I had endeavoured to bring him to the Saviour, and that I offered no hindrance to the pious extending the right hand of fellowship to him if he repented. I had written to him several letters in a kindly spirit, and without making any noise about them, until, embittered by my admonitions, he had begun to vomit out his rage and madness. Thereafter, seeing that I would make no further reference to what concerned me personally, I begged him to seek forgiveness from the God he had so shamefully blasphemed, desiring as he did to efface the three persons who are one in the Divine essence, and saying that those who believe in one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three persons really distinct, are believing in a Cerberus. I besought him also to seek pardon from the Son of God, who he had shamefully insulted by his ravings, denying that He was clothed with flesh, and was like us in His human nature, and in so doing denying that He was our Saviour. Then, seeing that my exhortations effected nothing, I did not wish to be wiser than my Master, and, following the commandment of St. Paul, I withdrew from a heretic who was self-condemned."

Calvin does not appear well in this. His own words are convincing proof of a coldness and hardness of nature which, in the sad circumstances, makes him peculiarly unlovable. A sentence of grave regret that a sense of duty compelled him to pursue Servetus to the death, and an appeal that Servetus would forgive him if this sense of duty had led him astray, would have commended him to Servetus and to men of subsequent generations with more effect than this self-righteous lecture.

When the time for execution arrived, Servetus was led to the door of the city hall to hear the sentence read over to him, and when the last words of it issued from the syndic's lips, he fell to the ground crying, "The sword, not the fire".

<sup>1</sup> Opera, VIII. 460.

His fear was that bodily agony might drive him to despair and to the loss of his soul.

Some of those who accompanied the melancholy procession to the place of execution exhorted him to abjure his errors. He protested that he had done nothing worthy of death, and prayed God to forgive his accusers. At this point Farel burst in :<sup>1</sup> "What? You have committed the most heinous of sins, and yet you justify yourself. If you go on thus I will go no farther with you, and will abandon you to the just judgment of God, although I had resolved not to leave you till you had drawn your last breath." Servetus made no further reference to his opinions. He sometimes asked pardon for his ignorance and his errors, and once or twice he asked those who were near to pray for him.

Champel lies about two miles south of Geneva, in a beautiful spot now covered with gardens and vineyards. Across the River Arve is the little town, or rather the suburb of Geneva, called Carouge. Behind it, to the south, lies the long ridge of the Salève, with the pyramid of the Mole farther east, and the glittering mass of Mont Blanc in the far distance. Looking northward across the blue waters of the lake are the fertile slopes that lead up to the lofty mountain range of Jura. At a spot in the centre of this vast amphitheatre a stake had been driven into the ground, and a great pile of oak leaves and oak branches heaped round it. When he came within sight of it, Servetus cried : "O God, preserve my soul. O Jesus, Son of the eternal God, have pity on me." Then he threw himself on his knees and prayed, while Farel addressed the bystanders in these terms : "You see what great force Satan employs when he gets possession of anyone. This man is very learned, and perhaps he thought he was doing right. But he is in the power of the devil, and anyone of you may be the same."

The executioner then took Servetus, fastened him to the stake with a strong rope round his throat, and a chain around his waist, and placed on his head a garland of leaves, covered with sulphur, intended to cut short his agony by suffocation. The torch was applied, a cry for mercy burst from the doomed man's lips, then a prayer : "Jesus, thou Son of the eternal God, have mercy on me". In half an hour all was over, and as the clock of St. Peter's was striking twelve, the spectators of the horrid tragedy turned home in silence.

Who was responsible for it? The responsibility must be divided. Calvin was responsible for<sup>2</sup> the arrest of Servetus, for the pitiless prosecution of the trial, and for the sentence

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xiv. 694.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 589.

of death with which the trial closed. But behind Calvin was the Council, a secular tribunal composed of laymen, some of them Calvin's bitter enemies, and the Council was responsible for the cruelty of sentencing Servetus to death by fire. Behind both Calvin and the Council lay the universal sentiment of the times. As in the days of the later Roman Empire, the Christian was considered not only an enemy of the prevalent religion, but also an enemy of the civil government, and was punished in this double capacity; so in the transition period, when Europe was slowly extricating itself from the mediæval conception of Church and State, as two sides of one and the same organism, the man who dared to dissent from the traditional conceptions of Christian dogma was looked on as an enemy to the honour of God and the welfare of man.<sup>1</sup> With a profound conviction that they were doing God service by ridding the world of those who were worse than mere evildoers, Christian men took those from whom they differed in point of opinion and burned them. Holocausts flamed where Rome held sway. It is not surprising that one victim suffered at Geneva.

It cannot be too often or too emphatically declared that the attempt to propagate truth or establish religion by the civil power is an insult to the truth which is sought to be propagated, and to the religion which is thus established. The truth, especially the truth of Christianity, needs no civil power to take care of it. It can propagate and establish itself in defiance of all the princes and potentates in the world. In the early ages, when everything was against it, it put the gods of Greece and Rome to flight, it dethroned the Cæsars and gave their sceptre to a minister of the gospel. And there is that in it which will enable it to do mightier things than these. But there are few in Europe even at this day who believe this. As a rule the Church thinks it necessary or at least desirable to secure the prestige and power which come from connexion with the State, and although the tragedy of Servetus is no longer possible in any European country, we still have reason to pray that Christian men would place less reliance on compulsion applied by force from without, and more on the illumination of the understanding, and the renewing of the will, which are effected by the internal agency of the Spirit of God.

Calvin never regretted the part he played in the case of Servetus, any more than the public prosecutor regrets the part he played in securing the punishment of a notorious criminal. Farel went the length of asking the Council to publish a full account of the whole process that all the world

might know how nobly Geneva had defended the interests of Divine truth. A shoal of letters poured into the city congratulating Calvin that such a plague spot had been extirpated. At the same time protests began to be heard. In Basel, in Berne, even in Geneva itself, there were those who dared to say that no man should be punished for his opinions.

Calvin felt that the scattered voices might become a chorus, and in order to silence them before they became a storm of condemnation, he approached the Council on 11 December, and asked permission to publish a book on the case which had so recently engaged attention. Permission was granted and on the 26th of the same month he submitted his book for examination. It appeared in the beginning of 1554 with this title,<sup>1</sup> "Fidelis Expositio errorum Mich. Serveti, et brevis eorundem Refutatio, ubi docetur jure gladii coercendos hereticos, et nominatim de hoc homine tam impio et merito Genevæ fuisse Supplicium".

In this book there is not an argument which might not have been used by Torquemada or any other Inquisitor. Calvin alludes to the Jewish laws against idolatry and blasphemy and to the example of the reforming kings of Israel. He lays the usual emphasis on the command "Compel them to come in," and he refers to the death of Ananias and Sapphira, the striking of Elymas with blindness, and the delivery of Hymenæus and Alexander to Satan that they might learn not to blaspheme. But he has much difficulty with the passages which teach toleration. He gets over the command, "Let both grow together till the harvest," by saying that it cannot be taken literally for this would mean the ruin of all discipline. He breaks the edge of the Lord's word to Peter, "Put up thy sword into thy sheath," by saying that the Lord did not really mean to disarm Peter, but only to prevent Peter interposing a hindrance to His own arrest and death. He says the magistrate must put down defective apprehension of Divine truth with the same severity with which he puts down arson or murder, for he is not to bear the sword in vain. He is so sure that he is giving the only possible interpretation of the passages he refers to and of the general teaching of Scripture that he goes the length of declaring,<sup>2</sup> "Now therefore he who maintains that it is wrong to inflict the punishment of death on heretics and blasphemers, deliberately involves himself in the same guilt. This is not imposed on us by human authority. We hear God Himself speaking, and we understand what He has laid down to His Church by a perpetual obligation. Not

<sup>1</sup> Opera, VIII. 457.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 476.

in vain does He expel all those human affections by which hearts are wont to be softened. Not in vain does He make all love of parents and brethren and goodwill to friends to cease. Not in vain does He annul the tender bond between husband and wife, and deprive men almost of their nature that no obstacle may delay their holy zeal. Why is such implacable severity demanded when God is defrauded of His honour, unless the reverence which is due to Him alone is to be preferred to all human duties, and that when His glory is to be asserted our common humanity is almost to be deleted from our memories."

His book received an official character from the fact that it was signed by fifteen of the ministers of Geneva including himself. But it did not silence his critics, and it got an immediate answer which annoyed him exceedingly. A small treatise appeared with the title, "De Hæreticis, an sint persequendi". Its nominal author was Martinus Bellius, and the place of publication was given as Magdeburg, but there is a general consensus of opinion that it was the work of Castellio and that the place of publication was Basel. It is one of the oldest and the most eloquent arguments against intolerance. The author says there are two kinds of heretics—those who transgress the moral precepts of the Gospel, and those who misapprehend its teaching on doctrine. Only the former of these were known to the primitive Church, and only these deserve punishment. To these belong the persecutors. The errors of the latter class are a proof not of wickedness but of ignorance, for if the teaching of Scripture were clear on the points which they misapprehend, difference of opinion would be impossible. The duty of true Christians and the only way in which to advance the reign of Christ is for each individually to conform his life to the Gospel and for all to support each other. He concludes by an apostrophe to Christ, whom he calls to witness the cruelties inflicted in His name: "O Christ, dost Thou command and approve these things? Are these Thy vicars who perform this flaying and dismemberment? Dost Thou come when Thou art called to this cruel butchery, and dost Thou eat human flesh? If thou, O Christ, doest these things, or commandest them to be done, what hast Thou left to Satan to do?"

The treatise was widely read, and it made a great sensation. It was recognized as the utterance not so much of a single man as of a party which was opposed to coercion in matters of doctrine or of opinion. On that account it was greeted with anger and denunciation. Calvin<sup>1</sup> called it a *Farrago*.

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xv. 96.

Farel<sup>1</sup> declared it was the work of a drunken German. Beza<sup>2</sup> said nothing had contained so much blasphemy from the days of the apostles. If Calvin had been less overwhelmed with work he would have taken up his pen and answered it, but he was still in the thick of the fight with Berthelier and the Libertines, and he had a Commentary on Genesis to publish, so Beza undertook the task for him. Beza's work is entitled, "De Hæreticis a civili magistratu puniendis". It repeated Calvin's arguments in a somewhat diluted form.

Other pamphlets appeared attacking Calvin — one by Castellio entitled, "Contra libellum Calvini," another by a fellow-countryman of Servetus,<sup>3</sup> Lyncurt of Tarragona — but Calvin had already said all he had to say, and other interests claimed his attention. That Calvin made a great mistake is now admitted and lamented by all Protestants. It is true that Servetus was only one more added to the multitudes who died violent deaths at the hands of persecutors in the sixteenth century. But the multitudes died at the hands of Romanists who persecuted on principle. Servetus died at the hands of those who persecuted in unconscious contradiction of their fundamental principles. If Scripture is self-evidencing, as Calvin claims it to be, it does not need to be thrust down anyone's throat with the point of the magistrate's sword. And if it is the only authority in matters of faith, it is sheer tyranny, on the part of any man or body of men, to impose any interpretation on their fellow-believers by the pains and penalties which are the arguments employed by the civil power.

The world moves slowly from darkness into light, but it moves ; and on the spot where Servetus was executed there now stands a monument raised by some of those who have a more reverent regard for the convictions of their fellowmen than was cherished by their theological ancestor. On one side it bears this inscription :—

"The 27th October, 1553, died at the stake at Champel,  
Michael Servetus of Villeneuve, in Aragon, born  
29th September, 1511."

And on the other side :—

"The respectful and grateful sons of Calvin, our great Reformer, condemning an error which was that of his time, and firmly attaching themselves to liberty of conscience according to the true principles of the Reformation and the Gospel, have raised this expiatory monument. 27th October, 1903."

<sup>1</sup> Roget, iv. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, xv. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 52.

## XII

### THE FALL OF THE LIBERTINES

DURING the anxious days which followed the execution of Servetus, the situation in Geneva was complicated by Farel,<sup>1</sup> who delivered a sermon in St. Peter's, on 1 November, in which he attacked the young men of the city, declaring them to be worse than brigands, thieves, murderers, and atheists. Naturally the young men were offended, and they raised a tumult in the streets, shouting, "To the Rhone with him". The Council took the matter up, and summoned Farel to come from Neuchâtel to explain himself. He appeared<sup>2</sup> on 13 November, and said he had not referred to all the young men of Geneva, but only to some of them, and his desire was to check their vices. It was far from his intention to blame everybody, and in so far as his paternal remonstrance was concerned, he hoped there were few good people who would have complained of it. As for himself, he would always love and serve the city, for he could never forget it.

His reference to his affection for Geneva touched his hearers, and the Council decreed that the sermon should be considered justified, and ordered the complainers to shake hands with Farel as a sign of harmony. It also gave instructions for<sup>3</sup> a dinner party, at which all those who were engaged in the case were to embrace each other as a sign of peace. The spasm of kindly feeling which followed had some influence on the elections of February, and three out of the four syndics appointed, and a majority of the Council, were on the side of the ministers. This turned out exceedingly fortunate for Calvin, and correspondingly unfortunate for the Libertines.

On 3 November, the same day on which complaint was made against Farel, Berthelier again asked the Council that he should be authorized to sit at the Lord's Table. The Council summoned a meeting of the Two Hundred. The meeting was held on the 7th, and it<sup>4</sup> decided, by a majority, that offenders against ecclesiastical regulations should be

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxii. 559.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 561.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 562.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 560.

admonished in private for the first offence, for a second offence they should be admonished before two or three of the Consistory, for a third offence they should be admonished before the whole Consistory. If these admonitions did not bring the offender to repentance, he was to be remitted to the civil magistrate, whose decision was to be final. If the Consistory thought that anyone ought to be debarred from the Lord's Table, it must remit his case to the Council. No one was to be debarred from the sacraments without the Council's express permission, and no one who was debarred by the Council was to be admitted to partake of them until the Council had given leave. The decision assumed for the civil power a right of admission to sacred ordinances, which inherently belongs to the Church, and as it laid the Consistory prostrate at the Council's feet, the Libertines rejoiced over their victory.

On the 9th, however, Calvin and the other ministers intimated that the decision was one they would never accept or submit to,<sup>1</sup> and they appealed to be heard before the Two Hundred and the General Assembly. The Council allowed the appeal, and on the following day it resolved to take the opinion of the leaders of other Reformed Churches as to how the matter of admission to the sacraments should be regulated.

Foreseeing some such resolution as this, Calvin had already written to Bullinger,<sup>2</sup> "hoping that your most illustrious senate will answer that the form we have already employed is agreeable to the Word of God, and that they would discountenance innovations". He also wrote the ministers of Zurich as a body, asking their assistance in dealing with the magistrates of the city.

In due time the answers of the Churches appeared. In a letter to Farel, dated 30 December, Calvin writes:<sup>3</sup> "Our Council will meet with great disappointment in the replies. I expect there will be a good deal of quarrelling, the issue of which will perhaps be more fortunate than the wicked, who are beginning to get somewhat crestfallen, are counting on. . . . The men of Zurich prudently dissuade from making any change. Those of Basel, without giving any judgment, send a copy of their regulations. The people of Schaffhausen are the most judicious of all. Our neighbours push the matter aside coldly, a thing I expected from the first." On the whole it was evident that the feeling in the Swiss Churches was by no means cordial in favour of Calvin's system, although it was nowhere positively disapproved.

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 561.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xiv. 674.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 722.

About this time, Berthelier's younger brother, François Daniel, began to make trouble. Being summoned before the Consistory for slandering the ministers, he refused to express penitence, and was reported to the Council. The Council endorsed the sentence of the Consistory, refusing him admission to the sacraments. On 2 January, 1554, both brothers were at the bar again. The Council was wearied of the endless worry of their case, and on 11 January it was proposed that steps should be taken to bring parties together on terms of peace, and four members were appointed a committee to see what could be done. The committee reported on 30 January that their efforts had been entirely successful. All had resolved to let bygones be bygones. Instructions were then given for a banquet,<sup>1</sup> and on the 31st all those who had been so long at variance sat down to it. On 2 February<sup>2</sup> the Two Hundred met, and following the lead of the chief syndic, Perrin, swore with uplifted hands, "to lay aside all enmities and never to revive them, and if we fail in this, or break our promises, may punishment be laid on our heads, on our bodies, our property, our wives and our children".

The oath was perfectly satisfactory, the only difficulty lay in keeping it. Calvin was very dubious about the value of after-dinner protestations of eternal friendship, and he wrote to Bullinger:<sup>3</sup> "The citizens have satisfied themselves with shaking hands in token of reconciliation, and with proclaiming on oath that they will no longer support injustice. . . . But it will be necessary before long to renew the conflict."

Soon afterwards he wrote to Blaurer:<sup>4</sup> "Nothing has been settled as to the merits of the controversy, and we know not whether our adversaries will yield or whether a new combat will begin. I have commended the issue of the struggle to God, and am resolved not to retreat one step. At the same time I am not made of steel, and if I am forced to leave, the dispersion of my flock will tear my heart-strings."

On 20 March Berthelier opened up the whole subject again,<sup>5</sup> by appearing before the Consistory and demanding admission to the Lord's Table. He was asked if he expressed penitence for his faults, and replied that he had confessed to the Council, and the Council had absolved him, so that he denied the right of the Consistory to deal any further with him. The admission he demanded was therefore refused. The case dragged on, and finally<sup>6</sup> on 25 October the Council appointed a committee of eight to consider who should, and

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 567.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 568.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xxi. 570.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xv. 40.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 588.

who should not, be allowed to partake of the sacraments, and to draw up their report in view of the communications received from the other Churches. On 22 January, 1555, the Council met to give its final decision.<sup>1</sup> It ran in these terms : "Abide by the Edicts". The Council also resolved to submit this decision to the Sixty and the Two Hundred. On the 24th the Council of Sixty met, and after hearing Calvin, as the representative of the ministers, it read the letters from the other Churches, and resolved to "Abide by the Edicts". On the same day the Two Hundred met, and after hearing the chief syndic on the one hand, and the representative of the ministers on the other, it was agreed to "Abide by the Edicts". As all the trouble had arisen from the question, What are the Edicts ? it is evident that the Councils had formally settled nothing ; Berthelier and the Libertines held that they were one thing, Calvin and the Consistory held that they were another. But as Calvin had drawn up the Edicts, and as he had steadfastly held to his own interpretation of them, and as no one had been able to make him budge from the position he had assumed in the actual working of them, the verdict of the three Councils was practically a verdict in his favour, and he hailed it as such.

On 24 February he wrote to Bullinger :<sup>2</sup> "After long discussion, the right of excommunication, which we claim, has been recognized".

The minute of the Venerable Company records the decision from the same point of view. It tells that Calvin in his speeches proved from many passages of Scripture that the practice of the early Church, in the days of its purity, was the practice which the Genevan Church now claimed the right to follow, and that the Church had an inherent right to determine whom it should admit to, and whom it should debar from, its sacraments ; and although Satan had put forth all his power to get the exercise of this inherent right denied, the chief syndic, Corne, had declared that the ministers had come off victorious, for all the Councils had declared that the Consistory must be allowed to possess and exercise the powers which it claimed, according to the Word of God and the Ordonnances.

Calvin was now beyond question the most influential person in Geneva. The flaming pile so recently seen at Champel was a warning not to be ignored by those who disagreed with his doctrine. The decision of the Councils made it plain that no effective opposition could be offered to his scheme of discipline. But his troubles were very far from being over on that account. He was an object of intense

<sup>1</sup> Opera, XXI. 593.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xv. 449.

personal dislike to his opponents. On 7 June, 1554,<sup>1</sup> while Berthelier's case was going on, he complained to the Council that he had received anonymous letters full of insult, and he asked the Council to discover and punish the sender. The Council came to the conclusion that inasmuch as the writer was unknown, and as the charges in the letter were malicious fabrications, no action could be taken, except to keep the letter *in retentis*, in the hope that the writer might be discovered. On 2 July he appeared again, with the ministers at his back, and urged the Council to bestir itself to discover and punish the writer, as the ministers were slandered, the Churches were defamed, and the republic dishonoured, while such wickedness was allowed to go unpunished, but the Council contented itself with promising to give his complaint its serious attention.

On 24 December<sup>2</sup> he had another indication of the pleasure which his enemies took in annoying him. He had on hand a controversy with the Lutheran theologian, Westphal, on the doctrine of the Sacraments, and he had written a pamphlet against Westphal, which he asked leave of the Council to publish. He had written it at the request of the Swiss Churches, and had already secured their approval of it, and it is evident that he expected to get the necessary permission from the Council as a matter of course. To his disgust, the Council ordered him to produce his pamphlet for examination, and remitted it to a committee of syndics. On their report, on the following day, the permission asked was granted. But this way of treating his work was felt by Calvin as a gratuitous insult. The idea that a work on theology, which his ministerial colleagues approved, and which had received the seal of the ministers of Zurich, needed examination by a set of laymen like the syndics was preposterous, and he wrote to Farel on 26 December:<sup>3</sup> "I was within an ace of throwing my book into the fire. For when I presented it to the Council, that body decided to remit it to examiners. I was so angry that I declared to the four syndics that if I were to live for a thousand years, I would not publish a line in their city. For a long time I have had to stand their insolence. Is it not the height of absurdity that, after I had shown the Council letters by which the ministers of Zurich marked their approbation, to which my colleagues had joined their own, it should have been thought necessary to appoint other examiners?"

A month later, on 28 January, 1555,<sup>4</sup> he had another experience of a similar sort. He proposed to print his "Harmony of the Three Evangelists". Permission was

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 576.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 592.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xv. 356.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 594.

refused till he had given the Council a letter guaranteeing it against any loss or harm in connexion with this book.

While his enemies were making things uncomfortable inside the city, those outside the city walls were equally busy for the same purpose. When Bolsec and Castellio were expelled from Geneva, they found a refuge in the neighbouring canton of Vaud, and there they stirred up prejudice against Calvin in the minds of the local ministers. The result of their work found expression at a ministers' meeting held in Morges in August, 1554. Therefore, on 10 October,<sup>1</sup> the ministers of Geneva wrote to Berne, asking the Bernese authorities to investigate the proceedings and bring the offenders to trial. They said in their letter that, in presence of a great company, their brother, John Calvin, had been slandered in such a way that it was commonly reported he had been condemned as a heretic. Besides, Zebedee, preacher at Nyon, at the marriage of the daughter of the Seigneur de Crans, speaking of the doctrine of predestination, which we hold and are ready to seal with our blood, said, in a set discourse, that it was a heresy worse than all the papacy, that those who maintain it are devils, and that it would be better to maintain the Mass. "Besides,"<sup>2</sup> Jerome (that is Bolsec), who for his errors had been banished from Geneva, had no hesitation in calling our dear brother Calvin a heretic and antichrist." The Genevan ministers therefore besought the Bernese to see that the audacity of those who desired to throw the Church into confusion should be repressed.

But the Bernese were slow to move. They replied that they would advise their ministers to study the things that make for peace, and suggested that the ministers of Geneva should do the same.

While the letter of the ministers was on the way to Berne, Calvin wrote to Toussaint, pastor at Montbeliard:<sup>3</sup> "If you knew only the tenth part of the outrages which are heaped upon me, sensible as you are, you would groan because of the miseries to which I have become hardened. On all sides dogs bark at me. I am called heretic, and all sorts of slanders are hurled against me. The enemy, and those of our own people who are jealous of me, attack me with more ferocity than the most vigorous adversaries of the papist army." The reply from Berne, therefore, roused him to more resolute efforts to defend himself. He stirred up the Genevan ministers to write to Berne a second time, on 27 November,<sup>4</sup> saying that the general reproof which had been distributed could not be

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xv. 257.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 257.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 271.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 319.

taken as an answer to the serious charges which had been formulated, and persisting in their demand for an examination of those who had calumniated Calvin.

After some delay the Bernese Government summoned Zebedee before it. He denied that he had characterized Calvin as a heretic, whereupon on 26 January, 1555, it sent letters<sup>1</sup> to the ministers of Vaud and to the Council of Geneva. In the first of these the ministers were forbidden to discuss difficult doctrines, such as predestination, for such discussions produce factions and strife more than edification, and they were commanded to confine their activities strictly within the limits laid down by the regulations. In the second of these the Council of Geneva was assured that the accusations made by the Genevan ministers were groundless, and that the Genevan ministers themselves had been guilty of doing the very things they condemned in others. The points of this accusation were then specified. A lively correspondence between Berne and Geneva ensued, and Calvin wrote to Bullinger on 24 February, saying:<sup>2</sup> "Scarcely had we experienced some lightening of our load of tribulation when a new war began to take shape on our frontiers. These persons who have characterized me as a heretic, have not only been allowed to go free by the Council of Berne, but have been unchained against me and this Church, armed with the greatest arrogance. We who have endured so many outrages are now cited to respond as criminals. It seems as if there would be no cessation of our torments till our discipline is destroyed."

On 1 April Calvin himself appeared in Berne and addressed the Council,<sup>3</sup> detailing the charges he made against his accusers. They were heard in their own behalf, and sentence was pronounced two days afterwards. It ran to the effect<sup>4</sup> that Zebedee was not proved to have named Calvin in the sermon referred to, and that the imputation of heresy to Calvin was based on a printer's error, which Calvin himself had recognized, and for which he was responsible. Further, ministers under Bernese jurisdiction were strictly forbidden to bring railing accusations against anyone, either in public or in private, and it was suggested that a similar prohibition might be addressed to ministers under the jurisdiction of Geneva. Besides, as the Bernese had no authority over Calvin, they refused to give any opinion either about him or about his teaching, but intimation was given that if books by him, or by any other person, reflecting on their Reformation, were

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xv. 400-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 449.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 530.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 545.

found on Bernese territory, these books would be burned, and any person found speaking against their Reformation would be punished.

The decision made Calvin furious. Before leaving Berne he wrote a letter to the authorities<sup>1</sup> expressing his astonishment that they refused to give an opinion on a doctrine which was not his alone, but was that of all the Swiss Churches. As to the printer's error, it was not his business to correct printer's proofs, and the error was of so little importance that not even an idiot need have been misled by it. There was nothing in his books which justified the threat to burn them, and he had laboured for the cause of the Gospel in a way that deserved commendation rather than censure.

In a subsequent letter<sup>2</sup> he renewed his demand for the punishment of those who raised the cry of heretic against him. The Genevan Council<sup>3</sup> backed up his demand with a letter. The ministers of Lausanne<sup>4</sup> followed suit. Viret and Beza went to Berne to see what could be done by personal interviews, and the result was that the Bernese authorities lost their temper and declared<sup>5</sup> they would give the matter no further consideration. If Calvin had a grievance, the law courts were open, and he could raise an action of damages and lead proof. They themselves were anxious to live on good terms with Geneva, but they would entertain no charges based on hearsay, which might involve innocent men in expense.

This smart rebuff made Calvin feel that his enemies were triumphing over him, and he unburdened his mind to Farel, on 15 May, in these terms:<sup>6</sup> "Affairs here are in extreme confusion. The whole neighbourhood is up in arms against us. Every day adds fuel to the flames. They have already begun to speak of proscribing my books, but I will say no more so as not to torment you needlessly." He adds in a postscript: "I fear that before long you will hear sad news about our home troubles. The fury of the wicked is let loose with unbridled licence. The Council shows no firmness."

While he was writing these lines, believing that his course in Geneva had almost run, and that his enemies would soon be rejoicing over his downfall, a popular commotion had begun which was destined to carry him with the rapidity of lightning to a position of authority, which he retained unchallenged all the rest of his life.

The elections of 1555 had given his party an unexpected

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xv. 550.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 586.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 605.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 630.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 608.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 617.

victory. The citizens had begun to think that there was<sup>1</sup> too much of Perrin, Vandel, and Berthelier in the governing circle. No less than fourteen of the relatives of these men were in office in 1554, and they gave themselves airs as if the city and its revenues belonged to them. They manipulated the administration of justice and treated the ordinary citizen with contempt. In 1555 they were ejected from their positions. When the Council proceeded to the election of syndics, four Calvinists were chosen. Two vacancies in the Little Council were likewise filled by Calvinists. The Council of Sixty and the Two Hundred were purged of the loose livers (Bonnivard calls them *Brouillons, Yvroignes, et telles Canailles*), and their places were taken by men of respectability. Perrin and his friends took their defeat badly. It was a blow to their family pride. It threatened the failure of their policy. In the state of public feeling it was a menace to their safety. Therefore they resolved to get the upper hand of their opponents by appealing to the jealousy of the native-born Genevan against foreigners. It was easy to do this. Geneva was a town of about 15,000 inhabitants, and the number of foreigners who had come to reside in it was already large, and it was increasing. Many of these foreigners were men of wealth, of business energy, of social standing, who were climbing over the heads of the native-born Genevans in all directions. Doumergue says that the number of those who had taken the oath of allegiance to the Reformed religion and to the civil authorities was 93 in 1549, 127 in 1550, 289 in 1551, 53 in 1552, 355 in 1554, and 380 in 1555. These figures do not include the large number of strangers who for various reasons did not ask for citizenship, but were content with simple residence. This unregistered multitude was really reaching dimensions that made it formidable. Thus in 1557, when Geneva was alarmed by the report of enemies gathering in Burgundy, and when it was decided that every one must take the oath of allegiance or leave the city within three days, the city hall was at once besieged by a crowd clamouring for certificates. There were so many that the street before the hall was filled, and if one forced one's way inside the hall it was impossible to hear oneself speak after obtaining entrance. In the eleven years from 1549 till 1559 inclusive,<sup>2</sup> more than 5017 strangers received the rights of citizenship in a community that originally consisted of 15,000 souls. The native-born Genevans had, therefore, some ground for their fears that they would be swamped by foreigners.

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xv. 677.

<sup>2</sup> Doumergue, III. 74.

Calvin put no barrier in the way of the influx of foreigners. On the contrary he encouraged it, both for his own sake and for theirs.<sup>1</sup> Perrin likewise welcomed them to begin with, saying that their money would help to pay the city's debt to Basel. But when he discovered that, as a body, they supported Calvin, he cursed the day he had seen them. At a meeting of the Little Council, he became excited and dashed his bonnet on to the floor, declaring that these Frenchmen, that these incomers, would not only drive out the original inhabitants but would finish up by betraying the city to the French King or some other prince.

By dint of persevering intrigue he stirred up popular passion, and one of the most respectable men in the city was made the mouthpiece of it. This was Hudriod du Molard. He had been five times syndic and he was then lieutenant. On 13 May,<sup>2</sup> Du Molard and three others appeared before the Council lamenting that so many strangers and these all of the same nationality were receiving the right of citizenship, and asking a meeting of the Two Hundred to consider the matter. This was refused them. On the 14th<sup>3</sup> they appeared again, with a rowdy crowd of shuttlemakers, cookshop-keepers, bakers, and people of the lower classes at their heels, demanding that the Two Hundred should be called to listen to their grievance. The Council again refused, on the ground that the reception of strangers was no new thing, and that it would be disgraceful to exclude from the ranks of citizens men who had lived among them honourably. On the morning of the 16th they appeared once more, with an augmented band of followers, some of them armed, and again the Council refused to gratify them. Whereupon they retired, swearing that heads would be broken over this business.

Their words were made good sooner than anyone anticipated. On the evening of the 16th, Perrin, Vandel, and Sept, F. D. Berthelier, and a number of men of lower standing met in a tavern in the district of St. Gervais. After supper the wine went round, and their language became violent. They were joined at a later hour by Pierre Verna, the three brothers de Joux, Claude Geneve and several others who had been spending some time in a tavern on the Boulevard Longuemalle. It is not at all likely that anything in the way of a riot or a general massacre of the strangers was agreed upon, although Calvin assumes that there was, and says in his letter to Bullinger, dated 15 June, that Perrin<sup>4</sup> informed the company of his intention to gather 1500 armed men to his

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xv. 678.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xxi. 604.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xv. 679.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 680.

estate at Pregny, and introduce them into the city on the pretext of employing them as guards. It is much more likely that the gathering degenerated into a mob of angry and half-intoxicated men who were ripe for mischief of any sort without consideration of its nature or its consequences. What is certain is that about nine o'clock Perrin and Vandel took their leave and went home while the rest of the company sallied out into the street. Two brothers named Compart distinguished themselves by their loud declarations that they would kill any rascally Frenchmen that met them. Noticing a man named Dumont, the servant of the Councillor Pernet, they fell upon him. His cries for help were heard in a neighbouring house by François Baudichon, one of the city guard, and he rushed out carrying his halberd. The syndic Aubert, an apothecary whose shop was near, also rushed out, and seeing Compart with a sword covered with blood, attempted to arrest him. Compart shook him off, and the crowd closed in with shouts and furious menaces. The city watch appeared but failed to establish order. Perrin came up riding on his mule, jumped off, and tried to snatch the official staff from Aubert, saying that as he was captain-general, he ought to have it. Aubert resisted violently. Excitement spread like wildfire. The air was filled with shouts, "Down with them, kill the traitors". Men leaped from their beds and rushed out half-dressed to see what was the matter. Pierre Bonna, another syndic, came upon the scene waving his official staff and advising every one to go home quietly. Perrin tried to get possession of Bonna's staff and was again resisted. The tumult increased and quietness was not secured till Vandel came up and besought the people to disperse.

Calvin, describing the occurrence in the letter to Bullinger just referred to, says,<sup>1</sup> "The Lord, watching over the unfortunate exiles, plunged them into a deep slumber, so that in the midst of a frightful turmoil they reposed sweetly in their beds. No one went out of his dwelling, and the attack on them was foiled by a Divine miracle. None of the victims marked for slaughter was seen on the streets." No doubt if a foreigner had been seen on the street he would have run the risk of losing his life. But the riot occurred at a time of night when respectable folk were all supposed to be in bed, and even though the foreigners had been wide awake, less than a Divine interposition would be required to keep them indoors when the air was ringing with shouts of "Kill them". The whole affair was over in an hour. No

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xv. 681.

damage was done to anyone, except a few wounds and bruises. But the consequences to the Libertine party were disastrous.

On the following morning an investigation was begun. Perrin, Vandel, and their friends took their places in the Council as usual. Twenty witnesses were examined, including Dumont, the only person wounded. On the 23rd<sup>1</sup> the Council ordered the arrest of Sept and Verna. The brothers Compart were already in custody. On the 24th the whole matter was referred to the Two Hundred which decreed that all who had taken any part in the riot should be laid hold of, and put on trial.<sup>2</sup> Special instructions were given to arrest Perrin, Verna, Sept, and some others. Knowing that he had been guilty of a grave mistake in attempting to snatch the staff from officials in discharge of their duty, and fearing the probable consequences of the investigation, Perrin sought safety in immediate flight. At two o'clock in the afternoon, while the order for his arrest was being prepared, he and his wife were driving through the Cornavin gate.<sup>3</sup> As they made their exit from it, his wife jumped up on the seat of the carriage and cried to the city guards, "Good-bye, children. We are off. Take good care of your Frenchmen."

Perrin's country house was a few hundred yards over the borders of Genevan territory, at Pregny, under the jurisdiction of Berne, and there he was safe enough,<sup>4</sup> but a grim reminder of the fate that might overtake him if he ventured back to the city was for ever before his eyes. On the boundary line in a place where it was conspicuous, stood a gibbet, on which hung the wasted remains of a criminal who had been executed some time before. Perrin could neither go to nor come from his house without seeing it. By and by he got another reminder much more urgent.<sup>5</sup> One of the two men, Compart, who had been arrested, was condemned on 27 June to have his head cut off, his body quartered, and the sections exposed in different places according to custom. His head with one quarter of his body was fastened to the gibbet referred to. When the executioner was at his gruesome task of nailing them in their places,<sup>6</sup> Perrin's wife advanced to the boundary line and screamed out to him, "You are a lot of scoundrels, thieves, brigands, and murderers. Fine evangelists! You hold the devil's gospel. You have sold the city to the French. You ride on horseback, but if it had not been for my husband you would be walking on foot. You will rot in the hospital."<sup>7</sup> Similar scenes occurred in the other places where the sections

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxii. 605.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 606.

<sup>3</sup> *Roget*, iv. 275.

<sup>4</sup> *Doumergue*, iii. 682.

<sup>5</sup> *Opera*, xxii. 609.

<sup>6</sup> *Doumergue*, iii. 683.

of the body were gibbeted, and to avoid their repetition, the younger Compart was simply beheaded. The executioner did his work so clumsily that he added needless pangs to the victim's agony, and the Council<sup>1</sup> punished him by dismissing him from his office for a year and a day. Calvin, on the other hand, wrote to Farel on 24 July, "I am persuaded that it is not without the special will of God that, apart from any verdict of the judges, the criminals have endured protracted torment at the hands of the executioner".<sup>2</sup>

When Perrin and those who had escaped as he did were summoned to come back to their trial they asked that a safe conduct should be given them. The Council refused it, saying they had nothing to fear if they were innocent. Sentence was passed in their absence.<sup>3</sup> Perrin, because he had tried to wrest the staff of office from the syndic, was ordered to have his hand cut off to begin with. Then, along with four others named, he was to have his head cut off, the heads and the hand to be nailed up as usual. The sentence was executed in effigy. The office of captain-general was abolished, and every one was forbidden to speak of restoring it on pain of capital punishment. A similar punishment was denounced against all who should speak of recalling those who were banished, and the chief syndic was told to charge the citizens to keep a strict watch over their conduct and live according to the Word of God, and go regularly to church.

Both the brothers Berthelier had been arrested but Philibert had escaped. When François Daniel was examined he admitted he had felled a man with a stone, but he would not say where and he would not give any information about the alleged conspiracy. It was determined to get the truth out of him, and Calvin wrote to Farel on 24 July,<sup>4</sup> "We shall see in a couple of days, I hope, what the torture will wring from him". Berne made urgent intercession for him. His wife and children, his mother and two brothers presented a petition for pity, but in vain. Along with three others he suffered the death penalty at Champel, and when his head fell on the scaffold, the cause of the Libertines fell with it.

When the news reached the refugees in the territory of Berne, their rage against Calvin knew no bounds. One of them, by name Tronchona, said,<sup>5</sup> "You have a lot of heretics in Geneva, and Calvin is the worst of them". Perrin's wife spat on the ground and said,<sup>6</sup> "That—for the magistrates of Geneva. They are traitors and murderers, drinkers of blood, they kill

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxI. 610.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xv. 693.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xxI. 608.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xv. 693.

<sup>5</sup> Roget, IV. 314.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 315.

people without rhyme or reason. That Calvin preaches nothing good, and he would go beyond Berne to change a halfpenny."

On 6 August, Haller wrote to Bullinger, "They speak here very much to the discredit of Calvin.<sup>1</sup> We defend him as best we can, but the reports have taken such a shape that we are powerless to destroy them."

Musculus wrote from Berne to Bullinger on 8 September, "The hatred which is cherished here<sup>2</sup> against our beloved brother Calvin increases from day to day".

The hatred was scarcely justified. There can be no doubt that Calvin was cognizant of all that was going on; at the same time we are not warranted in supposing that he approved of all he was cognizant of. The Council which conducted the trial and passed sentence was a lay tribunal and it was very far from handing over to him its judicial functions. When he appeared before it as prosecutor in the case of Servetus, he did so in the interests of what he conceived to be Christian truth. The riot of 16 May was evidently a matter to be dealt with by the magistrates and the police. In the case of Servetus he was the prominent figure. In the case of F. D. Berthelier he did not appear at all. In his letter to Bullinger he says,<sup>3</sup> "The report has been spread that the condemned, under pressure of torture, made admissions which they afterwards retracted. It is true that on the night before their execution, the four criminals made some change on their previous confessions. As for myself, I was not present when they were tortured, and although I am made out to be the superintendent of the torture, I was not even present at the consultations. The fact that I entered the prison was due to the request of the prisoners themselves."

Although he was neither consulted as to the torture, nor was present when it was applied, Calvin certainly approved of it. On 26 September Haller wrote to Bullinger<sup>4</sup> saying it was generally reported that the Genevan magistrates had used tortures more cruel than those of Phalarus in order to extract a confession of the conspiracy from the prisoners. In the letter to Bullinger just referred to, Calvin corrects this exaggeration. "No violence was done to them except that their arms were bound and they were lifted a short distance by the cord. In fact it was thought enough to give them the prospect of torture to frighten them. It was perfectly natural to act thus. They would otherwise have denied everything, and the judges could not suffer them to deny the existence of a conspiracy which was evident."

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xv. 748.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 753.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 830.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 796.

It is unfortunate for Calvin's reputation that he should have thought the use of torture justifiable under any circumstances, and it is still more unfortunate that he commended the use of it to prove that which was evident. But the fact is, there is nothing in the record either before or after the use of torture to show that anyone had formed a deliberate design to massacre the foreigners or overthrow the government. Considering that so many were beheaded and dismembered, and so many more were banished and their estates confiscated, the evidence of their guilt produced to the Council ought to have been such as no reasonable mind could resist. All that was proved was a sudden flare-up on the street created by the reckless folly of some half-intoxicated Libertines. Nevertheless the Council acted as if the rioters had been the agents of a carefully-laid scheme of revolution.

The explanation of their conduct is not far to seek. In our day, when political parties differ, a general election takes place, and the victorious party congratulates itself that it has demolished its opponents by argument. In certain countries it goes farther and turns the adherents of the defeated party out of office. In the sixteenth century the procedure was even less civilized. The defeated party was said to be guilty of high treason and the leaders of it usually lost their heads. Political contests within the narrow limits of a city like Geneva, and with all the rancour of personal animosity and the venom of religious hatred to complicate the situation, became a war to the death, and as the riot of 16 May gave the Calvinistic party an opportunity to strike their opponents, they struck in the usual fashion and they struck hard. The impulse to bloodshed which Calvin contributed, if he contributed any, need not be taken into account.

The finishing touch to the downfall of the Libertines was given by the course of European politics. The treaty of alliance between Berne and Geneva was due to expire in March, 1556, and Geneva was anxious that it should be renewed. Berne, on the other hand, was not anxious, and the fugitives from Geneva did all they could to stimulate the Bernese prejudice and ill-feeling. Calvin, on the other hand, wrote letters for the purpose of removing it. The situation became perilous. The alliance between the two cities was almost at the breaking point, when suddenly there was a change and their relations became closer than ever. John Knox, who was in Geneva at the time, says:<sup>1</sup> "Esperance nor comfort rested to none of us, but God and the messengers of

<sup>1</sup> Hume Brown, I. 200.

His Word, which then sounded the trumpet most boldly and clearly, promising even in our greatest desperation the same glorious deliverance which shortly afterwards followed. For God by His mighty power did mitigate that rage, and converted the hearts of our ancient alliance to remember their duties to God and His servants, and so to enter with the city of Geneva into a new alliance and league."

The glorious deliverance to which Knox refers had as its second cause the issue of a battle between the armies of Spain and France, under the walls of St. Quentin, on 2 August, 1557. The Spanish leader was Philibert Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy. He had never ceased to cast a longing eye on the lands and cities which had been under the dominion of his ancestors, and as he had shattered the resistance of the French King there was nothing to hinder him from reducing them to their old allegiance. He therefore sent a body of troops in the direction of Geneva. The city was filled with alarm. The people set about strengthening the fortifications, accumulating stores of arms and provisions against the attack that seemed inevitable. At the same time an embassy was sent to Berne to remind the Bernese that the danger was a common one, and to press for an alliance against the common foe. Perrin, Vandel, and Berthelier urged the Bernese to abandon the city of Geneva to the punishment which its pride deserved. But the Bernese were persuaded that if the Duke got the mastery of Geneva he would not stop there, and although they had no objection to see their rival humbled, considerations of their own safety prevailed, and they entered into a treaty of perpetual co-operation and amity on 11 January, 1558. When this treaty was signed, the last hope of using Berne to undermine Calvin's influence in Geneva passed away, as it was to a large extent as the result of his letters and arguments that this arrangement for mutual defence was brought about. From this time forwards the Libertines practically ceased to be.

Calvin was indebted to the foreigners who flocked into the city for much support, but he did not on that account think they should all be received with open arms. On the contrary he proposed to institute strict measures to secure that they were of good character and behaviour. In the month of November, 1556, he said to the Council:<sup>1</sup> "Since God has granted the city the honour of receiving strangers for the Word of God, he desired to praise God for the willingness shown to receive them. At the same time as it was good to guard against dangers and abuses, and as some who had been

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 654.

received with good recommendations had nevertheless created scandal, and as the city would be filled with bad men if measures were not taken to prevent it, it seemed good that henceforth recommendations presented by strangers should be examined carefully, and that the district officers should command those in their districts not to entertain strangers for more than eight days without having them brought before the magistrates for examination. He also said that great disorder had arisen through strangers who came to the city and got married, although they were engaged to be married or were even actually married elsewhere, and he recommended that the syndic in charge of marriages should write on the public notices the names of those who were witnesses to the ceremony." It was agreed to do as he advised.

Being now delivered from all effective opposition on the part of the Libertines he set himself to tune the people up to the pitch of morality that seemed to him demanded by the Word of God.<sup>1</sup> In 1557, on the occasion of the election of the Consistory, he said that since the welfare of the city depended on God, and as the favour of God was secured by obedience to His will, and since it was the duty of the Consistory to repress vice, and encourage virtue, those chosen to serve on it should be men of godly fear, who would be an example to others and who could be relied on to enforce the law. On 4 March the new Consistory got to work.<sup>2</sup> It resolved that two of its number should make a general visitation of the whole city and command all serving men and women to attend church and see that parents sent their children to school, and urge nurses not to take little infants into bed with them, and forbid the kindling of fires in rooms where there were no proper fire-places, and see that all chimneys were swept, that the streets were kept clear of slops, that no one let apartments to strangers without permission, and that those who were selected as city guards did their duty faithfully, either in person or by means of some trustworthy friend.

Later in the year he renewed his efforts for the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline.<sup>3</sup> On 21 June he represented to the Council that some persons abstained from coming to the Lord's Table, and he proposed that punishment should be inflicted on those who allowed a year to pass without obtaining permission for abstinence. On 12 July, he induced the Council to reopen the Church of St. Gervais,<sup>4</sup> and to increase the number of ministers by two. A week later, he proposed to assign houses to the ministers in different parts of the city,

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 660.

<sup>2</sup> Roget, v. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Opera, xxi. 667.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 668.

so that they could the more easily keep an eye on their flocks.<sup>1</sup> On 9 August he made representations on the subject of the superstitious practices which were common in certain trades when anyone reached the position of master. On 29 November<sup>2</sup> he asked the Council to take action against the people of good position who would not attend the service at St. Gervais on Wednesdays, and he suggested that the lieutenant of police or some of his assistants should go through the shops on Wednesdays after dinner, to see who were loitering there and get them punished. On 3 January, 1558,<sup>3</sup> he struck a blow at the common Swiss practice of Swiss soldiers hiring themselves out as mercenaries in foreign armies. At his request the Council decreed that the prohibitions against enlisting in foreign armies should henceforth be strictly observed.

At the same time he put the finishing touch to the organization for securing the good conduct of Geneva by the institution of the Grabeau. The Grabeau was Calvin's answer to the question, *Quis custodiet custodes?* As there was no authority in the city higher than that of the Council, he proposed that the members should keep each other up to the scratch by periodically criticizing each other. The Register of the Council for 10 December, 1557, contains the following resolution.<sup>4</sup> "As it has been advanced that it would be good and expedient to fix a day in each month or quarter for a special meeting of the Council, at which every one must be present under oath, except in cases of necessity, to remonstrate with each other in a spirit of good order, zeal, and brotherly love, on all enmities, bitterness and neglect of duty, in order that the grace of God may be present among us—it is decreed in the name of God Almighty that this be done and carried through in a spirit of charity and brotherly love, all enmities being cast aside, and that all that is done be kept secret, and that no one reproach another or vaunt himself over another, or arouse anger against another, or reveal anything about another, on pain of being held to have broken his oath, and that a beginning be made on Wednesday next at six o'clock in the morning, and thereafter month by month or quarter by quarter as may be found expedient and that all be done to the honour and glory of God. Amen."

A week later the arrangements were determined, and three months later the first meeting was held under the conditions prescribed. The Register for 2 March says, "Brotherly censures have taken place. In love and charity each dealt with the other from the first to the last, pointing out to each his

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 672.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 680.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 683.

<sup>4</sup> Roget, v. 116.

imperfections and his vices. May the Lord in His mercy make it turn out to the profit of us all."

We agree with the pious sentiment with which the entry closes, but we cannot suppress the reflection that the Grabeau gave a glorious opportunity to the candid friend. Human nature is too weak to stand such an ordeal often, and if the Grabeau was saved from becoming a scene of mutual recrimination, bad temper, and heart-burning, it was probably because the members spoke smooth things to each other, and avoided referring to what might create dispeace. But the fact that such a meeting was held is a proof of the thoroughness with which Calvin's system of discipline was applied, and the astonishing thing is that whereas the Council met for mutual criticism once a quarter, the ministers met for a similar purpose once a week.

The Consistory valiantly backed up Calvin's effort to clear the city of disorder and superstition. Jacques Simon,<sup>1</sup> called the Picard, was brought before it charged with insulting a man who had wakened him when he was sleeping in the Church of St. Gervais and with making a great noise with his seat when he left the building. His defence was that he had said nothing insulting and that he had risen up because his legs were stiff, and that he had made no noise at all. Antoine Berthollet<sup>2</sup> was asked if he had spoken of the preacher as Calvin instead of M. Calvin, and two men<sup>3</sup> named Andry and Bron were put on bread and water for three days for criticizing one of Calvin's sermons and saying that it was not according to his text. Antoine Lucet<sup>4</sup> and his family were told to leave the city because he had fantastic opinions about religion, and would not go to church, and gave reason for thinking he was an anabaptist. Nicolas André,<sup>5</sup> who had said that the pope is a good man, and that we have power to do good or evil, was sharply reprimanded and told to go regularly to church, while Collier du Morgier, who persisted in saying his prayers to the Virgin as the advocate for sinners, was expelled from the city for three months. A large number<sup>6</sup> both of men and women were dealt with for drinking the water of "the fountain of idolatry," the name given to a spring near St. Cergues, which was believed to have supernatural medicinal properties. Simon Hiland,<sup>7</sup> a barber, was rebuked for shaving the tonsure on the head of a priest. Antoine Granier<sup>8</sup> who wished to marry his daughter with popish rites was put on bread and water for three days, and Jean Faechin<sup>9</sup> and his

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxii. 677.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 672.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 673.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 665.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 669.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 661, 662, 664.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 664.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 686.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 684.

family were expelled for getting an infant baptized by a priest.<sup>1</sup> Children were reprimanded for throwing stones and breaking windows and making a noise in the streets; so also was Etienne Doysin for wife-beating; and Fr. Biolley, his wife, and his mother, for disorderly conduct were sent to prison.

Although Calvin was thus ceaselessly busy in supervising the morals of the citizens of Geneva, he found to his chagrin that neither his example nor his vigilance could secure the good behaviour of his own household. Antoine Calvin and his wife lived in the same house with the Reformer, and Antoine's wife was unsatisfactory. The charge of immoral conduct which was brought against her in 1548 was dismissed as not proven, but in January, 1557, she was caught in the act of adultery with Calvin's hunchback servant, Pierre Daguet, under Calvin's own roof.<sup>2</sup> On the 14th Calvin appeared before the Consistory on behalf of his brother and asked for divorce. The court was slow to move, and on 6 February Calvin wrote to Farel:<sup>3</sup> "We are almost overwhelmed by domestic troubles. The judges do not see a reason for releasing my brother. I think their blindness is a just punishment for ours, for during two whole years I was being robbed by that thief and I saw nothing. But if judgment is not given soon, we mean to bring the matter to an issue in another way."

The last sentence is elucidated by the fact that Calvin and his brother had lodged an accusation against Daguet on the ground that stolen articles had been found in Daguet's boxes.<sup>4</sup>

But Calvin was not yet at the end of his domestic vexations. In 1562 he was cut to the heart by the adultery of his step-daughter Judith. He wrote to Bullinger<sup>5</sup> that the disgrace of her wickedness so overcame him that he had to retire to the country for some days to recover his composure.

The esteem in which he was held by the party in power is shown by several entries in the registers about this time. On 4 October, 1557, the Council resolved to give him "a good coat for the winter".<sup>6</sup>

Roset had composed a poem in honour of the alliance between Geneva and Berne, and he asked leave to publish it. The Council thought Calvin's judgment in literature as reliable as his judgment in theology and politics, and it asked him to read the poem and report. In due time Roset had the satisfaction of hearing that in Calvin's opinion he had produced a piece of good work, elegant in its sentiments and with a praiseworthy moral tendency.

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxii. 688.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xxii. 663.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 658.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xix. 327.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xvi. 406.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* xxii. 676.

The minister Enoch was not so fortunate.<sup>1</sup> In honour of the same alliance he had composed a dramatic piece, taking for his themes the fable of Jupiter's escapade with Europa and the tragic fate of the Five Martyrs of Lyons, and he asked permission to have it played by some young people whom he had drilled. The Council asked Calvin to act as dramatic critic, and he reported in such terms that the minister had to keep his piece in his portfolio.

A little later, in January, 1557, an artist informed the Council that he had painted a picture in honour of the alliance; Calvin had to act again, on this occasion as art critic, and determine whether the work were fit for reproduction.

About a month later, in February, 1557, Calvin informed the Council that two persons,<sup>2</sup> one of whom was the pastor of Bienne, had sent him word of<sup>3</sup> a new invention for heating furnaces, stoves, and ovens at half the usual cost for fuel. Calvin was instructed to examine the invention and report. We do not usually think of Calvin as an art critic or a heating engineer, but the Genevans apparently set no limits to his capacity. His work is all the more marvellous because he performed it while he was a martyr to ill-health, never free from sickness, constantly attacked by severe headaches and bodily pain, and frequently seized even in the pulpit by feverishague which made him unable to finish the discourse he had begun.

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxi. 684.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xvi. 436.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 498.

## XIII

### CONTROVERSIES

#### I. WITH ROMANISTS

DURING the whole time that Calvin was fighting the Libertines, he was dealing heavy blows at the Romish Church on the one hand, and on the other he was defending the Reformed faith against the attacks of rabid Lutherans.

In March, 1542, the Sorbonne condensed the leading articles of the Romish Church into a series of twenty-five articles and published them. The King of France made them the subject of an Edict, and instructions were given that they were to be subscribed by all candidates for the priesthood. Calvin thought they required some attention, but instead of making them the subject of serious criticism, he did what was more deadly, he turned them into ridicule. Taking them up one after the other he furnished each with an absurd proof. Then he appended a short refutation which he entitled the "Antidote".

In 1544 he published a little treatise which he calls "An Admonition," showing the advantages which Christendom might derive from an Inventory of Relics. It is one of his most popular productions and affords unlimited range for his powers of irony and sarcasm. He begins by saying it would be a good thing to catalogue all the relics which are said to exist in Italy, France, Germany, Spain, and other countries, and he suggests that as the monks have very little to do they might employ their time usefully in making such a catalogue. He himself has no complete knowledge, but he is aware that if all the relics throughout Christendom were catalogued, it would be seen that every apostle had four bodies at least, and every saint two or three. The relics of Christ are very numerous. Besides the teeth and hair, the monks of Charrox give out that they have the piece of skin cut off at His circumcision. His natural blood is shown at a hundred places, sometimes in drops and sometimes in goblets-full. In Rome there is the manger in which He was laid at His birth, the linen in which

He was swaddled, His cradle, and His shirt, and the altar on which He was presented in the temple. Elsewhere may be seen the waterpots of Cana, the wine with which they were filled, the bread used at the Last Supper, the dish in which the Paschal Lamb was placed, the knife with which it was cut up and the towel used to wipe the disciples' feet. No less than fourteen nails are shown as the nails used in the crucifixion. What remains of the crown of thorns would make a substantial hedge, and what remains of the true cross would fill a ship. The purple robe in which Christ was exhibited to the people is shown at two places. Relics of the saints are even more numerous. There are the milk of the Virgin Mary, the shoes of Joseph, the sword with which the Baptist was beheaded, and so on. Anna, mother of the Virgin, has one of her bodies at Apte in Provence, and another in the Church of St. Mary Insulan at Lyons. Besides, she has one of her hands at Treves, another at Turin, and a third at a town in Thuringia which takes its name from it. Lazarus likewise has three bodies, one at Marseilles, another at Austum, and a third at Avallon. The entire body of Petronilla, St. Peter's daughter, lies in the church at Rome dedicated to her father, but there are some separate remains in the Church of St. Barbara, and there is another of her bodies in the possession of the people of La Maine. It is alleged to cure fevers. What evidence can be produced to show which if any of these relics is genuine? At present you may be worshipping the bones of a horse or a dog when you believe that you are worshipping those of a saint. Nor can the ring and comb and girdle of the Virgin Mary be revered without the risk of discovering that the articles in question were really some part of the dress of a strumpet. For those who profess the name of Christ the best thing is to abolish the heathenish custom altogether as a thing that leads to idolatry and that is offensive to God.

Another production came from his pen in 1544. The occasion of it was a conflict between the Pope, Paul III, and the Emperor, Charles V. The cleavage between the fundamental ideas of the two great sections of Christendom had not yet become fully manifest, and the Emperor thought it might be arrested by bringing together the leaders on both sides and setting them to discuss their differences amicably with a view to compromise and settlement. For this purpose he summoned a conference at Frankfurt in 1539. He approved of similar conferences at Hagenau and Worms in 1540, and he had himself presided at the Conference of Ratisbon in 1541. No agreement was reached at any of these, and he began to

think of summoning a General Council in the hope that it would succeed where the smaller conferences had failed. He likewise proposed to summon this conference by his own authority.

Paul III looked on this as a usurpation of rights that belonged to him as Head of the Church, and he sent the Emperor a Paternal Admonition, rebuking him because he had been too indulgent to the Lutherans, and because he had stepped out of his proper sphere. The Pope declared he was moved by the remembrance of the Divine severity against Eli, and desired to warn the Emperor of the dangers he was running by referring to the dreadful fate of Uzzah, Uzziah, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and others who had dared to perform functions that lay outside their province. In conclusion he said he would call a Council as soon as he found it convenient.

Paul III was a notorious profligate and his children were as profligate as their father. The reference to Eli therefore gave Calvin an opening through which he drove his sword into the Pope's vitals. In his "Remarks on the Pope's Admonition" he says : " If the most Holy Father trembles at that example of Divine vengeance, it is strange that he should be so solicitous about this one fault of the Emperor and so indifferent to the countless villainies of his own sons. Paul Farnese has a son and by him grandsons, besides bastards who still spring from the old dotard and his rotten carcase. What kind of person is Pier-Luigi ? I will say the severest of all things which can be said, and yet most true—Italy never produced such a monster before. What shall I say of his avarice, of his rapacity, of his cruelty ? Although in these things he has far surpassed others he is still inferior to yourself. If Eli were punished for indulgence, will you pass with impunity when you not only connive at the horrid crimes of your sons but lend them a helping hand ? . . . In what state is your see ? What are your vicars doing ? What kind of traffic is going on in your court ? How do your bishops comport themselves ? What Sodom can you mention where there was greater impunity for all kinds of evil, for more unbridled licentiousness ? And now, as if you had nothing to do at home, you fear lest the wrath of God be impending over you for the sin of allowing equality to Protestants and of tolerating the calling of a Council by the Emperor without your consent."

Calvin then shows that for the first five hundred years of the Christian era it was the Emperors and not the bishops of Rome who convened Councils. Besides, no man has less right to call himself a successor of Peter than the present occupant

of the papal chair. He is no shepherd of the flock but a robber who scatters it, a wolf who devours it. He will accept no doctrine that does not proceed from the tripod of the Roman See. That is precisely what Protestants object to. They demand audience before an impartial tribunal and that every cause shall be determined by the Word of God. The Pope will allow no one but himself to correct the vices which have appeared in the administration of ecclesiastical revenues; wisely, says Calvin, for otherwise he would be compelled to disgorge what he has stolen from the empire during so many years. He would have all the promises made to the Protestants declared null and void, as the Emperor Sigismund declared the promise of safe conduct made to John Huss null and void, but Calvin believes he will be disappointed on that point, for Charles V will not allow himself to be turned aside from a religious regard to his pledged word.

In addition to these Remarks, at Bucer's instigation he addressed a Humble Supplication to the Emperor, the Princes, and the Orders assembled at Spires in 1544, urging them to undertake the task of reforming the Church and of pushing it to its conclusion. First he shows the evils which call for remedy—the corruption of worship, of doctrine, of the sacraments, and of morals. Then he expounds the remedies the Reformers believe in—a return to the simplicity of the Word of God, both in worship and in the dispensation of the sacraments, dependence on Christ alone, and not on the saints, as the Mediator between God and man, the prohibition of auricular confession, the permission of marriage to the priests, and the exercise of discipline. Then he defends the Reformers against the charge of schism.

He says when the Church is spoken of we must ask what is the true Church and what is the nature of its unity. Romanists think it sufficient to decide the victory in their favour when they point to the Reformers' alienation from the Romish See. But the Romish See has no inherent primacy. The writings of the Fathers, the acts of Councils, and all history combine to show that the power which the Roman Pontiff now possesses was obtained gradually, or rather was crept into by craft and seized by violence. Even though primacy was divinely bestowed on the Romish See, it is continued only on the supposition that the Church of Rome is a true Church and the bishop a true bishop. Calvin then argues that a Church which is destitute both of the ministry of the Word and of the pure administration of the sacraments, and a bishop who neglects every part of his duty, have no right to

the honour which a pure Church and a bishop of Christ enjoy. He says : " I deny that see to be apostolical wherein nothing is seen but a shocking apostacy—I deny him to be the Vicar of Christ who, in furiously persecuting the Gospel, proves that he is Antichrist—I deny him to be a successor of Peter who is doing his utmost to demolish every edifice that Peter ever built—and I deny him to be the Head of the Church who, by his tyranny, lacerates and dismembers the Church, after severing her from Christ, her true and only Head. Let these denials be answered by those who are so bent on chaining the hierarchy of the Church to the Roman See that they hesitate not to subordinate the sure and tried doctrines of the Gospel to the authority of the Pope. . . . That the eternal truth of God, preached by the prophets and apostles, is on our side we are prepared to show, and it is easy for any man to perceive. But when we are assailed by this battering-ram, ' Nothing can excuse withdrawal from the Church,' we deny out and out that we do so."

This is the fundamental position of all the leading Reformers. They admit that they separate from the Church of Rome, they deny that they separate from the Church of Christ. After Luther had broken with Rome, he took the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed and published them with a preface, in which he says : " I have caused these three Creeds or Confessions to be published together in German—Confessions which have hitherto been held throughout the whole Church—and by this publication I testify once and for all that I adhere to the true Church of Christ, which up till now has maintained these Confessions, and not to that false and pretentious Church which is the worst enemy of the true Church, and which has surreptitiously introduced much idolatry alongside these beautiful Confessions".

Calvin concludes his Supplication as he had begun, asking the Emperor and Princes to prosecute the Reformation of the Church to its close, seeing that God has honoured them with a commission in His name to be on earth the guardians and vindicators of His glory.

In spite of his reluctance to move, the Pope found he must do something. Prolonged negotiations between the Emperor and himself resulted in an agreement that a Council should meet at Trent in March, 1545. The legates came together as appointed, but the Papal Brief was delayed, and the formal opening did not take place till October. The purposes for which the Council met were to heal the breach between Catholics and Protestants, to reform the abuses in the Church, and

to direct the forces of united Christendom into a crusade against the unbelievers. The proceedings were very leisurely, and the exasperated Emperor resolved to bring the divergent sections of his own empire together independent of Pope and Council. He therefore summoned the Diet of the German Empire to meet at Augsburg, and he selected three theologians and commanded them to construct a creed which could be accepted by both Catholics and Protestants. The theologians were Julius von Pflug, Michael Helling, and John Agricola. From the Emperor's point of view the selection was admirable. Helling was a Romanist, Pflug belonged to the school of Erasmus, and Agricola, who was Court preacher at Brandenburg, was supposed to be a Protestant. In due time they produced a document which goes by the name of the "Augsburg Interim". The language is full of ambiguities, and the articles are a combination of irreconcilable opposites. This is especially true with regard to Justification of Faith. On other points, such as the number of the sacraments, transubstantiation, prayer to the Virgin and the saints, and the observance of all the usual feasts and ceremonies, the articles simply restate Romish doctrine. But the Eucharist may be given in both species to those who desire it and married priests need not put away their wives till a decision whether that is necessary has been come to by the General Council.

The document was accepted by the Diet without debate on 19 May, 1548. The Emperor was exceedingly proud of it, but found to his disgust that it pleased no one but himself. Nevertheless he forbade all criticism of it, and commanded its universal acceptance by all classes of his subjects. When persuasion failed, he sent out Spanish and Italian troops to coerce the people. Great suffering ensued. Over 400 Protestants had to fly from Suabia and the Rhine provinces. One of these was Bucer who made his way to England where he found a home at Cambridge as King's Professor of Divinity. In spite of the Emperor's anger, scurrilous songs were composed on the "Interim". Itinerant preachers declaimed against it. Pamphlets and treatises appeared and one of the most trenchant was from the pen of Calvin.

He named it the "Adultero German Interim," and he subjected the articles of the "Interim" to severe criticism. He denied that the Church depends for its existence on an uninterrupted succession of bishops coming down from the apostles. Such a succession does not exist and it would not justify the claims of the Papacy if it did. The Pope neither preaches the doctrine nor does the work of the Apostles. Calvin denies that

the Mass is a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ. No one can repeat that sacrifice, and even if the repetition were possible, it is unnecessary. Christ has reconciled us to God, and the efficacy of His work is eternal. Then he pours ridicule on the Mass by prolonged quotations from the instructions to the officiating priest. He deals with other points in a similar strain and concludes by saying that the right to receive the sacrament in both kinds and the permission to marry are divinely given and are beyond the power of man to take away.

In 1547 he published his "Antidote to the Acts of the Synod of Trent". After referring to the opening address delivered by the Pope's legates as proof of the need for reformation in the Church, he admits the value of Councils but denies their infallibility. He says the Council of Trent, in particular, has no call to be regarded as directed by the Holy Spirit because of the men who issue the decrees, and because of the manner in which they are prepared. It has no right to the name of a General Council. There were no representatives of the Greek Church or of the evangelical Churches in it. It was not even a fair show of the Romish communion. There were only two representatives from France, the Bishops of Nantes and of Clermont, both dull and unlearned, and the latter having the additional disgrace of being a libertine and a buffoon. If the name of Council were taken away, the whole Papacy would confess that the bishops who attended were mere dregs. Perhaps forty were present, mostly Italians, whose pretensions to learning made them a laughing-stock and whose dependence on the Papacy made their decisions valueless. "I speak of what is notorious. As soon as a decree is framed, couriers carry it in hot haste to Rome to see what their idol will say of it. The Holy Father hands it over to his advisers for examination. They curtail, add, mangle it at their pleasure. The couriers return, a session is proclaimed, the secretary reads something that no one dare criticize, the whole asinine tribe signify assent with their ears. The proclamation of the Council is of no more weight than the cry of an auctioneer."

Calvin then criticizes the decrees which had been published up to the date of his writing. On the Rule of Faith the Council had determined that the canonical books were to be supplemented by the Apocrypha, and these were to be further supplemented by tradition. The Vulgate was to be accepted as the sole authentic version, and the exclusive right of interpretation was vested in the Church. Calvin showed that the Apocrypha had never been placed on a level with the canonical Scriptures in ancient times, and he ridiculed the idea of con-

sidering the Vulgate the only authentic version, for Erasmus had shown that it was full of errors. He denied the exclusive right of assemblies of ecclesiastics to interpret Scripture, on the ground that they had erred before and might do so again, and he gave examples. In particular he challenged the capacity of the Tridentine fathers to interpret Scripture, when scarcely one in a hundred of them dared to say he had read through a prophetic book or an apostolical epistle or even a gospel. He likewise dealt with the doctrines of original sin and justification.

The work occupied him two months and was carried to completion in spite of endless interruptions. He sent a copy to Farel, who sat up all night to read it, and then sent a letter to Geneva expressing his high satisfaction. To this Calvin replied, "I begin to like my 'Antidote' now that I find you are so well pleased with it. Perhaps it is your knowledge of my exhausting labours and conflicts which leads you to excuse its imperfections; I myself am surprised that I can publish anything that is readable."

In 1549 he published another treatise, which shows how far he was held in bondage by the scientific ignorance of the times, and how far he had emancipated himself from it. The title is a "Discourse against Judicial Astrology". The belief in astrology was universal. All classes believed that the stars ruled human destiny. Even men like Zwingli and Melanchthon were not free from the prevailing superstition. Calvin, however, combated the popular notions with all his might. In this work he draws a line between the astrology whose business it is to discover and account for the motions of the heavenly bodies, and the spurious science which, under the name of judicial astrology, seeks to prognosticate the fortunes of men. God has set the sun and the moon to rule the day and the night, the months, the years, and the seasons. True astrology will therefore discuss the course and the motions of these and other heavenly bodies, it will discover how far one is distant from another, why the sun is more distant from us in winter than in summer, and why he tarries over us longer in summer. It will show the relation between the heavenly bodies and the tilling of the earth, husbandry, and civil policy. It will show why oysters are full or empty as the moon is full or empty, and why the bones are full of marrow and the reverse as the moon waxes and wanes. It will also show physicians when to let blood and when to order potions and pills.

But while natural astrology is justifiable, judicial astrology

is sheer imposture. Under the same horoscope several men may be born with different natures and fortunes. The fact is the influence of the father and mother in the act of conception is far more powerful than that of all the stars put together, and the determining Will of God is of more influence than either. Jacob and Esau were twins, and before they had come forth from the womb the supreme Will of God had chosen the one for salvation and the other for reprobation. The stars had no influence on their destiny. Again, if 10,000 men fall in the same battle, had they all the same horoscope? Why was Cæsar stabbed on the Ides of March when others born on that day lived on? The attempt to reveal what God has hidden is impiety which the Most High takes pleasure in deriding. "He frustrates the tokens of the liars and maketh the diviners mad."

## 2. WITH LUTHERANS

Alongside the other work which Calvin was doing, and running through the controversies in which he played a leading part, there was another matter of high importance which claimed his attention. This was a scheme for bringing together the divided sections of the Protestant Church on the basis of common doctrine. The line of cleavage was best marked on the doctrine of the Sacraments, especially that of the Supper, and Calvin, seeing the enormous benefits to be derived from a union which would array the Protestant Church with a single front against the power of Rome, laboured with all his might to effect it.

An attempt in this direction had already been made apart from any impulse which he communicated. Bucer and Capito of Strassburg had prevailed on the Reformed cities of Switzerland to send representatives to Basel with instructions to prepare a document which might become a Confession of Faith of the Swiss Churches, and which might be laid before the General Council which it was believed the Pope was about to convene at Mantua. The result of their labours was the First Helvetic Confession, in twenty-seven short articles. It treats the Supper not simply as a memorial of the Lord's death, but as a rite in which Christ Himself is present giving Himself to believers. As the senses apprehend the signs, so the soul receives the realities in which the whole benefit of the ordinance resides. The manner of Christ's presence was left an undecided question, and that was the point on which Calvin concentrated himself.

His views, expressed apart from controversy, are well given in a small but important tract, "De Cœna," written in

1540. In this he maintained first, the purpose of the Sacrament is to sign and seal in our conscience the promise of the Gospel concerning our being made partakers of Christ's body and blood, and to assure us that therein lies our true spiritual nourishment. Second, to help us to recognize His great favour that we may magnify Him more fully. Third, to exhort us to holiness as partakers of Christ, and to create brotherly love and charity. The Supper, like the Gospel, displays the treasures of grace, but it adds a more ample certainty. The substance of the Sacraments is the Lord Jesus, and the efficacy of them would be annihilated if He were not there given to us as the foundation of all. His own words assure us that in order to have our life in Him, our souls must feed on Him, as their proper food, and the Sacraments visibly express this. The bread, the wine, are visible signs which represent His body and blood, and they are the instruments by which He dispenses His body and blood to us. As the bread is distributed, so the body of Christ is distributed, that we may partake of Him, and of grace in Him. The Supper is not a sacrifice. There is no transubstantiation of the elements into Christ's flesh and blood. When the Lord ascended into heaven He withdrew His body from earth without changing its essence.

Luther read the tract, "De Cœna," in a bookseller's shop in Wittemberg, and said to his friend Maurice Geltschen, who was with him:<sup>1</sup> "Maurice, this is certainly a learned and pious man, and I might well have entrusted this controversy to him from the beginning. If my opponents had done the like, we should have soon been reconciled. It only needed Zwingli and Oecolampadius to have explained themselves to prevent the controversy proceeding to such lengths." Calvin, on his part, had no objection to the Lutheran Confession of Augsburg. In a letter to Schalling, April, 1557, he said: "I willingly and cheerfully subscribed my name to it in the sense in which its author interpreted it". Calvin always spoke of Luther with respect. In a letter to Bullinger, 25 November, 1544,<sup>2</sup> he says: "Even if he should call me a devil, I should recognize him as an eminent servant of God".

In 1545 Bullinger endeavoured to defend the doctrine of the Swiss in a True Confession of the Ministers of Zurich, . . . in particular on the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in 1546 he sent a revised copy to Calvin for consideration. After correspondence and further consideration, on 26 June, 1548,

<sup>1</sup> Herminjard, IX. 374 n. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 374.

Calvin sent him a long letter, giving a condensed but careful statement on his conception of the manner in which Christ is present in the ordinances of His appointment.

"With regard to the Sacraments in general, we neither bind up the grace of God with them, nor transfer to them the work and power of the Holy Spirit, nor constitute them the ground of the assurance of salvation. We expressly declare that it is God alone who acts by means of the Sacraments, and we maintain that their whole efficacy is due to the Holy Spirit, and we testify that this action appears only in the elect. Nor do we teach that the sacrament is of profit otherwise than as it leads us by the hand to Christ, that we may seek in Him whatever blessings there are. . . . We teach that the sacraments are instruments of the grace of God, and as they were instituted in view of a definite end, we refuse to allow that they have no proper use. We therefore say that what is exhibited in them is applied to the elect. Thus we say that he who receives baptism with true faith receives by it the pardon of his sins. But lest anyone should think that baptism is the cause, we at the same time subjoin the explanation that remission flows from the blood of Christ and that it is conferred by baptism only in so far as this is a testimony of the cleansing which the Son of God, by His blood shed on the cross, procured for us, which He offers for our enjoyment by faith in His Gospel, and which He brings to perfection by His Spirit. . . . When the symbols of the body and blood of Christ are spread before us in the Supper, we say they are not spread in vain, but that the thing itself is also manifested to us. Whence it follows that we eat the body and drink the blood of Christ. By so speaking we neither make the sign the thing, nor confound both in one, nor enclose the body of Christ in the bread, nor on the other hand do we imagine it to be infinite, nor dream of a carnal transfusion of Christ into us, nor lay down any fiction of that sort. You maintain that Christ as to His human nature is in heaven. We profess the same doctrine. You strongly condemn impanation. We subscribe to your decision. What then is the sum of our doctrine? It is this. When we discern here the bread and wine, our hearts must be raised to heaven to enjoy Christ, and that Christ is there present with us while we seek Him above the elements of this world. For it is not permitted to us to charge Christ with imposition, and we would do so if we did not hold that the reality is exhibited together with the symbol. You also concede that the symbol is by no means empty. It only remains that we define what is contained

within it. When we briefly reply that we are made partakers of the flesh and blood of Christ, that He may dwell in us and we in Him, what is there in these words, I ask, that is either absurd or obscure, especially as we in express terms exclude whatever delirious fancies might occur to the mind."

In March, 1549, Calvin's wife died, and as a relief from the burden of his sorrow he went to Neuchâtel to see his friend Farel. Along with Farel he proceeded to Zurich where Bullinger arranged a full meeting both of the ministers and of the city Council to give him an opportunity of laying his views before them. After several days' friendly discussion Calvin drafted a formula which Bullinger accepted. Thereafter it was signed not only by the representatives of Geneva and Zurich, but also by those who acted for the Churches of Rhaetia and the Grisons. The Bernese ministers were under the control of the Bernese Council and were not free to take action, and as the Bernese Council was averse to Calvin's discipline and to anything in which Geneva took the lead, it took no steps to indicate its agreement with the theological result which had been reached. But all over Protestant Switzerland great satisfaction was expressed that a basis of harmony had been created. When Melanchthon read the Consensus, he declared to Lavater, Bullinger's son-in-law, that he would never afterwards speak a word against the Swiss, for now he understood them. The Church of France received the Consensus heartily, and messages even from England congratulated the Swiss on what they had effected.

The Consensus of Zurich though agreed to in 1549 was not published till 1551. It contains twenty-six short sections in which it is stated that the sacraments are badges of the Christian profession, and incitements to gratitude, to faith, and to godliness. The signs and the things signified are distinct but not disjoined. Any good conferred by the sacraments is due to the working of God alone, who acts by His Spirit in those who receive the elements with faith, and the good is not always received in the act of communicating. No local presence of Christ must be imagined, for the body of Christ locally is in heaven, and when we are said to eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ we are not to understand that any mingling or transfusion of substance takes place, but that we draw life from the flesh once offered in sacrifice, and the blood shed in expiation. For the same reason the elements are not to be adored.

The document is a landmark in the history of Protestantism. It not only brought the Swiss Churches into harmony, it might

also have effected a harmony between the Swiss and the Lutheran Churches, but Luther himself had already complicated the situation by his language and his general attitude to the Swiss Reformers. In 1528 he said: "I confess I do not hold Zwingli for a Christian, for he holds and teaches no part of the Christian faith correctly. He has become sevenfold worse than a Papist." At the conference at Marburg in 1529 when Zwingli begged for recognition with tears in his eyes, saying there were no people on earth he would rather be in harmony with than the Wittembergers, Luther met him with the rebuff, "You are of a different spirit from ours". In a letter to Jacobus, the Provost of Bremen, relating what had taken place, he characterized the Zwinglians as the incarnation of lying, deceit, and hypocrisy. As time went on he became even more insulting and vituperative. In 1544 he published a book with the title, "A Short Confession on the Holy Sacrament," in which he spoke of the Reformed party as "blasphemers and liars, thoroughly possessed and mastered and saturated by the spirit of the devil". Many of his followers imbibed his spirit, and<sup>1</sup> through these fanatics the union of Reformed and Lutheran Churches was made impossible.

When the Marian persecutions in England drove A Lasco and his companions to the Continent, their ship took refuge from a storm in the harbour of Elsinore, but the Lutheran magistrates compelled them to put to sea again at once, forbidding even the women with infants to remain behind. They had similar experiences at Copenhagen, Rostock, Lubeck, and Hamburg. One of the most furious against them was Joachim Westphal, the minister of Hamburg. He designated A Lasco and his fellow-fugitives "devil's martyrs," "men worse than thieves and poisoners and murderers, for they poison true doctrine and steal away the Word of God and murder souls," and he endeavoured to bind the members of his congregation by a solemn oath that they would never receive one of the fugitives into their houses, or give them any help, whether they were man, woman, or child.

When Calvin heard of the sufferings of A Lasco and his companions, he was greatly distressed. "Great God,"<sup>2</sup> he said in a letter to A Lasco, "what barbarity among a Christian people. It surpasses the fury of the waves."

Westphal believed that a union of the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches could be accomplished only by the acceptance of distinctly Lutheran doctrine, and in 1552 he summoned all true followers of the German Reformer to band

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xv. 501.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 143.

themselves together against those whom he called the Sacramentarians. The precise point which Westphal raised was, whether Christ was present in the Sacrament of the Supper, and if so, how? The strict Zwinglians answered Christ is not locally present in the Sacrament. His glorified body is locally in heaven. Therefore it cannot be on earth. Christ is present in the Sacrament only to the contemplation of faith. On the other hand Luther held that the bodily presence of Christ was inseparably joined with the elements of the Supper, in such a way that he who receives the bread and wine receives the body and blood of Christ, whether he be a believer or not. In order to account for the presence of Christ, and at the same time to avoid affirming transubstantiation, he invented the doctrine of Ubiquity. He maintained that God is everywhere, Christ is God, therefore Christ is everywhere. But Christ is God and man, two natures in one person for ever, and He is present everywhere in His divine nature: He is present everywhere likewise in His human nature and in His glorified heavenly body. To escape from the pantheism toward which his theory was tending, he also said that if we seek Christ in the ordinance in which He offers Himself to us we will find Him and receive a blessing. If we seek Him where He has not declared Himself to be, we are guilty of idolatry.

In 1552, and again in 1553, Westphal issued tracts expounding the theory of Ubiquity at great length and attacking those who refused to accept it. He asserted Christ's bodily presence in the elements of bread and wine was such that He was received by the mouth and chewed by the teeth both of believers and of unbelievers, and he branded all who differed from him as the worst kind of heretics and infidels.

Partly under the influence of the indignation he was feeling against the cruelty with which the fugitives of the Reformed Church were being treated, and partly moved by a desire to defend the doctrine so happily agreed on at Zurich, Calvin seized his pen and wrote a "Defence of the Doctrine of the Sacrament,"<sup>1</sup> which was published in 1555. In order to make it a semi-official document, he sent the draft of it to Bullinger and other Swiss ministers, asking for their opinion and signature.<sup>2</sup> At Bullinger's request he toned down the language in which he referred to his opponents, but even with this modification the ministers of Basel, Zurich, and Berne refused to take any responsibility for it, and Calvin published it by him-

<sup>1</sup> Opera, ix. 1-40.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xv. 855.

self. The "Defence" makes few references to Westphal, but these are of a contemptuous character, and Westphal's method of discussion is described as that of one who is filled by a devilish desire to stir up strife among brethren on a point on which they are glad to agree. In opposition to Westphal he contends that Christ is absent from earth in body, and He dwells with us and in us by His Spirit alone.

Westphal answered in a third treatise longer than either of its two predecessors, and entitled a "Defence against the False Charges of a certain Sacramentarian". In this he reiterated his vituperation of A Lasco, and his denunciations of all who held the doctrines which Calvin was expounding. Calvin delayed replying, but finding that others besides Westphal were writing and preaching against him, he published his "Second Defence"<sup>1</sup> in 1556, and dedicated it to the servants of the Lord in Saxony and Lower Germany. He declared that his sole purpose both in it and in his previous writing was to promote the unity which Westphal was setting himself to destroy. He also expanded his former statement that the communication of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament is spiritual, and it is not granted to the wicked, it is granted to those only who partake of the Sacrament in faith.

At the time when he composed this treatise Calvin was overburdened with work, and he did not find time to revise it after he had dictated it. It therefore contains a good deal of heat and strong language. After it was published he sent a copy to Bullinger with a letter—23 January, 1556—in which he says:<sup>2</sup> "I am extremely anxious to know what you and your friends think of it. I have been a little more vehement than I meant to be. I do not know how I lost command of myself in dictation. If the book does not please you, I can at least say that I did not write it. But joking apart, I hope you will like it so much that I will not need to offer an excuse. Give me any criticism that seems right to you."

Westphal again replied to Calvin, and in order to crush him the more thoroughly he persuaded leading ministers of the Lutheran faith in several cities to join in a Confession which condemned the Consensus of Zurich, and those who had signed it. He published this in 1557, and along with it he published the opinions of Melanchthon on the Supper. On the doctrine of the Supper as on that of Predestination, the opinion of Melanchthon underwent a change. In 1530, when he drew up the Augsburg Confession of that date, he held that the body and blood of Christ are present in the Supper

<sup>1</sup> Opera, IX. 41-120.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. XVI. 11.

under the form of bread and wine, and are "distributed" to those who partake of the bread and wine. In 1540, when he had to review the Confession, he withdrew the clause and inserted another which reads that with the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ are "exhibited" to those who partake. Calvin was indignant at Westphal's attempt to drive a wedge between him and Melanchthon. He maintained that in the Revised Version of the Augsburg Confession, the version which contained Melanchthon's most matured opinion, there was not a word which condemned his doctrine. He said Melanchthon and he had discussed the subject seventeen years before and had agreed perfectly. If anyone doubted that, they might write to Melanchthon or go to him and get an answer. He himself addressed one letter after another to Melanchthon, urging him to state his position and let the world see the agreement which existed between them. But Melanchthon had not courage enough to show how far he had departed from the strict doctrine of his master Luther, and in spite of Calvin's entreaties he kept silence.

Calvin was often made to feel that to lean on Melanchthon was to lean on a bending reed, yet, strange to say, their friendship remained unbroken.

Calvin was greatly exasperated by the tactics of his opponent, and when he took up his pen for the third time, in the summer of 1557, he gave vent to his feelings in language of great bitterness. While his Last Admonition was in process of compilation Farel wrote him urging him to moderation, but he replied,<sup>1</sup> "It is difficult for me to follow your advice in the matter of Westphal and the others. You call those brothers who not only refuse us the fraternal name but even scoff at it. How ridiculous we would be if we were to apply it to those in whose opinion we are the worst of heretics. It may be easy for you and for those who agree with you to follow your prescription, but my mind and yours on this matter are different. My book is already half printed. If anyone goes from here to you after six days I hope to send you a copy of the whole of it."

In August, 1557,<sup>2</sup> Calvin also sent Melanchthon another letter urging him to issue invitations for a conference and suggesting likely places—Strassburg, Tübingen, Heidelberg, and Frankfurt. Melanchthon's reply contained no reference to the conference. In December, 1558, Calvin wrote him again. "In the controversy over the Supper<sup>3</sup> not only do your enemies charge you with timidity, but your best friends wish your zeal would shine out brighter. . . . But whatever happens let us

<sup>1</sup>Opera, ix. Proleg. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup>Opera, xvi. 556.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. xvii. 386.

cultivate a mutual brotherly love which none of the wiles of Satan can burst asunder." In April, 1560, death delivered Melanchthon from the rage of the theologians and a conference under his auspices became impossible.

But the ultra-Lutherans were not idle. After Melanchthon's death they addressed a petition to John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, asking him to convene a synod at which the Sacramentarians should be anathematized. The most important of those who came to the front in this connexion was Tilemann Heshusen, a pugnacious, violent-tempered man, who created such dispeace wherever he was stationed that he was seven times dismissed from office. When he was in Heidelberg in 1559 as General Superintendent of the Lutheran Churches of the Palatinate, he quarrelled with a colleague in public so scandalously that the Elector deposed both of them. Being at comparative leisure thereafter, Heshusen wrote a pamphlet against Calvin in 1560 and another in 1562. He maintained with Westphal that Christ's body was present in the bread of the Sacrament, but he refined on Westphal by saying that although both believers and unbelievers receive it with the mouth, both alike do not chew it with the teeth, and he vituperated not only Calvin and the Sacramentarians but even his own old master, Melanchthon.

Bullinger sent Calvin the first of these and asked him to answer its arguments without condescending to personalities. Calvin was by this time almost worn out with various kinds of disease. He had already expressed his views fully and he had had enough of controversy, but he yielded and expressed his decision in these terms in a letter to Olevianus in November, 1560:<sup>1</sup> "I have begun to read the book of Tilemann which Bullinger sent me, and am somewhat disgusted by it. The fellow's loquacity is too absurd to excite my anger, and I have not yet decided whether I shall answer him. I am weary of so many pamphlets. Certainly I shall not think him worthy of many days' labour."

In 1561 his answer to Heshusen appeared. It begins with the well-known apostrophe:<sup>2</sup> "O Philip Melanchthon, I appeal to thee who now livest with Christ in the bosom of God, and there art waiting for us till we are gathered to that blessed rest. A hundred times, when worn out with labours and oppressed with so many troubles, didst thou repose thy head upon my breast and say: 'Would I could die upon this bosom.' Since then I have a thousand times wished it had been granted us to live together, for certainly thou shouldst have had more

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xviii. 237.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 457-524.

courage for the inevitable contest, and been stronger to despise envy and count as nothing all accusations. In this manner also the malice of many would have been restrained, who, from thy gentleness, which they called weakness, gathered audacity for their attacks."

Dealing with the question of doctrine, Calvin says,<sup>1</sup> "The whole question hinges on this: Does he who denies that the body of Christ is received by the mouth take away the substance of His body from the Holy Supper? Heshusen says that the very substance of the flesh and blood must be taken with the mouth, whereas I maintain that Christ by His wondrous power unites us into the same life with Himself, and not only applies the fruit of His passion to us, but becomes truly ours by communicating His blessings to us, and accordingly conjoins us to Himself in the same way as the head and the members unite to form one body. I do not restrict this union to the Divine essence, but affirm that it belongs to the flesh and blood, inasmuch as it was said, not simply, 'My Spirit,' but 'My flesh is meat indeed,' nor was it said, 'My Divinity,' but 'My blood is drink indeed'.

"Moreover, I do not interpret this communion of flesh and blood as applying only to the common nature in respect that Christ by becoming man made us sons of God with Himself by virtue of fraternal fellowship. I distinctly affirm that our flesh which He assumed is vivifying to us, by becoming the material of spiritual life to us. . . . Although I distinguish between the sign and the thing signified, I do not teach that there is only a bare and shadowy figure, but distinctly declare that the bread is a sure pledge of that communion with the flesh and blood of Christ which it figures. Christ performed the promise which He makes in an external symbol. Hence I conclude that the bread which we break is truly the communion of the body of Christ. But as this communion of Christ with His members depends on His incomprehensible energy, I am not ashamed to wonder at this mystery, which I feel and acknowledge to transcend the reach of my mind."

The difference between the Lutheran view and that of Calvin is now manifest. Both agree that there is a bodily presence of Christ in the Supper. They differ as to the method by which this presence is effected. Luther accounts for it by his doctrine of Ubiquity. Calvin accounts for it by his doctrine of Christ's spiritual presence. They agree that in the sacrament Christ communicates Himself to believers. They differ as to the conditions of communion. Luther holds

<sup>1</sup> Opera, IX. 470.

that eating the bread and drinking the wine are necessary. Calvin affirms that we may partake of Christ by faith apart from the use of the symbols. But the method by which He communicates Himself to us, and unites Himself to us as the Head, is united to the members, and infuses His life into us, is one that transcends the reach of Calvin's mind.

Calvin's attempt to effect a union between the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches was foredoomed to failure, because they stand for the same doctrine at different stages of its development. Starting with the gross doctrine of the Church of Rome that, after the words of consecration have been pronounced, the bread and wine are changed as to their substance and converted into the body and blood together with the soul and divinity of Christ, and that whatsoever pertains to the character of a true body is present, such as bones and nerves, Luther advanced to the more refined doctrine of a consubstantial presence, in consequence of which he held that the true body and blood of Christ are given and received not only by the godly but also by wicked Christians. Calvin made an advance on Luther. In the first place he rejected the unsound philosophic distinction between substance and accidents which is the foundation of the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation, and which seriously hampered the movement of Luther's thought. In the second place he rejected the idea that the body and blood of Christ, or any of the benefits of the Sacrament, are received by unbelievers. Finally he reached the doctrine of a dynamic presence of Christ, in virtue of which he maintained that the lifegiving and sanctifying energy of the Spirit of Christ is let loose and made effectual in direct proportion to the believer's and the participant's faith. Christ is present in the sacrament. He is present to bless. But he is present as Spirit and as power.

The long-drawn controversy had results which those who were engaged in it neither anticipated nor desired. One of the most notable of these was the wider reception given to the Reformed doctrine. Frederick III, Count Palatine, like many more in Germany, studied the matter in dispute with great carefulness, and as he found no creed which exactly expressed his opinions, he commissioned two young men, Zacharius Ursinus, a pupil of Melanchthon, and Gaspar Olevianus,<sup>1</sup> a pupil of Calvin, to draw up a new document which would embody the views generally accepted by moderate men both in the Lutheran and in the Reformed Churches. The result was the Heidelberg Catechism which appeared with the

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xix. 539.

Elector's imprimatur in 1563. Olevianus<sup>1</sup> sent it with a covering letter to Calvin. Calvin in return dedicated his Commentary on Jeremiah to the Elector, and took occasion once more to indicate his views. Through the influence of the Elector and of the Catechism, Reformed doctrine obtained a hold over that region which subsequent persecution was unable completely to unloose, and in later days the Catechism has done something to pave the way for a more complete doctrinal accord between the Churches.

Another, much to be regretted, result was the practical arrest of the whole Reformation as a forward movement especially in Germany. Provinces such as Bavaria were finally lost to it, in spite of the fact that Protestant doctrine had a footing in them. Others in which it had good prospects of being received became hostile. The pious Emperor Maximilian could not get over the disgust with which the contentions of the two parties filled him, although he was more than half-inclined to Lutheranism, and under his son, Rudolf II, the Austrian dominions finally became strictly Romanist. The Counter Reformation completed the process which the differences of opinion between the Protestants had begun.

We can sympathize with Calvin's disappointment. He knew that there was real harmony between all sections of Protestants in things that were essential. He knew that they disagreed only over modes of conception and of expression in things of secondary importance, and it was his earnest desire to secure union even in these. If the dissension had been confined within the narrow walls of Geneva he might have been able to arrest it. When the area in which it appeared extended over Switzerland and Germany, he had to let the forces of disruption take their course.

<sup>1</sup>Opera, xix. 684.

## XIV

### THE CARE OF THE CHURCHES

ONE of the heaviest parts of the burden which Calvin carried was laid on him by his care for his co-religionists in other lands.

Nearest to him lay his native land of France, and in France a vigorous propaganda in support of the Reformed faith had been carried on in spite of danger. In the provinces where the new doctrine got a footing a vast system of terror was introduced, and insult, outrage, and atrocious cruelty turned the life of the converts into a long-drawn misery. The question was forced upon them, What ought they to do?

Some of them solved it by a nominal conformity to Romanist doctrine and ritual while remaining Protestants at heart. They went to Mass like their neighbours and read their Bibles in secret at home. They defended their duplicity by a reference to the Jewish Rabbi Nicodemus, who remained a member of the Sanhedrin, and yet came to Jesus by night to converse with Him. Calvin dealt with them<sup>1</sup> in several tracts. In 1537 he issued the first, "On Shunning the unlawful rites of the Ungodly, and preserving the purity of the Christian Religion," and he dedicated it to his very dear and excellent friend, N. S. In 1543 he issued another entitled, "A little Tract showing a Believer who knows the truth of the Gospel what he ought to do when he is among the Papists," and he followed it up with another in 1544 entitled, "The Excuse of John Calvin to the Nicodemites in respect of their complaint of his too great Austerity". In the first he presses the alternative, if God be God then worship Him, and if Baal be God then worship him, for it is impossible to worship both at once. If they cannot get permission to worship God according to His Word, they ought to leave the country. If they cannot leave the country they should absent themselves from church and worship God according to His Word at home. But on no pretext should they deny their faith if they are challenged about it.

<sup>1</sup> Opera, vi. 537-644.  
(232)

As the first tract excited resentment, he handled the Nicodemites more severely in the second one. He compared them to scavengers who have lived so long among foul odours that they have lost the sense of smell. He describes four kinds of them : first, the false preachers ; second, courtiers and fine ladies who love flattery and hate austerity ; third, literary men who look on religion as a thing for the multitude but not for them ; fourth, worldly men who are so busy gathering wealth that they have no time for heavenly things. He says that Nicodemus displayed a hundred times more courage after the death of Christ than all of them together after His resurrection, and he answers their taunt that he encouraged them to face danger which he himself was protected from by saying the question is not what he would do but what they ought to do. He was not out of the range of the enemy, and at any rate the path of their duty was marked out by the footsteps of the martyrs.

The French Protestants requested Calvin to go to Saxony and find out how Luther would deal with their difficulty. Calvin replied he could not go for two reasons. First, he had neither time nor money for the journey. Second, he thought Luther's spirit was too hot from recent controversy to allow him to discuss a difficult matter calmly. At the same time he commissioned a friend to take a letter to Luther and to request a written reply. It was the only letter Calvin wrote to him. He enclosed it in a covering letter to Melanchthon,<sup>1</sup> begging Melanchthon to present it when Luther was in a mood to deal with it. The letter to Luther is as follows :—<sup>2</sup>

“ 21 January, 1545.

“ *To the very Excellent Pastor of the Christian Church, Dr. M. Luther, my much respected Father.*

“ When I saw that my French fellow-countrymen, as many of them as had been brought out from the darkness of the papacy to soundness of faith, had altered nothing as to their public profession, and that they continued to defile themselves with the sacrilegious worship of the Papists, as if they had never tasted the savour of true doctrine, I was altogether unable to restrain myself from reproving so great sloth and negligence, in the way I thought it deserved. . . . I do not handle the matter here, as I have done so in two little treatises, wherein, if it be not troublesome to you to glance over them, you will more clearly perceive both what I think

<sup>1</sup> Opera, XII. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 7.

and the reasons which had led me to my opinion. By reading them some of our people have begun to consider what they ought to do. But because it is difficult to cast aside all consideration for self and to expose one's life to danger, having roused the displeasure of mankind to encounter the hatred of the world, or having abandoned prospects and home to enter on a life of voluntary exile, they are kept back from a settled determination. In these circumstances they are desirous to hear your opinion, which as they do deservedly hold in reverence, so it shall greatly serve to confirm them. . . . Now, therefore, my much respected father in the Lord, I beseech you by Christ that you will not refuse to take the trouble, for their sake and mine, to read the letter written in their name, and my little books, and that you would write back your opinion in a few words. . . . The Lord Himself rule and direct you by His own Spirit, that you may persevere to the end, for the common benefit and good of His own Church."

Luther never received this letter. On 17 April, 1545,<sup>1</sup> Melanchthon wrote saying that he agreed with Calvin as to the duty of the Nicodemites, but that up to that date he had not shown the letter to Luther. "He takes many things suspiciously and does not like answers of the kind you have proposed to him to be carried about and handed from one to the other."

The King of France, Henry II, was displeased with what he considered the leniency shown to the heretics, and on 2 June, 1551, by the Edict of Chateaubriand, he set up a tribunal to treat them with severity. Geneva is alluded to ten times in the Edict and always with a mark of reproach. The persecution which followed turned France into a hell upon earth for those believed to be tainted with heresy, but it did not deter bold men from preaching the faith for which they were called on to suffer. Among these were five young Frenchmen who had studied at Lausanne under Viret and Beza. These resolved that they would go back to their native country and make known to their fellow-countrymen the truths which had become dear to their own souls. At Lyons they were seized and sentenced to be burned alive. An appeal to the Parlement of Paris delayed their doom till May, 1553, and in the interval no stone was left unturned to secure their liberation. When it became evident that the efforts in their behalf were to be fruitless, Calvin wrote them several letters to nerve them for the fiery trial that lay before them. In one he says:<sup>2</sup> "My very dear brothers, . . . Since it appears that

<sup>1</sup> Opera, XII. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. XIV. 545.

God would use your blood to sign His truth, there is nothing better than for you to prepare yourselves to that end, beseeching Him to subdue you to His good pleasure that nothing shall hinder you from following wheresoever He may call. . . . Be assured that God, who manifests His strength in our weakness, will not leave you unprovided with that which will powerfully magnify His name. Only proceed with reverence and soberness, knowing that God will no less accept the sacrifice which you offer Him, according to the measure of the ability you have received from Him, than if you had comprehended all the revelations of angels, and that He will make effectual that which He will put into your mouth, both to confirm His own truth and to confound the adversaries."

During the years succeeding their martyrdom, the Reformation in France made rapid progress. Several of the provinces—Languedoc, Dauphiny, Guienne, Poitou, Normandy, Picardy, and Flanders—and many of the principal cities of the kingdom, as Bourges, Orleans, Bordeaux, La Rochelle, and others, were filled with those who if they did not actually profess the new doctrine at least sympathized with it. It has been calculated that one-sixth of the whole kingdom was on the side of the Reformers. Among their notable friends were Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre, and his wife, Jeanne d'Albret, and his brother the Prince of Condé, Admiral Coligny and his two brothers, François, Sire d'Andelot, and Odet, the Cardinal of Chastillon. Emboldened by their numbers the Reformed party began to hold regular meetings. In 1555, a congregation was organized at Paris. Others were organized in Rouen, Blois, Tours, Angers, Bourges, La Rochelle and elsewhere. Beza says that by 1558 there were no less than 2000 places in France dedicated to Reformed worship, and they had no less than 400,000 worshippers. By 1559 there were over seventy strong and well-appointed congregations, supported by a multitude of gatherings of a looser type, all over the country.

Calvin did all he could to quicken the pace of the movement by sending out ministers and evangelists to confirm the faith of those who had received the Reformed doctrine and to explain it to those who were hostile. In May, 1559, six were dispatched. In July of the same year seven were sent off. In August there were five. In 1560 there were altogether twelve. In 1561 the demands from France were incessant, but the supply was by no means inexhaustible.<sup>1</sup> In the ten years ending 1556 about one hundred and twenty pastors were supplied

<sup>1</sup> "Camb. Mod. Hist." II. 294.

from Geneva to the French Churches, and if they had had the benefits of toleration they would have carried Genevan doctrine over the length and breadth of the land.

But their enemies interposed a series of bloody checks. The clergy used every art to inflame the mind of the people against the heretics. They hawked about execrable slanders and both in public and private represented the Reformers as a source of danger not only to established religion but to the safety of the State. When the news of the battle of St. Quentin reached Paris—4 September, 1557—the disaster to the French arms was ascribed to the mildness with which the people had treated the new movement. The Parisian populace thereupon looked for an opportunity of avenging the insult to the Divine honour and naturally found it. It happened that about four hundred of the Reformed party—gentlemen and ladies of good family—met in the Rue St. Jacques, behind the Sorbonne, to celebrate the Lord's Supper. Without warning they were broken in upon. Some fought their way out to safety, but about one hundred, including most of the women, were seized and thrown into prison. Calvin hastened to comfort them by letters<sup>1</sup> full of wise counsel and Christian sympathy. But he did not confine himself to letter-writing. At his instance Beza and Bude were sent first to the evangelical cantons of Switzerland and then to the evangelical princes of Germany to rouse their interest in the prisoners and make intercession on their behalf. In due time the Swiss deputies arrived in Paris, but the King told them to go home and mind their own business. On 21 December, 1557, he replied to the German princes that he would tolerate no interference with regard to his conduct to his subjects and he begged them to understand that it was his fixed intention to compel his people to live in the religion in which it had pleased God to nourish his own ancestors. A practical illustration of his intention was given immediately afterwards. He laid hold of the Sire d'Andelot and threw him into prison.

Calvin promptly wrote letters to d'Andelot,<sup>2</sup> to support him in his trials and to warn him of the snares that were being laid for him. The letters failed in their purpose. Pressure was brought to bear on d'Andelot's wife and he consented to be present at the celebration of Mass. Calvin wrote again, this time sharply.<sup>3</sup> “It is no light fault to prefer men to God, to gratify a mortal creature by forgetting Him who made us, who sustains us, who has saved us by the death of His Son and made us partakers of His Kingdom. You have defrauded

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, XVII. 326.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 192, 251.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 272.

God, whether you have done this from favour or from fear. The worst is, you have given the enemies of truth good reason to triumph, not only by discrediting your own faith, but by approving their abominations. In your person they think they have conquered our Lord Jesus Christ, having put His doctrine to shame ; as you know they have not been ashamed to mock it and spit out blasphemies. This has been a bad fall and you ought to remember it with bitterness of heart." Coligny himself was shut up in a fortress. Calvin wrote him to strengthen the favourable disposition to evangelical truth which he had already shown.<sup>1</sup> He also wrote in the same strain to Coligny's wife.<sup>2</sup> The result of Coligny's study and meditation in his enforced leisure was that he became the most prominent supporter of the Reformation that France had.

At the same time<sup>3</sup> Calvin wrote to the King of Navarre. The King of Navarre needed all the stiffening that could be put into him. At one time he patronized the Reformers. At another time he persecuted them. Besides he was indolent and somewhat cowardly. His morals were loose and he resented being called to account for them. Calvin had therefore a delicate task to secure his adhesion to the side of the Reformation, and his letters are models of skill and tactfulness.

In spite of the persecution they were enduring, the Protestants boldly resolved to organize their Church, and to meet for that purpose in a synod. In May, 1559, deputies from eleven congregations came together in Paris, appointed Morel their president, sat for four days, drew up and adopted a Confession of Faith,<sup>4</sup> a form of discipline and a system of Church government, and departed. Calvin was not present, but all the ministers were his disciples. He was thus a governing influence.

But it does not follow that he approved of all that was done. Morel had written him stating that the synod was to be held. The letter miscarried and Calvin did not hear of the proposal till the day of the synod's meeting. On 17 May he replied,<sup>5</sup> "Would to God we had been warned in time of your coming assembly. But since the day is now so near that we can scarcely hope to send you a letter that will be of any service, we shall pray the Lord to direct your meetings by His Holy Spirit. If some of you are tormented by the itch of publishing a Confession, we take men and angels to witness that ardour displeases us in present circumstances. The recklessness of the people of Touraine, who sounded a trumpet

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xvii. 318.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 321.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 70, 196; xviii. 311.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 731.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xvii. 525.

before they were ready, should warn your Churches not to run so fast."

The members of the synod slipped back quietly to their scattered and trembling flocks. But all over France trembling was rapidly giving place to indignation and rage. It was too much to expect that men will see their business ruined, their homes desolated, and their dearest carried off to imprisonment, torture, and death without seeking means of defence, and there was a party in France ready to exploit the natural passions of the Reformers for mere secular ends. So it came about that those who hated the Government and the House of Guise, seeing in the rising religious agitation a means of increasing the resistance to the party in power, opened communications with the Reformers and endeavoured to bring about a working alliance.

This was entirely against Calvin's mind. He<sup>1</sup> wrote repeatedly to the Churches in France to have nothing to do with an armed insurrection and to suffer patiently whatever God was pleased to send them. "To your enemies' fury, oppose prayers and tears. God will not let one of them fall to the ground, but will put them in His bottle as He says in the psalm." At other times he expanded the warning and applied it, "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword".

His words fell on deaf ears, and a widespread conspiracy was formed. The real head of it was Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé. The nominal head was a nobleman of Perigord named Godfrey de la Renaudie. It was resolved to seize the person of the boy King Francis II, husband of Mary of Scotland, to imprison the Guises, to summon Parlement and restore the Government to the Bourbons. The plot was betrayed. The Duke of Guise carried off the King to the castle of Amboise, and as one detachment after another of the conspirators came up, he captured them. Then he got himself declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and proceeded to wreak his vengeance on all who had taken arms against him. In Amboise the prisoners were tortured at intervals for a month, while the young King and his brother, and even the ladies of the Court, looked on their agonies. Then they were beheaded or hung or drowned in the Loire.

Calvin condemned the conspiracy from the moment he heard about it. On 22 March he wrote to Sturm:<sup>2</sup> "When I was consulted at the beginning by the movers in this affair, I told them that I neither approved of the plan itself nor of the means by which they proposed to carry it out." On 15 May,

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xvii. 570, 576, 582.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xviii. 38.

1560, he wrote to Peter Martyr:<sup>1</sup> "I am overwhelmed by grief over the reckless passion of those who think to conquer by arms what they ought to seek for in another way. . . . I told them the drop they meant to pour out would discolour all the rivers of France. Besides, the badly conceived plan has been deplorably executed, and beyond all doubt the fool who pushed himself so boldly forward has ruined our friends by his recklessness." In a letter to Bullinger, written on the previous day, he says he foretold the lamentable issue of the conspiracy from the first.<sup>2</sup>

But although he denounced this particular conspiracy it is not to be supposed that Calvin denounced all uprising against established authority. He set his face against sporadic tumultuous risings, but when he heard that princes and noblemen were likely to espouse the cause of the Reformation and even fight for it, he used all the means in his power to stimulate their energies. There was reason to think that Navarre might be induced to take an open stand on the side of the Reformation. The Queen was decidedly in sympathy with the Reformers. Under her influence the King had patronized the Reformed doctrine and worship. Churches were thronged with worshippers, psalms were sung in the streets, evangelical books were sold openly. So in June, 1560, Calvin wrote to Sturm and Hotman to get the German Protestant princes to send a deputation to the King of France to secure liberty of worship for the Reformers, and said further,<sup>3</sup> "While you are engaged in this, we shall busy ourselves in stirring up the King of Navarre to seize the reins of state, by showing him the manifest danger of ruin the kingdom is running from the disloyalty, the greed, and the arrogance of Guise". Accordingly on 20 July, 1560, Beza was sent from Geneva to Nerac.

Beza's mission failed. In spite of repeated and urgent warnings the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé accepted an invitation to Orleans to meet the King. They ought to have seen they were invited to enter a tiger's den. The Duke of Guise had ample proof of the complicity of Condé in the insurrection of Amboise and he had resolved to annihilate for ever the opposition to his authority. Immediately on their arrival Condé was seized and thrown into prison. The King of Navarre was separated from his wife and placed in strict confinement. A few days later Condé was sentenced to death, but before the date appointed for carrying it out, the King sickened of an abscess in the ear, and while he lay dying, Catherine de Medici, the queen mother, who had been fretting

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xviii. 82.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 97.

under the arrogance of the House of Guise sent for the King of Navarre and offered him the second place in the Government on condition that he renounced all claims to the regency of the kingdom. Calvin was delighted at the turn things had taken and he wrote to Sturm:<sup>1</sup> "When we were in extremity, God suddenly appeared from heaven and pierced the ear of the son as he had pierced the eye of the father".

If Calvin flattered himself that the way was now open for the propagation of Reformed doctrine without let or hindrance, he got his eyes opened by a letter<sup>2</sup> signed by the new King of France, Charles IX, which laid the blame of all the unrest in the kingdom on Genevan shoulders. The Genevan Council met in secret<sup>3</sup> on 26 January to consider the letter. Then it summoned the ministers to hear what they had to say. Calvin, Beza, and two others appeared and said they could not deny that when anyone addressed himself to them and when they knew him to be a sensible man and fit for the ministerial office they exhorted him to do his duty and to advance the knowledge of the Gospel as the Lord commanded. But they utterly denied that they were responsible for the troubles in France. The Word of God did not teach them to create trouble. The magistrates knew they had done all they could to hinder those who had desired to go to Amboise, and they were ready to clear themselves in the King's own presence, if he would hear them. The Council<sup>4</sup> replied to the royal letter after the tenor of the ministers' words, adding that as they had sent no agents to France they had none to recall.

Somewhat sooner than Calvin and his fellow-ministers expected, they had an opportunity of stating their case at the French Court. Catherine de Medici was still of opinion that the Reformed party might be of use to her and her son, so in defiance of the Romish clergy and the Guises who backed them, she invited the French Protestants to send deputies to explain to the King what doctrine they taught and what discipline they observed. When they began to look about for a spokesman, their first thoughts turned to Calvin, but the Council of Geneva refused to allow Calvin to appear,<sup>5</sup> especially as Catherine refused to guarantee his safety. Beza was therefore selected, and sent off.

The conference opened at Poissy on 9 September, 1561. The King presided and the conference chamber was filled with a crowd of nobles, cardinals, courtiers, bishops, and doctors. After the opening speech had been delivered Beza

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xviii. 270.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 337.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xxi. 742.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xviii. 343.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 755.

and the ten other pastors and the twenty-two lay deputies who accompanied him were admitted, but they were made to take their place at the bar as if they were criminals on their trial. Beza's address<sup>1</sup> was characterized by great gravity and eloquence, and at the close of it he knelt down and presented to the King the Confession of Faith of the French Churches. This was the work of one of Calvin's pupils, Antoine de la Roche Chandieu. The basis of it was the Gallican Confession of 1559, whose first draft came from Calvin's pen. On succeeding days other meetings were held, each of less importance than the preceding, and finally the conference fizzled out in recriminations. Its effect was twofold. It proved that the hope of bringing Romanists and Reformers together was illusory. At the same time it gave the Reformers a standing as an acknowledged party in the State, and so it paved the way for the civil war which was soon begun.

The first blow was struck at Vassy where the Duke of Guise and his men butchered a company of the Reformed whom they found at public worship. Those who sympathized with the victims instantly flew to arms all over the kingdom. At the end of June the Parlement of Paris passed a decree that the heretics were to be set upon and killed wherever they were found, as madmen, the enemies both of God and humanity. The Reformers implored foreign aid, and Elizabeth of England undertook to furnish a force of 6000 men. After the battle of Dreux (19 December, 1562), in which the Reformers were defeated, and the siege of Orleans, at which the Duke of Guise was killed (24 February, 1563), Catherine de Medici induced the leaders of the contending parties to agree to the Edict of Amboise (19 March, 1563), which provided that the heretics should be permitted to live at liberty in their own houses, without molestation, but did not recognize their right to meet together for public worship or in any sort of general assembly.

Calvin was greatly grieved by the news of what was happening.<sup>2</sup> He sent sharp letters to Lyons condemning the pillage, the sacrilege, and the violence of which the Protestants there were guilty, and calling for their punishment, and when the news of the Edict of Amboise reached him, he wrote to Madame de Roye,<sup>3</sup> "I would always counsel that arms should be laid aside and that we all perish rather than enter again on the confusions which we have witnessed". At the same time he felt that the interests of the Reformed party had

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xviii. 687-702.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xix. 411.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 688.

been betrayed by the Prince of Condé, who had promised to do nothing without the approbation of the Reformed ministers and then agreed to terms on which they were not consulted, and he expressed himself on this subject at some length in a letter to Bullinger. Before the next phase of the strife in France had begun, Calvin had passed away.

#### ENGLAND

Calvin's interest in the Churches of the Reformation was not confined to those of the Continent. It extended across the Channel to the Church of England, and in an almost equal degree to that of Scotland also. The situation in England was critical. Reformation had begun but its progress was hampered by the unreformed temper of the King who had taken a prominent part in it. The first reference to England contained in Calvin's correspondence is found in a long letter to Farel written from Strassburg on 15 March, 1539. The reference not only indicates the accuracy of Calvin's information but shows the estimate he had formed on the King's character. He says,<sup>1</sup> "The King is only half wise. He deprives of their ministry the bishops and priests who enter upon matrimony; he retains the daily Masses; he wishes the seven sacraments to remain as they are; in this way he has a torn and mutilated gospel, and a church stuffed full of toys and trifles. Then because all do not appear to be of a sound mind, he does not suffer the Scriptures to circulate in the language of the common people, and he has lately issued an edict warning the people against reading the Bible. Moreover, he has burned a worthy and learned man for denying the presence of Christ after a carnal manner in the bread. . . . Our friends though sorely hurt by atrocities of this kind, will not cease to have an eye to the condition of his kingdom."

The boy king, Edward VI, who had succeeded Henry at the age of ten, had as advisers and in fact as governors, the Lord Protector Somerset and Archbishop Cranmer. Somerset professed sympathy with Reformation principles. Cranmer really felt it. But though the Protector's sympathy was a great deal more political than religious, under his influence the Reformation movement made progress. In these circumstances it seemed to Calvin that a letter<sup>2</sup> to Somerset might be of service in stimulating him to push on the work to which he had set his hand. Thereafter in October, 1548,<sup>3</sup> he sent him a long communication, in which he sketched a scheme of reformation under three heads. As touching the first, the sound

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xi. 328.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. XIII. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 65.

instruction of the people, he is assured that the Lord Protector does not need to be told what doctrine ought to be taught. At the same time he condemns sermons which are read from a written manuscript. They are not lively enough. They are tolerable only because competent extempore preachers cannot be found, and because they prevent flighty persons from airing their own silly fancies. In order to shut the door against eccentricities there ought to be a summary of doctrine which all prelates and curates should swear to follow. Then there should be a Catechism for the instruction of little children and of ignorant persons. There ought also to be some form for the administration of the sacraments and for the exercise of public prayer.

Under the second head, the uprooting of abuses, he says that half measures will not suffice to restore things to a state of purity, and he specifies some of the remnants of corruption that should be taken away—prayers for the dead, the use of oil in the sacrament of Baptism, and the practice of extreme unction.

Under the third head, the chastisement of vice and the repression of scandals, he urges the Protector to punish those crimes of which men have taken little account. Larcenies, assault, and extortion are already severely dealt with, but whoredom and adultery, drunkenness and blasphemy, are treated as things of little importance. But the more easily men pardon themselves in these enormities, the more certainly will God take vengeance on them.

In January, 1551, he addressed a letter to King Edward<sup>1</sup> himself and sent it across to England by the hands of Nicolas des Gallars. In this he exhorts the young King to persevere in the work of Reformation in spite of the hindrance which Satan puts in his way, and he sets before him the example of the boy King, Josiah. He says some things must be borne with, because the clear light of the Gospel is not obscured by them, but manifest abuses should not be tolerated, such as asking for the intercession of the saints and joining them to God in invocation. Then there are things that need special attention, such as the provision of pastors for poor congregations. The students in the universities should also be looked after, for it is reported that some who are supported by college bursaries take no trouble to conceal their intention of doing mischief to the Church by opposing the true religion.

In another letter to Somerset,<sup>2</sup> written in July, 1551, he refers again to the universities, mentioning two hindrances

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, XIV. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 156.

to their usefulness, which he thinks it most desirable to remove. The first is that the revenues of the universities, which have been founded for the maintenance of scholars, are badly distributed. The second is that the revenues of curés are diverted from their proper purposes and wasted, so that there is nothing for the support of worthy men who are fit for the office of pastors. Thus ignorant priests are installed who bring in great confusion.

In 1552 Cranmer<sup>1</sup> was greatly exercised over the Council of Trent, which was then sitting, and wrote Calvin suggesting the calling of a godly synod for the refutation of error and the propagation of truth, for the discovery of a formula of agreement regarding the Sacrament of the Supper, and for the manifestation of the Church's unity. Calvin<sup>2</sup> replied in April of the same year stating that in his opinion no remedy more suitable could be devised for the disordered state of the Church, and assuring Cranmer that if he could be of any service he would not grudge to cross ten seas to render it. In another letter,<sup>3</sup> written in July of the same year, he urged Cranmer to show more zeal in the work of purifying the English Church. He says: "If you reflect on what yet remains to be done, and how very remiss you have been in many matters, you will discover no reason to advance toward the goal with less rapidity, even though most of the course has been already gone over. . . . To speak freely, I greatly fear, and this fear is abiding, that so many autumns have been spent in procrastination, that by and by the cold of a perpetual winter will set in. You are now somewhat advanced in years, and this ought to stimulate you to fresh exertions, so as to save yourself the regret of being consciously dilatory, and that you may not leave the world while matters are in so disordered a condition." Then he mentions three points demanding immediate attention—the systematic preaching of doctrine is not provided for, the revenues of the Church are plundered, "and idle gluttons are supported who chant vespers in an unknown tongue".

Cranmer had a much harder battle to fight than Calvin appreciated, for the reformation of one city of 15,000 inhabitants is a smaller and easier task than the reformation of a whole kingdom, and he may be pardoned if he thought that Calvin's reproaches on the score of remissness might have been spared. The difficulties of the Genevan situation were reproduced in England tenfold.

In view of the changed state of opinion it was now thought

<sup>1</sup> Opera, XIV. 306.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 313.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. XIII. 683.

necessary to revise the doctrinal standards of the Church of England. In different parts of the country different forms of service were in use, and in order to remedy this a "Book of Common Prayer" was drawn up and imposed on the whole nation by the Act of Uniformity. The ink of this First Prayer Book was scarcely dry when a revision of it was undertaken, and the Second Prayer Book was issued in 1552. In this issue the teaching of the continental Reformers is unmistakable. Soon afterwards the Forty-two Articles were issued on the authority of the King. They were the work of Cranmer and Ridley, although nominally they had been approved by the bishops. In their statements of the doctrine of Justification by Faith and of the Church, they followed the lead of Lutheran teaching, especially the Confession of Augsburg. When they touch on Predestination they borrow the language of Calvin. They make no reference to reprobation, and they express the idea of election to life in terms which might have been borrowed from the Institutes. In the final form of the Articles, as they were passed by the Convocation in 1562, and sanctioned by Parliament in 1671, the number is reduced to Thirty-nine, but no change was made in the Calvinistic statement of doctrine.

Along with the alteration in the forms of worship, and in the doctrinal standards, there went a movement for change in organization. The episcopal form taken over from Rome gave no satisfaction to the Reformers, and was believed to be fundamentally unscriptural. Calvin taught that the terms bishop, pastor, and elder were interchangeable, and that all ministers of the Church stood originally on the same level. The practice of arranging the ministers in groups under a bishop, and of arranging the bishops under the archbishop, and finally under a primate, was a late introduction, destructive of primitive parity. Cranmer was persuaded to agree with him. In his book, "The Institution of a Christian Man," a book which received the approving signatures of twelve bishops and twenty-three doctors of theology and canon law, Cranmer not only distinctly repudiated the Divine origin ascribed to episcopacy, but stated that the New Testament makes no mention of degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of bishops or elders. This opinion was shared by many of the leading clergy. In a letter, dated 8 February, 1550, Hooper informed Bullinger that "the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Rochester, Ely, St. Davids, Lincoln, and Bath were sincerely bent on advancing purity of doctrine, agreeing in all things with the Helvetic Churches".

Cranmer would have revised the whole English Church organization to the extent of setting up something like Presbyteries, or provincial synods, and giving them the right of exercising discipline after the Genevan pattern, but his way was blocked by the opposition of the courtiers. He might have been successful in the long run if Edward had been spared, but his activity was paralysed by the King's early death.

A movement for abolishing useless and superstitious ceremonial came to a head in connexion with the appointment of Hooper as Bishop of Gloucester in 1550. Hooper had spent two years in Zurich with Bullinger, and when he came back to England he was saturated with the opinions of the men with whom he had been in contact. When he was appointed to the See of Gloucester he refused to take the oath in the usual manner because it contained the words "by God, by the saints, and by the Holy Gospels," and to array himself in the usual episcopal vestments on the ground that they were brought in by tradition and were not suited to the simplicity of the Christian religion. Calvin thought that Hooper had pushed his principles to an unwarrantable extent. In a letter to Bullinger from Geneva, March, 1551, he says:<sup>1</sup> "I lately finished my Commentaries on Isaiah and the Canonical Epistles, and thought proper to dedicate<sup>2</sup> both of them to the King of England. Meanwhile we have had sad news of Hooper's imprisonment. While I admire his firmness in refusing the anointing, I had rather that he had not carried his opposition so far with regard to the cap and the linen vestments, even though I do not approve of all these and I recently recommended this." Hooper finally consented to wear the vestments at his ordination and on occasions when he had to preach before the King on condition that he was allowed to dispense with them at other times.

When Edward died and Mary ascended the throne in July, 1553, measures were at once taken to bring the Reformation movement to a standstill. On the accession of Elizabeth in November, 1558, the current that had been dammed back flowed on in a broader and deeper stream. The new queen took the side of the Reformation from the first, and Calvin seized the opportunity afforded by the publication of his Commentary on Isaiah to preface it with a dedicatory<sup>3</sup> letter which opens thus: "To the most serene Elizabeth, Queen of England and Ireland, and of the neighbouring islands, resplendent by her virtues not less than by her dignity". Thereafter he reminds

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, XIV. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* XVII. 413.

her how God had protected her during the reign of Mary, and exhorts her to show her gratitude by proceeding to restore the true religion with a firm hand, in defiance of all the difficulties and threatenings of Satan. Some days later he wrote to Cecil,<sup>1</sup> urging him to confirm Elizabeth in her attachment to the evangelical faith. In the same year he also wrote Grindal,<sup>2</sup> Bishop of London, and sent him Nicolas des Gallars as pastor of the large congregation of French refugees.

The accession of Elizabeth was also the signal for the return of many who had been compelled to fly from England by the persecution of Mary. As many of them had been resident in Geneva and had come into friendly relations with Calvin, this gave a powerful impetus to the spread of Calvinism in their native country. One result was the introduction of the Institutes as a textbook of theology in the Universities. Another was the formation of a strong party which was resolved to use nothing in worship that was not approved by the Word of God. Among other things they objected to were the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the reception of the bread and the wine in the Lord's Supper, and the observance of saints' days and festivals. In 1566, after prayer and serious debate on the lawfulness of separating from the established Church, some of them resolved that since they could not get the Sacraments administered without "idolatrous gear" nor the Word of God simply preached, and "since there had been a separate congregation in London and another in Geneva, in Queen Mary's time, which used a book and order of preaching, administration of the Sacraments, and discipline that the great Mr. Calvin approved of, and which was free from the superstitions of the English service, it was their duty to break off from the established Churches and to worship God according to their consciences".<sup>3</sup> When they were brought before Grindal, Bishop of London, on the charge of schism, they delivered up the book of Geneva which they used and challenged any of the bishops' court to disprove it by the Word of God. On their refusal to abandon it they were sent to prison for a year.

The pressure applied by Grindal's successor, Whitgift, a pressure that amounted to severe persecution, only widened and deepened the rift in the Protestant Church of England, a rift that is now a yawning gulf over which no bridge seems possible. Calvinistic principles spread steadily till at last the Puritans got the upper hand in the State, and being anxious for the support of Scotland in their political enterprises, the

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xvii. 418.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xviii. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Neal, "History of the Puritans," i. 153.

Lords and Commons of England called a General Assembly to meet at Westminster in July, 1643, "to procure the peace of the Church at home and nearer agreement with Scotland, and with other Reformed Churches abroad". Of the 157 members who took part in the debates, six were from Scotland. The result of their labours was the production of the Confession of Faith, the Larger and the Shorter Catechisms, and the Directory for Public Worship—documents whose language reproduces that of the Articles of the Irish Church, framed by Archbishop Usher eighty years before, but whose spirit is unmistakably derived from Calvin. Through that Confession and the accompanying Catechisms, Calvinistic principles have been wrought into the faith of millions both in Europe and America.

#### SCOTLAND

Calvin's direct interest in Scotland probably began when John Knox arrived in Geneva as a fugitive in 1554. He was not long in acquiring the same ascendancy over Knox that he had already acquired over the other inhabitants of Geneva. When James Sym and James Barron, the commissioners from Scotland, arrived in 1556 and presented Knox with a letter urging him to return to his native country, it was Calvin that Knox turned to for advice as to the answer he should give them. Two years later, in November, 1558, the Scottish Lords who had sent the first letter not only repeated it but wrote Calvin himself directly, asking that "by his authority he would command the said John again to visit them"—which in due time Knox did.

Knox left Geneva in January, 1559, and on his departure he was presented with the freedom of the city as a mark of respect, an honour which Calvin himself, strange to say, did not obtain till the end of that year. Soon after his arrival in Scotland,<sup>1</sup> Knox sent Calvin a letter asking advice on two points—whether illegitimate children and the children of Papists and of excommunicated persons should be admitted to baptism before their parents had declared repentance and had submitted to the Church or before the children had asked for baptism on their own account; and whether monks and Mass priests who neither serve the Church of God nor are able to serve it, should continue to receive their stipends although they confess their former errors. Knox adds that he himself answered No to both questions, for which he was blamed as being too severe, not by Papists only, but by some Protestants.

Calvin replied on 1 November, 1559.<sup>2</sup> He says that after

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xvii. 619.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 667.

consulting the other ministers of Geneva the conclusion was come to that in the cases submitted, baptism should not be refused on condition that proper sponsors were forthcoming. With regard to the second question, those who were able to work should be made to work. Nevertheless they should be treated with humanity. For, even although they have no claim on the revenues of the Church, and have spent their days in luxury and idleness, it would be a hard thing to turn them adrift with no means of livelihood.

On another occasion he seems to have thought that Knox was pursuing the policy of Thorough with more zeal than discretion, and he sent him a letter counselling moderation. In his letter of 23 April, 1561, he says,<sup>1</sup> "In the matter of ceremonies I trust that your rigour, though it must necessarily displease some, will be restrained. Care indeed must be taken to purge the Church from all defilements that have flowed from error and superstition, and you must likewise endeavour that the mysteries of God be not polluted with absurd and insipid mixtures. But with this exception, some things which are not to be altogether approved of must, you know, be tolerated."

From this time forward the correspondence between Knox and Calvin ceased, but Calvin's influence on Scotland had not ceased, it had only begun.

His influence on its theology, worship, and discipline was decisive. When the Scottish Parliament of 1560 demanded a statement of the Reformation doctrine, Knox and five other ministers drew up a Confession of Faith which the Parliament adopted without the alteration of a sentence. It is a manifesto rather than a formula, and it reproduces the teaching of the Institutes at every point.

The doctrine of election is referred to as<sup>2</sup> "The eternal and immutable decree which appointed the God man as our Redeemer and from which all our salvation depends". Again it is said, "That same eternal God and Father who, in mere mercy, elected us in Jesus Christ His Son before the foundation of the world, appointed Him to be our Head".

The Church is defined as "a company and multitude of men,<sup>3</sup> chosen of God, who rightly worship and embrace Him by true faith in Christ Jesus . . . which Kirk is Catholic, that is universal, because it contains the elect of all ages, realms, nations, and tongues. . . . It is invisible, known only to God, who alone knoweth whom He hath chosen, and comprehends as well the elect who are departed—commonly called the Kirk

<sup>1</sup> Opera, XVIII. 434.

<sup>2</sup> Laing, II. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 108.

Triumphant—as those that yet live and fight against sin and Satan, as those that shall live hereafter." The notes<sup>1</sup> by which the true Church is discerned from the false are "neither antiquity, title usurped, lineal descent, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving an error". They are,<sup>2</sup> "the true preaching of the Word of God, the right administration of the Sacraments of Jesus, and ecclesiastical discipline rightly administered as God's Word prescribes".

In the first book of Discipline we find a repetition of Calvin's ideas with regard to the qualifications of the ministers of the Church.<sup>3</sup> "It is neither the clipping of their crowns, the crossing of their fingers, nor the blowing of the dumb dogs they call bishops, neither yet the laying on of their hands that makes them true ministers of Christ Jesus. It is the Spirit of God inwardly moving their hearts to seek Christ's glory and the profit of His Church, and after that the nomination of the people, the examination of the learned and public admission."

The doctrine of the civil magistrate and his relation to the Church is also grounded on the teaching of Calvin. Its leading idea is expressed in the following passage:<sup>4</sup> "Moreover, to kings, princes, rulers, and magistrates we affirm that chiefly and principally the reformation and purgation of religion pertain; so that not only are they appointed for civil policy, but also for the maintenance of the true religion and for the suppression of idolatry and all superstition whatsoever, as in David, Josaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah and others may be espied".

In addition to general ideas borrowed from Calvin, the Confession of Faith<sup>5</sup> contains several passages which are practically a direct translation from Calvin's writings. The passage on the Unity of the Godhead is based on a statement of this doctrine subscribed by the students of the College of Geneva. The passage in which the true divinity of our Lord is asserted, and in which various heresies are repudiated, is paralleled by a passage on the same subject in the Genevan Confession. The chapter on Justification is a string of quotations from Calvin's Institutes, arranged to give a fairly full exposition of this doctrine.

The "Confession of Faith" is an important document, but it was through the Catechism that Knox drew up that Calvin exerted the greatest influence on the Scottish nation. When Calvin wrote his first Catechism in Geneva he had not much experience in the instruction of youth, and his work was the

<sup>1</sup> Laing, II. 109.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 110.

<sup>5</sup> Mitchell, 110-12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 255.

condensed essence of the Institutes rather than a manual suited to the capacity of undeveloped minds. It was composed in French, and was followed almost at once by a translation into Latin. Soon afterwards its paragraphs were broken up into question and answer. Knox made a further translation and got it inserted among the subordinate Standards of the Scottish Church. In the "First Book of Discipline," under the heading "The Necessity of Schools," we find this passage :<sup>1</sup> " Of necessity, therefore, we judge it that every several church shall have a schoolmaster appointed, able at least to teach grammar and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any reputation. If it be upland, where the people convene to doctrine but once a week, then must either the reader or the minister there appointed take care of the children of the parish, to instruct them in their first rudiments, and especially the Catechism as we have it now translated in the Book of Common Order, called the Order of Geneva." Every Sunday, in the afternoon, the minister was to examine the children on the portion appointed for the day, in the presence of the people, giving such explanation as might be required to enable them to understand the questions,<sup>2</sup> the answers, and the doctrine which these contained. Nothing further is needed to show how inevitably the theology of Scotland became predominantly Calvinistic.

Calvin's influence on the worship of the Scottish Church was as determinative as on its theology. When Knox was minister at Frankfurt, the congregation of English-speaking refugees there was allowed to worship in the church assigned to the French-speaking refugees on condition that they accepted the same Confession of Faith and the same ceremonies which these French refugees had adopted. Knox and others therefore drafted a form of worship which was practically a reproduction of the forms established by Calvin in Geneva. When Knox came to Geneva this form, with modifications, was accepted as the order of service for the congregation to which he was called to minister. It was published in 1556, with the title,<sup>3</sup> "The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, etc., used in the English Congregation at Geneva, and approved by the famous and learned godly man, John Calvin". Knox brought the book with him when he returned to Scotland, and it found acceptance there also. The First Book of Discipline, under the heading, "The Sacraments," says :<sup>4</sup> "And albeit the Order of Geneva, which is used in some of our kirks, is sufficient to instruct the diligent reader how that both these Sacraments should be rightly ministered . . . etc.".

<sup>1</sup> Laing, II. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 239.

<sup>3</sup> M'Crie, 88.

<sup>4</sup> Laing, II. 186.

From which it is evident that the Genevan practice was already in force in some quarters. We are therefore not surprised to find that in 1562 the General Assembly commanded the Sacra- ments to be observed and marriage to be celebrated<sup>1</sup> "according to the Book of Geneva," and that in 1564 it instructed every minister, exhorter, and reader to provide himself with a copy of the Psalm Book printed in Edinburgh, and to use the order therein contained in Marriage, Ministration of the Sacraments, etc. This Book of Common Order, or Knox's Liturgy, as it is often called, held its place as a Directory for Public Worship until Laud tried to force another Liturgy of a Romanist character on the Scottish people, and finding that impossible, he gave orders that both his own and Knox's Liturgy should be discarded and ministers should be left to conduct the services of the Church at their own discretion. So it comes to pass that there is now no official Order of Service in any branch of the Scottish Presbyterian Church.

Calvin introduced congregational singing into the Church of Geneva, and the English congregation there followed the example which their neighbour set them. The version they used was one of fifty-one psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins. This version found its way to Scotland and, like the Book of Common Order, was used by several churches. The General Assembly, at an early date, appointed John Craig and Robert Pont to revise this Genevan psalm book and compile something that was suited to the needs of the Scottish Church. The result of their labours was approved<sup>2</sup> in December, 1564, and was published in 1565 by Robert Leprevik, Edinburgh, with the title,<sup>3</sup> "The Forme of Prayer and Ministration of the Sacra- ments used in the English Church in Geneva, approved and received by the Church of Scotland whereunto besides that was in the former books are also added sundry other prayers, with the whole psalms of David in English Metre". This was the Old Scottish Psalter, whose official life lasted till 1650. Along with the forms of prayer and the psalms the Church of Scotland took over some of the tunes which Calvin secured for the use of his own congregation. Some of these have long fallen into oblivion, but others are as great favourites as ever. The Scottish people still sing the 100th Psalm and the 124th Psalm to the tunes which were first heard in the congregations in Geneva.

Calvin's influence on the government of the Scottish Church was equally decisive. He held that there were four orders of offices instituted by Christ, pastors, doctors, elders, and

<sup>1</sup> M'Crie, 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 104.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 103.

deacons, and in addition to these permanent officials he recognized others such as apostles, prophets, and evangelists, raised up for temporary purposes. Knox and his colleagues recognize the same four orders, with this difference that they ascribe the function of teachers to those whom Calvin calls doctors. They do not enter into the question of temporary officials so fully as Calvin does, but their conclusions as to the permanent officials are identical, and with regard to the manner of electing these office-bearers, and with regard also to their duties, they transfer the teaching of Calvin's Institutes to Scotland.

From the time when it was introduced into the country, Calvinism took hold of the Scottish people and moulded them as it moulded no others. In France the forces of opposition were too strong for it. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day was only one of a series of tragedies which prevented the Reformed Church from obtaining a decisive influence in the life of the French nation. In England the policy which Elizabeth insisted on compelled the Protestants to content themselves with compromises which left the Reformation of the Church incomplete, and made room for parties whose sympathies are as antagonistic as those of Evangelicals and High Churchmen. But in Scotland affairs were in the hands of men who were resolute to make a clean sweep of Romish tyranny and corruption and the nation supported them. In so far as the Church was concerned they welcomed Knox as their leader, and as he had seen what he believed to be an ideal state in Geneva he made it the business of his life to reproduce that ideal as far as possible in his native land.

#### FRANKFURT

There were two congregations in Frankfurt, in both of which Calvin had an interest. The one was French or Walloon, the other was English.

The birthplace of the French congregation was Strassburg, and when Calvin was driven from Geneva he settled in Strassburg and became its minister. After his recall to Geneva, when the Emperor endeavoured to impose the Interim on all within his dominions, the Strassburg congregation fled from the persecution which its refusal to accept the Interim involved it in, and found a temporary refuge in England at Glastonbury. When the Marian persecution broke out it had to fly once more, and after many bitter experiences of rejection and hardship it finally found a resting-place at Frankfurt, where, by the aid of Johann von Clauburg, one of the magistrates, the church of the Cistercian nuns or "the White

Ladies," was assigned to it. The first service was held here on 19 April, 1554.

The members of the congregation had already suffered so much from Lutheran animosity that they kept in the background anything likely to arouse the prejudices of their hosts, but before long their doctrinal sympathies were made evident, and feeling began to rise against them. The minister was Vallerandus Pullanus, a reckless and injudicious man who not only gave unnecessary offence to his Lutheran neighbours, but created strife within his own congregation by mismanaging an election of elders. On 3 March, 1556, Calvin wrote him urging him to be cautious,<sup>1</sup> but Pullanus paid no heed to the admonition. On 24 June he wrote to Clauburg,<sup>2</sup> the chief magistrate, beseeching him to use all his influence to produce peace in Frankfurt and even to dismiss Pullanus from office if there was no other way of securing harmony and repeating the offer of a visit which he had made in a letter to the ministers of the previous February. On 29 June<sup>3</sup> he wrote to the elders and deacons urging them to use their official authority gently, especially in view of the fact that their election was entirely against the wishes of a great number of the congregation. Then he started on his journey. The Council not only gave him permission for it,<sup>4</sup> but appointed as his escort the herald Vincenz who had attended him when he first went to Strassburg.

He was not in fit condition for travelling. On 10 May as he was preparing to go to church he was seized with a fit of fever and ague. Although far from well he mounted the pulpit and after prayer and psalm began the sermon. As it advanced the fever increased until he broke down altogether, and he had to be assisted home. The rumour ran that he was dead, and at Noyon, his birthplace, the intelligence was received with such jubilation that the canons held a service of thanksgiving. To the joy of his friends and the chagrin of his enemies he recovered, but the effects of the illness remained with him.

On his arrival he found the city full of heated passion and the Reformed congregation suffering much at the hands of the Lutherans. In a letter to Wolmar, 17 September, 1556, he says,<sup>5</sup> "It is a sad business which occupies me here. There is nothing more miserable than to see the foreigners fighting among themselves with implacable vehemence, and at the same time assailed by the preachers of the city in worse terms than they would use against Jews or Papists."

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xvi. 63.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xxi. 647.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 204.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xvi. 284.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 208.

His own reception was distinctly unfriendly. The number of those who were personally acquainted with him was greatly diminished, and those who had taken their places could see little or no good in anything outside Lutheranism. The professors<sup>1</sup> met him as their guest at a friendly meal, and when he entered the lecture room of Jean Sturm the students rose from their seats and applauded him, and the professor came forward from his chair to greet him. But he was forbidden to preach to the French congregation. The manner in which this fact is recorded in the minutes of the Council deserves to be noticed. "Frederic of Gottesheim<sup>2</sup> communicates to the Council that the pastor and the deacon of the French Church accosted him on his way from the Hôtel de Ville and asked him to permit Calvin to preach in their church. Not willing to take the responsibility of a decision, he referred the question to his colleagues. It was decided that since Calvin professes another doctrine than ours upon the Holy Supper, and since he is looked on with suspicion by those who accept the Confession of Augsburg, we find it necessary not to grant but to refuse the request and to say to him that other business prevented us from considering it." The mixture of fanaticism and of falsehood in the behaviour of the Council is particularly disgusting, but it was in harmony with the policy which the Lutherans pursued towards the Reformed wherever they had power and opportunity. The same action was taken with regard to Beza in 1562.<sup>3</sup> "Being warned of the presence of Beza, we must watch that he neither preaches in the French Church nor propagates his opinions, because they differ from those of our preachers."

The chief obstacle to the union of the French congregation was Pullanus, whom in a letter to Holbrach,<sup>4</sup> Calvin calls "a devil". Two precious days were wasted by a man named Welsius<sup>5</sup> who ensnared Calvin into a debate on free will. Calvin preached several times, baptized some children and wearied himself in private discussions which came to very little. However he was asked to preside at the meeting of the presbytery in which the case of Pullanus was brought up for decision. His account of the proceedings is given in a letter to Musculus, dated 25 October.<sup>6</sup> "We have had fourteen days of the most annoying and exhausting labour settling the affairs of the French congregation. Although Vallerandus was worthy of punishment on every charge, we dealt gently with him. But as the only means of peace he had to resign his office,

<sup>1</sup> Opera, XVI. 302.  
<sup>4</sup> Opera, XVI. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Erichson, 65.  
<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 301.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 66.  
<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 319.

and although we used comparatively mild language,<sup>1</sup> we indicated our opinion that he had not performed the function of an honourable pastor."

Calvin left Frankfurt on 24 September and reached Geneva about the beginning of October. On 12 October he presented himself to the Council, thanked the members for the escort with which they had provided him, and expressed the hope that his journey would prove not altogether in vain.

After his departure the violence of the Lutherans towards the Reformed increased, and internal dissension within the congregation continued as bad as ever. Calvin wrote again and again to the city, sometimes to the chief magistrate, sometimes to the congregation, urging them to study the things that make for peace. Finally in August, 1563, a law was passed that the Reformed congregation would be protected only on condition that it accepted the Augsburg Confession and the Formula of Concord, and repudiated all that disagreed with these, and also adopted Lutheran ceremonies in the administration of the Lord's Supper. This gave the finishing blow to the congregation. The members scattered. Those were fortunate who reached England or Switzerland. Some of those who got no farther than the neighbouring States of Germany or the Low Countries languished in dungeons, or perished in the flames.

On 27 June, 1554, about two months after the arrival of Pullanus and his congregation in Frankfurt, another band appeared.<sup>2</sup> These were English and were headed by Whittingham. On 14 July the Council gave them the joint use of the Church of the White Ladies<sup>3</sup> on condition that they accepted the French Confession of Faith and the French ceremonies. These were modelled on the Genevan pattern, so it became necessary to revise the Prayer Book which had been brought from England.<sup>4</sup> It was resolved to omit the Litany from the service, to cease giving responses, to instruct the ministers not to wear the surplice, and to draw up a new Confession. Thereafter a circular letter was sent to Strassburg, Zurich, Wesel, and Emden,<sup>5</sup> informing the brethren there that they had got a church where they might have God's Word truly preached, the Sacraments rightly administered, and discipline observed after a Scriptural pattern. No mention was made of the fact that the Prayer Book had been practically discarded. Letters were also sent to Thomas Lever at Zurich and John Knox<sup>6</sup> at Geneva and Haddon at Strassburg, inviting them to

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xvi. 292.  
<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> "Brief Discourse," 5.  
<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 6.  
<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 19.

become their ministers. Haddon declined but the other two accepted the call addressed to them.

On their arrival they found that the congregation had adopted the Genevan Order as the most godly and farthest from superstition. Knox refused his consent to it till "the learned men of Strassburg, Zurich, Emden, and elsewhere were made privy to it".<sup>1</sup> At the same time he refused to use the English Order, and as a way of escape from the difficulty of the situation he intimated his resignation of his office as minister. Lever thereupon proposed an order of his own which found no favour, and it was finally resolved to see what Calvin thought of the English Prayer Book. Knox and Whittingham were commissioned to prepare and send on a summary of it,<sup>2</sup> which they despatched on 11 December, 1554. Knox followed it by a private letter to the ministers of Geneva, urging them to counsel Calvin not to throw the Church into confusion for ceremonies of human invention and saying that for his own part he would never use an order so imperfect as the English one and with so many rags of Popery sticking to it.

Calvin replied on 20 January, 1555. He lamented the unseasonable divisions which had arisen,<sup>3</sup> and stated his opinion that the Prayer Book contained many absurdities which might be put up with for a time but which ought to be got rid of. If the situation in England prevented this, there was nothing to prevent it in Frankfurt. The Church there was now free to choose the form that was best fitted to promote edification, and he could not understand those who were so anxious to retain the relics of superstition. Their conduct was not justified by love for old custom, and they should yield to the wishes of those who desired a thorough reformation. They were not asked to renounce their religion. On the contrary they were asked to carry its principles to their logical conclusion.

The letter strengthened Knox in the position he had taken up, and it was agreed that he and Whittingham, and three others, should draw up a form of service,<sup>4</sup> which they did on the Genevan model. After discussion it was rejected, and on 6 February an agreement was come to that a greatly modified form of the English service should be used till the end of April. On 13 March, however, another band of refugees appeared and they turned the agreement upside down. The leader was Richard Cox, formerly tutor to Edward VI, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Cranmer's colleague in the

<sup>1</sup> "Brief Discourse," 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 37.

work of composing the Prayer Book. He was a man of headstrong and violent temper and he speedily showed his disposition. The Frankfurt congregation was hesitating to admit him and his associates until they promised to accept the arrangements agreed on for service,<sup>1</sup> but at Knox's instigation they were at once accorded the privileges of full membership. They made a poor return for the kindness shown them. At the first service at which they were present they insisted on making the audible responses which the congregation had agreed to discontinue. In defiance of the rights of the resident ministers<sup>2</sup> they thrust one of their number into the pulpit and made him preach. Thereafter they carried a motion forbidding Knox<sup>3</sup> "to meddle any more in that congregation," and when he entered the church as a private worshipper they all left the building ostentatiously, declaring that they would hold no fellowship with him.

Knowing that so long as he remained in Frankfurt they would be unable to impose the Prayer Book in its entirety, they made use of a discreditable intrigue to get him expelled from the city. They denounced him to the magistrates as the author of a book called<sup>4</sup> "A Faithful Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England," in which he made reference to the Emperor, to his son Philip, and to Mary of England. The book contained the report of a discourse preached in Buckinghamshire in the beginning of Mary's reign, in which he declared that if England contracted any confederacy with the Emperor,<sup>5</sup> "who is no less an enemy to Christ than was Nero," it would be plagued and brought to desolation. There were other passages, but this was most noted inasmuch as it touched the Emperor. The magistrates easily perceived the malice of those who laid the information, but fearing that they would be unable to protect Knox if the Emperor, who then lay at Augsburg,<sup>6</sup> should demand him to be given up, they gave him a hint to depart, which he did on 26 March, bending his course to Geneva.

On the day on which Knox left,<sup>7</sup> the magistrates of Frankfurt authorized the English congregation to use the English Prayer Book, and forbade any movement against it. Cox<sup>8</sup> wrote Calvin informing him of this, and intimating that in deference to the susceptibilities of those who remained with them, they had given up some things that were indifferent, such as private baptism, confirmation of children, the observance of saints' days, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, wearing

<sup>1</sup> "Brief Discourse," 39.  
<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 38.  
<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 40.  
<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 44.  
<sup>8</sup> *Opera*, xv. 552.

of surplices and crosses, and things of a like character. Calvin replied on 12 June,<sup>1</sup> refusing to admit that these were things in themselves indifferent. They were dregs of Romish superstition which every Christian ought to give up. He also blamed them for using Knox unkindly, and advised any who resented the service which had been forced on them to seek a refuge elsewhere. Cox<sup>2</sup> replied to Calvin's letter in his usual strain. He informed Calvin that he was entirely ignorant of the circumstances of the case, said he was wise in restraining himself, for otherwise he would fight like a mountebank against that which had no existence, declared that his letter was a thunderbolt which had missed its mark, and suggested that Calvin should henceforth confine his attention to his own business, "lest some disparagement arise to your reputation, which we desire at all times should be most honourable and holy".<sup>3</sup>

Whittingham made another attempt to establish the simple Order, and finding this impossible, betook himself with a numerous company to Geneva, where he was received with open arms. In this rupture of the English congregation of Frankfurt into two parts, one of which clung to the past and sought to carry into the present everything that was not positively condemned by Scripture, and the other of which sought to make a clean sweep of everything except what was positively authorized by Scripture, we have the beginning of the rupture of English Protestantism into the too often hostile sections of Churchmen and Puritans.

#### POLAND

Calvin was anxious to introduce the Reformed faith into Northern Europe, and with that purpose in view he addressed his Commentary on the Acts to Christian, King of Denmark. But the influence of the Lutheran clergy barred further progress in that direction. After the controversy with Westphal he dedicated the Latin edition of the same book to Prince Radziwill, who was showing signs of interest in the Reformation in Poland.

Preachers of Protestant doctrine had appeared in Poland between 1530 and 1540, and had attracted such numbers that several congregations were formed. Poland was jealous of its neighbour Germany, and partly for this reason preachers of the Reformed type found more favour than Lutherans and paved the way for the introduction of Calvin's personal influence. In December, 1554, Calvin addressed a letter<sup>4</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xv. 628.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 781.

<sup>3</sup> "Brief Discourse," 59.

<sup>4</sup> Opera, xv. 330.

Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, encouraging him to foster the good work and bring it to perfection. The letter then goes on to show that although Calvin had established a Presbyterian form of Church government in Geneva, he was ready to admit the propriety of an episcopal form elsewhere. He says: "In the Epistle to the Hebrews the apostle does not contend that the dignity of the high priest was transferred from one man to another. He contends that it resided in the Son of God alone in such a way that he is a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek. From this it follows that it is neither fitting nor possible that one man should be head of the Church over the whole world. It was the ambition and pride of the Roman Court that created this primacy. The ancient Church founded patriarchates, and set primates over different provinces that the bishops might be better bound together. In the same manner it is lawful to appoint an archbishop for the famous kingdom of Poland, not that he should exercise lordship or arrogate to himself any authority stolen from his brethren, but that for the sake of order he might hold the first place in the synods and maintain a holy order among his colleagues and brethren. So also there might be provincial and city bishops, whose duty it would be to keep order as circumstances might require, and one might be chosen from every assembly to whom the principal charge should be entrusted. To endow a man with honour and dignity according to his capacity is a very different thing from gathering the whole world into subjection to a single power. The Roman Catholic theory is ridiculous and empty. It is neither in accordance with God's original appointment, nor is it in harmony with the plan of the Church, that a second head should be joined to Christ, whom the Heavenly Father has made head over all." He goes on to say that the ceremonies ordained by the Papacy are full of superstition. The claim that the priest offers a sacrifice is a blasphemous insult to the finished work of Christ, and the lives of those who make the claim make it apparent that they are not the successors of the holy apostles. He therefore begs the King to appoint ministers who will scatter the pure seed of the Word of God.

He wrote the King again in the same strain in December, 1555,<sup>1</sup> and he likewise wrote some nobles urging them to use their influence on the side of the Reformation.

Sigismund replied to the letters in a kindly but non-committal strain. The friends of the Reformation were greatly uplifted by his reply, thinking that not only he but a great

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xv. 893.

part of the nobility were on their side, and were likely to declare for it openly. The rapid growth of the movement probably misled them as to the real significance of what the King had said. For a time it seemed as if the tide of Reformation would sweep everything before it. The Diet of Petrikow asked the King to call a National Synod at which the King himself should preside, and at which all questions should be decided by the Word of God and not by the authority of the bishops. To this synod not only all the Polish ministers, but such foreigners as Calvin, Beza, Melanchthon, Quercetanus, and A Lasco should be invited. The bishops prevented the scheme from being carried out, and therefore in May, 1556, the Polish ministers, along with some of the nobles, sent Calvin a formal request, on their own behalf, inviting him to come to Poland and give them his help in laying the foundations of the rising Church. On the same day they wrote the Council of Geneva asking permission for Calvin's journey, and an unknown Pole, who said he had been greatly cheered by the letters which Calvin had sent him, added his voice to that of the ministers and nobles.

Calvin was regretfully compelled to decline. There was no regular postal service in these days, and communication between distant countries was most irregular. On 8 March, 1557, ten months after the letter was written in Poland, Calvin replied that if he had got the Polish invitation when he was in Frankfurt he would have answered sooner, for in that centre of commerce it was easy, as a rule, to find some one to whom a message could be entrusted, but not being able to discover any, he had been obliged to defer his reply. That was of less consequence, he said, because A Lasco was starting for Poland, and he was quite able to make up for any deficiency caused by Calvin's absence. Besides the state of affairs in Geneva was too critical to let him think of leaving the city.

A Lasco arrived in Poland in the end of 1556. No sooner had he begun his work than the bishops began to intrigue to get him expelled from the country. They begged the King to refuse him an interview as an avowed heretic. They declared he was gathering a band of rebels and that he had ordered churches to be pillaged. The King was beginning to believe the tales that were poured into his ears, but, happening to mention the matter to a friend of A Lasco, he discovered the truth, and finally said: "Tell A Lasco to get on with his work. You will soon see that I look to the help of God more than to that of man." His words were somewhat enigmatic,

but the members of his court had no hesitation in committing themselves. Prince Radziwill received A Lasco into his house, and promised him his daughter in marriage with a dowry of 1000 Polish florins.

For a time he got some assistance from the Italian Lismannini,<sup>1</sup> who also sent Calvin a long list of noblemen to whom letters might be profitably sent, and Calvin sent most of the letters suggested, not without good results. But the rage of the bishops rose to such a height that Lismannini had to fly. A Lasco, left alone, tried hard to organize the Church and to find a basis of union for the parties which were beginning to divide it. Calvin endeavoured to assist him by letters. In one of these written in October, 1557, he says:<sup>2</sup> "We hear that a part of the Church holds the Augsburg Confession and that others tenaciously keep by the doctrine of the Waldenses. There are those also who wish a doctrinal statement free from mystery. But there is no reason why servants of God should be divided by the Augsburg Confession. We see no reason why the Augsburg Confession should be dearer to anyone than it was to its author. That most famous man did not hesitate to say that the truth ought to be stated fully and clearly, and nothing hinders the removal of ambiguities but the fear of the cross. Some people make the discussion of doctrine an excuse for withdrawing from strife and for wishing that the teaching of the Church should be stated obscurely. They are mistaken if they imagine that disorder will be got rid of in that way. No departure from the Augsburg Confession will be made by the addition to it of your clearer explanation, and we certainly wish to hear of no disruption between you and the Waldenses. You ought to cultivate a brotherly spirit with them to the uttermost."

A Lasco was made superintendent of the Protestant Churches in Lesser Poland, but the Reformation did not take the hold of the common people which he desired to see. It was among the upper circles of society that most of its adherents were found, and their interest in it was chilled by the influence of anti-Trinitarian doctrine. Biandrata, a physician of Piedmont who had escaped from the clutches of the Inquisition by flight and who had spent hours with Calvin in Geneva discussing points of doctrine, arrived in Poland in 1560, defended his opinions before the synod of Pinczow in 1561, secured the patronage of Prince Radziwill and sent for Gentile and Alciati in 1563. Reformed doctrine could make no headway against the opposition of these men, and Calvin

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xv. 868.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xvi. 675.

had the mortification of seeing the movement which had begun so auspiciously beginning to decline. An "Admonition" which he sent to Poland, though couched in urgent terms, had little effect. In August, 1563, a Polish minister named Stanislaus Sarnicius urged him to take up his pen again but Calvin declined, on the ground that it would be useless.

After this he sent no more letters to Poland save one to the Burgomaster of Cracow,<sup>1</sup> who asked him a series of questions about the Trinity, psalm singing, baptismal names, etc. He refers to it in a letter to Bullinger, who had two of the Burgomaster's sons under his care. After Calvin's death, the decline of the Reformation movement which had been effected by the anti-Trinitarians was carried to its completion by the intrigues and persecutions of the Jesuits.

#### REGIONS BEYOND

The complaint is sometimes made that the Reformers confined their attention to Europe and ignored the millions living in the heathen world. The complaint rests on a basis of fact. At the same time the conduct of the Reformers can be explained and justified.

The world beyond the boundaries of Europe was practically unknown. There was a general impression that nations did exist in far-off regions, but the most learned men knew next to nothing about them. The vessels that sailed in the wake of Columbus brought back cargoes that roused the cupidity of those who saw them unloaded in European harbours, and every year saw an addition to the number of adventurers who set out to seek their fortunes in the lands beyond the seas. They went on their own account. More than a century had to elapse before regular communication with these lands was begun. What was true of North and South America was even more true of India, China, and Australia and the islands of the Pacific. If the Reformers desired to visit any of these they must either have risked a long, toilsome, and perilous journey on foot, or they must have fitted out ships at their own expense to transport them.

In addition to this the Reformers were busy at home. In every country in Europe they were fighting for their lives, and no mercy was shown them. They might waken any morning to find their property confiscated and themselves outlawed. In Scotland and England where the civil powers looked with some favour on the Reformation, the Church was only beginning to be re-organized, and means to support it had yet to be

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xx. 68.

found. On the Continent, where the civil powers were hostile, the creation of an organized Church was a work of supreme difficulty, and, as the massacre of Vassy showed, the congregations might be turned into mobs of fugitives fleeing from their enemies. On the whole the Reformers may be excused for confining their attention to the primary duty of self-preservation.

The first note in favour of foreign missions was struck by Erasmus. In the year before his death he published a book called "*Ecclesiastes sive Concionator Evangelicus.*" It is a book on the art of preaching. Large sections of it read like a modern missionary address.

The first definite action in favour of foreign missions was taken by Admiral Coligny. Coligny cherished the dream of creating a happier France, *Gallia Antarctica*, by planting colonies of Protestants in what were then known as the Indies, and in order to realize his dream he introduced to Henry II of France a man of good family named Nicolas Durant of Villegagnon. This man had conducted Mary of Scotland from Dumbarton to Roscoff, and had been rewarded for his skill by being created Vice-Admiral of Brittany. In the hope that the expedition would be safe in his hands, Coligny dispatched him in July, 1555, to Brazil to found a colony. He came to anchor in the bay of Rio de Janeiro, and started to build a settlement on the mainland. But as he said to Calvin<sup>1</sup> in a letter written some time later, he found the region so bare, so full of savages, so dangerously near the Spaniards, and offering his followers so many opportunities for desertion, that he was forced to leave and settle on an island about two miles from the shore. Finding he had too few men with him for the work needed to be done, he wrote Coligny asking that more colonists should be sent, and also two ministers. For these last Coligny applied to Calvin. At Calvin's request the Genevan Church took up the matter and appointed Pierre Richer and Guillaume Chartier. Richer had been a Carmelite monk and was a doctor of theology. Chartier was a gentleman of Vitre. Along with 290 others they set sail from Honfleur on 19 November, 1556, in a little squadron of three ships, under the command of a nephew of Villegagnon, and arrived at their destination on 7 March, 1557.

A letter from Richer<sup>2</sup> to an unknown friend is interesting not only as giving an account of the situation, but as one of the first letters of modern times sent home from the mission field. Richer says the country is wild and uncultivated, and

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xvi. 437.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 433.

nothing can be found fit for a European to eat. The natives subsist on fruits which they pluck from trees and on roots which they dig out of the ground. They have nothing that can be called bread. Neither have they wine or anything that can be put in the place of wine. He will not say that they are cannibals, though cannibalism prevails in the regions round about, what he grieves over is their dense ignorance and their moral blindness. To win them for Christ is impossible. Hope for the future must be placed in the native youths who are under training in the settlement.

Villegagnon had been at the University of Paris at the same time as Calvin, and on the basis of his former acquaintance-ship he sent Calvin a letter assuring Calvin of his zeal for the welfare of those under him. As he had remained a Romanist it is possible that Calvin was dubious whether his zeal was directed into proper channels. A letter<sup>1</sup> which Richer and Chartier combined to send Calvin three weeks after their arrival—it is dated April, 1557—did much to clear any suspicion away. They say that Villegagnon received them and embraced them as a father embraces his sons, he looks on them as brethren, he believes that Jesus is the one mediator between God and men, he expects to be justified by the righteousness of Jesus Christ alone, he attaches no importance to tradition, he delights in the study of the Word of God, he attends public worship regularly and partakes of the Sacrament of the Supper with great delight. In his household one thinks of that of Aquila and Priscilla, or of that which was presided over by Nympha.

Unfortunately this zeal for the Reformed type of religion did not last. The Romanists who had got the upper hand in France sent out orders that Villegagnon was to receive no fugitives into the colony, and being a Romanist at heart and in obedience to the dictates of self-interest, he had no hesitation in changing his friendly attitude for one of hostility. The missionary operations of Richer and Chartier were stopped. All the Calvinists were sent back to France, except five whom Villegagnon hurled over a precipice and the spark of Gospel light that was beginning to twinkle in the darkness was quenched. On his return to France in 1560 Villegagnon sent a letter to Geneva<sup>2</sup> declaring that although the doctrine of Richer and Chartier was in harmony with that taught in the Genevan Church, it was unscriptural, heretical, and tending to atheism. He was ready to debate and prove this on any neutral ground they might fix on, and he would wait the

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xvi. 440.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xviii. 149.

answer to this challenge in Paris. On 29 July, 1560, the Genevan Council resolved contemptuously, "Let him wait".<sup>1</sup>

This was the only occasion on which Calvin's gaze was directed away from Europe to the regions beyond. The hand of Coligny pulled up the curtain which concealed them. If Calvin failed to discern the greatness of the need of the dwellers in these regions he is not to be blamed for that. He shared the ignorance that was common to his age and he had more than a common share of anxiety and trouble. It stands to his credit that when the call for missionaries to the far-off lands was addressed to him he had men at his command trained in his school, fired with his spirit, and willing to brave the dangers of the hazardous enterprise on which he sent them. It is not without significance that the first modern missionaries were Calvinists.

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxI. 734.

## XV

## ASSOCIATES AND FRIENDS

THE refugees who found shelter at Geneva included all sorts and conditions of men, and if we may judge by those with whom Calvin had the closest intimacy, we shall have little hesitation in concluding that he was by instinct a patrician.

One of those whom he attracted to Geneva was Jacques de Bourgogne, Sieur de Falais, and Brédam. M. de Falais was descended from the Dukes of Burgundy, and his wife was Yolande de Brederode, who traced her lineage to the old Counts of Holland. Having become suspected of sympathy with Reformed doctrine, M. de Falais migrated from his ancestral seat to Cologne. On the approach of the imperial army he withdrew to Strassburg,<sup>1</sup> where Calvin met him in May, 1545. A warm friendship sprung up at once, and as a mark of respect and affection,<sup>2</sup> Calvin dedicated to him his Commentary on First Corinthians, in January, 1546. When Calvin returned to Geneva he kept up a brisk correspondence, dealing not only with matters of public interest, but with such personal affairs as the state of his health, and with domestic incidents, as the birth of one of M. de Falais's children. When M. de Falais was summoned to go to Brabant he was glad to make use of Calvin's services. His refusal to go incensed the Emperor, and was followed by the confiscation of part of his property, and by a serious illness. Calvin strenuously exhorted him to remain steadfast in the faith despite all the anxiety and loss he was experiencing. At the request of M. de Falais, Calvin drew up a statement<sup>3</sup> of his case and a confession of his faith to be presented to the Emperor at Ratisbon, arranged terms for printing it,<sup>4</sup> saw it through the press, suggested an appropriate title, and superintended the distribution of the published copies.

While the correspondence over this *Apologia* was going on, M. de Falais betook himself to Basel,<sup>5</sup> and Calvin put

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xi. 628.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xii. 258.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* x. a, 273-94; xii. 321.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xii. 495.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xi. 733; xii. 498.

unceasing pressure on him to come on to Geneva.<sup>1</sup> He looked out a house, arranged the rent with the landlord,<sup>2</sup> and as a further inducement, after the manner of Horace when he asked Mæcenas to visit him, he laid in a cask of wine. M. de Falais eventually arrived in Geneva in July, 1548, and he and his wife were Calvin's guests for several weeks. Failing to find in the city a house that pleased them they went out into the country and settled at Veigy, a village about eight miles away on the southern shore of the lake.

At Geneva M. de Falais made the acquaintance of Bolsec. Bolsec cured one of M. de Falais's servants who was suffering from a painful disorder, and earned such a reputation that he became a member of M. de Falais's household. When Bolsec and Calvin fell out on the question of predestination, M. de Falais took the side of his physician, and when Bolsec was thrown into prison,<sup>3</sup> used all his influence to secure his release. When Bolsec was banished<sup>4</sup> he endeavoured to put him under the protection of Berne and succeeded in doing so, to Calvin's great disgust. From that time forward their intercourse ceased. In December, 1551, he wrote to Fabri,<sup>4</sup> "I am so ashamed at M. de Falais that I can scarcely bear to be taunted with his fickleness".

Among those who found an asylum at Geneva there were several Italians. These were formed into a congregation in 1542 and their first minister was Bernardino Ochino. Ochino was a native of Siena and was born in 1487. He determined to win paradise by fasting, prayer, and vigils, and entered the convent of the Osservanza. Finding the rule of the Capuchins was stricter he became a Capuchin and was speedily made General of the Order. He was by far the most popular preacher of his time, and the demand for his services was so great that the Pope had to act as umpire in deciding who should have the benefit of them. His pale face, his glittering eyes, his long beard and rough tunic gave him a striking appearance, and his lively delivery and dramatic gestures added to the effect of his eloquent words. He was secretly dissatisfied with the success of his own efforts to secure salvation, and having been led to a knowledge of evangelical truth by Juan Valdez, he finally broke away from the Romish Church at the age of fifty-six. He was summoned to Rome to explain his conduct to the Inquisition, but being warned of his probable fate if he obeyed, he went north to Zurich, where he was received by Bullinger. From Zurich he went to

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, XII. 96, 129, 881.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 224.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* VIII. 200, 202.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* XIV. 213.

Geneva in September, 1542, and made himself known to Calvin.

Ochino's impressions of Geneva are given in a letter he wrote in October.<sup>1</sup> "In Geneva where I am at present residing, excellent Christians are daily preaching the Word of God. Every day there are public edifying prayers. On Sundays the Catechism is explained and the young and the ignorant are taught. Cursing and swearing, unchastity and sacrilege, adultery and impure lives, bawds and harlots, all of which have been common in places where I have lived, are unknown here. The people do not know what rouge is, and they are all clad in a seemly fashion. Games of chance are not customary. Benevolence is so great that the poor need not beg. Lawsuits are banished from the city, nor is there any simony, murder, or party spirit, but only peace and charity. There are no organs here, no noise of bells, no showy songs, no burning candles and lamps, no relics, pictures, statues, canopies, or splendid robes, no farces or cold ceremonies. The churches are quite free from idolatry."

Calvin's first impression of Ochino was favourable, and he wrote of him in eulogistic terms to Viret and Melanchthon.<sup>2</sup> The first impression was deepened by subsequent intercourse. In a letter to Pellicanus, April, 1543, Calvin says,<sup>3</sup> "I do not trust the Italian spirits and therefore I have conversed fully with Ochino about the points of our faith, and I did this in such a manner that, if his opinions had been different from ours, he could not have disguised it from me. I then saw and now most positively declare that Ochino agrees with me in every particular. I feel bound to give this pious and holy man this testimony, that he may not lie under the smallest unmerited suspicion, for he possesses distinguished learning and his mode of life is most exemplary."

After a residence of three years in Geneva, Ochino went to Basel with a letter of introduction from Calvin to Myconius.<sup>4</sup> Thereafter he went to Strassburg, with a letter of introduction from Calvin to Madame de Falais. From Strassburg he went to London, then back to Zurich, finally to Poland, where he died in complete poverty, so ending a meteoric course that passed through every stage from a blaze of universal admiration to an exile's misery.

Another Italian of distinction who came to Geneva was Galeazzo Caraccioli, Marquis of Vico. His mother was a sister of Pope Paul IV. He was brought up at the court of Charles V. He married a daughter of the Duke of Nocera and had several

<sup>1</sup> Benrath, 148.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, XI. 447.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 528.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* XII. 135.

children by her. Charles V made him his chamberlain, and everything that could be secured by great wealth, upright character, brilliant intellect and an engaging manner was waiting for him. But in 1541, when he was twenty-four years old, he heard Peter Martyr preaching at Naples and became concerned about his salvation. The more he understood the doctrine of justification by faith the more strongly was he attracted by it, but his position became the more difficult and perilous. The Inquisition had begun its work and was showing no mercy. If he avowed his principles he must do so at the risk of his life. If he concealed them he must do violence to his conscience. He again met Peter Martyr, this time at Strassburg, and, after a sore struggle, resolved to surrender everything for Christ's sake and the Gospel's. Gathering together a little money which came to him from his maternal estates, he made his way to Geneva and finally reached the city on 9 June, 1551.

He was somewhat coldly received.<sup>1</sup> The family he belonged to had, between its two branches, no less than twelve principalities, twenty-seven duchies, twenty-six marquisates, fifty-two earldoms, and it seemed impossible that any one could deliberately cut himself off from all that these brought to him. When his application for permission to reside in the city came up before the Council, it was granted with this significant note:<sup>2</sup> "That a watch be kept on what he does". He soon cleared all suspicions away. He put himself under Calvin's instruction, and they became friendly at once. Calvin dedicated to him a Commentary on 2 Corinthians, and used most complimentary language in doing so. When he was accorded the full right of citizenship<sup>3</sup> on 11 November, 1555, the Council made another note which cancelled the impression produced by their former one. They call him on this occasion, "an honourable and renowned man, a prince of eminence in Italy, who has come here for the sake of the Gospel".

The Marquis was not allowed to live in Geneva undisturbed.<sup>4</sup> Every sort of pressure was used to bring him back to Italy. His uncle, the Pope, sent a letter to him, his cousin and his father came to plead with him. His wife and children hung weeping round him, but though his heart was breaking his will was inflexible. He could not yield to them without abandoning his faith, and that was impossible. The rupture between him and them was absolute and his estates were confiscated.

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, III. 633.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, XXI. 619.

<sup>3</sup> Roget, III. 220.

<sup>4</sup> Doumergue, III. 638-40.

Some time afterwards he asked Calvin if he could get a divorce from his wife on the ground of her desertion. Calvin<sup>1</sup> advised him to consult his friend, Peter Martyr, and the theologians of Germany. They replied that as his wife would neither come to Geneva nor live with him he was free from her if he wished to consider himself so. Calvin took a more cautious view. On 1 May, 1559, he wrote<sup>2</sup> the Marchioness in the name of the syndics and the Consistory, asking whether she would not live with her husband in some neutral place where both could follow their religious convictions without interference. Her reply was that she would not. Whereupon, on 17 November, the Council pronounced the marriage tie dissolved by her desertion. The following year Vico married a widow who had fled to Geneva from Rouen.

To the end of his days Vico enjoyed the profound respect of all who knew him.<sup>3</sup> He lived in a mean house with two servants, and distributed almost all the fortune that was left to him in charity. He took a deep interest in the Italian congregation, in which he was an elder, and, along with the minister, watched carefully over the morals of his fellow-countrymen. It is said that in the year of his death—1586—he assisted not less than 1000 persons in the city and 180 in his own house. His spotless character and his unassuming manners were a proof of the reality of his piety that could not be gainsaid, and his attachment to Calvin did much to break down the antipathy of the native-born Genevans to foreigners.

There were others of the Italians who came to Geneva with whom Calvin had less comfort than he had with Ochino and the Marquis of Vico. Lælius Socinus, uncle of Faustus Socinus, was one with whom Calvin took much trouble to little profit. Lælius Socinus, like Ochino, belonged to Siena, where he was born in 1525. While still a youth he lost all faith in the doctrines of the Romish Church, renounced them, lost a fortune by so doing, and began to travel. In 1548 he reached Geneva and approached Calvin for instruction in the Reformed faith. After a brief sojourn he departed, and from various places sent Calvin<sup>4</sup> letters on such topics as baptism, marriage, the resurrection, free will, predestination, the atonement, the eternal divinity of Christ, the Personality of the Spirit—in fact on most of the leading points of Christian doctrine. Calvin<sup>5</sup> answered him sometimes at length, sometimes curtly, and in one letter<sup>6</sup> gave him a sharp rebuke and warning against his tendency to speculation. The rebuke fell

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xvii. 509 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Opera, xiii. 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 510.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 307.

<sup>3</sup> Doumergue, iii. 642.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 484.

on heedless ears, nevertheless to the last<sup>1</sup> he retained Calvin's kindly feeling. There was much in his opinions that Calvin strongly condemned. There was much in the man himself that Calvin was well disposed to, and he did not stir Calvin's temper as Servetus did by his arrogance.

But there was another of the Italian refugees who went near to meeting Servetus's fate. This was Valentin Gentile of Consenza in Calabria. The Italian congregation was in turmoil on the doctrine of the Trinity, and the minister, Lactantio Ragnoni, and some of the elders,<sup>2</sup> with Calvin accompanying them, appeared before the Council on 16 May, 1558, asking that a short statement might be framed, and that every member of the congregation might be instructed to sign it. This short statement or Confession was prepared and was accepted by all the members except six, of whom Gentile was one. These six were informed<sup>3</sup> that if they could not accept and sign the Confession they must leave the city and never more set foot within it. After three hours' conference all save two gave in. These two fled. But though Gentile remained in the city, he could not keep from criticizing Calvin and from ventilating his peculiar doctrines. He went so far as to assert that the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity was unscriptural, and he was imprisoned on 9 July, 1558.<sup>4</sup>

Gentile maintained<sup>5</sup> that the essence in the Godhead is a different thing from personality, and that the doctrine which asserts one Divine essence and three Divine persons really asserts four gods. The true statement he maintained to be, The one essence of God is not God Himself, but the nature of God, the fulness of the Godhead. This one essence is gathered up into God the Father, who is the essentiator. Unless the Father were the essentiator of the Son and of the Spirit, that is unless He communicated His own attributes to them naturally by eternal generation and procession, the three could not be one, neither would either of these two persons be full and complete God. Christ is full and complete God because He receives the whole fulness of the Godhead up to the limit of His capacity. He has no Godhead of His own. He receives it. His divinity is not essential and eternal. It is derivative and contingent.

In obedience to a request from the Council, Gentile drew up a statement of his opinions, which was found to be so loosely constructed that he was told to revise it and give it more definiteness. He thereupon sent in a document charging Calvin with personal animosity to him, and promising for the

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, XIV. 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* XXI. 691.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 694.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 698.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

future not to depart by a hairbreadth from the opinions of the Council. When this second statement was examined the essential discrepancy between his opinions and those of the Church was made manifest. Gentile showed his temper. Seeing that this exasperated the Council he became penitent, abjured his own private opinions, and declared<sup>1</sup> his acceptance of the Church's creed.

This was satisfactory so far. The difficulty lay in believing the change of opinion was genuine. A commission of five lawyers decided it was not genuine, and recommended that, as in their judgment, he had only abjured from fear of punishment,<sup>2</sup> he should be dealt with on the basis of the opinions he had expressed when he was at liberty, and should be burned alive as the law of God and the Imperial Code specified that he should be. However, in consideration of his formal abjuration, they suggested that instead of being burnt alive he should have his head cut off.

There was no desire in Geneva and least of all in Calvin's heart to repeat the Tragedy of Servetus, and Gentile was as anxious to avoid playing a principal part as his opponents were to take the secondary places. If it were possible to get some evidence that the change of opinion was the result of conviction, the suggestion of the lawyers might be set aside. A commission consisting of the five lawyers and two ministers, Gallars and Ragnoni,<sup>3</sup> was instructed to visit Gentile in his cell, and if conference with him revealed some genuine conviction all might be well. The result was that<sup>4</sup> Gentile solemnly swore that he now believed the opinions he had promulgated were erroneous and false, that he accepted the Confession prepared for the Italian congregation as the Confession of his faith and that he would hold it to his dying day. Whereupon the Council passed the following sentence, "We, syndics, judges<sup>5</sup> of criminal causes in this city . . . condemn thee, Valentin Gentile, to be stripped to thy shirt, and with uncovered head and bare feet and holding a lighted taper in thy hand, to kneel before us, and to ask pardon of us and of justice, confessing thy faults, in wickedly sowing false doctrine, and condemning thy writings, which we order thee to throw into the fire with thine own hand, as full of pernicious lies". This sentence was carried into effect on 2 September.

In this case as in that of Servetus, a strictly theological question was brought before a bench of laymen, who had no special qualifications fitting them to deal with it, and was

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxii. 699.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 700.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Roget, v. 162.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 164.

decided by them. Neither Calvin nor any of the ministers had any responsibility for the sentence pronounced. And further, in this case as in that of Servetus, an error in theological opinion was treated as if it were in no respect different from a criminal offence.

After his happy release, Gentile went to Poland where he renewed his attack on the doctrine of the Trinity with more vehemence than ever. Being expelled, he betook himself to Berne, where he perished under the axe of the headsman in 1566.

Alongside the congregation of Italian refugees there grew up in Geneva a congregation of refugees from Britain. The number of these was small to begin with, but it gradually increased till it amounted to about two hundred persons, men of quality and estate, divines, merchants, and husbandmen. They soon made themselves known to each other and approached Calvin with a request for facilities for public worship. On 10 June, 1555,<sup>1</sup> Calvin laid the request before the Council and was commissioned to see what could be done for them. As the Italian refugees had got the Church of Notre Dame la Neuve assigned to them a fortnight before, and as they did not need it for their exclusive use, it was arranged that the building should be at the disposal of the English-speaking refugees also at times suiting the convenience of both. Two of those who worshipped there deserve attention. One is John Knox; the other is William Whittingham.

Knox came to Geneva on his expulsion from Frankfurt and was made minister of the English congregation. Almost immediately after his appointment he made a flying visit to Scotland—in September, 1555—and returned, bringing with him his wife, his mother-in-law, his servant, and a pupil. He was reinstated in his office with a colleague named Goodman, and for the next year or two laboured with great comfort. He was especially pleased with the result of Calvin's work in the city. In a letter to Mrs. Locke, dated 9 December, 1556, he says:<sup>2</sup> “In my heart I could have wished, yea and cannot cease to wish, that it might please God to guide and direct yourself to this place where I neither fear nor shame to say is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on earth since the days of the Apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached, but manners and religion so sincerely reformed I have not yet seen in any place besides.” Two sons were born to him in Geneva. To the first of these, Nathanael,

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 608.

<sup>2</sup> Hume Brown, i. 194.

Whittingham stood as godfather. For the second, the sponsor was the famous Miles Coverdale, the translator of the Bible. On 24 June, 1558,<sup>1</sup> Knox received the privilege of citizenship.

His work as a preacher and a pastor did not absorb all his energy. He devoted some part of it to correspondence with his friends in Scotland, and part of it to the publication of his "First Blast against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," which he had already written, probably at Dieppe.

Knox's reason for printing and publishing the book anonymously is not far to seek. In 1554 when the question was more academic, he had asked Bullinger first and<sup>2</sup> Calvin afterwards whether a woman can preside over a kingdom by Divine right, and transfer her sovereignty to her husband.<sup>3</sup> Bullinger replied that Scripture furnishes us with instances of women rulers, and quotes Deborah, and Candace, queen of the Ethiopians; but it gives no precedent for interfering with hereditary right and political custom. Calvin replied<sup>4</sup> that the government of women ought to be considered generally as a sign of God's anger and so ought to be submitted to with patience and humility and sorrow for the sin of which it was the punishment. At the same time it ought to be endured till God in His own time ended it. Knox knew that his own opinion went much farther than that of Calvin. He had good reason for thinking that Calvin would ask the Council to forbid the publication of anything so heat provoking as his "First Blast," and he managed the publication so secretly that Calvin knew nothing of what had happened till a year after the book was out, and by that time the mischief was done. More than anything else, it filled Queen Elizabeth with disgust at everything that emanated from Geneva and hindered the Reformation of the Church of England on Genevan lines. It was in vain that Calvin wrote<sup>5</sup> Cecil explaining away his own statements and those of his Scottish disciple. The letter was too late to have any appreciable effect.

While Knox was getting Calvin and himself into trouble, some members of his congregation were busy with a new translation<sup>6</sup> of the Bible into English. Those who carried through the work were Coverdale, Goodman, Cole, Gilby, and Whittingham. The heaviest end of the burden was carried by Whittingham, who was not only responsible for the translation of the whole of the Old Testament, but for carrying the completed work through the press, after the majority of the

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 697.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. xvii. 491.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xvii. 490.

<sup>6</sup> Mombert, "English Versions of the Bible," 240-47.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xv. 92.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 125.

translators had left for England. The New Testament appeared in 1557; the whole Bible in 1560. The New Testament was a duodecimo volume. After the table of contents there came an "Epistle, declaring that Christ is the end of the Law," by John Calvin. This was followed by an Address to the Reader, intimating the division of the books into chapter and verse. The whole Bible was a quarto volume. After the title-page came an exceedingly outspoken Address to the Queen, and an Address to the Reader. The text was divided like that of the New Testament and was furnished with notes. The first expense of the publication was borne by the Genevan congregation, principally by one of its members, John Bodley, father of Sir Thomas Bodley, the founder of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and to him was granted, on his return to England, the patent of printing that edition for seven years. The Genevan Bible became instantly and universally popular. As compared with the Bibles of Tyndale or Coverdale or the Great Bible it was easily handled, and its notes were appreciated. No less than 130 editions of it were published, the last being in 1644, a whole generation after the appearance of the Authorized Version which has held the field since 1611.

While it was still in hand, the news came that Mary was dead, and that Elizabeth had succeeded to the throne. The event, which happened on 6 November, 1558, had far-reaching consequences. When Elizabeth's avowed sympathies with the Reformation assured the refugees that they had nothing to fear if they put themselves in her power, with one consent they intimated their intention of proceeding to their own homes. The Register of the Council of Geneva has the following entry:<sup>1</sup> "24 January, 1559. The English and their ministers state that it has pleased God to restore the Word to their country with liberty to preach it, a service in which they wish to employ themselves. They thank Messieurs for the entertainment they have had here, and they remain for ever indebted to the magistrates. Agreed that they have permission to depart." Knox left on 7 February.

Whittingham remained behind, practically alone. He belonged<sup>2</sup> to an old Lancashire family, and he was born in West Chester about 1520. At the age of sixteen he entered the University of Oxford and left it as a fellow of Christ Church College. After some years at the Universities of Orleans and Paris, he went to the Universities of Germany and thence to Geneva, returning to England in the last year of Edward VI. When Mary ascended the throne he found it

<sup>1</sup> Roget, v. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Lorimer, 304-17.

advisable to flee and with some difficulty escaped to France where he was joined by other fugitives, and made his way to Frankfurt. He followed Knox from Frankfurt to Geneva, and was elected an elder in the English congregation in December, 1555. When Knox left for Scotland he was asked to take ministerial charge of the remnant that remained, but he refused alleging that he had neither the gifts nor the disposition desirable in a minister. Calvin thought otherwise, and by dint of pressure and continued importunity succeeded in persuading him to accept the post offered to him. When he returned to England he attracted the favourable notice of the Earl of Warwick, who used his influence to get him appointed Dean of Durham. Whittingham did not conceal his Calvinistic sympathies, but he accepted the appointment, partly because he thought it right to conform as far as possible to the ecclesiastical customs of the country in which one lived, and partly, as Calvin advised him, because he thought it would be unjustifiable to refuse a call to the ministry for the sake of things external which are of no more consequence than the tithes of mint, and anise, and cumin.

It is frequently said<sup>1</sup> that Whittingham was a brother-in-law of Calvin. The ground of the statement is an inscription on a monument in Durham Cathedral, placed there fifty years after Whittingham's death and destroyed soon after its erection. The inscription is misleading.<sup>2</sup> It states that Whittingham married a woman named Catherine, but the contract of marriage shows that it was not Catherine Calvin. The contract runs as follows: "31 October, 1556, the honourable William Whittingham, son of the late William Whittingham and Helaine Wilkinson, his father and mother, native of the city of Chester in the country of England, and presently residing in Geneva on the one part, and Catherine, daughter of the late honourable Loys Jacquemyn and Jeanne Goictron, her father and mother, a native of Orleans in the country of France, and presently residing in Geneva on the other part". The contract was signed in the house of Michel Jacquemyn and of François Bernier, the brother and brother-in-law of the bride. Among the witnesses were Germain Colladon and Conrad Bade. The marriage was celebrated on 15 November, 1556. Whittingham died on 10 June, 1579.

Excluding Beza, those who came into closest and most constant personal contact with Calvin were his secretaries. Of these there were several. At first of course Calvin wrote all his letters and books with his own hand, but when the burden

<sup>1</sup> M'Crie, 144 n. 1; Opera, xiv. 466 n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Doumergue, III. 671-5.

of his work increased and his health broke down it became impossible for him to overtake all that was required of him. Therefore on 30 August, 1545,<sup>1</sup> he asked the Council to let him have a secretary. The request was granted, and from that time forward he was set free to a large extent from the mechanical toil of his voluminous correspondence. Whatever he had to say, whether in a letter or a tract or a controversial treatise, was dictated, taken down in shorthand, and afterwards transcribed. The same thing is true of some of his sermons and his Commentaries. In March, 1550, there appeared his Commentary on Isaiah. Calvin says of it: "I have recently published my Commentary on Isaiah<sup>2</sup> . . . written by Des Gallars. I have no time to write. He took note of what I said and I corrected his notes at his house." In 1554 he published twenty-two sermons on Psalm cxix., and he says of them:<sup>3</sup> "I did not write them in my room. They are printed exactly as I delivered them in the church, and they show the ordinary style and manner of our teaching."

In addition to those who served him for wages there were others who served for love. Colladon says<sup>4</sup> that some of Calvin's ordinary hearers began to take notes of his public addresses for their own private benefit, among whom were Nicolas des Gallars, François Bourgoing, Jean Cousin, and to those must be added the names of Jean Budé, Charles de Jonvilliers, and Denis Raguenier.

Raguenier, a French refugee, received as a citizen in 1556, was a shorthand writer whom his fellow-countrymen definitely employed to attend church and take down Calvin's sermons for them. These sermons were then transcribed and handed over to one of the deacons for the benefit of those who had engaged him.

Calvin's lectures were reported by Jean Budé. Budé belonged to a distinguished French family, some members of which betook themselves to Geneva and were received as citizens in 1549. He was a brother of Louis Budé, who became professor of Hebrew in Geneva. Jean was one of Calvin's<sup>5</sup> most intimate and most thoroughly trusted friends. In the preface to the lectures on Hosea, Budé tells how he came to act as a reporter. "Some of us began to take notes for our own private benefit. But at last we began to think what a misfortune it would be to many, and in fact to the whole Church, if the benefit of so great lectures were confined to a few. Therefore we resolved to unite our personal profit

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxii. 361.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xiii. 536.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xv. 446.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xxii. 70.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xx. 231.

with the public good. In order to do this we resolved to take down the lectures word for word, not omitting anything. Two of the brethren and myself attempted this, and by the grace of God we succeeded so well that when we compared what we had written we found we had omitted so little that the defect could be remedied without difficulty." In his own preface, Calvin assures the reader that the report is absolutely accurate. Its minute precision is shown by the fact that even the trivial sentences with which the lectures close are recorded. "I shall deal with this section to-morrow." "I can go no farther to-day." In addition Budé gives the short prayer with which each of the lectures was concluded. It was usually inspired by the passage which had been under consideration.

It is to Jonvilliers that we owe the collection and preservation of Calvin's correspondence. He was born in Chartres about 1517, studied in Paris about 1540, and was received as a citizen in Geneva in 1556. Even before he had seen Calvin he was strongly attracted by him, and after he made his personal acquaintance he became the Reformer's devoted slave. It was compassion for Calvin that made him undertake the duties of a secretary, and it was affection that held him to his task. In August, 1563, he wrote to Bullinger:<sup>1</sup> "Several years ago, seeing Calvin almost overwhelmed by the toil of his correspondence, and not making use of a secretary, I begged him to spare himself, assuring him that his letters would not be less agreeable, even though they were written by another hand, if only he signed them. He replied that he feared it would be taken badly, and that he would be thought careless unless he wrote them himself. I gave what I thought were good reasons, and at last he yielded, and now he makes use of others."

In a letter written more than a year before, he says to Bullinger:<sup>2</sup> "Know that there is nothing more agreeable to me than to write to Calvin's dictation the letters which are addressed to you. I feel the benefit I receive in having the events which are taking place in France rehearsed with such elegance. In writing these letters, their pregnant brevity, their singular eloquence, often fills me with admiration."

After Calvin's death<sup>3</sup> Jonvilliers conceived the idea of collecting all the letters which Calvin had written and, thanks to his indefatigable industry, no less than 1260 of them have been rescued from oblivion. The precious collection is now in Geneva, and copies of its contents form an important section of the great work of the Strassburg editors.

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xx. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xix. 670.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xx. 353.

Jonvilliers died in Geneva in 1590.

Nicolas des Gallars was much more than a secretary. In fact as a secretary his work left much to be desired, and Calvin had to call in the aid of Baudoin<sup>1</sup> to correct and supplement it, but as a colleague in the ministry, and above all as an ambassador, whose prudence and fidelity could be relied on, he was invaluable. Soon after his arrival in Geneva, as a refugee from Paris, he became so intimate with Calvin, and so useful to him, that Viret called him Calvin's *famulus*.<sup>2</sup> To some extent he bore the relation to Calvin which Timothy bore to St. Paul. On several occasions he acted as a *legatus a latere*. In 1551 Calvin sent him to England with his<sup>3</sup> Commentaries on Isaiah and on the Canonical Epistles, and with a special letter to the young King Edward VI. In 1557 he was dispatched to Paris. In 1560 he was once more sent to England, and during his ministry in London he appeared as one of the commissioners of the Reformed Church at the Colloquy of Poissy. About the end of 1562 he returned to Geneva, carrying with him a flattering letter from Grindal, and in the following year he was sent to Orleans. As a translator he sometimes turned his master's work from French into Latin, and at other times from Latin into French. He edited and published the first collection of Calvin's smaller tracts in 1552. We have already referred to his collaboration with Calvin in the Commentary on Isaiah and in the sermons on the 119th Psalm. After Calvin's death he returned to France and finally settled in Navarre. To him and to the others who laboured with him in the same capacity the world owes a great debt. They have shown us the kind of work that Calvin did in the pulpit and in the classroom. They have put us in the position of those who listened for the first time to what fell from the Reformer's lips, and they have enabled us to understand the transcendent domination which he exercised over the minds of all who came into contact with him. Calvin's letters are almost the sole source of information, not only as to some episodes in Genevan politics, but as to some important passages in European history, and we cannot be too thankful to the pious devotion of the men who have preserved and transmitted them to us.

<sup>1</sup> Opera, XII. 575.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. XIV. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. XX. 402.

## XVI

### THE UNIVERSITY

LIKE most great things the University of Geneva was the outcome of a process of development. There were<sup>1</sup> one or two private schools in Geneva as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, but it is not likely that the instruction given in them attained a high standard, or that it reached the mass of the citizens. In the end of the fourteenth century a grammar school was opened under the care of Jean de la Ravoire. In 1428 the Council resolved to create a public school and gave a site for it below the monastery of the Fratres Minores de Rive. Funds to build it were not forthcoming, so a wealthy merchant,<sup>2</sup> François de Versonnex, undertook to construct the building. At his own expense he erected an edifice 94 feet long by 34 feet broad, in which free instruction was given to all who chose to attend not only in the usual trivium—grammar, logic, and rhetoric, but in the quadrivium,—arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, and music. This was called the Great School. Good work was done in it for about a century, but both the building and the instruction suffered in the troublous times that preceded the Reformation. In 1531 the Council ordered it to be closed because no one could be found to act as schoolmaster and because the children were mischievous and unruly. It was reopened in 1534 and was again closed in 1535. The building was ruinous, the children were irregular in their attendance and the teacher was half starved.<sup>3</sup> In May of that year another school was opened in the Convent of Rive. The first teacher was Antoine Saunier, and he was followed by Mathurin Corderius and Sebastian Castellio. The rooms were in need of repair, there was no sanitary accommodation, and the head master had to take in boarders to eke out his scanty income.

When Calvin came to Geneva he determined to set the educational system of the city on a solid foundation, and began by reorganizing this school. He made plans for instruction

<sup>1</sup> "Les Jubilés," 110.

<sup>2</sup> Borgeaud, 14.

(281)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 16.

in French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and he had the further intention of starting classes in rhetoric and dialectic. When he was driven into exile the school went to pieces. On his return from Strassburg he opened it once more.

In 1541<sup>1</sup> he laid it down in his *Ordonnances* that the education of children is as binding as the instruction of adults, and that the teacher is as truly an office-bearer in the Church as an elder is. Therefore he believed that the school ought to be supervised and controlled by the Church. He further said that in order to profit by instruction in theology there must be preliminary instruction in languages and literature. So a graduated system of schools should be set up, beginning with primary schools in which little children might learn to read and write, and ending with a college in which young men might receive such instruction in the higher branches of learning as would fit them for the service of the state in civil affairs and for the ministry. So long as he had the struggle with the Libertines on hand he was unable to realize his scheme, but he never lost sight of it. In a letter<sup>2</sup> from Baduel of Nîmes, 10 June, 1550, we read, "I see from your letters that your magistrates show very little interest in your project of founding, in your city, a college for literary studies, and that their indifference gives you great annoyance". When the struggle was over and his victory secure he carried his purpose through to its conclusion.

On 17 March, 1556,<sup>3</sup> he asked the Council to consider the desirability of enlarging the College de Rive. The Council had difficult negotiations with Berne on hand and would attend to nothing till these were brought to a conclusion. In August of the same year when he was on his way to compose the strife that was raging in the congregation at Frankfurt he visited Strassburg and had an opportunity of seeing the development which had taken place there since he left the city in 1541. When he returned to Geneva in October it is probable that the design of the educational establishment he meant to found had taken a definite form.

In January, 1558, he approached the Council once again,<sup>4</sup> and this time he succeeded in persuading it to appoint a committee to secure a site and to get plans for a building. He himself had found a site already and it commended itself to the committee as most suitable.<sup>5</sup> It was the upper part of a vineyard called at that date the huts of Bolomier, because it was attached to the hospital of Bourg de Four, restored in

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, x. 21.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 687.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xiii. 589.

<sup>5</sup> Borgeaud, 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xxii. 631.

1443 by Guillaume Bolomier. It was an open stretch lying on the top of the eminence of Saint Antoine, overlooking the district of Rive and the lake, swept by the wind and very healthy. The committee reported on 28 March.<sup>1</sup> At the end of the same year the first sod was cut and the work of erection was begun. Progress was painfully slow. At one time stones were wanting; at another time there was no wood. More frequently it was money to pay the workmen that ran short.

As the ordinary income of the city was quite unable to meet the extraordinary expenditure in connexion with the building, the Council resolved to take special means to raise what was needed. On 9 September, 1559,<sup>2</sup> it decreed that lawyers, when drawing up wills for their clients, must exhort them to bequeath something to the College Building Fund. The decree had good results. At the end of 1559 the total sum derived from legacies amounted to 1074 florins, bequeathed by twelve persons. Robert Stephen, the famous printer, gave 312 florins, Mathieu de la Roche, the printer, gave a quarter of his whole estate, amounting to 490 florins. Subscription sheets were also opened, and in 1561 a French student put down his name for 6 crowns and the wife of a poor baker named Genon gave 5 sous.<sup>3</sup> It was also arranged that the fines imposed on offenders in the criminal courts should be handed over to the Building Fund. This proved a fairly good source of income, and among others who contributed involuntarily was Jean Boche, who was fined 100 crowns for infringing the copyright of the Institutes which had been assigned to Antoine Calvin. Similarly, for speaking disrespectfully of the magistracy, the old syndic Philippin had to pay 25 crowns for the benefit of the college.

Knowing that professors would be needed before long, Calvin set about procuring them. The first<sup>4</sup> whom he approached was Jean Mercier, who had followed Vatable as professor of Hebrew in the College de France. Mercier refused to move. He then tried<sup>5</sup> Emmanuel Tremelius, professor at Hornbach, but his prince would not let him leave the position he occupied. Fortunately for Calvin, the proceedings of the Bernese Government made it impossible for the professors of Lausanne to remain at their posts, so they resigned in a body and at Calvin's invitation came to Geneva bringing some of their students along with them. On 22 May, 1559,<sup>6</sup> Calvin was able to present to the Council in the name of the Venerable Company, the complete staff required

<sup>1</sup> Roget, v. 227.

<sup>4</sup> Opera, XVII. 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 232.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 310.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 233 n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Borgeaud, 41.

for the educational establishment which was in process of formation. These were Antoine Chevalier, professor of Hebrew; François Beraud, of Lausanne, professor of Greek; Jean Tagaut, also of Lausanne, professor of philosophy; another professor from Lausanne, Jean Randon, was nominated regent of the first class with six others for the other classes. The services of Theodore Beza had already been secured, and on 5 June the Council formally appointed him rector. The salary of the professors was fixed at 280 florins, that of the regents at 240 florins, with a free house or an allowance for a house and permission to take in boarders. It was soon found that the salary, even with the benefit of a free house, was insufficient and in 1562 it was raised to 400 florins, which made it equal to that of the city pastors.

The staff was ready to begin work long before the class-rooms were fit to receive them. The building was not finished till 1563, and even at that date it lacked much that is now considered essential.<sup>1</sup> The students sat on long bare planks without backs, and used long bare planks in front of them as desks. There was no heating apparatus of any sort. There was no glass in the windows. Professors and students suffered a good deal both from draughts and from cold, but a slight alleviation of their misery was secured in November, 1564, when the Council<sup>2</sup> ordered the gaping window spaces to be filled with oiled paper. A storm blew the paper to pieces, and after that, with some grumbles on the score of expense, the Council ordered the windows to be glazed.

Neither the outline nor the arrangement of the old college has changed much since Calvin's day. The first two blocks of buildings stood at right angles to each other, and in front of them was a large open space planted with trees and devoted to the recreation of the students. In the centre of the principal block, on the vaulting of the porch, supported by four weather-worn pillars, one may still read the inscription in Hebrew, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom"; and in Greek, "Christ of God is made unto us wisdom"; and in Latin, "The wisdom that cometh from above is peaceable and full of mercy". On each side of the porch is a flight of steps which leads from the quadrangle to the apartments of the principal and the professors, and the beautiful wrought-iron balustrade is a tribute to the skill of the workers by whom it was made. Above the doorway, to which the steps lead, one can see the bas-relief of yellowing marble, carved by Jean Goujon on his way through the city in 1560—the only piece

<sup>1</sup> "Les Jubilés," 114.

<sup>2</sup> Roget, v. 244 n. 1.

of sculpture of that date which the city possesses—a shield surmounted by a crown, and flanked by two female figures, one the genius of war with a sword, the other the genius of study with a book and a palm branch in the left hand. Beneath, on a tablet, is the inscription, "POST TENEBRAS LUX," and the date 1561.

Although the work of construction was by no means finished, the inaugural ceremony was held on 5 June, 1559. A great assembly gathered in St. Peter's. The four syndics and all the councillors were there in their robes of office. The ministers were there. The recently appointed professors and regents were there, and 600 of the students and scholars. Most of the leading citizens were also there. Calvin presided and opened the proceedings with prayer. Then he called on Michael Roset, the Secretary of State, to read the Laws of the University,<sup>1</sup> the Confession<sup>2</sup> of Faith, which all the students had to sign, and the<sup>3</sup> oath to be taken by all professors and preceptors. Then he intimated that Theodore Beza had been elected rector by the ministers, and that the election had been confirmed by the Council. Thereafter Beza delivered an address,<sup>4</sup> in Latin, on the advantages of a university, passing in review all the institutions which had passed the torch of learning from generation to generation, from the schools of the patriarchs and those in which Moses learned the wisdom of the Egyptians to the brilliant academies of Greece, and from these to the schools of Charlemagne and to the institution of universities. Then he congratulated the Council on giving Geneva a share in the glorious work of diffusing knowledge that was free from superstition. Calvin closed the proceedings with a speech, in which he formally thanked the Council for its presence and patronage, exhorted the members of the university to do their duty faithfully, and announced that the work of the classes would begin on the following day.

The news of the foundation of the university was received with less than good-will by some of those it reached. Haller of Berne wrote to Bullinger:<sup>5</sup> "The people of Geneva have founded an academy. It will be for themselves alone. The expense of living and the uncertainty of the present situation will probably deter outsiders from attending." The forecast was refuted by the event. In 1559 no less than 162 students were enrolled.<sup>6</sup> Three out of every four of these came from France. Four individuals belonged to Geneva. The remainder

<sup>1</sup> Borgeaud, 626-32.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 633.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 635.

<sup>4</sup> Opera, xvii. 542.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 659.

<sup>6</sup> Roget, v. 241.

represented most of the countries of western Europe. In <sup>1</sup> 1564 there were 1200 collegians and 300 students. Beza wrote to Bullinger on 4 May of that year: "The number increases daily".

There was a fascination about Geneva which drew men to the city like a spell. Florimond of Ræmond, a Catholic historian and a member of the Parlement of Bordeaux at the end of that century, says :<sup>2</sup> "One of the best people of Guyenne told me that one day when he was walking with some scholars, his companions, underneath the gallery of the schools of Toulouse, the Holy Spirit descended upon them. He appeared neither as a dove nor as a tongue of fire. I do not know, said he, whether it was a white spirit or a black spirit. The fact is that five or six of the scholars, carried away by the same desire, packed their baggage and travelled day and night to Geneva. The wish to see the holy man lent wings to their feet. According to his story, the joy of that good and religious knight, Godefroy de Bouillon, beholding the walls of Jerusalem was not to be named alongside the transport which filled them when the sacred ramparts of Geneva came within their view."

These and other young men may have entered the city with the proverbial light-heartedness of the student, but they were speedily made aware that if their residence in Geneva were to be prolonged, they would need to be very circumspect in their conduct. They were forbidden to play cards or dice, they were not to be seen in taverns or at banquets, they were not to dance or promenade the streets, or sing indecent songs, or take part in masquerades or mummeries, on pain of imprisonment for three days on bread and water and payment of a fine of 60 sous for each offence. The penalties were not mere bugbears to frighten children with. They were actually inflicted. Sometimes corporal punishment was added.<sup>3</sup> For disobedience to his parents, and for dissolute behaviour, a youth named Domaine Ferrière was whipped till the blood came.

The institution was divided into two sections. The elementary section was called the College or Schola Privata. The advanced section was the Academy or Schola Publica. The masters in the former were called "præceptores," and their head was the "ludimagister". Those who gave instruction in the latter were designated "publici professores," and the head of the whole establishment was the rector.

There were seven classes in the college.<sup>4</sup> In the seventh, the lowest, the scholars were taught their letters and learned

<sup>1</sup> Borgeaud, 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 168.

<sup>3</sup> Roget, v. 244.

<sup>4</sup> Borgeaud, 43.

to write. In the sixth they learned the parts of speech and the simple declensions in French and Latin. In the fifth they did exercises in composition and read the *Georgics* of Virgil. In the fourth they read the letters of Cicero and did exercises with these letters as models, and they began Greek. In the third, they made a serious study of Greek grammar, continued the reading of Cicero, began the "Æneid" of Virgil, and made their first acquaintance with a Greek author. In the second they read history. In Latin their author was Livy, in Greek it was Polybius or Xenophon. In the first they continued the study of Cicero and took up the "Philippics" of Demosthenes. They likewise began dialectic.

In the Academy, to which they were admitted by examination, there was neither grouping nor classification. The students were allowed to attend such classes as they pleased. There were twenty-seven lessons each week: three in theology, eight in Hebrew, eight on the poets and moralists of Greece, five in dialectic and rhetoric, and three in physics and mathematics. The instruction in theology was given by Beza with Calvin as his unofficial colleague.

The Laws of the University are generally believed to be the work of Calvin,<sup>1</sup> but it has been maintained that pressure of other engagements compelled him to assign the task to framing them to Beza and Corderius. They prescribe that the teachers of the junior classes shall maintain a careful gravity, shall keep their classes in good order, shall teach the children to love God and hate vice, shall preserve concord in their intercourse with each other, and shall report all differences that arise between them to the rector.

The rector is to be a man who fears God, who is of good intelligence, of a kindly spirit, and neither rough nor rude. In addition to the work of his own class he is to supervise the work of his colleagues, he is to stimulate those who are sluggish, and make everyone acquainted with his duty. He is to preside over the infliction of punishment in the common hall, he is to see that the bell is rung at the appointed times, and that the scholars are kept clean. He must also bear calmly all the annoyances he meets with. No teacher is to introduce any innovation without his knowledge and approval, and he must report to the Council all the difficult points he has to deal with.

Work in the University began at six in the morning in summer and seven in winter.<sup>2</sup> The first hour was devoted to devotional exercises in which the sermon had a prominent place. Thereafter on Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday, the work of

<sup>1</sup> Borgeaud, 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 553.

the classes went on till ten o'clock, when an interval for dinner was allowed. On Wednesday and Friday mornings the classes did not meet as it was supposed that professors and students would be present at the Wednesday meeting for public worship in the church, and on Friday the professors were engaged at the meeting of the Venerable Company. In the afternoon of Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, from one o'clock till five, all the classrooms were busy. On Saturday the only engagement was the afternoon discussion on theological theses.

Each day at the conclusion of the day's work, all assembled in the common hall. The necessary punishments were inflicted "with gravity". Three scholars in turn recited the Lord's Prayer, the Confession of Faith, and the Decalogue, and after the rector had pronounced the benediction the scholars were marched off to their abodes under the care of their masters. All instruction was free and in the higher classes it was given in Latin. No degrees were given, but the equivalent of a graduation ceremony was found in Promotion Day when the scholars formally received promotion from a lower class to a higher one. These promotions were instituted as part of the original scheme and the first took place in St. Peter's in 1560.

A considerable time elapsed before the university was in full working order. The faculty of medicine was started by free lectures given by Blaise Holland in the end of 1559. The faculty of law took shape at a later date.

It is not difficult to discover Calvin's intention in creating the university. The most pressing difficulty with which he had to deal was the incessant demand for ministers. From every part of France where a congregation adhering to the Reformed faith had taken shape a message was sent to Geneva asking for a minister. These messages increased in number every year, and he was at his wits' end in dealing with them. The college was destined to furnish him with the supply of ministers.

In addition to this, he knew the value of education, especially in connexion with the struggle against Rome. He was well aware of the poor appearance which the Romish apologists made in public discussions on religion which they had been forced into, and he came to the conclusion that if ignorance is the mother of superstition, culture is the handmaid of religion and liberty. Wherever a well-educated champion of evangelical truth took the field the Romanist went down before him. Therefore he designed the University of Geneva to

produce in the first place an educated ministry. He desired every one whose business it was to speak to the people to be able to expound the truth and to confute the adversary.

In addition to the desire to turn out men who were able to defend the Reformed faith and who were willing to propagate it, he desired to create an institution for the study of learning for its own sake. It was no mere theological hall which he desired to call into existence. It was a university, with a carefully graded system of instruction, with all the faculties in full working order, with the best men he could lay hands on in the professors' chairs and with the richest endowments he could persuade donors to furnish. He began with the supply of the most pressing need, but he hoped that in due time the whole of his conception would be realized.

He himself had none of the specialist's narrowness. He specialized on the basis of a broad and deep culture. He was as competent to lecture on the classics as he was to lecture on the Gospels or Epistles. He knew as much about law as he did about theology. And as he found his own mind enriched by the systematic and varied training he had received he believed that the same cause would produce the same results in other minds likewise.

Therefore he did all he could to attract to Geneva learned men. He surrounded himself with these men. He made them professors, regents, teachers, preachers, anything that would give them an opportunity of passing on to others the knowledge which they themselves had acquired. He himself was one of the most brilliant scholars of his time, but there were men in his circle who did not need to hang their heads in his presence, and as students naturally and inevitably gravitate to a university where there is a constellation of famous professors, they came to Geneva from all quarters. It became a commonplace that a boy of Geneva could give a more rational account of his faith than a doctor of the Sorbonne.

In the closing years of his life when Geneva was encompassed with dangerous enemies the Council ordered every citizen to do his share in strengthening the defences of the city and the order was obeyed.<sup>1</sup> Old and young, rich and poor, the ministers and their congregations, worked side by side, deepening the ditches, repairing the battlements and removing everything that could cover the foe's approach. It has been said<sup>2</sup> that Calvin himself lent a hand to the work and encour-

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xvii. 564.

<sup>2</sup> Borgeaud, 82.

aged others by his example, but it is altogether unlikely that he appeared on the scene. He was by this time a physical wreck and his strength was gone. But the work he did not only raised a bulwark in defence of liberty against which the waves of bigotry and intolerance beat in vain, but sent forth a stream of eager and well-trained disciples who carried the war into the enemies' country and became all over Western Europe the most dangerous foes that Rome had to fear. Thanks to the spirit with which he inspired it by his labours in its Councils, in its churches, and in its schools, he turned the little city into an impregnable stronghold, the metropolis of the Reformed faith, an ark of refuge to the distressed and persecuted, a seat of learning second to none in its day for attractiveness and influence, and the home of a race of brave godfearing men.

## XVII

### CLOSING YEARS

WHEN the treaty with Berne was signed in 1556, and the last hopes of the Libertines were thereby finally extinguished, Calvin became practically Dictator of Geneva, yet, strange to say, he was not yet enrolled as a citizen. When he was recalled from Strassburg he cherished the hope of a speedy release from his duties, and so would have refused to become a regular citizen if he had been invited. When he was fighting with the Libertines he made no application for the privileges of citizenship, and the Libertines took good care not to offer them. But as the issue of the long struggle the situation was changed. He could not disentangle himself from the business of Church and State while he drew the breath of life. The magistrates and the Council were his friends. He could not be called self-seeking if he were put on a level with hundreds of foreigners who had been far less useful than he was. Therefore, on 25 December, 1559,<sup>1</sup> the Council passed a special resolution that, in view of his long services as a minister of the Word, and of the many important benefits conferred on the city by his residence within it, the status of a citizen should be conferred on him if he were willing to accept it. Being called in, he thanked the Council with great heartiness for its kindness and good-will, explained that his sole reason for refraining from an application was his desire to avoid the suspicion which many were ready to cherish, and gave his assurance that he highly valued the honour which had been offered to him.

Shortly before this, Anthony Calvin<sup>2</sup> had been received as a citizen, and in consideration of the services rendered by his brother John, the Council relieved him of the charges in connexion with a house he was purchasing.

Now that all effective opposition to his plans had disappeared, Calvin resolved to draw the line more clearly between the jurisdiction of the State in things civil and

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxii. 725.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 723.

secular and that of the Church in things ecclesiastical and religious. On 30 January, 1560,<sup>1</sup> in his usual address before the elections, he asked first that the ecclesiastical police of the Consistory should be different from the ordinary police of the Council; second, that before nominating the Consistory, the ministers of the city as a body, and not he himself alone, should be authorized to prepare the list from which the Council was to make the final selection; third, that those who had been excommunicated should be compelled to make public profession of repentance before being allowed to sit at the Lord's Table; and fourth, that in order to prevent unworthy persons from appearing at the Table, leaden counters or tokens should be distributed to those in each household who were instructed in the faith, and to strangers who made a credible profession of faith and applied for them—only those who presented the tokens being allowed to partake of the Sacrament. Lastly, he asked that before ministers were elected, their names should be announced to the church on three successive Sundays.

The Council agreed that the syndic who presided over the Consistory should not carry his staff of office, that the members of the Consistory should be selected from all who desired to follow the teaching of God, whether they were citizens or not, that the names of the ministers elect should be announced as desired, and that the question of distributing tokens should be taken to avizandum.

After the elections were over there was an instant tightening of the bonds of discipline. The streets were cleared of idlers and vagabonds. Those found guilty of immorality were smartly punished. Tavern-keepers were informed that no disorderly conduct would be tolerated in their premises. Measures were taken to secure quietness during the hours of public worship and on the Sabbath, and the foreign incomers were told that if they desired to enjoy the privileges of residence they must conform to the laws, for as justice knows no respect of persons, they would be treated with the same severity as the native-born citizens.

Shortly before this, in September, 1558, Calvin got a great shock by the announcement that Farel, now sixty-nine years of age, was about to get married. During his wandering and combative life he had remained single, but now that the worst of his warfare was over, and as he had a settled position, and as age was coming on, he thought it time to look after his interests. The ardent disposition which had carried him through so much in the past brought him to a swift decision.

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxii. 726.

Calvin, his most intimate friend, knew nothing of what was to happen till all was arranged.

The lady of Farel's choice was forty years younger than himself. Her mother was a Madame Torel of Rouen, who had fled from her native land on account of her faith and had found a refuge in Lausanne, where she became Farel's house-keeper. She had therefore spent some time under Farel's roof, a fact which his enemies were not slow to make use of to his discredit. Farel was anxious that Calvin should perform the marriage ceremony, and went to Geneva to invite him. Calvin refused to have anything to do with it. On his return to his own house Farel wrote repeating the invitation. Calvin repeated the refusal in the sharpest letter that ever passed between them.

"When I told you to your face that I would not come to your wedding, I wonder what you mean by this second invitation. Even though I greatly desired to be present, I am prevented by many considerations. You know that Macarius is away, that two of my colleagues are ill, and that those of us who are left are scarcely able to carry the burden imposed on us. I cannot get away without stopping some of the sermons, and in the present confusion of the city, the magistrates would never give me leave of absence. Besides, even though all were going well here, my presence at your wedding would only fill the mouths of the wicked with curses. I think you have been unwise in sending me an invitation, and that I would be equally unwise if I accepted it. You ought to have married the girl as soon as you got home. Your delay has encouraged gossip that will be public enough by and by. You are very much mistaken if you imagine the matter can remain in the dark."<sup>1</sup>

Writing to the ministers of Neuchâtel a fortnight afterwards, 26 September, 1558, Calvin says:<sup>2</sup> "I am so much upset that I do not know how to begin to write you. It is certain that our brother William has for once been so badly advised that he has covered us with shame for him, but I do not see any remedy in the proposal that is being talked about. There is no law to hinder such a marriage, and now that the marriage tie has been formed, to dissolve the connexion would only create scandal. . . . If I had known anything about this, I might have stopped it, as the project of a man out of his wits. Six years ago our poor brother would have said that a man of his years who wished to marry so young a girl was in his dotage. But the thing is done, and it cannot be undone.

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xvii. 335.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 351.

I beg you to remember that he has spent more than six-and-thirty years of his life in serving God and edifying the Church, and how zealously he has laboured, and how much good he has done you all. This may incline you to a certain tenderness in your dealings with him, and to let him see that though you do not approve of what he has done, you do not mean to treat him with rigour."

From 1558 onwards Calvin's health became a matter of grave concern to himself and to his friends. He had several chronic ailments, now in addition to these he began to suffer from frequent attacks of fever and ague. On 19 November, 1558, he wrote to Bullinger,<sup>1</sup> "Fever prevented me from writing to all (his Polish correspondents) at the length which Uttenhovius wished. . . . I have nothing to say about my illness except that it is not quite so severe as it was at the first, but it still continues to exhaust my strength and depress my spirits. I am not allowed to leave my bedroom and am thus compelled to neglect practically every part of my duty. The long duration of my troubles aggravates them, for there is little hope of their disappearance till the winter is over."

The departure of winter made no change for the better in his condition. In a letter of consolation addressed to certain prisoners in Paris and dated 15 February, 1559, he apologizes for his inability to give them the satisfaction they desire,<sup>2</sup> "on account of the quartan fever which has had me in its grip for four months and has not let me go yet, and which hinders me from doing a third of the work I could do if I were in health".

In the end of the same year a new trouble made its appearance. The day before he received the citizenship he was preaching to an immense congregation in St. Peter's and he overstrained his voice in the effort to make them all hear. He had scarcely reached home before a violent fit of coughing came on, this was followed by the bursting of a blood-vessel which gave rise to alarming haemorrhage. He remained quiet for a few days, then in defiance of the entreaties of his friends and the recommendation of his physician he resumed his usual labours in the pulpit and the lecture room. But from this time forward the lung trouble took a serious turn.

At the same time it is not to be imagined that Calvin was idle although he was more or less of an invalid. He might be confined to his room unable to preach, but he received visitors, and he had so many correspondents all over Europe that his letter-bag was heavier in his illness than that of most

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xvii. 387.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 437.

men in their health. Sitting in his chair, or when weakness overcame him, lying in his bed, he dictated what he had to say to his secretaries, often keeping them going far into the night. He was the leading man in Geneva, and all sorts of problems were brought before him.<sup>1</sup> He was the leading theologian in Europe and he was constantly consulted on points of doctrine. Couriers and messengers were continually coming to his door, and going away from it, with what were official dispatches from a secretary of state rather than the correspondence of a private person. Besides he was revising his Institutes for the final edition, and as he says in his preface, it was a race between him and death.

For example, a series of letters of great importance went off to France. After the Edict of January, 1562, there was a gleam of hope for the Protestants. Calvin went the length of saying that, if the Edict were observed, Popery would die of its own accord. The question was, would the Edict be observed? The answer depended on the King of Navarre, and Catherine was using him as a pawn in her game. She threw in his way one of her maids of honour, called from her beauty La Belle Rouet, and had the satisfaction of seeing him snared in the bands of the enchantress. Their guilty relations were made the subject of keen satire, and their names were posted in scandalous publicity from one end of France to the other. His infidelity to his wife was accompanied by infidelity to the cause of the Reformation. He had espoused the Reformation from unworthy motives and he was easily persuaded to forsake it. The Huguenot troopers of Condé's army sang a song in the streets of Orleans likening the King of Navarre to Julian the Apostate and holding him up to derision as a weathercock which whirled about from Calvin to Luther and from Luther to Rome and so on round the circle.

In May, 1561, before the issue of the Edict, and also before the seduction was quite complete, Calvin sent the King<sup>2</sup> a letter recalling him to a sense of his obligations, urging him to burst the bands that were being cast round him for his destruction and stand forth as the guardian of truth and pure religion. The letter produced no effect. The downfall which was prepared for by the easy virtue of Mademoiselle de Rouet was completed by the flattery of the Pope's legate and the delusive promises of the ambassador of the King of Spain. He made Navarre understand that if he would only throw in his lot with them he would not only be secured in his kingdom but would get territory elsewhere. Sometimes it was a

<sup>1</sup> Opera, x. a, 153-266.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xvii. 457.

kingdom in Sardinia, sometimes in Africa, that they dangled before him. It might as well have been in the moon. They went the length of proposing that he might divorce his wife on the score of her heresy, marry Mary Stewart, and obtain the crown of Scotland. Beza implored him to hold fast to his profession. Calvin wrote<sup>1</sup> him again more urgently than before. All was in vain. His wife said, "If I held my kingdom and my son in my hand, I would rather cast them both into the sea than go to Mass," and she left him.

When the success of the seducing process became unmistakable, Calvin sent the King another letter handling his apostasy as it deserved.<sup>2</sup>

"DECEMBER, 1561.

"Sire, we take into account the hindrances you meet with on every side, but when you consider that we are God's servants, your piety will allow us not to flatter you while we are defending His rights. . . . There is need for you to maintain the quarrel of Jesus Christ, inasmuch as your state and dignity demand it of you more than of a private person. If a poor man of lowly condition consented that the name of God should be blasphemed, religion insulted, and the Church trampled on, he has to confess that the word of truth was never in his mouth. What then shall be done with you, when you are taken in hand by Him from whom you hold all. It would be cowardice on our part to cover up the particular act which has created so great scandal among high and low alike, and it is certain, sire, that you cannot incline your heart too strongly in the opposite direction if you are to atone for this sin before God and man."

The result of the falling away of the King of Navarre was soon made manifest. The Duke of Guise with two squadrons of horse was on his way to join him as ally and, as he passed near Vassy on 1 March, 1562, the Duke heard the sound of bells calling the Huguenots to service. In defiance of the Edict under whose authority the service was to be held, the Duke turned aside from his route, surrounded the barn which was used for a meeting-place and ordered all in it to be put to the sword. During the butchery that ensued he was hit with a stone and this was made the pretext for more savage cruelty. A Bible was picked up and brought to him. He gave it to his brother, the cardinal, who was with him. The cardinal said, "There is no harm in it. It is the Scriptures." "By the blood of God," was the Duke's reply, "how can that be? It

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xvii. 660.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xix. 199.

is 1500 years since the Scriptures were made, and this book was printed only a year ago." He summoned the judge of the district and asked why he allowed such an assembly. The judge pled the Edict of January. "The Edict," said the Duke, laying his hand on his sword, "this steel will cut it asunder however tightly it is bound."

The news of the massacre caused intense excitement. Beza and a Protestant noble were sent to Monceaux to complain to Charles IX and to Catherine de Medici about it. While Beza was speaking the King of Navarre interrupted him saying the Protestants had stoned the Duke of Guise, adding, "Whoever touches my brother of Guise with the tip of his finger touches my whole body". Beza replied that the Duke would be exculpated when he produced the person who had thrown the stones, and he wound up an impressive address by saying, "Sire, it belongs to the Church of God in whose name I speak, to endure blows rather than to inflict them. But it will please your majesty to remember that she is an anvil that has worn out many hammers."

The apostasy of the King of Navarre made Calvin all the more anxious to safeguard the queen. She had retired to Bearn, to devote herself to the training of her son, and to the extension of the Reformed faith within her husband's dominions, and although the Peace of Amboise—19 March, 1563—had come in to permit Protestants to worship freely in the houses of the nobility and gentry and in one town in every baillage, her position was full of strain and anxiety. At her request Calvin sent her several ministers from Geneva. He also sent her several letters urging her to stand firm to her principles. One of these, written several months after the death of the King, and dated June, 1563, presents Calvin in a new light, as a money-lender, and perhaps gives an explanation of the remarkable humility with which the King had listened to Calvin's strictures. Calvin says,<sup>1</sup> "With regard to the sum to which I made reference, here is the explanation. Your late husband the King being at that time on good terms with me asked me if I could help him with some money to relieve him from his embarrassments. I busied myself with such success that the people in this city promised 40,000 francs. Before they could be got together, he sent M. de Maligny, to whom he requested me to hand over 25,000 francs for certain expenses he had to meet, and of these I sent on 10,000 at his request. When the time came to pay the sum I did not know where to turn, for I have never been a financier, and I can assure you,

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xx. 36.

madame, that, of the little which I had, I had exhausted every-thing, even what was required for daily bread. But thanks be to God, the money was at last made up, and the late King, your husband, promised Beza to repay it, as he can testify. I mention the matter, not because I desire repayment of my own contribution, but to discharge my obligation to the friends who assisted me, and to preserve my own honour. I do not wish to dun your majesty in any way, I believe you only need to know the facts to do what is human and reasonable."

With an eye to the future, Calvin also endeavoured to secure the attachment of the young King Henry IV to the Reformed religion. Henry was at this time a lad of thirteen. His mother was doing all she could to instil into him the religious principles she herself lived by, and Calvin warmly seconded her efforts,<sup>1</sup> warning the young monarch against the snares of vice with which courts are so thickly strewn, and setting before him the example of others of his rank who had walked in the ways of true religion and piety. Henry's future conduct was to show that he needed all the counsels and exhortations addressed to him.

As an interlude in his occupation with more serious matters of general importance, in 1556 he issued a "Brief Refutation of the Calumnies of Anthony Cathalanus".<sup>2</sup> Cathalanus was a monk who wrote an "Open Letter to the Syndics of Geneva," in which he asserted that the doctrine taught by Calvin was unscriptural and ought to be suppressed. In addition, he made charges against Calvin's personal character. Unfortunately for himself, he was no better than he ought to have been, and Calvin knew all about him. He came to Geneva, says Calvin, with a mistress, and proceeded to support himself by teaching arithmetic. Not long after his arrival his mistress was found soliciting men on the street. Then they had a quarrel in their lodgings, in which they tore each other's hair. Two days after that they made such an exhibition of themselves that they were expelled from the city. From Geneva they wandered to Berne and to Lausanne, where they came into contact with Beza. Cathalanus applied to be taken into the Academy at Lausanne, and Beza gave him a theme to write. He was so pleased with his own production that he appended his name to it, "Per me Anthonium Cathalanus". It was so full of mistakes that Beza told him he deserved a flogging for it, "and this is the scholarship of the man who pronounces the doctrine taught in Geneva to be unscriptural".

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xx. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* viii. 331-4, ed. 1567.

There can be little doubt that Calvin had some satisfaction in administering this flagellation.

In a similar strain, in 1561, he wrote a tract which he entitled,<sup>1</sup> "Congratulations to the Venerable Priest Dom Gabriel de Sacconnay, precentor of the Church of Lyons, on the beautiful and elegant preface he has written to the book of the King of England". Sacconnay had taken a part of the book on the Seven Sacraments, by Henry VIII, and had published it with a preface, in which he slandered the Protestants, charging them with meeting at night for immoral purposes. Calvin retorted that the cruellest tortures had failed to produce one scrap of evidence that could be used as the basis for such a charge, and then he proceeded to criticize Sacconnay's own conduct. It lent itself to criticism. Sacconnay was a notoriously licentious man, and Calvin finished his merciless exposure by a grim reminder of the fate he might look for if he dared to show his face within the walls of Geneva. "If the laws against wickedness of this sort were administered with the same severity in Lyons as they are in Geneva, your carcase would be forthwith hung up to the gallows and turned into food for the carrion crows."

Calvin had no sooner got Sacconnay off his hands when he found he was the subject of another and more serious attack. It was made by a lawyer of Arras, by name François Baudoin. It was all the more exasperating that it was treacherous. Baudoin had made himself useful to Calvin, had been employed as a secretary, and so enjoyed access to Calvin's papers. From these he abstracted several letters in which Bucer criticized Calvin, and made off with them into France. In France he gained the ear of the King of Navarre, who sent him to Germany to discuss a project of union between Romanists and Protestants which Cassander had floated.

The book in which Cassander's project was given to the world was published at Basel. Calvin thought that Baudoin had written it and attacked the author and the scheme. Without naming Baudoin he stigmatized him as a deceiver and traitor, who had taken advantage of his position to lay hands on what did not belong to him. He entitled his work,<sup>2</sup> "An Answer to a certain trimming Mediator," and showed that union on Cassander's plan was doomed to failure, for the fundamental principles of the two Churches were discordant. He worked out his argument by references to the Rule of Faith and to Justification.

Baudoin replied by issuing an old work of his own, and

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, IX. 425-36.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 529.

adding to it an appendix in which he let loose all his animosity, assailing Calvin's habits of life, his character, his influence, and accusing him of being responsible for the death of Servetus.

Calvin's "Answer to the Reproaches of Baudois"<sup>1</sup> is one of the severest things that came from his pen. With reference to Servetus, Calvin says:<sup>2</sup> "He was destroyed by his arrogance not less than by his impiety. Am I chargeable with crime if our Council, at my instigation I admit, but in accordance with the decision of the various Churches, took vengeance on his horrible blasphemies? Baudois may abuse me as long as he will; but in Melanchthon's judgment posterity owes me a debt of gratitude for purging the Church of such a monster."

Baudois taunted Calvin with having no children. Calvin replied:<sup>3</sup> "The Lord gave me a child, but He was pleased to deprive me of it. In its place He has given me thousands of children in all parts of Christendom."

Endorsing the charges of Bolsec, Baudois accused Calvin of living in extravagant luxury. Calvin, a martyr to dyspepsia and sick headaches, and living on one light meal a day, repelled the slander vehemently:<sup>4</sup> "If I had Baudois's ambition I could easily gain the honours he has set his heart on. But I pass that by. Content with my humble fortune, my attention to frugality has prevented me from being a burden to any one. I am content with the station in which it has pleased the Lord to set me, and so far from asking an increase in my stipend, I have renounced a portion of what is allowed me. I devote all my care and labour and study to the good of the Church to which I am specially bound, and not to that only but to all the other Churches by every means in my power. I so discharge my office as a teacher that no one can discover ambition in my faithfulness and diligence. I swallow many annoyances, and endure much rudeness, but no man controls my liberty. I do not curry favour with the great by flattery; I never fear to give offence. No prosperity has inflated me, and I have borne the storms to which I have been exposed until, by the mercy of God, I emerged from them. I live affably with my equals and endeavour to preserve my friendships."

This *Apologia pro Vita Sua* could not be controverted, but Calvin felt that its language passed the bounds of moderation. In a letter to Beza, 24 December, 1561, he says:<sup>5</sup> "In reading my book you will perceive I have been exasperated by the indignities heaped on me. When the book reaches you, you

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, ix. 565.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 575.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 576.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 579.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xx. 196.

will consider what you ought to do." Baudoin had entered the lists with a reply, and as Calvin's bodily strength was well-nigh spent, Beza took up the cudgels in a book, to which Calvin added a preface, and after that Baudoin was allowed to have the last word. He said he would rather live in hell with Beza than in heaven with Calvin.

In these closing years the course of events in France gave Calvin cause for anxiety. The Reformed party had grown so large that its adherents seized some important cities. Among others they seized the city of Lyons and forthwith sacked several churches in it. The news of what was going on was exceedingly distasteful to Calvin, and he wrote reprovingly.<sup>1</sup>

"13 MAY, 1562.

"Dear brethren, we hear news which has given us the greatest distress. We know that in the midst of commotions it is difficult to avoid excess, and we easily excuse you if you have not drawn the bridle so tight as could have been wished. But there are certain intolerable things of which we must write you more sharply than we could desire. It is not a decent thing for a minister to become a soldier or a captain, but it is a great deal worse when he leaves the pulpit to carry arms. The crowning offence is to approach the governor, pistol in hand, and threaten him with violence. Here are the words reported to us by credible witnesses: 'Sir, you must do this, for we have force at hand'. We tell you roundly that such language is monstrous and fills us with horror. Besides there is the raiding of cows and other beasts from the field as booty. Now, though the remedy must be applied late, we beg you, in the name of God, to repair the faults of the past, to stop these thefts and robberies, for it is better to get rid of those who commit them than to expose the Church to the shame of complicity."

On the same day Calvin<sup>2</sup> wrote to Baron des Andrets, the governor, urging him to maintain order by punishing all who had been guilty of theft if they did not surrender the stolen property at once.

The situation was complicated by the news that the Duke of Savoy was preparing to make a swoop on Geneva as soon as opportunity offered. Nevertheless, the Genevans thought that their co-religionists in France deserved some support, and a considerable number of armed men slipped away to Lyons on their own initiative. The Council consulted Calvin whether any assistance should be sent to Lyons officially. Calvin took

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xix. 410.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 411.

a night to think over it, and replied on 6 July, 1562,<sup>1</sup> in his opinion it would not be wise to denude the city of its guardians, especially as Lyons had not asked for assistance. But the Council might send fifty armed men as an escort, for at least half the way, to the other Swiss who were going to Lyons. That would please the people of Lyons, and it would accustom those who went to the use of arms. Those who profited by the protection of the escort might pay half the expenses and the Council might pay the other half. The Council acted on this advice.

The fifty horsemen were sent, but they were scarcely out of sight when orders were sent them to go the whole way, which they did. When the time appointed for their return was at hand, they asked an extension of leave of absence. The Council asked Calvin whether it should be granted, and on his suggestion they were allowed to remain in Lyons<sup>2</sup> at the Council's expense for three weeks more.

While the fifty horsemen were at Lyons, the Council received another letter which disconcerted it considerably. It came through Calvin from the Prince of Condé.<sup>3</sup> In this letter Condé asked the Council to undertake the responsibility of the payment of the wages of 2000 pistoliers for three months and to advance the sum required to pay the wages of the troops being raised in England,—the total amounting to 60,000 crowns. Staggered by the proposition, the Council asked Calvin what should be done. He replied that he was in a difficulty. The sum asked was large. On the other hand he did not see how it could be refused.<sup>4</sup> As a way out he finally suggested that the people of Basel should be asked to advance the money and the Council could guarantee its repayment. The suggestion was thankfully accepted.

In the end of 1562 the Council was excited by the news that the Duke of Savoy was intriguing to withdraw the city from the protection of Berne and it asked Calvin what it should do. He recommended a circular letter to the cantons asking them to see to the safety of the city and the appointment of a delegate to plead the cause of the city at the diet to be held in Baden in July, 1563. He was asked to prepare the circular and the delegate's instructions.

While the circular letter was on its way the Duke asked Geneva whether it would negotiate directly with him. At Calvin's suggestion the Council replied that nothing could be done till after the Diet of Baden. Nothing daunted, the Duchess of Savoy<sup>5</sup> sent Calvin a letter offering her services as mediator

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxii. 783.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 784.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 785.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 788.

<sup>5</sup> *Roget*, iv. 10.

between the city and her husband, and assuring Calvin of the Duke's determination to grant the fullest liberty of religion. Calvin laid the letter before the Council along with the draft of his proposed reply in which he thanked her for her affectionate interest, but expressed his opinion that direct negotiations were impossible in the meantime. The reply was sent in the terms which he had drawn up.

The Peace of Amboise had raised hopes that the lives and liberties of Protestants were now fairly safe in France, and on that account some of the refugees left Geneva and went back to their own country. But Calvin was by no means so sanguine as the refugees were. The lieutenant-general of Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc was Baron Crussol, a man whose mother had embraced Reformed doctrine with enthusiasm, but who had not himself openly committed himself to it. As he was making the situation as easy as possible for the Reformers, Calvin wrote him in a strain that assumed his sympathy with the new doctrine.<sup>1</sup> "As to the state of France, I see so much confusion on all sides that I fear the whole struggle will be renewed with greater violence than ever. The remedy is easy enough and handy enough if there were a disposition to make use of it. But you see how we stand. We must humble ourselves and wait with patience for the leadings of God's providence, of which I feel certain we shall soon see some signs." At the same time Calvin endeavoured to secure the active assistance of those in higher quarters.

Towards the end of the same month,<sup>2</sup> May, 1563, he wrote to the Prince of Condé, "If you do not use your authority to make what has been done turn out to the advantage of the faithful, the peace will be like a body without a soul, and experience has shown us how bold the enemies of God are to do evil if they are not strenuously resisted. You know their behaviour, and if you allow them to surprise you they will do so. It will be too late to take action when they have got the foot on the stirrup. Now more than ever is the time to see that the Gospel has free course, and as God has given you the signal honour of maintaining His quarrel by the sword, it seems that He has reserved for you all other things necessary to bring to perfection that which He has been pleased to begin."

The Queen of Navarre had made her dominions a place of refuge for those who adhered to the Reformed faith, and for her own sake and for the sake of those who were under her care she sent frequent letters to Calvin asking him to supply

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xx. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 12.

her with ministers. In a communication he sent her on 1 June, Calvin says,<sup>1</sup> "I am sorry that the bearer of your letter did not find me in a state of health which allowed me to employ myself for your satisfaction as I wished. For the last fortnight I have been tormented by a colic so strange that my faculties have been rendered useless by the excessive pain. The pain has not yet left me but it has lessened and I am looking for its greater alleviation. However M. de Beza and the Venerable Company have made up for my defect. We have at last found a dozen men for you. If they are not so good as could be wished, I beg you, Madame, to have patience, for this is a kind of merchandise that is not picked up at one's pleasure. At the same time my companions hope they will be able to instruct the people in a way that pleases you."

Calvin's health was now so unsatisfactory that his friends began to see that the shadows of the end were approaching. In a short letter to Bullinger on 5 June, Beza writes,<sup>2</sup> "Our friend Calvin has just preached a sermon and he is walking about in his house, but he is woefully exhausted. May God look on us and turn away a blow than which nothing could be sorer to our Church and to many others, especially at the present time." On the 25th of the same month the Council voted him 25 crowns towards the expenses attending his malady. His sufferings increased till 2 July when he passed a calculus the size of a nut. Thereafter he regained a certain amount of convalescence.

The conviction had by this time become fixed in Geneva that the Duke of Savoy did not mean to confine himself to intrigue or negotiation in his effort to become master of the city. Rumours came from France that he was to have the assistance of the Pope and of the King of Spain. In January, 1563, it was reported that a Catholic leader was at Chambery with 300 cavalry. A few days later it was reported that the Duke of Savoy was there himself with 2000 corselets for distribution to recruits. In February it was said that on a given day traitors inside were to overpower the watch at the Porte de Rive and open the gate to a thousand men who were to rush in and seize the city for the Duke. Berne sent letters advising Geneva to be on its guard, and offering assistance. Orders were therefore given to put the walls into thorough repair, to plant sentinels, to purchase and distribute arms to the citizens and to keep a sharp look-out on the strangers.

The passion for independence which never failed in Geneva

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xx. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 38.

produced instant obedience to the instructions of the Council. Able-bodied citizens of all ranks turned out and laboured zealously, deepening the ditches, rebuilding what was broken down, and generally strengthening the fortifications. But if Calvin appeared among them it was only to encourage them. He was quite unfit for physical exertion. Life had become to him a continuous martyrdom.

The universal activity was justified. A serious plot was actually on foot, but one of those implicated disclosed it before it was fully ripe.<sup>1</sup> The Council proclaimed it through the city, and in order to get to the bottom of it, a free pardon was offered to all who had taken part in it on condition that they came forward within twenty-four hours and revealed to the magistrates the names of the other conspirators.

Neither his own sufferings nor the danger that was threatening Geneva prevented Calvin from keeping up his interest in what was going on elsewhere. Viret was at this time resident in France, and Calvin and Beza<sup>2</sup> wrote him on 1 August, suggesting that he should ask the King and the Royal Council to authorize the meeting of a Synod of the Reformed Church at Lyons with a view to unite the Church in unity and concord, to check the propagation of false doctrine, and to secure that every man in his own station behaves himself peaceably. The Synod met on the 24th, and among other things thanked the deputies from Geneva for the services to religion which their city had rendered.

The Prince of Condé was not turning out the staunch defender of the Reformed Churches which it was hoped he would be. Coligny wrote Calvin that he was abandoning himself to shameful pleasures—therefore on 13 September Calvin and Beza wrote him a sharp letter taking him to task and reminding him of his duty.<sup>3</sup> "Monseigneur, we cannot refrain from asking you to show that you have profited by the doctrine of salvation, and to give an example that will encourage the good and shut the mouths of the gainsayers. As your exalted station makes you seen from afar, you are the more under obligation to take care that no one can say a word against you. You will not doubt that we love your honour as we desire your salvation. We would be traitors if we kept silent about the rumours that are current. When people dare to say that you are bewitched by the ladies your reputation suffers a serious reproach. The good are grieved. The wicked make a jest at you. This is the distraction which

<sup>1</sup> Roget, vi. 237 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, xx. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 159.

stands in the way of the performance of your duty. There is some earthly vanity in it, and you must take good care that the light which God has given you is not choked by it and finally extinguished. We hope, Monsieur, that you will find this warning agreeable when you recollect its utility."

Knowing how little help might be looked for from Condé, Calvin had already<sup>1</sup> written Coligny begging him to show himself at court, for his presence there would confound the enemy, and in November Coligny betook himself with a great retinue to the palace, and was assigned apartments in the Louvre. A fortnight after his arrival,<sup>2</sup> Beza wrote joyfully to Bullinger, "The Guises groan and lament in vain. Our affairs were never better than now."

The cheering accounts from Paris were to some extent balanced by disturbing letters from Ferrara and Navarre. The Duchess of Ferrara and the Queen of Navarre were both alike favourable to the Reformed religion and Calvin had sent them ministers to preach and defend it, but neither at the one place nor at the other did the ministers find that they had plain sailing. Their royal patronesses were much too meddlesome. On 6 December, Morel<sup>3</sup> wrote from Montargis that the Duchess of Ferrara demanded a seat in the Church courts for the purpose of being present at and even controlling their deliberations, and that her courtiers interfered with the administration of discipline to such an extent that he had been compelled to suspend the celebration of the Sacrament of the Supper, lest the holy ordinance should be given to "pigs and dogs". On 25 December,<sup>4</sup> Merlin, who had gone from Geneva to Navarre in the previous February, informed Calvin that it was impossible to introduce discipline after the Genevan pattern into the country. Besides, it was impossible to persuade the queen to abolish the papacy completely for she was afraid her neighbours would attack her. And further his colleagues did so much to thwart him that he could put up with them no longer and he strongly desired to return to Geneva.

On 8 January, 1564, Calvin wrote to the Duchess of Ferrara urging her to put no hindrance in the way of establishing discipline.<sup>5</sup> "I beg you to see that there is an efficient police to repress vice and scandal. I refer not only to the civil police but also to the Consistory. The members of these ought to be godfearing men of upright life and of such courage that nothing will hinder them from doing their duty. And let no one, whatever his rank, or his credit and reputation with your-

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xx. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 205.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 209.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 217.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 230.

self, think shame to submit to the order which the Son of God Himself has instituted, and to bow his neck to the yoke." He then went on to remind her that courts fall into disorder more readily than private houses, and begged her not to withdraw her servants from the censures addressed to them lest the whole authority of Consistory should be brought into disrepute.

The Church in Poland was seething with excitement produced by the presence of the Anti-Trinitarians, and the ministers there naturally turned to Calvin asking him to come to their assistance. Calvin replied that he did not wish to entangle himself in their disputes, but in December, 1562, he sent them a Short Warning<sup>1</sup> against making three gods, by imagining three essences in place of three persons. Finally in April, 1563, in answer to letters from Sarnicius and Sylvius he wrote a Letter<sup>2</sup> urging the faithful to maintain sound doctrine and inveighing against "the impure brigands Biandatra, Gentilis, Alciatus and others who are driven headlong by a furious passion for innovation and disturbance". It was the last polemic that came from his pen.

In the meantime the situation of the city was uncertain, and on 30 December, 1563, the Council discussed the question whether it would not be wise to hire some French and Provençal soldiers to garrison the city. But considering that such a course might be construed as distrust of the promised help of Berne, and that Provençals were troublesome, it was resolved to see what Calvin thought of the matter.<sup>3</sup> He recommended the Council to get some cavalry, promised to write to his friends in France asking them to raise some more, and suggested that if possible the cavalry should pay their own expenses.

On 4 February he gave the usual address<sup>4</sup> to the Two Hundred in view of the approaching elections, urging the Council to invoke the help of God with ardour and sincerity, for they were surrounded with dangers and without Divine assistance they could do nothing. Two days afterwards he addressed the people in the same strain. It was the last time he spoke to them.

According to promise<sup>5</sup> he sent a messenger to Coligny asking if he could spare a corps of auxiliary cavalry, and received a reply that the admiral and other friends were willing to send some gentlemen to Geneva at their own expense on condition that arms were provided for them, and to maintain them for three months. The Council resolved to send its

<sup>1</sup> Opera, ix. 629-38.  
<sup>4</sup> Opera, xxii. 812.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 641-50.  
<sup>5</sup> Roget, VII. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Roget, VII. 36.

thanks to Coligny but resolved to delay calling for the promised assistance till it was actually required.

In the meantime work was proceeding on the walls.<sup>1</sup> Ditches were dug. The ramparts were strengthened. But progress was slow. Orders were therefore issued that every one must send his servant to dig and wheel, and wages were promised to all who came. As this did not draw out sufficient workers, on 3 March, 1564,<sup>2</sup> the Council issued a proclamation that every one, high and low, must turn out in person and work on the fortifications. The only excuse for absence that would be accepted would be bodily weakness. Every day thereafter two of the districts into which the city was divided sent all the men and women it contained to the walls. Calvin no doubt approved of what was being done, but we may take it as certain that he never laid his hand on a spade or a wheelbarrow.<sup>3</sup> For the safety of the city he toiled with his brain to the last, but long before March, 1564, he was weaker than a child. While others were at their navvy work he was lying on his bed, gasping out instructions, advice, warnings, and consolations in the interval between fits of exhaustion and spasms of pain.

He showed the keenest perception of the needs of the situation when he besought the citizens to implore the protection of God. The little city of Geneva was the object of the fiercest hatred to some of the greatest powers of Europe and it stood practically alone. It had no allies that it could depend on. In Switzerland Berne had come to an understanding with the Duke of Savoy. In Italy the Pope raved against it as a nest of vipers. In France the King accused it of flooding his dominions with pestilent doctrine and of fomenting civil war. The Duke of Alva with Philip of Spain at his back was forming a league for the extermination of all Protestants, and it was just possible that the malignity which inspired his efforts might one day have the satisfaction of success. Calvin was too wideawake to suppose that any force that Geneva could put into the field was able to resist the legions which the Catholic powers could hurl against it. If the city was to remain free and independent, the home of liberty and of sound doctrine, its freedom could be secured by Divine help alone. Like Jerusalem in the times of Isaiah it would become an impregnable fortress on condition that those who lived in it loved truth and walked in the ways of righteousness. Happily for Geneva he was able to make it what Knox called the most

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xvii. 564.

<sup>2</sup> Roget, vii. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Doumergue (iii. 29) takes the opposite view.

perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the Apostles, and he kept up its character while he drew the breath of life, with the result that in spite of the enemies that raged without and the alarm that often reigned within, Geneva survived. Calvin and his fellow-citizens made their share of mistakes, but because they were on the whole resolute to defend the truth and to get the Will of God done on earth as it is done in heaven they were surrounded as with a wall of fire.

## XVIII

### THE END

FOR several years before Calvin's death the state of his health gave his friends increasing anxiety. In 1558 he had an attack of fever and ague which he had some difficulty in recovering from. In October, 1561, he wrote to Beza complaining of acute pain in his joints which kept him in bed. In 1563 he suffered severely from inflammation of the kidneys and stone in the bladder, and his strength was seriously weakened by spitting of blood. Nevertheless he carried on his usual work to the utmost limit of his ability. When he could not walk to church he was carried. When he was unable to stand to preach he delivered his discourse sitting in a chair.

In February, 1564, Spina wrote to him from Saumur :<sup>1</sup> "We hear you are a regular skeleton, a shadow rather than a substance". In the same month a letter reached him from Montpellier, to which he replied<sup>2</sup> giving a minute account of his diseases and of the remedies employed to combat them. One sentence is significant : "Nowadays they all charge me together like a squadron of cavalry".

Beza and other brethren relieved him as far as possible from the burden of public appearances, but no relief was possible from the burden of his endless correspondence. Letters kept pouring in from all quarters, many of them of such importance that he was bound to answer them if he were able at all. In January, 1563, he wrote to the Church at Wesel,<sup>3</sup> exhorting it to endurance under the persecution it was suffering. A few days later he wrote to the Queen of Navarre<sup>4</sup> on the death of her husband, giving her the counsel she needed in her difficult circumstances. In April he wrote to Lyons,<sup>5</sup> advising Soubize what to do with regard to surrendering the city. In the end of the same month he wrote to Jacobus Sylvius<sup>6</sup> in Poland expressing his astonishment that the brethren there were led away by erroneous views on the

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xx. 257.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 253.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xix. 620.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 644.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 686.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 730.

Trinity. On 10 May he sent a long letter to Condé,<sup>1</sup> discussing the Peace of Amboise and the situation created by it. On the same day he wrote the Duchess of Ferrara<sup>2</sup> thanking her for the care she had taken over the refugees who had sought shelter in her dominions. A letter of 2 July to Bullinger<sup>3</sup> gives a brief account of a period of protracted agony which ended in the exit from the bladder of a stone about the size of the kernel of a nut, and goes on to discuss the state of affairs in France. On 10 August he published his Commentary on the Books of Moses, and prefaced it with a dedicatory letter to the young King of Navarre. In November he wrote Thrasius<sup>4</sup> urging him to return to Poland, and mentioning that he himself was translating his Commentary on the Books of Moses into French, and in writing a new Commentary on Joshua, in which he had got as far as the third chapter. Over and above these he wrote many letters to private friends, and he received more than he wrote.

Renée of Ferrara was annoyed at the style in which some of the ministers spoke of her son-in-law, the Duke of Guise, who had been assassinated by Poltrot, and she said so to Calvin. He replied on 24 January, and his letter is interesting as showing his own state of mind with regard to the Duke:<sup>5</sup> "You are not the only one who is suffering through the present troubles . . . and since woe is denounced against those by whom an offence cometh, M. de Guise, who kindled the fire (by the massacre of Vassy), certainly cannot escape. As for myself I have always besought the Lord to have mercy upon him, yet I have often desired the Lord to lay His hand on him if it were not His will to convert him. I can assure you that before the war, when certain men were resolved to take him off, nothing held them back but my earnest expostulation. Nevertheless, to say that the Duke is damned is to go too far, unless there is some sure mark of his reprobation. In a matter of this kind we must beware of presumption. There is only one judge at whose bar we must all give an account."

Calvin's public appearances were now almost at a close. On 2 February he preached for the last time on the Books of Kings. At two the same afternoon he delivered his last lecture in the College on the prophecy of Ezekiel, and on Sunday the 6th he gave his last sermon on the harmony of the three evangelists. After that he never entered a pulpit again, although sometimes on a Friday he came to the meeting of the congregation, and after the subject of consideration had

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xx. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 53.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 198.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xxi. 246.

been intimated he spoke a few words and offered the closing prayer. His friends were delighted to see him, but they asked him not to overtax his strength. He answered that he took pleasure in their company and time hung heavy on his hands when he remained in the house. Shortness of breath began to trouble him excessively, and the doctors were unable to relieve the consequent suffering. He told them their care was in vain, and he often looked up to heaven and cried softly: "Lord, how long?"

On 10 March<sup>1</sup> the Council, hearing officially of his illness, resolved to visit him, and voted him a donation of 25 crowns. On the same day after dinner he was visited by some of his brother ministers. They found him dressed and seated at his table gasping for breath. He remained for a little time with his head on one of his hands, a common attitude with him, unable to speak. At last he looked up with a smile, thanked them briefly for their courtesy, and said he hoped to be with them in the Consistory which was to meet a fortnight afterwards, but he added it would be the last time. On the 24th of the same month the usual meeting for mutual criticism was held in his house. At the close he told the brethren he felt a little better, and thought God had prolonged his term for a time. Then he read them some notes he was making on the French Testament, and asked their opinion. The exertion was too much for him and next day he had a relapse.

On 27 March<sup>2</sup> he caused himself to be carried to the Town Hall and, leaning on the arms of two of his friends, he walked into the Council Chamber to perform the official duty of presenting Nicolas Colladon on his appointment as one of the teachers in the school. Having done this, he rose from his seat, and holding his cap in his hand, he thanked the Council for the kindness it had shown him. He said that up till two days before he had some hopes of recovery, but now it was evident that nature could hold out no longer. With regard to the sum which had been voted to him, he asked leave to decline it, as it was a matter of conscience with him to take no wages when he was unable to discharge his duty. He spoke with great difficulty, but the charm of his manner and the affecting situation brought tears to the Council's eyes. On Sunday, 2 April, Easter Sunday, he caused himself to be carried to church, sat through the sermon, partook of the Sacrament at the hands of Beza, and in spite of shortness of breath joined in the singing of the closing psalm. His voice was tremulous and almost inaudible, but his face was lit up with a holy joy.

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xx. 813.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xx. 308; xxi. 814.

Although so weak he retained all his interest in the welfare of others. On 4 April<sup>1</sup> he caused his brother Anthony to write to the Duchess of Ferrara urging her to encourage her niece, the Duchess of Savoy, to make a clear confession of her faith, and on the 6th he sent a letter to Bullinger on the state of affairs in France.

On 25 April he dictated his last Will and Testament to the notary, Pierre Chenalat.<sup>2</sup> After an opening paragraph in which he expresses his thanks to God for delivering him from the darkness of idolatry and making him, an unworthy sinner, partaker of salvation, and declaring his intention of spending what remains of life in the faith which had been created in him by the Gospel, and confessing that his sole ground of hope was the adopting grace of God, and the mercy exercised towards him in Jesus Christ, and protesting that in all his contentions he had acted sincerely in defending the truth, and giving instructions that his body should be committed to the earth after the manner customary in the Church and city of Geneva, he made a disposition of his worldly possessions in these terms : "As to the slender patrimony which God has bestowed upon me . . . I appoint my brother Anthony Calvin my heir, but in the way of honour only, giving him for his own the silver cup which I received as a present from Varanius, and with which I desire that he shall be contented. Everything else I give him in trust, begging that at his death he will leave it to his children. To the Boys' School I bequeath 10 gold pieces, as many to poor strangers, and as many to Joanna the daughter of Charles Constans by affinity. To Samuel and John the sons of my brother, I bequeath to be paid at his death each 400 gold pieces and to Anna, and Susanna, and Dorothy his daughters each 300 gold pieces ; to David their brother, in reprehension of his juvenile levity and petulance, I leave only 25 gold pieces. This is the amount of the whole patrimony and goods which the Lord has bestowed upon me as far as I can estimate, setting a value both on my library and movables, and all my domestic utensils and generally my whole means and effects. Should they produce a larger sum, I wish the surplus to be divided proportionally among the sons and the daughters of my brother, not excluding David, if through the goodness of God he shall have returned to good behaviour." He then appointed his friend Laurent de Normandie as his executor, giving him all the powers necessary for the discharge of his functions.

Calvin wrote to Viret on 17 August, 1545,<sup>3</sup> "If during my

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xx. 278.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xxi. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xv. 825.

lifetime I do not escape the imputation of being rich, death will at last vindicate my character from that imputation". It did.

On the same day on which he made his will he sent a message to the magistrates and Council<sup>1</sup> that he would like to address them once more in the Council Chamber, and that he hoped to do so on the morrow. The magistrates and councillors replied that they would come to his house instead. When they gathered into his room, after mutual salutations and premising that he had put off this interview till he had a sure presentiment of his decease, he went on to say: "I thank you exceedingly for having conferred so many honours on one so plainly undeserving of them, and for having borne so patiently with my numerous infirmities. . . . And though in the discharge of my duty I have had numerous battles to fight, and various insults to endure, I know and acknowledge that none of these things has happened through your fault. I earnestly entreat that if in anything I have not done what I ought you will attribute it to want of ability and not to want of will, for I can truly declare that I have sincerely studied the interests of the republic. Though I have not discharged my duty fully I have always sought after the public good, and if I did not acknowledge that the Lord on His part has sometimes made my labours profitable I should be guilty of dissimulation. . . . I also acknowledge that on another account I am highly indebted to you, namely, for having borne patiently with my vehemence which was sometimes carried to excess; my sins in this respect have, I trust, been pardoned also by God. In regard to the doctrine delivered to you, I declare that the Word of God entrusted to me I have taught, not rashly and uncertainly, but purely and sincerely; as well knowing that His wrath was impending over my head as that my labours in teaching were not displeasing to Him. And this I testify the more willingly before God and before you all, because I have no doubt whatever that Satan, according to his wont, will stir up wicked, fickle, and giddy men to corrupt the pure doctrine which you have heard of me." Then he exhorted them to walk carefully, setting the Lord always before them, and leaning on His protection, for He will honour those by whom He is honoured, but will cast down those by whom He is lightly esteemed. He likewise admonished them to give no offence to each other, to refrain from envy, to shun deceit and bitterness, to decide civil causes impartially and to resist temptation, having respect to Him from whom they had received their

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxii. 815.

office, and supplicating the aid of His Holy Spirit. Then having prayed that God would crown them more and more with His gifts, and guide them, for the safety of the whole republic, he extended his right hand to each and bade them farewell.

This long address which Beza has reported was not spoken with the ease and fluency with which he was accustomed to display to his audiences. His strength was gone. His breath came in gasps, and although his intelligence was quite clear he had great difficulty in articulating what he wished to say. Cold type can do no justice to the emotional effect of the pauses and the rally of failing powers amid which he was expressing himself for the last time to the men who looked up to him as their spiritual father and the wisest and most unselfish of all earthly counsellors.

On the 28th he received the ministers and after prayer he addressed them in an autobiographical strain.<sup>1</sup> "Brethren, it may seem that I am improving, and that I am not so ill as I make myself believe; but I can assure you that although I have been often very ill I have never been so weak as I am now. When they lift me to put me in bed, my head whirls and I faint away. I am different from other sick folk, for when they approach death the mind usually wanders. But it seems to me that God wishes to withdraw my mind from outward things and shut it up within myself, and that I will have a severe struggle when dying, my tongue having lost its power though my mind is quite clear. So I wish to speak to you before God takes away the power of doing so, although of course He may do otherwise than we think and it would be rash for me to inquire into His counsels.

"When I first came to this Church there was practically nothing. There was preaching and that was all. The idols were sought out and burned and there was no other reformation. All was in confusion. That good man William (Farel) was here, and then blind Corault. There was also Antoine Saunier, and that fine preacher Froment, who having taken off his apron, mounted the pulpit and then went back to his shop, where he talked across the counter, and so made a double sermon.

"I have lived here in marvellous combats. I have been saluted in mockery of an evening by fifty or sixty gunshots before my door. Think how that startled a poor student, timid as I am and as I confess I have always been. After that I was hunted from this city and betook myself to Strassburg. After residing there some time I was recalled, but I

<sup>1</sup> Opera, ix. 891.

had not less trouble than before in the discharge of my duty. They set dogs on me and these gripped me by the coat and legs. They cried 'Scoundrel, scoundrel' after me. I went to the Council of the Two Hundred when they were fighting, keeping back the other ministers who wanted to go. When I entered they shouted 'Withdraw, withdraw, it is not you with whom we have got to do'. I replied, 'I shall not. Go on, villains, kill me, and my blood will witness against you and these benches will require it at your hands.' Yes, I have been in combats, and you will have more of them, not less but greater. For you are in the midst of a wicked and perverse nation. Though there are good people in it, the nation is wicked and perverse, and you will have your own troubles after God has taken me away. Although I am nothing I know that I have suppressed 3000 tumults in Geneva. But be strong and of a good courage, for God will preserve this Church and defend it. I assure you God will keep it.

"I have had many faults which you have had to endure, and all that I have done is of little worth. The wicked will seize on that word, but again I say that all I have done is of little worth and that I am a poor creature. Nevertheless if I may say so, I meant well. My faults have always displeased me, and the root of the fear of God has always been in my heart. You can say that the wish was good. I beseech you to pardon the evil and if there was good, conform yourselves to it and follow it.

"As concerning my doctrine, I have taught faithfully what God has given me grace to teach. I have done so with the utmost fidelity. I have not corrupted nor twisted a single passage of scripture, and when I could have drawn out a far-fetched meaning I studied to avoid subtlety. I put the temptation under my feet and strove for simplicity. I have written nothing through hatred of anyone, but have always set before myself what I thought was for the glory of God. You have elected M. de Beza to fill my place. Take care to support him for the responsibility is great and there is so much trouble in it that he may be overwhelmed by the burden. Take care to support him. He has a willing mind, and will do all he can. . . .

"See that there are no grudges or hot words among you as sometimes there are when jests are flying, for although they are carried off with laughter the heart has its bitterness. Let there be no changes nor innovations, for people are always asking novelties. I say this not to get my way of doing things made permanent, but because changes are dangerous.

"On my return from Strassburg I drew up the Catechism in haste for I did not wish to accept the ministry and I would not have done it if they had not sworn to agree to the Catechism and the discipline. . . . As to the prayers for Sunday I took the form from Strassburg and borrowed the greater part of them. As to the others, I could not borrow. There was not a word of them. I took them all from the Scriptures. While I was at Strassburg I was constrained to draw up a baptismal formula, since the children of anabaptists were brought to me for baptism from a distance of five or six leagues round about. I made the rude formula then but I counsel you not to change it.

"The Church (of Berne) has betrayed this one, and they have always feared me in Berne more than they loved me. I wish them to know that I die believing they feared me more than they loved me, and they were constantly afraid I would trouble them over the eucharist."

At that point the address stopped short. The cause of the abrupt conclusion was the exhaustion of his strength rather than the exhaustion of what he meant to say. When he had finished, says Pastor Pinaut, to whom we owe this report of what transpired,<sup>1</sup> he took a courteous farewell of the brethren, shaking hands with them one by one. They left the room in tears.

On 2 May he sent his last letter to Farel.<sup>2</sup> "Farewell best and truest brother. Since God wills that you should remain the survivor, live mindful of our union which has been useful to the Church and has fruit abiding for us in heaven. Do not weary yourself for my sake, for I draw breath with difficulty and constantly expect it to fail me. It is enough that I live and die unto Christ, who is gain to those who are His, both in life and death. Again farewell. Farewell also to the brethren."

In spite of the expressed injunction not to weary himself, Farel read an unexpressed desire for one more interview and at once set out for Geneva. On his arrival Calvin and he supped together and spent some time in talk. On the following day Farel preached to the people and after a last adieu to his dearly loved fellow-labourer departed to his own home in Neuchâtel. On 13 May Beza wrote to Bullinger,<sup>3</sup> "The day before yesterday I saluted in your name our dear Calvin who is now swiftly approaching the eternal peace, and I mentioned the fervent prayers of your Church for him". "I return them my thanks," said he, and after shedding some tears he added,

<sup>1</sup> Opera, ix. 894.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xx. 302.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 310.

"Preserve, O Lord, these Thy faithful servants and hear them, but in Thy mercy let me soon be with Thyself".

From that time forwards he spent most of his time in prayer,<sup>1</sup> often repeating these words of the thirty-ninth Psalm, "I opened not my mouth, because thou didst it," or these from Isaiah xxxviii., "I did mourn as a dove". On one occasion he cried, "O Lord Thou dost crush me, but it is enough that it is Thy hand". So many desired to see him that it would have been necessary to keep his door open night and day if they were all to be admitted, and knowing this and knowing how unfit he was to speak to them he asked them to pray for him rather than seek admission to his presence. Beza alone was allowed free access, and he was always welcome, though Calvin was unwilling to withdraw him from his duty to the Church.

He dragged out his time till Friday, 19 May, two days before Pentecost Sunday. On this day the ministers were accustomed to hold the quarterly meeting for mutual criticism, and afterwards to dine together. Calvin asked them to dine in his house. After they had assembled he was carried in a chair into the dining-room, a wasted figure, mere skin and bone, and he greeted them with the words, "Brethren, I am come to see you for the last time. After this I shall never again be present at a table." It was a sad enough salutation, but, after offering prayer, he forced himself to a more cheerful mood and even ate a morsel of bread. While the meal was in progress he caused himself to be carried back to his room, saying smilingly as he disappeared, "Though this wall is between us, I shall be with you in spirit".

From that time forward to the end he lay motionless from the waist downwards, gasping for breath and uttering prayers that were sobs rather than words. On the day of his death, 27 May, 1564, he seemed a little stronger and spoke more easily, but it was the last effort of expiring nature. About eight o'clock the signs of approaching dissolution appeared suddenly,<sup>2</sup> and in full possession of his senses he closed his eyes and fell asleep. "The sun was setting," and Beza says,<sup>3</sup> "at the same time with the setting sun this splendid luminary was withdrawn from us."

"That night and the following day there was a general lamentation throughout the whole city—the State regretting its wisest citizen—the Church deplored the departure of its faithful pastor—the Academy grieving at being deprived of so great a teacher, and all lamenting the loss of one who was under God a common parent and comforter. Many citizens

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 815.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 168.

were eager to see the body and could scarcely be torn away from it. Some foreigners also who had come from a distance to see and hear him, among them the illustrious ambassador of the Queen of England to the Court of France, were anxious to have a last look at the corpse. At first admission was given ; but as the curiosity became excessive and might have given rise to calumny, it was thought advisable on the following day, which was the Lord's Day, to wrap the body in linen in the usual manner and enclose it in the coffin. Two days afterwards the funeral took place, attended by the senators, the pastors, the professors, and almost the whole city, many shedding tears. He was buried in the common cemetery of Plain Palais with no extraordinary pomp, and as he had commanded without any grave-stone. He had lived fifty-four years, ten months, and seventeen days, the half of which he had spent in the ministry."

The spot where he was laid is now uncertain. A stone with "J. C." carved on it is said to cover it. But he needs no stone. His indestructible monument is his work, and although the magnificent memorial which Geneva is now building will command admiration as one of the most striking ornaments of the beautiful city, Calvin has already raised himself to a pinnacle of unique eminence as one of the greatest religious and theological forces of the modern world.

## XIX

### PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

ANY estimate that would do justice to Calvin's character and work must set in a prominent position his chronic and serious ill-health. The foundations of this were laid in his student days. Beza says<sup>1</sup> that "at that period, his custom was after supping very frugally, to continue his studies till midnight, and on getting up in the morning, to spend some time in meditating, and as it were digesting what he had read in bed, and while so engaged he was very unwilling to be interrupted. By these prolonged vigils he no doubt acquired solid learning and an excellent memory; but it is probable he also contracted that weakness of stomach which afterwards brought on various diseases and led to his untimely death."

For some years after he settled in Geneva he seems to have been moderately well, but in April, 1546, we find him writing to M. de Falais:<sup>2</sup> "As regards health, I was much more feeble when I wrote to you a while ago than I am at present. But although I am in a good state of general condition, I am unceasingly tormented with a heaviness which as it were suffers me not to do anything. . . . If God does not graciously restore me to a better condition I am not likely ever again to be on horseback."

More specific developments of ill-health began to appear. On 29 April, 1548, he wrote to the pastors of Lausanne:<sup>3</sup> "When our friend Merlin arrived, he found me in bed. I was in misery with my head. I had struggled against the pains in it but at last they were too strong for me. Nevertheless I rose early, and went out in search of the bailiff, who, on the previous evening, was said to be at Thoisy. When I got home before seven o'clock I found that the motion of the horse had been hurtful to me and I remained a long time without eating. The pain came back worse than ever. I preached with great difficulty and went soon to bed." On 4 October, 1546, he wrote to M. de Falais:<sup>4</sup> "I was told of your letter

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, XXI. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* XII. 319.

(320)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 687.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 392.

yesterday, but it was at eight o'clock at night when my sick headache troubled me so severely that I had great difficulty in opening my mouth". There are many other letters containing passages in the same strain.

Along with sickness and headaches went haemorrhoids, ulcerated and bleeding. Their connexion with the disorder of the digestive organs is well known and they tormented Calvin more or less incessantly till his death. On 22 February, 1546, when he heard of the illness of Viret's wife, he wrote: "I wish that I could fly to you that I might alleviate your sorrow or at least bear part of it. But so long a ride would cause me pain." On 28 April he wrote Viret again:<sup>1</sup> "An ulcer holds me a prisoner. The pain has lessened but I dare not irritate the part by getting on horseback." These haemorrhoids gave rise to a peculiarly distressing form of anal stricture which is the complete refutation of the slanders put into circulation by Bolsec and repeated *ad nauseam* by later enemies. The letters to his friends and especially to the physicians of Montpellier give details which it is unnecessary to repeat.<sup>2</sup>

Calvin also suffered from rheumatism in an acute form which fastened on his joints. Sometimes he was unable to hold his pen and had to dictate what he wanted to say. At other times the pain in his knees and his feet was so severe that he had to be carried in a litter when he needed to move.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to this, he was over and over again prostrated by fever and ague. In a letter to Melanchthon, 19 November, 1558, he says:<sup>4</sup> "Because I know how slow you are in writing, and how cheerfully you inflict that duty on your friends, I use the excuse of my illness to pour into your bosom the troubles by which I am oppressed. Since, by the grace of God, I have been free from quartan fever up to this time, I did not recognize it on the first attack. I am ashamed of this stupidity, but I know you will hold me excused when you know of my hindrances. In the first place, when it seized me sleeping or drowsy, it was easy for it to steal on me unperceived, especially as it was accompanied with the acute and annoying pain to which I am accustomed. When the shivering seized

<sup>1</sup> Opera, XXI. 341.

<sup>2</sup> "Diu me in venis haemorrhoidicis cruciavit ulceratio quaedam, quoniam inter dormiendum unguibus contraxeram, tunc enim me titillabant ascarides quibus nunc sum liberatus. Sed quum rediret idem pruritus malum unguibus renovabatur. . . . Ab equitatione etiam prohibeo sedis doloribus. Nam etsi nullum ulcus appetat, venae tamen sunt turgidae ut quod egero intus ipsa constrictione tematum parum a gallinae excrementis differat."

<sup>3</sup> Opera, xix. 602; xxi. 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xvii. 384.

me, as it once did at dinner time, I thought I would cure it, as I usually do, by fasting. Next day, as I was lying prostrate, relieved of the violence of the fever, I experienced a fourth assault simply and ignorantly. Almost six weeks have elapsed since I put myself in the hands of the physicians, who have shut me up in my room, almost fixed me down in bed with a skin rug doubled over me. . . . They treat my stomach with syrup, with hyssop, with inula, with citron bark, and they vary the treatment so that a new remedy may act with more force. I may seem to abuse your patience with these details, but if so you will do less than justice to me and my burning fever."

The paroxysms of headache and fever were easy to bear compared with the hours of agony he repeatedly suffered from gout and gravel. He says in a short letter to Bullinger, 2 July, 1563:<sup>1</sup> "I am relieved of the excessive pain by the passage of a calculus about the size of a nut. As the retention of urine was distressing, by the advice of my physician I got upon horseback, that the motion might help me. On my return home, I passed not urine but blood. Next day the calculus passed from the bladder into the canal. My anguish was dreadful, but after half an hour of violent convulsion it made its exit and I got relief." The references to recurring experiences of this sort make us understand a remark of one of his friends:<sup>2</sup> "His kidneys are a quarry".

The chest weakness which showed itself at an early date gave rise to bleeding in the lungs. In a letter to Blaurer he says:<sup>3</sup> "Recently a large clot of blood escaped from the lungs and almost choked me. So sickness gives me warning to quit, as age gives warning to you." On 24 December, 1559,<sup>4</sup> when he was preaching to a crowded congregation, he strained his vocal organs, with the result that he set up haemorrhage in them that threatened to prove fatal. The wound healed, but from that time forward the breathing became short and difficult. In a letter to Bullinger,<sup>5</sup> written a month before his death, he says: "The cough and difficulty of breathing take away my voice".

The work which Calvin did would have taxed the energy of a robust man. It becomes an exhibition of stupendous nervous vitality when we remember that it was done in defiance of physical weakness and suffering by a man who, during the later years of his life, was an invalid with one foot in the grave.

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xx. 53.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 3.

<sup>2</sup> Doumergue, III. 524.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xx. 254.

<sup>3</sup> Opera, xviii. 50.

It was inevitable that the numerous and painful diseases which afflicted Calvin's body should have an effect on his temper. As a rule he held himself well in hand, but now and then he was carried away into speech and action that he was afterwards sorry for. Writing to Bullinger, 27 October, 1553, he says : "Because the scoundrels know that I am irritable they try by every conceivable device to stir my bile and make me lose patience". That they succeeded is evident from what he says on another occasion : "Their importunity carried me further than I meant to go. It cannot be otherwise. I am in the midst of a multitude of whirlwinds. But just judges will not impute to vice those failures of temper into which I am unwillingly betrayed."

For example, when he presented to the Council his Defence of the Consensus of Zurich, and when the Council referred it to a committee of their own number for consideration, Calvin was so annoyed by the idea that laymen should be constituted judges of his doctrine on a point which had already received the approbation of the ecclesiastical authorities, that he flared up in a passion and declared that if he lived to a thousand years in their city he would never publish a line in it. When his paroxysm was over he had to go to bed and lie there exhausted till the evening.

Whenever he came into contact with Caroli he seems to have got into a state of exasperation. Bucer and others had signed certain articles of agreement with Caroli, but when they were submitted to Calvin he declared he would rather die than affix his name to them:<sup>1</sup> "Thereupon there was much fervour on both sides. I could not have been more rude to Caroli if he had been present. At length I burst out of the room, Bucer following, who, after he had soothed me by fair speeches, brought me back to the rest." In the letter to Farel of 8 October, 1539, from which this quotation is taken, he says : "Bile had taken such possession of me that I poured out bitterness on every side". He was too much in the habit of pouring out bitterness on every side. It is some compensation that he had the grace to admit his sin and to repent of it.

In spite of his chronic ill-health and his irritability, Calvin was at sufficient leisure from himself to take an active interest in the welfare of his friends. M. de Falais was anxious to get a house in Geneva, and Calvin was asked to find out if there were anything suitable. Calvin promptly went house-hunting, and sent his friend a detailed description of the best he could find and of the rent he would have to pay for it.<sup>2</sup> "I am not

<sup>1</sup> Opera, x. 6, 398.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* XII. 490.

quite content with the lodging but I took it for want of a better. You will have in front a spacious court and a small garden. Behind is another garden. There is a large saloon with as beautiful a view as you could wish for the summer. The other rooms have not so pleasant an aspect as I would like. With the exception of the saloon one might find houses better furnished and more conveniently laid out, but there would have been no garden, and I see this is a feature that you desire above all. However that may be it is hired for twelve crowns. If you say that is too much when you see it I have my excuse ready. I have hurried on the bargain solely on account of the garden. Awaiting your full resolve we shall sow without making any stir about it and prune the vines."

Knowing how much domestic comfort depends on domestic servants, Calvin kept his eyes about him for persons likely to be useful in that capacity, and had no scruple in reporting his success to his friends. A letter to Farel, 2 February, 1550, says:<sup>1</sup> "I am told you need a servant. Neither you nor your mother said anything to me on this subject, but having learned it from others I wish to let you know that there is here a woman of mature age reputed to be pious and honest and also industrious. She would be willing to engage with you." One does not usually associate Calvin with the inquiries which are in place in a servants' registry.

He was also interested in more delicate matters. On several occasions he was made use of in the search for a wife. Viret, who had been left a widower, thought of marrying again, and in a letter to M. de Falais, 4 July, 1546, Calvin says:<sup>2</sup> "You know that our brother Viret is about to marry. I am in as great anxiety about it as he is himself. We have plenty of women here, both at Lausanne and at Orbe, but there has not yet appeared one with whom we are at all satisfied. If you have seen any one in your quarter who is likely to suit him, please let me know of it."

A fortnight after this he wrote direct to Viret stating that he had discovered a likely maid, and offering to propose to her in Viret's name:<sup>3</sup> "Suppose you consent to my asking the girl in your name, the condition being that before the betrothal takes place you are to meet her. Write me by the earliest messenger what your views are. Of the lady I hear nothing but what is highly satisfactory."

At a later date Farel heard of a marriage in Neuchâtel and at once gave Calvin credit for arranging it. Through Farel he got instructions to look out a wife for a young man whose

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xiv. 536.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* XII. 354.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 361.

name is now unknown, and this is the reply he sent to his friend :—<sup>1</sup>

" 1st JULY, 1558.

" I could have named some young ladies born of good family and reared under strict discipline. But as they were poor I did not dare to offer them. I cannot think of one who is pretty, good tempered, and at the same time possessing a bit of money. Perhaps time will suggest one. In my letters however I mention three, and will do my best for the young fellow. You have two quite near you, handsome girls of a liberal education, and although they will not have a great dowry, they will not be altogether empty handed. If anything turns up here I shall let you know."

Perhaps the last thing we would ascribe to Calvin is the character of a matchmaker, but his letters make it evident that he had his eyes on all the marriageable young ladies in Geneva, that he knew something about their dowry, that he had his opinion on their looks and style, and that he was as keen on bringing the right people together as if he had been a mother with half a dozen daughters whom she was anxious to steer into the arms of as many eligible bachelors.

There was no end to the service which Calvin rendered his friends. He got situations for men out of work,<sup>2</sup> he got tutors for gentlemen's families, he got help for the destitute,<sup>3</sup> he wrote letters of introduction for boys going to boarding schools. No one asked his advice, his assistance, in vain if he were able to give it.

One of the prominent features of his character was his disinterestedness. He did much for others. He sought nothing for himself. On various occasions the Council resolved to mark its sense of the value of his services by giving him something over and above his salary. Thus in September, 1541,<sup>4</sup> it presented him with a coat. In 1542<sup>5</sup> it sent him a barrel of wine. In January, 1546,<sup>6</sup> when he was ill, it gave him a present of ten crowns. But Calvin asked leave to decline the gift with thanks for the kind feeling which prompted it. On another occasion,<sup>7</sup> after he had entertained the Council, it voted him six and a half florins, which he again declined. Whereupon the Council commissioned Ami Perrin to buy a barrel of wine and send it to Calvin with the Council's compliments. Calvin accepted the wine, but cleared himself of obligation by sending the Council ten crowns which he asked it

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xvii. 227.  
<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xxii. 283.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xiii. 642.  
<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 305.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xix. 285.  
<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 368.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

to dispense for the benefit of poor ministers. On 7 October, 1557,<sup>1</sup> the Council resolved to give him a good coat for the winter, which he was probably in need of, as the drain on his income was very great, and it was small to begin with. In June, 1563,<sup>2</sup> it voted twenty-five crowns to him, and asked his brother Anthony to disburse the money for his benefit. As we have already seen, he declined the gift, and when the Council repeated the offer when he was on his death-bed, he continued to refuse. Nothing would persuade him to take more than his regular salary.

Even at an early stage in his ministry his unselfishness was notorious. In a discussion with an Anabaptist, he was charged with being a miser. In a letter to Farel, Calvin says "the audience burst into laughter". Every man in it knew the charge was an absurdity.

In 1547 there was a rumour that Calvin had bought a property. In a letter to Vallerandus Pullanus he indignantly contradicts it:<sup>3</sup> "I should be silly if I spent words in refuting a slander so gross. Every one knows that I do not possess a foot of land, and my acquaintances know that I never have money enough to buy an acre unless immediately after I have received my quarter's salary."

Among other tales which he has piled up to Calvin's discredit, Bolsec mentions one to the effect that in 1555 Calvin was entrusted with 2000 crowns for the use of the poor and that he embezzled 1500 of them for his private use. Knowing his own integrity Calvin was indignant at the slander, and in a letter to Piperinus he protested against it. He says, 18 October, 1555:<sup>4</sup> "The emptiness of the insults which these wicked men heap on me is too evident to need serious refutation. For example there is the huge sum of money you refer to. All know how frugally I live at home. They see that I go to no expense for splendid clothing. It is plain to all that my only brother who is notoriously far from wealthy has nothing but what he gets from me. Where then is that treasure buried? They say I stole it from the poor. If pious men leave anything for the poor I do not touch a penny of it. An excellent man died in my house about eight years ago, after he had placed in my hands over 2000 crowns. As soon as I perceived there was danger of death, although he was anxious to leave all to my discretion, I refused to undertake the burden. At my suggestion he ordered 800 to be sent to Strassburg to help the exiles there and at my urgent exhortation he chose men above suspicion to distribute the remainder. When he wanted

<sup>1</sup> Opera, xxi. 676.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 804.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xii. 504.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid xv. 825.

to leave me something that others would not have despised I refused. But I see what galls my adversaries. They are measuring me by their own standard, and they do not doubt that I am piling up wealth from all directions, when I have so many opportunities of doing so. Nevertheless, if I cannot escape the reputation of a rich man while I am alive, I shall be cleared of it when I die."

Calvin was right in his prediction. The total value of his whole estate was something like 10,000 francs or about £400.

At the same time he did not seek to impose on others the Spartan conditions which he imposed on himself. He was asked whether it was lawful for a minister to have a source of income outside his stipend, say from interest on investments. He replied to his correspondent:<sup>1</sup> "I cannot say that it is unlawful. But considering what calumnies have arisen in connexion with this matter, I would much rather keep silence than decide the question by a clean-cut sentence. It is desirable to abstain from such contracts of investment and taking of interest. It is not in vain that Jeremiah said, 'I have neither lent on usury, nor have men lent to me on usury, yet every one of them doth curse me'. Therefore when a minister of the Word abstains from this sort of gain he does wisely. However, since gain derived in this way is less discreditable than gain derived from a business or a trade which he carries on himself, and which diverts his attention from his proper occupation, I do not see that he deserves condemnation for accepting it. At the same time I do not think he should demand a fixed rate of interest or stipulate for a definite scale of return beforehand. He should put his money into the hands of an honest man and content himself with a fair return proportionable to the blessing which God has granted to him who is turning his money to account."

Calvin's personal principle was, having food and raiment let us be therewith content.

It would be a mistake to claim for Calvin the jovial disposition that so often manifested itself in Martin Luther, but it is none the less a mistake to describe him as a morose ascetic who took no pleasure in life himself and who grudged pleasure to others. He held that within the limits of what is pure and helpful to true welfare God has given us all things richly to enjoy. For example, Calvin appreciated the beauty of a landscape in a manner that is remarkable for a man of his times. In the sixteenth century when men were fighting desperate battles for their lives and liberties, and when Calvin

<sup>1</sup> Opera, x. a, 263.

in particular was using up all his energy for the establishment of the Reformed faith and its ideals in countries as widely separated as France, England and Poland, there was little leisure or inclination to rhapsodize over scenery. So though Calvin lived in one of the most beautiful districts of Central Europe he makes no special allusion to its natural features. Away in the south over the ridge of the Saleve and past the Mole, rose the snowy range which reaches its summit in Mont Blanc. To the north ran the long line of the Jura mountains. Between these lay a beautiful country covered with forests, cornfields, vineyards, and orchards which drew the eye gently downward to the blue expanse of the great lake which lay in the centre and mirrored the sun in the arch of heaven. But for all the detailed references to any of these things, they might as well not have been there. At the same time Calvin exhibits an appreciation of natural beauty which might have reached a high development in more peaceful times. This appreciation is more intellectual than æsthetic. It is not so much beauty in itself, as beauty expressing the power and goodness of God which he sees in the changing seasons, in the clouds which curtain the noonday, in the stars which hang like lamps in the vault of night, in the pearly mists of morning, in the smiling landscape covered with a golden harvest and in the tufts of grass which grow in the neglected corners of the earth. There is nothing so common or contemptible, he says, which does not give us some proof of the divine wisdom and majesty.

When his worries in the city were intolerable he frequently escaped into the quiet of the country. One of the places he visited most frequently was the house on his brother Anthony's croft, a mile or two beyond the walls of Geneva on the northern side of the lake. It lay in a fine situation, looking across the blue waters to the distant snow-capped ranges, and although it was neither large nor well appointed Calvin received benefit from his residence in it.

Calvin's attitude to the pleasures of life is made plainer by his attitude to the pleasures of the senses. In the Institutes (III. x. 2) he says: "If we consider for what end God has created the various kinds of aliment, we shall find that He has intended to provide not only for our necessity but also for our pleasure and delight. So in clothing He had in view not mere necessity but propriety and decency. In herbs, trees, and fruits, besides their various uses, His design has been to gratify us by graceful forms and pleasant odours. . . . Shall the Lord have endowed flowers with such beauty to present

itself to our eyes and with such sweetness of smell to impress our sense of smelling, and shall it be unlawful for our eyes to be affected by the beautiful prospect, of our olfactory nerves by the agreeable odour? Hath He not made such a distinction of colours to render some more agreeable than others? Hath He not given to gold and silver, to ivory and marble, a beauty which makes them more precious than other metals and stones? In a word, hath He not made many things worthy of our estimation independent of any necessary use? Therefore let us discard that inhuman philosophy which, allowing no use of the creatures but what is absolutely necessary, not only deprives us of the lawful enjoyment of the divine beneficence, but which cannot be embraced till it has deprived man of his senses and reduced him to a senseless block."

In the section on Christian Liberty he says:<sup>1</sup> "We are nowhere forbidden to laugh, or to be satisfied with food, or to annex new possessions to those already enjoyed by ourselves or our ancestors, or to be delighted with music or to drink wine". It cannot be denied that a life which includes the enjoyment of dainty food, wine, and music and the possession of large and expanding estates is not the ideal set up by asceticism. But Calvin found nothing in it repugnant to his temperament or his principles.

After this we are not surprised to find that although Calvin condemned drunkenness, he neither preached nor practised abstinence from wine. He says:<sup>2</sup> "If a man knows that he has a weak head and that he cannot carry three glasses of wine without being overcome and then drinks indiscreetly, is he not a hog?" As Doumergue remarks,<sup>3</sup> we notice the three glasses of wine as the minimum which harmed weak heads only, and we strongly suspect that Calvin did not reckon himself among them. On one occasion when Farel and he had gone to a wineshop for "a consommation," Farel gave him great offence by paying the bill for both of them.

There was much more mirth in Calvin's life than is usually supposed. He was not for ever thinking about the "horrible decree" of reprobation, or devising schemes for bringing unfortunate citizens under the lash of the Consistory or writing fierce theological treatises, or preparing sermons or preaching them. He found time for social intercourse and relaxation, and all his friends testify that when he was in decent health he was excellent company. He had an abundant flow of brilliant conversation. He was prompt and apt at repartee. When he was at ease with his intimates, quips and jests and

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, III. 19, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, XXVI. 510.

<sup>3</sup> "Calvin and the Ref.," p. 48.

even puns came from him in bursts, and the circle round his table sometimes rocked with laughter.

On one occasion there was great fun over Bonnivard. Bonnivard had married as his second wife Jeanne d'Armeis, herself the widow of two husbands, and the mother of the syndic Amblard Corne. But in spite of the matrimonial experience on both sides, Bonnivard and his wife got on so badly that they had to appear before the Consistory. The case was discussed in all its aspects at Calvin's dinner-table, and he said in a letter to Viret,<sup>1</sup> "it gave us abundant sport in the way of joking".

After dinner was over Calvin usually walked up and down in his room for half an hour, if he was alone, and then he settled down to his work. If anyone<sup>2</sup> were with him he spent the time in conversation or in a quiet game at "clef," or the party went to the garden, or to a garden in connexion with a tavern, and played at quoits.

It was not often that he was alone, for he was one of the friendliest and most hospitable of men. Strangers came to him from every quarter, and all were received with courtesy. Farel says:<sup>3</sup> "I know that you receive no one shabbily unless you know him to be a rascal". An unknown correspondent says: "Your hospitality is known over Europe". Two Englishmen who had visited him wrote<sup>4</sup> to thank him for the pleasure he had given them, and one of them sent a special letter to say he wished he could have spent a year with him, so great was the delight derived from their intercourse.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of the charm of Calvin's manners is given in a letter from A. Spina. He wrote to Calvin in 1546 telling how he had been called to Italy on business, and how determined he was to call on Calvin on his way home.<sup>5</sup> "I opened my heart to my companion, for I was absolutely set on seeing you. We arranged our route accordingly, and the sight of your countenance held my eyes as long as my companions would allow. Your conversation, though it was short, increased my love for you. I seemed to find some mysterious secret in your words and your discourses. My desire to see you sometimes reaches even to agony. It began at the moment when you said farewell to me, and my heart will never be at rest till God has united you to me in eternal friendship."

It is worth while repeating Doumergue's remark on this

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xi. 674.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xxii. 113.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xiii. 612.

<sup>4</sup> *Herminjard*, iv. 376.

<sup>5</sup> *Opera*, xii. 455.

letter.<sup>1</sup> It is not the outpouring of a lover to his lady-love. It is a letter from one famous doctor in theology to another, from the chief spokesman after Beza on the Protestant side at the Colloquy of Poissy, to the author of the "Institutes of the Christian Religion". It is all the more remarkable on that account. There must have been something exceptionally fascinating in the personality which kindled such an ardent flame.

Of course the majority of the inhabitants of Geneva never got near Calvin. They knew him only at a distance, and their admiration for him was not unmixed with fear. But those who had the privilege of intimacy invariably speak of his tender heart, his patience and his sympathy. Nothing could be kindlier than the letters he wrote in connexion with the last illness and death of Viret's wife.<sup>2</sup> "I see that Textor does not hold out much hope. You need no words of mine to admonish you to hold yourself ready to bear the issue with moderation. Would that I could fly to you that I might alleviate your sorrow, or at least bear part of it." When the news came that all was over, and that Viret himself was ill, Calvin sent him an urgent invitation to come to Geneva for a change.<sup>3</sup> "Come, on this condition, that you disengage your mind not only from grief but from every annoyance. Do not fear that I will impose any burden on you. I shall see that you get all the rest that is agreeable to you, and if anyone prove troublesome I will interpose."

A child was born to M. de Falais, and although Calvin was in such distress from a cough and a rheumatic pain in the shoulder that he could scarcely finish his letter, he wrote:<sup>4</sup> "I am sorry that I cannot be with you even for half a day, to laugh with you while we watch for a smile from the little infant, under the penalty of bearing with her cries and tears".

His friend De Trie<sup>5</sup> on his death-bed left his children to Calvin's care, in the full persuasion that they would be guarded and provided for.

Of the depth and sincerity of his friendship with Farel, Beza, and Melanchthon it is needless to speak. Farel was his other self, Beza was his right-hand man and his most trusted agent. Melanchthon was united to him by ties which not even death could break.

The attractiveness with which Calvin was endowed sometimes brought him offers of service which he was well pleased to dispense with. A crazy Piedmontese<sup>6</sup> got it into his head

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, III. 551.  
<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 578.

<sup>2</sup> Opera, XII. 296.  
<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* XIX. 285.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 305.  
<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* XIV. 8.

that God had appeared to him and that he was Moses, while Calvin was Aaron. He was dismissed with difficulty. One day when Calvin came home from sermon quite worn out, the Piedmontese set on him and would not let him eat a crumb of bread. It was in vain that Calvin pled his exhausted condition, and begged for a little respite. The Piedmontese continued his harangue till well on into the afternoon. Even after he was ejected he hung about the door, till Calvin was wearied with the sight of him.

A crazy man was bad, but a crazy woman was worse. For a long time Calvin was pestered by one<sup>1</sup> who offered herself as his wife, his servant, his tablemaid, anything, if only she were allowed to live under the same roof with him and see him. He had much difficulty in keeping clear of her.

Calvin is one of the best hated men in history, and perhaps no one has suffered from such persistent misrepresentation. Even after the lapse of three centuries there are still some who cannot mention his name without accompanying it with vituperation. Their animosity is a tribute to his power. It is no indication of his personal character. If he was stern with others, he was stern with himself. If he drilled the citizens of Geneva into some outward observance of the moral law, he kept his own body under stricter subjection than he applied to theirs, and forced it in spite of weakness and suffering to be the servant of his will. He was too intense to be generally amiable, and he was oftener feared than loved. But there were more sides than one to his character. If we see one in the fight with the Libertines and in the trial of Servetus, we see another when he pens his letters of consolation to the martyrs, and another when he is at table with his friends when the wine is circulating and the jests are flying, and still another when he stands with the parents beside a little cot, watching for a baby's smile.

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, III. 504 n. 2.

## XX

### HIS WORK

#### I. HE ORGANIZED AND ARMED THE OPPOSITION TO ROME.

IN the sixteenth century, from the religious point of view, Central and Western Europe was a great battlefield. The struggle which was going on all over it was at first a confused one, more of the nature of a hand-to-hand conflict between hastily collected groups of combatants than the collision of organized armies, and in many cases men scarcely knew what they were fighting for. But as time went on the issues disclosed themselves. Sides were definitely chosen and the opposing hosts marched into the fray with a resolution to let nothing stand between themselves and victory.

No man did more to arm and organize the Reformed section of the Protestants than Calvin. From the time when he took up his residence in Geneva the city became the headquarters of a militant Protestantism, and of the militant forces he eventually became unofficial commander-in-chief. He was not appointed to this dignity. He was neither bishop nor archbishop, cardinal nor Pope. He remained to the last what he was when he began, a simple minister of the Gospel, but he wielded an authority which few on his own side dared to dispute. From Geneva he sent out couriers carrying dispatches to kings and queens, princes and nobles, magistrates and counsellors, ministers and laymen, giving the instructions, the warning, the rebuke, the advice and inspiration which their special circumstances required.

In addition to the dispatches he sent reinforcements to every part of the battlefield in the shape of men whom he had taught in his schools, whom he had filled with his spirit and whom he had fired with enthusiasm for his religious and social ideals. They were few in number in comparison with the hosts opposed to them, but the fear they excited in the hearts of their enemies is the measure of their influence. Their doctrine reproduced what he had taught. Their disci-

pline was an attempt to realize the schemes he had unfolded. Wherever they went they extended the area of his authority and influence with the inevitable result that the hatred with which they were regarded was concentrated with tenfold intensity on his head. Through their work he set a stamp on the Churches of his own day which they have not lost, and he set a stamp on the Churches of much later days in lands which he knew nothing about.

The most important thing he did for the equipment of the Reformed forces was the publication of the Institutes. In its first edition it was meant to be read principally as an explanation of the Reformed faith, but as one edition followed another, and its usefulness in controversy became plainer, it was gradually turned into an arsenal from which the defenders of the Reformed faith drew their weapons. Even in its latest form the Institutes is not a very large book. It is easily read and easily understood, for Calvin was a clear thinker and had a superb mastery of language. Its nervous style carries its teaching home with great force. Everything that the controversialist with Rome needs is found here, scholarship, argument, scripture proof, invective, denunciation, ridicule, and above all the systematic exposition of fundamental religious principles. The advocate of Reformed doctrine who mastered the Institutes dealing with the subject he was interested in could face his Romanist antagonist as confidently as a man armed with a well-tempered sword which he knows how to use can face a lout with a cudgel.

Calvin at the same time inspired his disciples with the conviction that the cause they fought for was sure of victory. As for themselves personally, they were in God's hands, and nothing could separate them from His unchanging love or defeat His purpose of salvation. They needed inspiration and consolation of this kind. All over Europe they were seized, imprisoned, tortured, and put to death. He that killed them claimed to be doing God service. But Calvin taught them that all that happened to them, however painful, happened by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, and had its place in the execution of the purpose which had lain for ages in His heart. He says, "It must remain a first principle with us that there is no event which He has not ordained. Therefore if He has brought us to the saving knowledge of Himself, we must not doubt that His particular providence is watchful for our preservation, never permitting any event which it will not overrule for our eternal benefit. Christ assures us that the very hairs of our head are all numbered,

what more can we need to assure us of his Father's paternal care?"

The Calvinist could therefore say, "Because God is my defence I will not fear what man can do unto me". As he was one of God's elect he was safe for time and eternity. Man might torment his body, but his soul was safe in the keeping of his Saviour. No earthly excommunication could cut him off from the general assembly and Church of the first-born whose names were written in heaven. In the hour of peril he could say like Joab, "Let us play the man for our people and for the cities of our God, and the Lord do that which seemeth to Him good". So all over Europe he became the enemy whom Rome had most reason to fear. The men whom Calvin trained were the true Ironsides of the Protestant army.

## 2. HE CREATED A MODEL CITY.

From the time when Calvin entered Geneva and began to take part in its life he kept before his mind's eye the vision of the holy city, New Jerusalem, into which there shall in no wise enter anything that defileth, and he made an effort to realize that ideal in the city with which he had identified himself.

The Geneva of his day was very different from the beautiful city which now bears the name. It was crushed together between walls pierced here and there by gates. The streets were narrow, ill paved, when they were paved at all, and filthy. An old regulation<sup>1</sup> forbade anyone to leave manure lying in the street for longer than three days in summer and eight days in winter. Before Calvin's time the authorities issued warnings to those who threw out domestic slops into the streets or erected pigsties in them, and even in 1560 it was still necessary to insist that citizens should refrain from making open ditches or drains and should cover those that were open and should see that neither goats nor pigs nor geese should be allowed to wander at large. Here and there at a corner high up on a wall there might be seen a lamp, which was lit "in case of necessity" but not regularly.<sup>2</sup> It was supposed that all good citizens would be within their own doors after darkness had fallen.

At the present time Geneva has a water supply second to none in Europe for quantity and quality, but in Calvin's day the citizens depended for the most part on private wells or on the

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, III. 394.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 398.

Rhone. Various proposals<sup>1</sup> had been made to introduce a supply by gravitation but they came to nothing. The wells were in the backyards of the houses and were liable to contamination not only from surface water but from the sewage which oozed into them through the soil. The Rhone would have been satisfactory enough, but one part of the bank was lined with<sup>2</sup> a row of public privies used by men and women, with results that are better imagined than described. Little wonder that fever was prevalent and that plague often ravaged the city. There was no need to cry witchcraft, and to accuse enemies of spreading poison on the door handles. The citizens themselves systematically poisoned the air they breathed and the water they drank and the ground they built their houses on.

Moral filth was equally prevalent and pernicious. In some quarters every third house<sup>3</sup> was a tavern, and though their influence on the sobriety of the citizens was less dangerous than that of a modern gin palace, they created a good deal of drunkenness.

A much more demoralizing institution was that known as the Étuves. These were bathing establishments of some size, built on the Roman pattern, and frequented by both sexes. They contained cold and hot baths, sweating chambers and cooling-off lounges where the bathers reclined on couches after passing through various processes. There was one in the Plain Palais on the bank of the Rhone and another in the street leading to the Church of St. Gervais. Houses of ill fame<sup>4</sup> abounded in their neighbourhood, and women of bad character frequented them to such an extent that in 1534 the inhabitants of the Corraterie got an order passed forbidding their admission.

About a hundred years before Calvin's appearance, the ecclesiastical authorities thought it necessary to do something to keep these women in check. It was therefore decreed<sup>5</sup> that in place of allowing houses of ill fame to be opened anywhere, they should all be gathered together into one district of the city, within which vice might flourish without molestation; an arrangement that still prevails in certain cities of Japan. The regulations are curious. They run in these terms (Articles of the Cathedral Chapter, 1458): "Article 2.<sup>6</sup> The public women who presently reside or who shall in future reside in Geneva must inhabit the district of the city which is set apart for prostitution and no other. Article 3. In future they must wear a red flap on the right cheek, and the use of silk for

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, III. 396.  
<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 436.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 417.  
<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 69.  
<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 437.

dresses or hoods is forbidden to them. Article 4. In order that they may be held in restraint, they must choose one of themselves as a queen—if they fail to do so the vicedominus and the syndic shall choose one for them—and she shall swear on the holy gospels to discharge her duty as queen without love or hatred to the utmost of her power." In the following year the syndic ordered the expulsion of one of these women. She appealed for protection to the cathedral clergy, and they stopped the proceedings. It need scarcely be said that this area, whose location was repeatedly shifted, did more harm to Geneva than all the manure and filth that defiled the streets.

The priests set the worst possible example. On one occasion the people refused to pay their usual dues on the ground that the money which they gave for the maintenance of religion was spent in debauchery. On 10 May, 1527, those living in the district of St. Leger complained of the public women in their quarter and of "the religious" who frequented them. They were instructed that "if they saw any of the religious going to houses of ill fame by night they were to inform the syndic or the captain-general, so that they might be apprehended". But the laity were as bad as the clergy.

Another element in public life that led to moral deterioration was the custom of public dancing. In the afternoon and evening people came out to promenade in Plain Palais, in Bel Air, in Rue Basses and elsewhere. In fine weather there were great crowds of them. Before many of the larger houses and before most of those that looked on to the public squares there were stone benches on which the ladies sat and received their friends and amused themselves by watching the passers-by and by gossiping. On feast days there was music and dancing. Refreshments were brought out and served round, and an open-air ball was soon in full swing. As the dancers became excited they struck up songs, often of an obscene nature, and the dancing ended in a wild romp in which decency was forgotten. After nightfall the men escorted the ladies home.

The pernicious influence of these dances was well known before the Reformers stopped them. In June, 1534, an attempt was made to limit them. The Council decreed:<sup>1</sup> "With reference to the indecent dances carried on by the women of the Molard, of the Fusterie, of St. Gervais, and of other quarters of the town, it is hereby resolved to forbid them, and to command every one to content himself with dancing before his own house".

From a moral point of view the city was an Augean stable

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, III. 435.

in desperate need of cleansing. Happily it had not long to wait for its Hercules.

It is not to be supposed that those who were in power in the city before Calvin entered it were altogether apathetic with regard to its condition. Calvin found scores of regulations on the statute book, many of them going far beyond what a modern legislator would think advisable. His work was to put them into force, and anything that he added was a mere amplification of what was already there. For example,<sup>1</sup> he found laws regulating the furnishing of the house and dealing with the pictures on the walls, laws as to the stuff of which different classes of citizens might make their clothes, laws as to the number of courses and the number of dishes at each course which one might have at dinner, laws forbidding ladies to put grease on their hair or to carry watches at their waist-belts, laws commanding the housewife to make her purchases in the market before ten in the morning, and forbidding retailers who came on the scene after that hour to expose their wares for sale anywhere except before their own doors. There was no lack of laws. It was energy to enforce them that was lacking.

The penalty attached to the infringements of the laws was often excessive, even cruel. The sensibilities of the Genevans may be judged by the fact that the torture-chamber<sup>2</sup> of the prison was in the bishop's house, exactly beneath the bishop's bedroom. Rebuke, imprisonment, a fine, exclusion from Church privileges, banishment from the city, and, in very bad cases, whipping, were enough after Calvin got into power to vindicate the authority of the law. But the ordinary practice of the courts before his day, and to some extent for a time after his day had begun, went much farther. Torture was customary, and it began with the estrapade, a variation of the rack. The death penalty was sometimes inflicted on criminals whom a modern judge would dismiss with a reprimand. Burning alive or drowning in the Rhone were the methods most in favour and the victims always suffered in public.

Simple imprisonment was not counted a disgrace. Practically all the leading people in Geneva spent some of their time in prison. Magistrates on the bench one year would become prisoners the following year, and would be seen on the bench the year after. Perrin, Berthelier, Vandel and others all had their turn. No one thought the worse of them after they had been set at liberty,<sup>3</sup> and many a time both the prisoners and their jailer had a night's jollification together.

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, III. 430.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 297.

<sup>3</sup> Opera, XXI. 571, 621, 632.

Calvin relied on two things for the regeneration of the city. One was the vigilance of the police. The other was the influence of the Gospel. Of police in the modern sense there were none, but there were some city guards, and he added to them the police des Mœurs, the members of the Consistory. They constituted the machinery through which his energy operated.

He was not long before he set to work and he began with the "devil's acre" and its inhabitants. In March, 1546, it was decreed that all licensing of houses for immoral purposes must stop, and all women who made use of them must change their mode of life or leave the city within a given time. Offenders were prosecuted and punished with some severity. In 1547<sup>1</sup> the managers of the baths were instructed to exclude women of bad character on pain of being dismissed from their posts. Soon afterwards Calvin induced the Council to decree that the use of the couches in the baths should be restricted to married couples only, and that the indiscriminate use of them by men and women must cease. As soon as the long battle with the Libertines was over and Calvin was in power another advance was made. In August, 1555,<sup>2</sup> he persuaded the Council to decree that the baths in St. Gervais should be reserved for men only, and those in Plain Palais for women only for two years, when the arrangement might be reversed. In September it was decreed that unmarried women who were found to be with child must go to prison and their paramours along with them. In the same year the penalty for procuring women for immoral purposes was decreed to be death.

These decrees do no more than hint at Calvin's ceaseless efforts to clear away the vice that was rotting the moral fibre of the city. They give no indication of the ceaseless vehemence with which he pursued all manner of offenders. It has been said with truth that the registers of Geneva contained more records of cases of vice after the Reformers got into power than before it, and it is insinuated that the increase was due to their laxity. Nothing could be farther from accuracy. The records after the Reformation are more numerous because the Reformers dragged offenders before the courts and punished them. In the days when the bishops ruled no one troubled them and they were allowed to escape.

The action of the police was supplemented by the action of the ministers. There was preaching in Geneva before Calvin's day, but there was not much of it. The churches might be places for private worshippers to say their prayers

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, xxii. 402.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 612.

in, or for the priests to sing Mass in, they were not places in which the congregation was accustomed to hear an exposition of the Word of God. When Calvin began his work in Geneva, St. Peter's<sup>1</sup> was lined on one side with booths licensed by the Chapter for the sale of rosaries, images of the Madonna and saints, and other "objects of devotion". The open space on the other side was filled at the time of fairs with stalls of all descriptions for the sale of merchandise, and with huts used by attorneys, sheriff-officers, and public letter-writers. The traffic of the streets was carried into the church, and any services that were held were sure to be disturbed by people passing through the building as a short cut from one part of the city to another.

The Church of St. Gervais was used by the butchers<sup>2</sup> as a meat market and meat store, the necessary fittings being put up at the Council's expense. This desecration continued till 1557,<sup>3</sup> when it was reopened for its proper use.

The character of the only persons who were allowed to preach in pre-Reformation times was not such as to inspire their audiences with much respect for the sermons. Bonnivard says that the last bishop, Pierre de la Baume, considered it the chief business of his life to provide himself with a great table spread with all kinds of dainties and choice wines. The priests and hangers-on of his court took their cue from their master. When the spiritual pastors were men of this type it is not surprising that the people were profoundly ignorant of the Scriptures and of the kind of life which professing Christians ought to live. Calvin therefore saw that he must spare no effort to secure for the Word of God its place as the rule of faith and life. So he took the Scriptures as his text-book and expounded them incessantly.

His efforts were ably seconded by the band of ministers whom he gathered round him, but he laboured more abundantly than them all. He preached as a rule every day each alternate week. He lectured three times a week on theology. He was regularly present when his health permitted at the Consistory where he delivered the remonstrances. Every Friday he was present at the meeting for the discussion of Scripture. called the congregation and after the subject had been laid before the meeting he delivered what was equal to another discourse. Beza calculates<sup>4</sup> that he delivered in all about two hundred and eighty-six sermons and about one hundred and eighty lectures every year.

When he rose to the height of his power the regulations

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, III. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 255.

<sup>3</sup> Opera, XXI. 668.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 132.

provided that services should be held every Sunday at break of day in St. Peter's, St. Gervais, and the Madelaine. At noon there was a service at which the ministers expounded the Catechism. At three in the afternoon service was held again in the three parishes. On working days, at six o'clock in the morning from Easter till 1 October and at seven o'clock in the morning from 1 October till Easter, there was service in St. Peter's, St. Gervais, and the Madelaine. Later in the day, every Monday, Wednesday and Friday there was a service at which a sermon was preached in St. Peter's and on Wednesday also in St. Gervais.

The people were not left to choose whether they would attend these services. Those who did not appear at church were called on to explain their absence and if need be were punished for it. To make sure that neither work nor play might be pleaded as an excuse, the Council decreed that on Sundays during the hours of public worship no one was to lounge about the streets, and on other days all shops of every sort were to put up their shutters and close their doors and cease from business by the last stroke of the great church bell. Over and over again when there was reason to believe that these decrees were being set at naught the police were sent round the streets to ascertain what shops were open and to arrest without respect of persons all who were found in them.

The early morning services were attended by the Council in its official capacity. The members<sup>1</sup> entered St. Peter's in procession, accompanied by their herald and fourteen of the city guards in their liveries of grey and black and took their seats near the pulpit. On one side sat the syndics and behind them the Little Council. On the other were the lieutenant, four secretaries, and other officers. The common people filled the aisles and the transept, some of them sitting on benches and chairs but most of them standing on their feet. At the appointed hour Calvin came in, dressed in his long robe, and wearing his square cap, and climbed to his place in the pulpit. As soon as he appeared there was silence. His pale face, his worn features, his gleaming eyes, not less than the air of irresistible authority which exhaled from his spare figure, attracted universal attention. His voice was weak, but his articulation was distinct and he was usually heard easily. His piercing common sense enabled him to get to the heart of the passage he was dealing with, and his copious flow of homely, sparkling and musical language carried his thoughts into the mind and heart of his hearers. He had none of

<sup>1</sup> Doumergue, III. 287.

Farel's thunderous and overpowering oratory, or of Viret's peculiar unction, but he had an unrivalled power of exposition and of persuasion. He used many illustrations, taking them from familiar topics. His descriptions were full of vivid colour and were given with a force that sometimes tickled and sometimes terrified his audience. Wit, sarcasm, raillery, invective, denunciation, humour were all at his command, and he used them freely. He had the most familiar acquaintance with the whole range of Scripture, and with the Greek and Latin Fathers, so that his expositions represent the high-water mark of the homiletical scholarship of his time, and although he appealed mainly to the intelligence and conscience, no one was so tender as he in setting forth the consolations of the Gospel for the comfort of the afflicted, or so urgent in pressing careless sinners to accept salvation through faith in Christ.

In his capacity as preacher he applied the truth he found in Scripture to the whole range of human life and activity—to doctrine, to morals, to politics, to education, to marriage and divorce, to the upbringing of children, to dress, to amusements, to everything—setting forth the ideal which was realized in Christ and urging his hearers to conform to it. Men went out from his services enlightened in their understandings, guided in their perplexities, comforted in their sorrows, and inspired to endure hardships as good soldiers of Jesus Christ.

It cannot be denied that he imposed on Geneva a yoke which unregenerate flesh and blood sometimes found it hard to bear. As he could not produce the state of heart from which alone a truly moral and religious life can spring, the compulsion he applied to those who were fundamentally immoral or irreligious turned them into hypocrites whose public life was one thing and whose secret life was another. But he did what was more important. He created an atmosphere in which loose conduct withered and disappeared. Liberty was less of a fetish to him than it is to us, and he had no scruple in taking it away from those who abused it to their own hurt or to the damage of the commonwealth. He did this with the full approbation of what was eventually the majority of the citizens, for not all the people of Geneva fretted under the discipline under which he held them. They found it only shut them up to a line of life which they believed to be the line of their duty, and one after another they came round to his side and supported him.

If his demand for orthodoxy was imperious, equally imperious was his demand for the virtues of chastity, sobriety,

and industry. If he interfered more than he ought to have done with the details of private life, he only followed established custom, and he cleared the streets of those temptations to vice and crime which our modern legislators lack the wit, and perhaps the courage, to deal with effectively. He drove the harlot, the drunkard, the blasphemer, and the loafer out of sight into uneasy hiding-places, and made them feel that a decent life gave them their only chance of peace and prosperity. He compelled an obedience to the Ten Commandments as complete as has ever been secured in a community of the same size. He created a respect for the ordinances of religion which was not only a refreshing contrast to the laxity displayed under the rule of the Romanist bishops, but was an inspiration to observers from other lands, and he formed a generation of strong men who gave the fear of God the first place in their lives. He started with the intention of making Geneva as nearly as possible an outpost of the kingdom of heaven, and he realized his intention as thoroughly as anyone can do who can only touch the surface of human life and cannot cleanse the fountain of unholy passion in the heart.

His methods will always be an offence to those who are out of sympathy with the end he had in view. Those who approve his purpose will pass a light judgment on his mistakes, for he points the way to the solution of social and civic problems that haunt us like a nightmare. Those who lament the vice and misery of our modern cities have surely something to learn from one whose severity and evangelical zeal turned a moral cesspool, as Geneva was when he entered it, into what Knox called<sup>1</sup> "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on earth since the days of the Apostles".

### 3. HE LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN DEMOCRACY.

In the sixteenth century the value of the common man was not recognized. Politically he was the bond servant of his feudal lord. Ecclesiastically he was the bond servant of the Church. At first his feudal lord was his protector, and in an age of endless warfare he was glad to give his services in return for protection. As time went on the need for protection ceased, but the demand for his service was not lessened on that account. If he was no longer obliged to go out to war he had to go out to work. If he had no longer to spill his blood on the battlefield in his lord's quarrel, he had to sweat on his lord's estates, ploughing, sowing, and reaping

<sup>1</sup> Hume Brown, I. 194.

his fields, digging his ditches, repairing his roads, and grinding in his mill. Over and above all this he had to pay to the Church the tithe of his colts, lambs, asses, geese, chickens, corn, wool, butter and eggs. Now and then he relieved the monotony of his drudgery by a burst of rough jollity, but for the most part he toiled on, untaught, half-fed, wholly neglected, classed almost as low as the beasts that perish. To allow the peasants a share in the responsibilities of government was not thought of even in dreams.

Those who drifted into the towns had a better chance of taking part in a corporate life than those who laboured in the country. Workmen of various sorts associated themselves together into guilds for the regulation of the industry with which they were connected. Each had its guild house, its guild banner, its guild organization. The guilds formed strong trades unions which played no inconsiderable part in the life of the city in which they were situated, and they acquired both wealth and influence. If a man was a member of a guild he counted for something : if not, he was a nobody.

Similarly the burgesses of the towns formed a close corporation into which no outsider could find his way, except under strict regulations. The burgesses made the laws and compelled all who lived within their jurisdiction to submit to them. If a man were fortunate enough to be a burgess he had a voice in the town's affairs. But the stranger, especially the poor stranger, had little chance of consideration. There was no opening into the Council Chamber through which he could make his voice heard.

The contempt for the value of the common man reached its maximum in connexion with the Church. The gulf between the noble and the peasant, or between the burgess and the stranger, was neither so deep nor so wide as that between the priest and the layman. If the noble denied the peasant's right to take part in discussions of public policy or to exert any influence in making war or arranging peace, if the burgess denied the stranger's right to interfere with the laws of the city or town he had come to live in, the priest denied the layman's right to criticize the Church's teaching, to challenge its discipline, or to rebel against the conditions on which it was prepared to give him the benefit of the grace of God. As the result of his ordination, the priest claimed to be the mediator between God and man. He alone knew the truth which God has revealed for salvation. Through him alone the penitent could approach God seeking forgiveness. He alone could speak the word of pardon and open the treasury of grace in

the sacraments. Compared with him, the layman, whether he were prince or peasant, was a person of no account. He could open or close the gates of heaven at will. When he opened them no layman could close them; when he closed them no layman could open them.

In his tract on "The Liberty of a Christian Man," Luther laid the axe to the root of all priestly pretensions and swept away the distinction between clergy and laity. He says the words priests, clergy, spiritual persons do an injustice to the remaining body of Christians. For they make a distinction which the Holy Spirit does not make.

Calvin accepted all Luther's doctrine, but he went a step farther. He justified Luther's assertion by the use of two of his leading doctrines—the doctrine of election and the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit. He taught that God makes short work of the distinctions which man lays stress on, and bridges the gulfs which man opens. When God chooses men to salvation he takes no account of their social position, their wealth or their poverty, their learning or their ignorance. All men are equal before Him. All are sinners under condemnation. He takes one and rejects another, He bestows gifts on one and refuses them to another, that no flesh should glory in His presence. He chooses the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and weak things to confound the mighty, and base things and despised things to bring to naught the things which are. The poorest man whom God has chosen has higher rank than any earthly potentate could raise him to, and enjoys the earnest of an inheritance which no earthly tyrant can take away.

Those who were thus chosen to salvation in Christ Jesus might be trampled on by their fellow-men but they were precious in the sight of God, and none could pluck them out of His hand. They might be the offscouring of the earth in the opinion of their fellow-men, but they were adopted into God's family. If the feudal lord who owned castles and estates looked down on them, they in their poverty could look with pity on him. Even in the present they knew they were sons of God, and when Christ appeared in glory they would be like Him for they would see Him as He is.

This application of the doctrine of election made a powerful appeal to John Wesley. "The early Methodists were poor and despised, in many cases they earned only seven shillings a week, in not a few districts they were only escaping from serfdom. But Wesley put a hymn into their mouths which expressed their feelings exactly.

So wretched and obscure the men whom ye despise,  
So foolish, impotent, and poor, above your scorn we rise.

We through the Holy Ghost can witness better things,  
For He whose blood is all our boast has made us priests and kings.

On all the kings of earth with pity we look down,  
And claim in virtue of our birth, a never-fading crown.

They were very poor and very loyal. They had no contempt for kings, they only pitied them. From the calm heights of spiritual superiority these men who felt they were high born because new born, born from above, with seven shillings a week, and no prospect of betterment, looked down on Guelph, Hohenzollern, Cæsar, and Ptolemy, and boasted of their everlasting kingdom, their eternal heritage. The dignity begotten by the singing of such words is the inalienable right of the sons of God, and men who felt they were the sons of the King of Kings could never again be serfs" ("The Citizen of To-morrow," p. 65).

Calvin's doctrine of the witness of the Spirit contributed to the same result as his doctrine of election. It gave the common man justification for holding to his own view of faith and duty even though the Church were against him. He says:<sup>1</sup> "Being now illuminated by the Spirit, we believe the Divine original of the Scripture, not from our own judgment or from that of others, but we esteem the certainty that we have received it from God's own mouth by the ministry of men to be superior to that of any human judgment, and equal to an intuitive perception of God in it. We seek not arguments or probabilities to support our judgment, but submit our understandings and judgments as to a thing which it is impossible to judge. . . . It is such a persuasion as requires no reasons, such a knowledge as is supported by the highest reason, in which the mind rests with greater security and constancy than in the highest reasons. It is finally such a sentiment as cannot be produced but by a revelation from heaven. . . . Isaiah predicts that all the children of the renovated Church will be taught of God. If God has determined that this treasury of wisdom shall be reserved for His children, it is neither surprising nor absurd that we see so much ignorance and stupidity among the vulgar herd of mankind. By this appellation I designate even those of the highest rank and talent, till they are incorporated into the Church."

Calvin thus laid down the principle that the common man, even of the lowest rank, if he is illuminated by the witness of the Spirit, is bound to accept and obey the doctrine which

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, I. vii. 5.

that illumination brings home to him. Others carried the process farther. If the common man was justified in judging of doctrine he was justified in judging in matters of politics, in social duty, and in all his relations with his fellow-men. If he had a right to bring one thing to the bar of criticism he had a right to bring all. Therefore the thoroughgoing Calvinist became a pronounced individualist, a man who refused to be governed by external authority and insisted on governing himself in accordance with the dictates of his own reason and conscience, as these were instructed by the Word of God.

The history of Calvinistic Churches is, therefore, one of debate, and too often of division, carried to outrageous lengths over points of trivial importance. But although the spectacle of small bodies of Christians refusing to hold any kind of ecclesiastical intercourse with each other is much to be regretted, it is a proof that the conscience which Calvin awakened is vigorously at work on the side of truth and righteousness. After we have discounted all that springs from passion or prejudice, or any other unworthy motive, we are left with the fact that men and women of all ranks have cheerfully made heroic sacrifices for the sake of what they believed to be right. No external authority was able to overpower or neutralize the work of the Spirit in their hearts. If they cut off their nearest and dearest from communion because they were believed to be unsound in the faith, they allowed themselves to be cut off from the land of the living rather than be untrue to their convictions or disloyal to the duty required of them. Thus they stimulated a spirit of inquiry, free thought, criticism, in religion to begin with, and then in regions far removed from religion. They taught men to bring everything to the bar of reason, and to tolerate nothing that failed to give a reason for its existence. They feared no knotty problems. The hard heads that settled points of theology were not likely to be puzzled with politics, or trade, or natural science. If Calvin's doctrine of election taught them that they were men, his doctrine of the witness of the Spirit taught them they were thinking men who might be persuaded but who should resist being driven.

Calvin's creation of the Consistory had the same effect as the doctrines just referred to. It gave laymen a controlling place in the government of the Church. Laymen have no power in the government of the Church of Rome. Everything in doctrine, discipline, and policy is settled for them by the clergy. Their part is to believe without question what they are told, and to do without question what they are commanded. Luther made room for laymen in his Church Courts, but he

entangled the Church Courts with the State in such a way that they have no real ecclesiastical freedom. Calvin organized the laymen, gave them full power, and insisted that if the secular authority did anything at all, it should confine itself to countersigning the decrees which the Courts of the Church pronounced. He therefore called into exercise all the faculties which a system like that of Rome tends to crush. He called men to independent thought and action. He taught them to rely on themselves, and gave them justification for so doing. He laid burdens of responsibility on them and insisted that they should carry them. It is impossible to measure the value of the education in government which he gave them. A Church Court is a small sphere, but the questions discussed in it are often of the utmost importance, bearing as they do on the relations of God and man, and on questions of sin and salvation, duty and morality. The decisions of Church Courts may make no mark on the general history of the world, but they frequently make a permanent mark on the history of individuals, and those who make the marks and those who submit to them are all the better for the discipline. Despots may detest popular self-government, but the sight of plain men, without wealth or learning, tackling serious problems and coming to a reasonable solution of them, and governing their fellow-men to the satisfaction of those who appoint them, is a suggestion of the success of democratic institutions which cannot be ignored.

Calvin's system is thoroughly elastic and is therefore capable of indefinite modification and expansion. The Lutheran system is practically confined to Germany and Scandinavia. The Anglican system, with its peculiar conception of the relation of Church and State, had made no progress outside of England. But the Calvinistic system, in some form or another, has proved itself so suitable to the needs of the Church all over the world that whether it is situated in North America or Australia, in India or Africa, or China, it is used as the model on which the fabric of organization is built up. The rank and file of the members, and no others, either directly or through the officials whom they appoint, settle the statement of the faith which they hold, and determine the lines along which the government and discipline of the Church are to run.

It is sometimes hastily assumed that as soon as the power of government is transferred from the hands of the few to those of the multitude all will go well with the State. The assumption is unfounded. Much if not everything depends on the character and qualifications of those into whose hands

power falls. An enlightened despotism may be preferable to any kind of democracy. If a despot may be tyrannical, and if an oligarchy may be corrupt, so also may democracy be; and democratic tyranny and corruption are the more grievous because there is no redress by superior authority. France was under democratic government during the Reign of Terror, and no one will suggest that the qualifications of those who sat in the seats of the mighty were ideal, or that they exercised their authority in harmony with justice or mercy. If the government of the people by the people is to be a success, the people must take an enlightened interest in the problems of government, and must appoint trustworthy representatives to deal with them. Calvin was already convinced of this. Believing as he did that the welfare of Geneva depended wholly on God, and that there was no force, succour, or hope except in Him, he preached, or got others to preach year after year, just before the elections took place, exhorting the people to see that the men they chose were men who walked uprightly, and governed their lives according to God's Holy Word.

His aim was to produce both in ruler and in ruled a certain type of man, and he was largely successful. Against the background of gay ladies and beribboned courtiers, the typical Calvinist stood out as a strong self-reliant man, who took morals and religion seriously. He took little interest in the frivolities of life because his mind was busy with its graver issues. John Knox had drunk as deeply of the spirit of Calvin as any man, and the scene in Queen Mary's antechamber may indicate how the Calvinist was looked on by some of those he dealt with, and how he looked on them. Knox was waiting till Mary had recovered from the hysterical rage into which his boldness had driven her, and all who were in the antechamber were shying away from him as if he had the plague. But with a pleasant smile he approached the ladies who were sitting there, and said merrily:<sup>1</sup> "Oh, fair ladies, how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide, and then in the end we might pass into heaven with all this gay gear. But fie upon that knave death that will come whether we will or not. And when he has laid his arrest the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair nor tender, and the silly (weak) soul will be so feeble that it can carry with it neither gold nor garnishing, pearl nor precious stones."

Men who lived as he did, under the powers of the world to come, were not to be flattered by a prince's smile or daunted by his frown.

<sup>1</sup> Hume Brown, II. 195.

## XXI

### HIS THEOLOGY

THE germ of Calvin's theology is found in his own experience of the redeeming and regenerating grace of God. As a child he was brought up in the Romish faith, and as a young man he strenuously defended it; but as the result of a spiritual crisis, the details of which are unknown to us, he became convinced that the Romish system was unscriptural, and he set himself to construct a system which would harmonize with revealed truth and which would secure the interests both of liberty and of purity.

Calvin was placed in a peculiarly fortunate position for the construction of a system. Other men had already laboured, he entered into their labours. From the Greek Fathers he received the doctrines of the Trinity and the Person of Christ. From the Latin Fathers, and especially from Augustine, he took his doctrines of Man, of Sin, and of Grace. From Luther he derived the doctrine of Justification by Faith. As his own chief contribution to the mass of materials he added the doctrine of Divine Sovereignty. Then he built his materials into a compact whole which has suffered more from the crumbling tooth of time than from the attempts of several generations of assailants to drive wedges in between its joints.

Calvin based his theology on the teaching of the Bible. He was ready to listen to the Fathers and to the Councils of the Church, but he insisted that all their decisions should be tested and if need be corrected by the infallible word of truth contained in the Bible. Naturally his proceedings were objected to. For a thousand years it had been assumed that the right of the Church to decide on all matters of faith and morals was unchallengeable. The Church, which in Calvin's day had come to mean the hierarchy whose head-quarters were in Rome, claimed to be the guardian of orthodoxy and the director of the conscience, and it was submitted to, because resistance was supposed to imperil salvation. Therefore when Calvin set the authority of the Scriptures above the authority

of the Pope and the hierarchy, he ranged them against him as his deadly enemies. At the same time he showed the rank and file of the Church the path to spiritual freedom.

Calvin considered the Bible a proof of God's loving-kindness to weak and sinful humanity. He says:<sup>1</sup> "As persons who are old or whose sight has become dim, if you show them the most beautiful book, though they perceive something written, are scarcely able to read two words together; yet by the aid of spectacles they will begin to read distinctly; so the Scriptures, collecting in our minds the otherwise confused notions of deity dispel the darkness and give us a clear view of the true God". He also says, "Those who seek God apart from the Word wander in vanity and error".

The authority of Scripture depends not on the testimony borne to it by the Church, but on the self-evidencing quality of its own teaching. "If we read the books of Scripture with pure eyes and a sound mind, we shall immediately perceive the majesty of God, which will subdue our audacious contradictions and compel us to obey Him. It is preposterous to endeavour to produce a sound faith in Scripture by disputation. . . . The testimony of the Spirit is superior to all reason. For as God alone is a sufficient witness of Himself in His own word, so also the word will never gain credit in the hearts of men till it is confirmed by the internal testimony of the Spirit."<sup>2</sup>

Luther practically agrees with this. He summarizes his doctrine in these words: "The Romanists say, How can we know this or that to be true and God's word? We must learn it from the Pope and the Councils. Very well, let them decree and say what they will, still say I, Thou canst not rest thy confidence thereon nor satisfy thy conscience. Thou must thyself decide. Thy life is at stake. Therefore must God say unto thee in thine heart, This is God's word, else it is still undecided."

In the same way the authority of Scripture does not depend on the excellence of the grammar or on the literary grace of the language, or on the accuracy of the scribes who copied the original manuscripts, or on the absolute accuracy of these manuscripts on matters of scientific or historical fact. And although it is an advantage to know the name of the original writer, especially if the writer be an apostle, it is not essential to hold that the apostles were the writers of all that goes by their name. As a rule Calvin accepted the traditional ascriptions of authorship, but he exercised his own judgment as to some

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, I. vi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* VII. 4.

of the books. He denied that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, and he doubted whether Peter had anything to do with the second epistle which goes by his name. He thus opened the door to Biblical Criticism, although he did not assume the rôle of a critic.

The principle of the testimony of the Spirit is a valuable one, but it is too subjective to be accepted as final. Calvin says that the Scriptures "exhibit as clear evidence of their truth, as white and black things do of their colour, or sweet and bitter things do of their taste".<sup>1</sup> But there are those who cannot distinguish white from black or sweet from bitter. So likewise there are those who lack the spiritual faculties to which the senses of sight and taste correspond. They are therefore justified in maintaining that they discern nothing of the unique authority which others ascribe to the Scriptures. Even those who are spiritually enlightened are not of one mind, either as to the canonicity of some of the books of Scripture, or as to the doctrines said to be deduced from them. Luther would have cut out the epistle of James; he was doubtful about Hebrews, and he could not accommodate his spirit to the Apocalypse at all. What Luther did others have done, and it is difficult to see how Calvin would have dealt with them if everything depends on the testimony of the Spirit to the individual believer. There will be no certainty as to anything if every individual is at liberty to review the round of doctrine from the standpoint of his own illumination.

The subjective judgment of the individual needs to be confirmed by the collective judgment of the whole body of believers, that is by the Church. If the Spirit of truth enlightens the individual as to some truth which the Church has ignored or missed, He likewise enlightens the Church as to truth which the individual ignores or lays undue emphasis upon. There are points on which a believer is bound to listen to the Church. They have been raised and discussed so often and from such various points of view, that they are settled, and when anyone contradicts the conclusion arrived at and formulated in statements which have been accepted by generations, it is right to tell him that his most positive assertion of the witness of the Spirit will not be accepted.

On the other hand, inasmuch as the Spirit is leading the Church into larger conceptions of faith and of duty, and inasmuch as He invariably leads the Church through the convictions He implants in the minds of individual members, it does not follow that everything the believer says is to be condemned

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

on the simple ground that the Church is displeased with it. In the days of the Apostles the Church had a very limited conception of the change in the relations of God and man which had been effected by Christ. The truth the Church needed to know was therefore revealed to St. Paul, and although it was bitterly opposed it found its way into men's minds and became at last a foundation doctrine of Christianity. In dealing with Castellio, Calvin practically took up this position himself. He urged Castellio not to be led away by his own judgment, or to permit himself to treat the constant witness of the Church as of no importance, but to be guided by the opinions of the general body of believers.

The sanest conclusion lies between the extremes. If a book contributes something to the revelation of God's redemptive purpose, either in its historical or its doctrinal aspect, if there is an organic connexion between the teaching it sets forth and teaching already accepted, and if it exhibits an aspect of Christian duty which is necessary to be known by those who would be perfect in all the will of God, and if it has survived the criticism it has been exposed to and has been accepted by the general judgment of Christian people, there is sound reason for maintaining that it ought to be recognized as authoritative and that the judgment of the individual to the contrary must be set aside.

When Calvin came to use the Bible practically he ceased to regard it as a medium through which the Divine Spirit speaks to the human spirit, and fettered himself and others by a conception which was legal, not evangelical. In his hands the Bible became a manual of dogmatic theology, a directory for public worship, and a scheme of Church government. Nothing in religion was permissible except what was sanctioned in Scripture or might be deduced from it by necessary inference. So it ceased to be a means of grace bringing the heart and conscience into connexion with the Divine Author. It became a dead law-book whose pages had to be consulted for precedents and instructions. Further, Calvin treated the Bible as a manual, all of whose teaching was on the same plane of significance and value. The sciences of Old and New Testament Theology had not yet come into being, and the growth of the leading Biblical terms in richness and precision was not dreamed of, so Calvin took it as axiomatic that wherever words like "faith," or "righteousness," or "salvation" occurred, they had practically the same significance, and he took proof-texts indiscriminately from the writings of Moses and Isaiah and Paul. His exposition therefore lacked

the precision which is associated with modern scholarship. But his marvellous instinct for the meaning of a passage usually leads him into the heart of it, and makes his opinion worthy of serious consideration. If he did not perceive the difference between the standpoint of Kings and of Chronicles, or between that of the synoptics and of John, he saw Him of whom all Scripture speaks. And if he imposed fetters of an obsolete dispensation on those whom Christ has made free, he endeavoured to bring all thought and life into harmony with the Divine mind and will.

The work of the Spirit in producing the conviction that God is the author of Scripture is accompanied, according to Calvin, by His work in producing faith. He defines faith as a "steady and certain knowledge of the Divine benevolence towards us, which being founded on the truth of the gratuitous promise in Christ, is both revealed to our mind and confirmed to our heart by the Holy Spirit".<sup>1</sup> The faith which the Spirit creates is not a faith apart from the Scriptures. Faith can no more be separated from Scripture than the rays of light and heat from the sun.<sup>2</sup> If we are to attain to any knowledge of the Divine nature and disposition, we must attain it through the Scriptures. By means of the Scriptures God grants to the elect such a revelation of Himself as affects their whole nature, and He causes them to respond to it. He works in them according to the counsel of His will, enlightening the understanding, creating love and trust in the heart, and moving the will to obedience.

Dealing with the difficulty that faith sometimes appears in the reprobate, Calvin says it is not a real faith.<sup>3</sup> "For though none are illuminated to faith except such as are preordained to salvation, experience shows that the reprobate are sometimes affected with emotions very similar to those of the elect. Wherefore it is not at all absurd that a taste of the heavenly gift is ascribed to them by the apostle. Not that they truly perceive the energy of spiritual grace and the clear light of faith, but because the Lord, to render their guilt more manifest and inexcusable, insinuates Himself into their minds as far as His goodness can be enjoyed without the spirit of adoption. They discover God's grace, but the illumination of that discovery fades away. God manifests to them His present mercy. He vouchsafes to the elect alone that living faith by which they persevere to the end."

The effects of faith in the elect are twofold. The first of these relates to their standing in God's sight. The second

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, III. ii. 7; I. ix. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. III. ii. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. ii.

relates to their personal and actual character. So far as their standing is concerned, they are no more looked on as rebels deserving punishment. They are looked on as beloved children. Their sins and iniquities are remembered no more. "He is said to be justified in the sight of God who in the Divine judgment is reputed righteous and is accepted on account of his righteousness: for as iniquity is abominable to God, so no sinner can find favour in His sight, as a sinner, or so long as he is considered as such. Wherever sin is, therefore, it is accompanied with the wrath and vengeance of God. He is justified who is considered not as a sinner but as a righteous person, and on that account stands in safety before the bar of God where all sinners are confounded and ruined." . . . "He is said to be justified by works who by the integrity of his works can answer and satisfy the Divine judgment. He is justified by faith, who being excluded from the righteousness of works, apprehends by faith the righteousness of Christ, invested with which, he appears in the sight of God not as a sinner but as a righteous man. Thus we simply explain justification to be an acceptance by which God receives us into His favour and esteems us righteous persons, and we say it consists in the remission of sins and the imputation of the righteousness of Christ."<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the effect of faith so far as it concerns personal character, Calvin goes on to say:<sup>2</sup> "When God by the interposition of the righteousness of Christ, reconciles us to Himself, and having granted us the free remission of our sins, esteems us as righteous persons, to this mercy He adds another blessing. For He dwells in us by His Holy Spirit by whose power our carnal desires are daily more and more mortified, and we are sanctified, that is consecrated, to the Lord by real purity of life, having our hearts moulded to obey His law, so that it is our prevailing inclination to submit to His will, and to promote His glory alone by all possible means." Thus faith is intimately connected with repentance and regeneration.

Ritschl<sup>3</sup> maintains that in Calvin's opinion all that is said about regeneration, new life, justification, applied to the individual only in so far as he is considered to be a member of the Church, and as the Church is considered to be prior to the experiences of individuals. He finds that in the earlier editions of the Institutes Calvin's arrangement of his material favoured the idea of the Church as a storehouse or medium of

<sup>1</sup> *Institutes*, III. xi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xiv. 9.

<sup>3</sup> "Christian Doctrine of Justification," p. 186.

the means of grace. At the same time he admits that the last edition (1559) avoids giving expression to the idea of the Church in this connexion, and he does not think the last edition is an improvement.

It is permissible to suppose that Calvin deliberately excised his reference to the Church in this connexion for the purpose of excluding the idea that there is any intermediary between the individual soul and God. And, besides, it is difficult to see how on Ritschl's principles the connexion between the sinner who is under condemnation and the Church is to be formed. According to Calvin it is not connexion with the Church or incorporation in it that is the condition of justification and sanctification. It is connexion with Christ. He says:<sup>1</sup> "I attribute the highest importance to the connexion between the head and the members, to the inhabitation of Christ in our hearts, in a word to the mystical union by which we are so joined to Him that being made ours, He makes us partakers of the blessings with which He is furnished. We do not then contemplate Him out of ourselves, that His righteousness may be imputed to us; but because we have put on Him and are engrafted into His body, and because He has deigned to unite us to Himself we glory in participation of his righteousness." This connexion is made by the individual believer through his faith, and the blessings he shares with other believers flow to all alike from their connexion with Christ in the first place. Knowing the estimate of the Romish Church which Calvin entertained we may conclude that he was the last man to assign the Church, in any application of the term, a position which could be misinterpreted.

Calvin strenuously maintains that faith in Christ not only effects our justification, it secures our sanctification at the same time. He says:<sup>2</sup> "Christ justifies no one whom He does not sanctify. . . . Do you wish to obtain righteousness in Christ? You must first possess Christ. But you cannot possess Him without becoming a partaker of His sanctification, for He cannot be divided. Since the Lord affords us the enjoyment of these blessings only in the bestowment of Himself, He gives them both together, and never the one without the other."

Faith is therefore intimately connected with repentance, which he defines<sup>3</sup> as "a true conversion of the life to God, proceeding from a sincere and serious fear of God, and consisting in the mortification of our flesh and of our old man and in the vivification of the Spirit".

Repentance thus passes into regeneration.<sup>4</sup> "In regener-

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, III. xi. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. XVI. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. III. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 9.

ation we are restored by the grace of Christ to the image of God, and this restoration is not accomplished in a single moment, nor in a day, nor in a year; but by continual and even tardy advances the Lord destroys the carnal corruption of His chosen, and purifies them from any pollution, and consecrates them as temples to Himself, renewing their senses to real purity that they may employ their whole life in the exercise of repentance; and know that this warfare will be terminated only by death." The end for which believers are chosen is therefore their sanctification. The agent by which it is effected is the grace of Christ. Nothing is left to the agency of the believer. If the responsibility rested in any degree on human shoulders it might come to a premature end through human weakness or inconstancy. Nothing less than the Divine power and persistency can be trusted to. The same Spirit who gave the revelation of God in Christ and who created faith and repentance likewise effects regeneration. Having begun the good work He performs it till the day of Christ. Believers are therefore justly called God's workmanship, created unto good works which He ordained that we should walk in them.

These good works are the external proof of regeneration.<sup>1</sup> Calvin lays much emphasis on this point:<sup>2</sup> "To what purpose were we delivered from the pollution of the world if we permit ourselves to wallow in it as long as we live? If the Lord has adopted us as His children on condition that we exhibit in our lives an imitation of Christ, the bond of our adoption, unless we devote ourselves to righteousness, we not only perfidiously revolt from Him as our Creator but abjure Him as our Saviour." "Since<sup>3</sup> God has discovered Himself as our Father, we are convicted of the basest ingratitude unless we manifest ourselves as His children. Since Christ has cleansed us by His blood, it doth not become us to be defiled by fresh pollutions. Since we are His members, we should be solicitously careful lest we asperse ourselves with blemish or disgrace. Since the Holy Spirit has dedicated us as temples to God, we should use our utmost endeavours that the glory of God may be displayed in us, and since our soul and body are destined to receive an incorruptible and never-fading crown we must use our most strenuous endeavours to preserve them pure and uncorrupt till the day of the Lord."

The internal proof that we are children of God is the witness of the Spirit to our spirit, a witness that produces confidence and peace. "No man is a believer unless he be firmly per-

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, III. vi. 1-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 3.

suaded that God is a propitious and benevolent Father to him, and promise himself everything from the Divine goodness unless he depends on the promises of the Divine benevolence toward him and feel an undoubted expectation of salvation. He is no believer I say who does not rely on the security of his salvation and confidently triumph over the devil and death." The witness of the Spirit is one which no external changes in our lot can influence. It is the creation of the Divine love and enables us to defy all suffering and even death itself. When works of all sorts have become impossible to us it still remains to us and we can rest on it, knowing that He who has called us and who sanctifies us will also glorify us.

Calvinism therefore demands the strictest morality. It teaches that believers are bound to be holy as God is holy and pure as He is pure. The Spirit who energizes in them is the Spirit of holiness, through whose operations they are delivered both from the love and from the power of sin. But Calvin does not confound holiness with asceticism. He says : "There have been some good and holy men who, seeing that intemperance and luxury, unless restrained with extraordinary severity, would indulge in the most extravagant excesses have adopted the only method which occurred to them by permitting men to use corporal blessings no further than their necessities require. So they impose on the conscience stricter rules than those imposed by the Lord. By restriction within the bounds of necessity they mean an abstinence from everything from which it is possible to abstain, so that according to them it would scarcely be lawful to eat or drink anything but bread and water."<sup>1</sup> Then he argues that the Lord would not have endowed the flowers with such beauty and fragrance if He had meant it to be unlawful for the senses to take pleasure in them, and continues thus : "Let us discard that inhuman philosophy which, allowing us no use of the creatures but that which is absolutely necessary, not only deprives us of the lawful use of the Divine beneficence but which cannot be embraced till it has despoiled man of his senses and reduced him to a simple block ".<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, he is equally firm in his opposition to luxury and licence.

From Calvin's point of view the correct conception of life is that of a post of duty, and we have no more right to abandon it than a soldier has to abandon the post at which he has been placed by his general. It lightens our burdens and enables us to bear the inconveniences, the disappointments, and anxieties which befall us, to remember that in all these things we

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, III. x. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 3.

have God for our guide. There is no employment so mean and sordid, provided it be our vocation, which is not truly respectable and highly important in the sight of God. What we have to consider is not our own ease but God's glory, and we are to behave ourselves so that we are well-pleasing in His sight.

The roots of Calvin's theology lie in his conception of human nature as corrupt and impotent towards good. Observation and experience told him that the corruption and impotence were universal, and closely following Augustine he connected their universality with the sin of Adam. "There was in Adam such a spring of corruption that it transfused from parents to children in a perpetual stream."<sup>1</sup> "When Adam was punished with the loss of wisdom, strength, sanctity, and righteousness, and with the appearance in their place of ignorance, impotence, impurity, vanity, and iniquity, he suffered not alone, but involved all his posterity with him, and plunged them into the same miseries. This is the hereditary corruption which the fathers have agreed to call original sin."<sup>2</sup> Original sin is the term applied to the condition which is derived from the connexion of all subsequent generations with Adam, their first parent. It is the depravation of a nature originally good and pure. It extends to all the parts of that nature. It gives mankind such a bias that all men sin willingly. It makes them objects of Divine wrath, and because of it they are impotent to effect their own redemption.<sup>3</sup> Men are not punished for Adam's sin, but the natural depravity which they bring from their mother's womb, although it does not at once bring forth its fruits, yet it is sin before the Lord and deserves the penalty. Men suffer and die not because of what Adam did, but because of what they personally are from the hour of their birth.

Man deserved to perish in his impotence and sinfulness, but God determined to provide a Saviour. Of His mere good pleasure He sent His Son into the world that whosoever believeth in Him might not perish but have everlasting life. The functions He discharges as the Mediator between God and man are those of prophet, priest, and king.<sup>4</sup> In order to discharge them He became flesh. In the womb of the Virgin He who was the Son of God became Son of Man, not by<sup>5</sup> a confusion of substance but by a unity of person. His whole life on earth was necessary to secure pardon for us, but the efficacy of His life culminated in His death.<sup>6</sup> Christ in His

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, II. i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 5.

<sup>3</sup> Commentary on Rom. v. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Institutes, II. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xiiv. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* xvi. 6.

death was offered to God as an expiatory sacrifice, in order that, complete atonement being made by His oblation, we may no longer dread the Divine wrath. His corporeal death by itself would have effected nothing. More than the body of Christ was given for our redemption. There<sup>1</sup> was another and a greater price paid for a ransom. He suffered in His soul the dreadful torments of a person irretrievably lost.

The relation of equivalence between the sufferings of Christ and the redemption of man is declared by Calvin to be created by the will of God. His self-sacrifice on our account is valuable because the Father chose to put value on it. "For Christ could merit nothing except by the good pleasure of God, by which He had been predestinated to appease the Divine wrath by His death and to abolish our transgressions by His obedience."<sup>2</sup> This is simply a restatement of the position of Duns Scotus who held that the ground of all merit is the Divine acceptance. That is good which the Father is pleased to love. That is evil which He is pleased to hate. Morality is the creation of God's will, and God's will is sovereign, absolute. Scotus held that if God had chosen to do so He might have attached to the sufferings of a man or of an angel the same value as He attached to the sufferings of Christ and might have accepted them as sufficient for our redemption. They are not really in themselves sufficient, but God chooses to call them sufficient, and the declaration of His will is supposed to end all controversy. In the same way Calvin maintains that it is little short of blasphemy to challenge the justice of God's will. If it seems to finite minds to clash with the claims of justice or to set up an unreal standard of what is good, their duty is to be silent and adore.

The same exercise of bare will appears with reference to those who are to receive benefit from the Mediator's work. Calvin maintains energetically that the ground of the whole scheme of redemption is to be found in God's love. He quotes with approval such passages as these: "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten son, etc." ; "Not that we loved Him but that He loved us and sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins". But when he comes to discuss the actual destinies of men he does not give the idea of God's universal love its full weight. He maintains that God's love is effectual only within an area which has already been marked out for it by His will. He loves the world and is not willing that any should perish, nevertheless He determines to save some and to leave others to perish. Nay more, He pre-

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, II. xvi. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xvii. 1.

destinates some to everlasting life and some to everlasting death. At this point the idea of love vanishes. He says : " Predestination is the name we give to the eternal decree of God, by which He has determined in Himself what He would have to become of every individual of mankind. For they are not all created with a similar destiny. Eternal life is fore-ordained for some, and eternal damnation for others."<sup>1</sup> And again : " In conformity with the clear doctrine of Scripture, we assert that by an eternal and immutable counsel, God hath once for all determined both whom He would admit to salvation and whom He would condemn to destruction. We affirm that this counsel, as far as concerns the elect, is founded on His gratuitous mercy, totally irrespective of human merit ; but to those whom He devotes to condemnation, the gate of life is closed by a just and irreprehensible but incomprehensible judgment."<sup>2</sup>

Calvin is fully aware of the difficulties in which his teaching lands him. He says:<sup>3</sup> " Foolish mortals enter into many controversies with God as if they could arraign Him to answer their accusations. They inquire by what right He is angry with creatures who had not provoked Him by any previous offence ; for to devote to destruction whom He pleases is more like the caprice of a tyrant than the lawful sentence of a judge. Men have reason to expostulate with God if they are predestined to eternal death without merit of their own merely by His sovereign will." To this he answers : " The will of God is the highest rule of justice. What He wills must be considered just, for this very reason that He wills it. Therefore when it is asked Why the Lord did so, the answer must be, Because He would. If you go farther and ask why He so determined, you are in search of something greater and higher than the will of God, which can never be found."<sup>4</sup>

Dealing with the objection that if men are antecedently predestinated to corruption it is mockery and injustice to condemn them for being corrupt, he makes another attempt to silence his opponents by a reference to the will of God. " Of His will it belongs not to us to demand the reason, for we are incapable of comprehending it ; nor is it reasonable that the Divine will should be made a subject of controversy with us, for it is only a name for the highest justice."<sup>5</sup> In the same way he accounts for the transmission of guilt from Adam to his posterity. " The loss of salvation through the guilt of one parent was not an event that happened by nature. Scripture

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, III. xxi. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xxiii. 2.

proclaims that all men in the person of their father were sentenced to eternal death. This not being attributable to nature must proceed from the wonderful counsel of God. . . . I inquire again, how came it to pass that the fall of Adam independent of any remedy should involve so many nations with their infant children in eternal death but because such was the will of God. It is an awful decree I confess, but no one can deny that God foreknew the future final fate of man before He created him, and that He did foreknow it because it was appointed by His own decree."<sup>1</sup>

As a necessary inference from this conclusion, Calvin held that while the Spirit acts in the minds and hearts of all men none of the reprobate experience His saving efficacy. That is reserved for the elect alone. And while there is a universal call,<sup>2</sup> by which God in the external preaching of the Word invites all indiscriminately to come to Him, even those to whom He intends it to be an occasion of heavier condemnation, there is also a special call with which He favours only the faithful when by the inward illumination of the Spirit He causes the word preached to sink down into their hearts. Yet sometimes He also communicates it to those whom He enlightens only for a season and afterwards forsakes on account of their ingratitude and strikes with greater blindness. Similarly with repentance. "It is beyond doubt that God is ready to pardon sinners on their conversion. Therefore He wills not their death inasmuch as He wills their repentance. But experience teaches that He does not will the repentance of all whom He externally calls in such a way as to affect their hearts. If He were not ready to receive those who implore His mercy, there would be no propriety in this address, 'Turn ye unto Me and I will turn unto you'. But I contend that no mortal ever approaches God without being divinely drawn."<sup>3</sup>

It is not surprising that although Calvin's logic drove him to these conclusions his heart rebelled against them, and made him search for considerations external to the bare will of God by means of which he might justify the fate of the reprobate. Two of these present themselves. The first is, God has a right to do as He pleases with what He has made. "God has always been at liberty to bestow His grace on whom He chooses. Let objectors answer why they are men when it was in God's power to create them oxen or asses or dogs. Will they allow brute beasts to dispute with God respecting their condition as though the distinction were unjust."<sup>4</sup> If God is pleased to select some of the perishing

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, III. xxiii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xxiv. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. xxii. 1.

multitude and to make them heirs of His heavenly kingdom, to complain of His partiality is sheer impertinence. The second consideration is of a different sort. Calvin declares that after all the responsibility for man's dreadful fate rests on his own shoulders. "Man falls by appointment of Divine providence, but he falls by his own fault.<sup>1</sup> By his own wickedness he corrupted that which he received pure from the first from the Lord, and by his fall he drew his posterity after him into destruction." Calvin elaborates this idea at great length. "Though by the external providence of God man was created to the misery to which he is subject; yet the ground of it is derived from himself, not from God; since he is thus ruined solely in consequence of his having degenerated from the pure creation of God to vicious and impure depravity."<sup>2</sup>

There is a complete change of position here. There is also a fatal breakdown in logic. The word "solely" is the central word of this and of other similar passages. It transfers the ground of man's condemnation from the eternal decree of God to the sin committed in time by man. But this implies a freedom which Calvin's whole system forbids him to allow. But he did not see this and steadfastly refused to admit it. He insisted that the condemnation of the reprobate was not arbitrary but just. "The reprobate wish to be thought excusable in sinning because they cannot avoid the necessity of sinning, especially as this necessity is laid on them by the ordination of God. But we deny this to be a just excuse, because the ordination of God of which they complain is guided by an equity unknown to us but indubitably certain. Wherefore we conclude that they sustain no misery that is not inflicted on them by the righteous judgment of God."<sup>3</sup>

It seems however that all his argument and insistence could not silence the accusation of injustice in Calvin's own heart, as it certainly does not silence it in the hearts of others, so in winding up his discussion of the subject he says: "Let our conclusion be to stand astonished with Paul at so great a mystery,<sup>4</sup> and amidst the clamour of petulant tongues let us not be ashamed of exclaiming with him, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? For as Augustine says, it is acting a perverse part to set up the measure of human justice as the standard by which to measure the justice of God."

So far as the elect are concerned, the inevitable issue of their election is their final salvation. As they were chosen apart from their merit, their sanctification is carried forward till it reaches its predestined consummation. The power

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, III. xxiii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xxiv. 17.

✓ which has begun the good work in them is not to be baffled or hindered. Calvin says:<sup>1</sup> "Calling and faith are of little value unless they are accompanied by perseverance, which is not the lot of all. But Christ has delivered us from this anxiety, for these promises undoubtedly belong to the future: This is the Father's will who hath sent Me that of all He hath given Me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day." Referring to Christ's prayer for Peter, he concludes that those for whom the Saviour prays, and He prays for all His people, are beyond all danger of falling away, and he asks: "What did Christ intend us to learn from this but confidence in our perpetual security when we have once been introduced into the number of His people".<sup>2</sup> If any fall into open and flagrant sin and remain unrepentant of it, there is sure proof that whatever their profession may be they were never numbered among the elect in the secret counsel of God.

The state of the elect unto salvation and of the reprobate after death is treated by Calvin with remarkable brevity. He says: "I not only refrain as an individual from the unnecessary investigation of useless questions, but I think it my duty to be cautious lest I encourage the vanity of others in answering them. . . . As the unwary are easily caught by such temptations and afterwards drawn farther into the labyrinth, the best and shortest rule for our own conduct is to content ourselves with seeing through a glass darkly, till we see face to face. Very few persons are concerned to know the way to heaven, but all are anxious to know before the time what passes there."<sup>3</sup>

After stating that the solemn references to darkness and weeping and inextinguishable fire are meant to alarm us, and to assist us in forming some conception of the lamentable condition of the wicked, he advises his readers to fix their attention on the calamity of being alienated from the presence of God and on the misery which follows it, rather than on the images by which it is set forth. It would be well if many who call him master had followed his example in this respect.

Calvin's doctrine of predestination is not set forth as a primary doctrine of his theology. It appears as a logical development of his original principles. But it is the thread which binds the separate items of his teaching into a unity. It determines all he has to say on the character of God, on the condition and destiny of man and on the work of the Redeemer and of the Holy Spirit. According to Calvin man can do nothing towards his own salvation. God has to do everything.

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, III. xxiv. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xxv. ii.

He therefore chooses out of the multitude of ruined sinners those whom He determines to save, and as a necessary consequence, those whom He determines to leave unsaved. He makes this selection absolutely without regard to the merit of the one or the demerit of the other. His foreknowledge of their life and character has no influence in the matter. Before men come into existence and before they have done good or evil, He foreordains some of them to be used for the exhibition of the riches of His grace, and some of them for the exhibition of the terrors of His wrath.

Calvin attempts to buttress his position by quotations from Augustine whose general effect is that we must take the risk of predestination apart from works of merit, and that Paul and the other Apostles took the risk. But the question is whether Paul and the other Apostles taught reprobation as Calvin teaches it. Calvin's language goes far beyond what is warranted by Scripture. He goes the length of saying that God predestines men to corruption and then hates them for being corrupt. He says:<sup>1</sup> "It is objected that God hates nothing He has made. I grant this, but the doctrine I maintain remains unshaken, that the reprobate are hated by God and that most justly, because being destitute of His Spirit, they can do nothing but what is deserving of His curse." To say that God hates those who are destitute of what He alone can give, is to introduce into the doctrine of God some elements of caricature.

We reach a similar result if we consider how Calvin isolates and emphasizes the Will of God. Scripture gathers up the revelation of God into a unity to which it gives the name of love. Calvin divides the action of the Divine nature in such a way as in the case of the reprobate to exclude love. There is no love, there is positive hatred in their reprobation. It is true that he insists that justice lies at the back of their reprobation in some manner which we can neither discover nor understand. But his last word on the subject is that justice does not necessarily mean the same thing to us as it means to God. This is an assertion the truth of which we must firmly deny. If justice in God is not the only kind of justice we have any conception of, but is some inscrutable attribute which our minds find to be incomprehensible, it is futile to assert that we ought to call God just. All through the course of His dealings with mankind, God has been pleased to appeal to their moral nature and to the conception of justice which He has implanted in them, thus making it evident that

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, III. xxiv. 17.

He is anxious to have His judgments endorsed by the conscience of mankind. In matters which concern eternal bliss or misery it is imperative that His judgments should so commend themselves. But on Calvin's theory the will of God violates our sense of justice just as grievously as it weakens our assurance of Divine love. To isolate will is to make God a despot. To isolate justice is to do violence to the yearning affection of His heart. To isolate mercy is to do violence to the justice on which He rests His moral government. But such isolation is impossible. God is One, and His whole nature works together in all His actions. Wisdom, mercy, justice, holiness and redeeming grace are the blending colours which make up the radiance of His love. He is as a whole in all He does, and in all the relations in which He stands to the children of mankind.

It cannot be denied that the idea of predestination, apart from the peculiarities with which Calvin clothed it, is admitted and accepted by all generations of God's people. As the prophets declared that the Lord had chosen Israel to be His people, not for any good in them that deserved the choice, so the Apostles declare to individual believers that we are saved by grace, not of ourselves, and not of works lest any man should boast. As St. Paul was arrested on his way to Damascus, many of the saints were arrested on their way to ruin and were rescued by a mightier power than their own. They echo the heavenly song : " Unto Him who hath loved us and loosed us from our sins in His own blood, to Him be the glory ". But is it the case that the work of the Spirit is confined to them alone ? It is dangerous to dogmatize as to where we shall and shall not find evidence of the Spirit's work. Calvin admits that even unregenerate men can do things that are right and worthy of admiration, and can command respect by their character. On his own hypothesis, therefore, there must have been a work of the Divine Spirit in their hearts, turning them to goodness even though they did not recognize the power that was working in them. We may be prone to evil and averse to good, but the fact that the Lord commanded an impotent man to arise and walk, and that He summoned the dead Lazarus to come out of his sepulchre, is enough to suggest that whenever the categorical imperative of duty sounds in human ears, there is the offer of strength to obey going along with it, and wherever a soul is sighing after a purer life, there is the promise of sanctifying grace to enable that soul to attain it. If in any case men do not obey the call of duty and live on low levels, the explanation will

therefore be, not because they were predestinated to corruption by a power outside of themselves, but because they do not take advantage of the assistance which is never withheld. As Calvin erred by separating the will of God from His whole nature, so he erred by separating the Divine activity in the soul of man from the human self-determination which goes along with it in every moral act, and constitutes the basis of all moral responsibility. It is true that we cannot be saved unless God works in and for us. It is equally true that we cannot be saved unless we work out our own salvation, meeting the saving grace of God with a responsive activity of our own.

Calvin asks no question as to what might be the ultimate purpose of God in choosing some to salvation, nevertheless if he had developed a germinal thought which he derived from Augustine, he might have reached a position in which the burden of his difficulties would have been lightened. Calvin says:<sup>1</sup> "It is judiciously remarked by Augustine that there is the brightest example of gratuitous election in the Head of the Church Himself, that it may not perplex us in the members. He did not become the Son of God by leading a righteous life, but was gratuitously invested with this high honour that He might afterwards render others partakers of the gifts which were bestowed on Him."

It is fair to argue that the intention which explains the predestination of the Head explains likewise the predestination of the members. Their predestination shows the riches of Divine grace, but it takes place that they, though at an infinite distance behind the Head, may render others partakers of the gifts which they themselves have received. The predestination of Abraham had this intention behind it: "In thee and in thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed". The predestination of St. Paul had this intention behind it: "He is a chosen vessel unto Me, to bear My Name before the Gentiles and kings and the children of Israel". The predestination of all Christ's people has the same end in view. The benefits of it are not meant to end with those who have been called to faith and discipleship. They are to be the light shining in dark places and the salt of the earth. They are elected unto life not for their own sake only, nor for the exhibition of God's grace in them only, but for the purpose of being used to bring all who are not chosen as they have been into the same salvation which they enjoy.

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, III. xxii. 1.

From this point of view it appears absurd to speak of those who are not elected as objects of God's hatred and wrath. No doubt they are corrupt, alienated from God and guilty of many wicked works, but if the only way of saving them is through the work of the Head and the members, the fact that God sent His Son into the world that the world through Him might be saved, and that the energy of the Son is exerting itself through the Church which is His body, and is proving itself effectual for the purposes of salvation, is proof that God does not hate those whom He has not called to the knowledge of the Gospel and to faith in Christ. It is proof that He pities them, and is anxious to save them. His method may be mysterious, but His purpose in His method is directly and completely in harmony with His whole nature, and that is love.

The mystery of the method lies in this, that although some nations of the world have the light of the Gospel, the majority are in heathen darkness. Even within these enlightened nations, there are many who pass their lives outside the area within which the Holy Spirit operates toward salvation through believers. Can we find any point which will reveal the love or the justice of the exclusion which they are called on and compelled to endure? Each individual among the countless millions was made in the image of God, with the capacity for knowing and serving Him and delighting in Him. What is to be the fate of those of them who have not the remotest chance of coming into contact with the elect through whom the saving operations of Divine grace are being carried on? If they perish, have we not the old doctrine of reprobation back again?

It may be that the way out of the maze lies in a reconstruction of our eschatology. There are hints in Scripture that the dualism which is now so manifest will not continue to all eternity. God's original intention of manifesting His glory in a universe which in all its parts and components is at one with Himself will yet be carried out, and the defeat inflicted by the presence of sin will be transformed into universal victory. This is the suggestion of such passages as these: "It pleased the Father that in Him should all fulness dwell; and having made peace by the blood of His cross, by Him to reconcile all things to Himself; by Him, I say, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven".<sup>1</sup> "Then cometh the end, when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God even the Father; when He shall have put down all rule and all authority and power. . . . And when all things shall be subdued under Him then shall also the Son Himself be subject

<sup>1</sup> Col. i. 19.

unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all."<sup>1</sup>

The signification of these and similar passages is exceedingly obscure, but they raise the question whether the last word on human destiny has been spoken in the doctrine of everlasting sin or everlasting punishment. If the reconciling power of Christ is to reach as far as the creating power of the Father, if all things in heaven and earth are to be reconciled to the Father, there will be no room left anywhere for human spirits in a state of alienation and punishment. Somehow or other the influence of the cross will penetrate the regions which are peopled by the myriads who lived in ignorance and died in sin, and will bring them at last into the Father's loving embrace.

Repellent as it is in the way in which he expresses it, the doctrine which Calvin insisted on in the sphere of theology now finds many exponents in the realm of science. Calvin maintained that God not only predestined the elect to bliss and the reprobate to misery, He predestined everything that comes to pass. His will is at the back of all that happens in human lives, and in the history of animals and of the earth. He teaches that the wisdom and power of God are active at every point in all the universe, originating, controlling, and directing everything for the execution of the purpose which has lain in His mind from all eternity. His main interest was in theology, and in the application of his doctrine to theology. Modern science did not appear above the horizon till generations after he had vanished from the stage of history, and after predestination had been everywhere spoken against. But one of the leading doctrines of modern science is just predestination in a new guise. If Calvin speaks of those who are doomed to perdition and of those who are chosen to salvation, science speaks of the millions of immature lives both of plants and of animals which are doomed to be destroyed that the remainder may survive and perpetuate the type. If Calvin speaks of the final glory to which believers are called in Christ Jesus, modern science speaks of a Divine far-off event to which the whole creation moves. Evolution is the unfolding of what is potentially present in the germ. It is the process by which the life that was in the germ at the first passes through orderly stages, each showing greater differentiation of parts and a higher organization than the preceding stage, until the consummation is reached. We see it in a small scale in the life of the individual. We see it on a large scale in the history of the species

<sup>1</sup> Cor. xv. 28.

to which the individual belongs. It implies the activity of an intelligence which foresaw and determined the consummation before the process of evolution started, and which has governed it to that predetermined consummation at every point after the start was made. Whatever may be said about plants, it is certain that, as far as we can see, animals and man are free to live their own lives, and it is one of our most profound convictions that while animals are moved by blind impulses which they do not understand, man is both self-conscious and self-determining towards rational ends. Plants and animals cannot co-operate with the overruling intelligence, they cannot appreciate the purpose of the evolutionary process. Man might appreciate it and might co-operate, but he does not. In every age of human history practically the whole race lives in ignorance and self-will. Nevertheless the forward march of a great purpose is unmistakable. It is not our purpose. Speaking of a certain limited section of it, St. Paul calls it a mystery, which before all ages was hid in God, but which has now been revealed.<sup>1</sup> How we can be free, and at the same time can be made the servants of that purpose, is what we cannot understand. We naturally incline to ignore one of the factors in the problem in despair of finding a rational solution. So on the one hand we find those who assert vehemently that man is a machine, a piece of material mechanism governed by physical and chemical forces, and determined in all his actions by necessity laid on him from without. On the other hand, we find those who, with equal vehemence, assert his freedom from all kinds of external control, and maintain that nothing in his life and destiny is, or can be, determined beforehand. It is not in this way that the truth will be reached. The result we come to is, that whether we look at it from the point of view of science or theology, our minds are too weak to deal with the problem which the history of the world and our race sets us. But a mind so great as the mind of God is, a mind that can form the age-long purpose of which we discern mere fragments, and that carries forward the unfolding of that purpose unhaughtily and unrestingly and irresistibly through tracts of time and space beyond our power to compute, is a mind which can find a solution of the difficulties which baffle us. Experience teaches us that the master-mind can influence weaker minds and bend them to the execution of its purpose without infringing on their liberty of self-determination. So we conclude that a mind so great as the mind of God is can control the action of the minds of men so as to secure the

<sup>1</sup> Ephes. iii. 9.

realization of its own purposes without curbing their free action, or imposing any external and irrational constraint. Our own self-consciousness assures us of our liberty. The spectacle of the age-long process of development, which is unfolded by geology, biology, and history, assures us we are in the hands of One who governs all things according to His own Wisdom and Will. Our faith in the world's progress, and in the ultimate triumph of good over evil, is based, in the long run, on our faith in the Sovereignty of the Triune God. Darwin unites with Calvin to guide us along a track which brings us at last to His feet.



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